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Systematic Literature Review On Asymmetric Decentralization

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Abstract. The purpose of this study is to map the latest developments on the asymmetric decentralization concept. The increasing use of this concept today is not accompanied by the availability of adequate literature. This mapping is useful to trigger further research as well as to guide the application of the concept in practice. By using systematic literature review on the Proquest database in the last ten years: 2010-2019, important up-to-date information is obtained. The results of this research indicated that there were small number of research on asymmetric decentralization concept that exist. Furthermore, this research also presented the distribution of the research areas. In addition, this research showed the development of the meaning of asymmetric decentralization as well as mapping the scope and content of the developing study. This research also showed the various factors that influenced the effectiveness of asymmetric decentralization, described the impact of the application of this concept in various countries, provided suggestions for further research that would be useful for the development of research on asymmetric decentralization in the future, presented several interesting issues that were useful for further research, and produced an asymmetric decentralization framework.

Keywords: asymmetric decentralization; central-local government relations; regional government

INTRODUCTION

The development of the asymmetric decentralization theory is slow compared to its practical needs. This theory is considered a panacea for conflict mitigation and peace building between the central government and substrate units while maintaining the entire state's integrity. The need to carry out significant studies on this theory increased due to the increasing rate of civil unrest in countries worldwide. However, it is also used in countries that do not experience significant internal conflicts. Therefore, these two different situations necessitated the study on the latest developments to determine opportunities for the development of the theory and its application to answer the diverse needs in various countries. This research aims to map out the latest studies on several issues related to asymmetric decentralization for better state governance practices.

Initially, discussions related to asymmetry theory were commonly associated with the federal context and rarely centralized in the unitary state. However, the asymmetry concept in public administration terminology is divided into asymmetric federalism for federal state and asymmetric decentralization for unitary state. Tarlton's influential article (1965) written in the context of asymmetric federalism for federal state, and showed a significant influence in asymmetric decentralization for unitary state. The result also stated that the occurrence of alternating concepts referred to the same meaning. Politically, asymmetric federalism and decentralization are interchangeably used to present certain misleading political interests.

Presently, there is no systematic study to determine the development of studies on asymmetric decentralization. The last few studies showed a variety

of different issues that add to the complexity of the problem. Studies were carried out by Alber (2017); Simpson (2017), Soko & Zorič (2018), Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019), Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019), and Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzhaacker (2019) to determine the asymmetry theory of a country experiencing regional conflict. While Chien & Zhao (2015), Li & Chan (2017), Rizzi & Zanette (2017), and Li (2018) carried out related asymmetry studies in countries not experiencing domestic conflicts. The research also spanned across unitary states such as Senegal (Ndongo & Klein, 2013), Spain (Prieto, 2012; Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, 2017); the UK (Simpson, 2017), Italy (Rizzi & Zanette, 2017; Podesta, 2017), Serbia (Golic & Počuča, 2017), and in federal countries such as Canada (Schertzer, 2015), Malaysia (Harding, 2017) and Bosnia & Herzegovina (Soko & Zorič, 2018). Certain studies were more likely to focus more on the economic (Chien & Zhao, 2015; Li & Chan, 2017), political (Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe, 2014; Harding, 2017; Soko & Zorič, 2018; Isra, Villiers & Arifin, 2019), public administration, including public service and development administration (Lane, 2011; Rizzi & Zanette, 2017; Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, 2019; Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzhaacker, 2019). These studies are intertwined with one another, therefore, it is necessary to map them carefully to make them usable for the development of the asymmetric decentralization theory in the future and its use in the practice of public administration in various countries.

Earlier Concepts of Asymmetric Decentralization

Tarlton (1965) carried out a speculative study to modify the federalism theory by stated that symmetry and asymmetry were based on the three foundations of federalism theory, namely the constitutional legal,

political, and socio-cultural approaches. However, Edward S. Corwin and KC Wheare's constitutional legal approach was more focused on federal-state relations, which was coordinate-independent. Therefore, this showed a balance in power between the federal and state government, with a balanced right, to power and judicial determination. The second approach was associated with Thomas Jefferson's thinking on federalism, which was based on the history of United States federalism. Jeffersonian always encouraged the strengthening of local government as the main basis for US government. However, due to the country's large landmass, it was difficult to achieve effective governance when held centrally. Therefore, democracy in the USA is only effective when it strengthens local self-government.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of democracy at the local level prevents the USA from consolidating power, leading to tyranny. Federalism is shared sovereignty that enables the sub-national governments to reflect more on local conditions from national government posture. The third approach was based on the socio-cultural aspects of society that differ between national and states circumstances, and between states. This approach introduced by William S Livingston stated that the differences in federalism are due to society. Geographical separation in the form of a subnational government is an expression of real differences in society, therefore, it requires a variety of government institutions.

Tarlton (1965) stated that "Symmetry is the level of conformity and commonality used to separate the system's political unit as a whole and other component units." Furthermore, in the context of federalism, Tarlton stated that "the notion of symmetry refers to the extent to which component states, share in the conditions and the concerns associated with the federal system as a whole." In addition, Tarlton (1965) also revealed the meaning of the concept of asymmetry as follows "the extent to which component states do not share in these common features." Furthermore, asymmetric federalism is explained as the model of an asymmetrical federal system with each component consisting of a unique feature or set of features capable of separating in important ways, its interests from those of any other state, or the system considered as a whole."

According to Tarlton (1965), "the more diverse the elements within a political system, the better it is suited for federalism. Also, the more homogeneous the political society, the clearer the need for unitary forms." Tarlton further reported that statements similar to the above are deceptive and can mislead the design of the relationship between national and sub-national governments. The diversity of society can take place in both federal and unitary states, with a good level of uniformity used to strengthen their cohesiveness. This uniformity is needed to keep the national system intact, therefore, high diversity is needed by the asymmetric government with a stronger control and integrity of the national system for

proper maintenance. The diversity is accompanied by asymmetric government and not strong coordination because the control tends to lead to the national system's collapse. This strong coordination and control is the advantage of the unitary system.

Tarlton (1965) used several terms to describe sub-national government levels, with state, regional, local, and federal government associated with the national government. This term's use becomes misleading, assuming some writers refer to sentences using regional and local government terms. This is because it is assumed that everything Tarlton discussed also includes the context of the unitary state. There are actually two scopes of symmetry and asymmetry in Tarlton's discussion. The first is in line with the relationship between the federal and state governments, while the second is between states.

Tarlton's analysis, based on US federalism, inspired thinkers from the federal and unitary states. However, in the unitary state's context, Katorobo's (2007) analysis is considered more representative. The framework for the relationship between the central and local governments are more prominent than the federal and state. Furthermore, Katorobo (2007) stated that symmetrical decentralization is an attempt to mirror and reproduce national governance institutions at the subnational level assuming the lower unit was a microcosm of the national government. It is also defined as a congruence that occurs when the regional government's structure reflects on the central government, including policymaking institutions, implementing and monitoring policies in the form of similar regional institutions. The presence of the House of Representative, the President, and the Supreme Court in the Central Government is associated with the Council, Major, and Court in the Regional Government. Similarly, the central government's composition is reflected in the ministries' existence. Various agencies under the President with the tendency to reproduce central institutions in the regions referred to a sign of symmetric decentralization. This symmetric decentralization places the central government to focus on policymaking and leaves implementation to sub-national governments. Furthermore, monitoring and evaluation are still carried out by the central government.

According to Katorobo, the rate at which this technique is currently practiced globally is decreasing. Therefore, there is a tendency to design institutions asymmetrically to ensure it reflects local institutional needs and capacities. Each region has different capabilities and needs from the central government, which also differs from other regions. Katorobo (2007) stated that asymmetrical decentralization is more effective than symmetrical. This is because the central government administers certain governmental functions while other functions are more effective when ruled by regions. Theoretically, Katorobo (2007) also stated that the decentralization of government functions in general to sub-national governments is wrong because it allows the transfer of functions and authorities to

regions unable to implement them. This general form of decentralization refers to symmetrical and non-incremental decentralization. Katorobo criticized that form and suggested asymmetric and incremental decentralization. This also reflects the need for different functions to be carried out between regions, with different needs and capabilities. Currently, irrespective of the symmetric and non-incremental decentralization, it is inevitable that political pressure makes this choice.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is based on a literature review approach used by Husna et al. (2019), with an overview of scholarly journal articles traced through Proquest. The search was carried out in early 2020 for journals published in the last 3 years. However, due to the limited data, the study was extended to the last 5 years and further expanded to 10 years. The articles' quality was assessed from the search results by placing the asymmetric decentralization keyword correctly in the title, abstract, and body text. Therefore, the articles obtained spanned from 2010 to 2019, and these were obtained in three stages, which are discussed in the following subsections.

Stage one: Data Source and Document Selection

The first step was to determine the data source, which was obtained using Proquest due to its ability to provides an extensive document database. Proquest was founded in 1872, and in 1938, it developed into a microfilm provider serving libraries. Although it has changed its names several times since its inception, it still has the same vision, such as supporting students, researchers, lecturers, professionals, and libraries in developing knowledge. The company is based in Michigan and currently supports global information management, which helps users search and disseminate knowledge extensively. Proquest's content includes dissertations & theses, primary source materials, ebooks, scholarly journals, historical and current newspapers and periodicals, and audio and video collections. This device was chosen as the data source due to its significant collection of information available to publishers worldwide and the ease of obtaining, processing, and filtering the data required in this research. The documents selected in this research were articles published in scholarly journals that have also been reviewed, therefore, the quality of the manuscripts obtained is reliable.

Stage two: Research Terms, Inclusion and Exclusion Process

Previous studies related to the research topic were obtained from Proquest using the keyword "asymmetric decentralization." Several steps were taken in this stage. Firstly, this search used the advanced search mode by utilizing a strategy that only displayed full text, thereby generating 8,062 articles. Secondly, the articles were filtered into peer reviews and scholarly

journals, which lead to a total of 2011 articles. Thirdly, the search time range was added to the filter, which generated approximately 318, 609, and 891 articles after filtering in accordance with the last 3, 5, and 10 years, respectively. A review of the title, abstract, and content of the article was finally decided using the search results for the last 10 years. This option was for generating searches that represented a more robust contemporary asymmetric decentralization.

Table 1. Positions of Asymmetric Decentralization Terms in The Studies

Asymmetric Decentralization Positions		References
Title, Abstract, Body text		Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez (2017); Li (2018); Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019); Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019)
Abstract & Body text		Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014); Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez (2017); Li (2018); Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019); Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019); Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzhaecker (2019);
Body text		Lane (2011); Prieto (2012); Shi (2012); Ndongo & Klein (2013); Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014); Schertzer (2015); Chien & Zhao (2015); Hadna (2016); Alber (2017); Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez (2017); Simpson (2017); Li & Chan (2017); Shi (2017); Podesta (2017); Golic & Potuča (2017); Harding (2017); Rizzi & Zanette (2017); Guga (2018); Soko & Zorić (2018); Li (2018); Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, (2019); Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019); Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzhaecker (2019), Zulkifli, Susanti & Novia (2019); Zhou & Xiong (2019).

The fourth step was carried out by filtering in accordance with the type of document selected and language used, which were in the form of article and English, thereby leading to 552 articles. The fifth step was to filter through the subjects, which initially led to 20 articles when selected based on decentralization, local government, and public administration. However, upon expansion to include politics, governance, central government, autonomy, public finance, and policy, 305 articles were obtained. The final step was taken based on these results, which provided detailed examination by looking for articles that contained the asymmetric decentralization keyword in the title, abstract, and body text. This was carried out to increase the certainty that the articles obtained were really within the scope of public administration, therefore, only 25 articles were relevant.

This last step showed that only four, six and twenty five articles used the asymmetric decentralization keyword in the title, abstract, and body text. The composition was inclusive and showed that four articles that used the keyword in the title also used it in the abstract and body text. However, out of the six articles that used the keyword in the abstract, four used it in the title, while two failed to use it in both the abstract and body text. Meanwhile, of the 25 articles that used the keyword in the body text, 19 used it in the body text but failed to use them in the title and abstract. Table 1 provides adequate information on the positions of asymmetric decentralization terms in the studies.

Stage three: Analysis and presentation of results

This third stage was carried out by carefully reading the selected articles while conducting analysis. The contents of each article were compared with each other to determine the relevant similarities and

differences. The analysis was carried out based on the substance, method, and location of the research. In addition, studies were conducted to determine the reasons for using asymmetric decentralization, the influencing factors, and the benefits of its implementation. In the end, a useful categorization was compiled for the development of this concept.

Table 2. Contexts of The Studies

	Unitary State	Federal State
Albania	Guga (2018)	
Bosnia & Herzegovina		Soko & Zorič (2018)
Canada		Schertzer (2015)
China	Shi (2012); Chien & Zhao (2015); Li & Chan (2017); Shi (2017); Li (2018); Zhou & Xiong (2019)	
French	Lane (2011)	
Indonesia	Hadna (2016); Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, (2019); Zulkifli, Susanti & Novia (2019); Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzacker (2019); Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019);	
Italy	Alber, 2017; Podesta, 2017; Rizzi & Zanette, 2017;	
Malaysia		Harding (2017)
Senegal	Ndongo & Klein (2013)	
Serbia	Golic & Počuča (2017)	
South East Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Phillipine) including South Korea	Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014)	
Spain	Prieto (2012); Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, (2017);	
UK	Simpson (2017)	

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Studies in the development of the asymmetric decentralization concept in scholarly journals are scarce. Therefore, a careful search of the scope in the last ten years led to the recovery of only 25 articles, with only four articles contained in the asymmetric decentralization with title, abstract, and body text. These articles were written by Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, (2017); Li (2018), Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019), and Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019). The article written by Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014) and Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzacker (2019) did not mention asymmetric decentralization in the title but in the abstract and body text. Other articles contained the asymmetric decentralization concept in body text (Lane, 2011; Prieto, 2012; Ndongo & Klein, 2013; Chien & Zhao, 2015; Schertzer, 2015; Hadna, 2016; Simpson, 2017; Li & Chan, 2017; Podesta, 2017; Golic & Počuča, 2017; Harding, 2017 ; Rizzi & Zanette, 2017; Soko & Zorič, 2018; Guga, 2018). Therefore, the concept of asymmetric decentralization became a significant concern in only six articles (24%) out of 19 articles (76%) that included it as an additional topic. This trend was reinforced by getting 25 articles from searches using the necessary keywords from 2010 to 2019. Another result is about the growing concerns on asymmetric decentralization. The tendency of increasing studies showed in the feature that 64% studies were published in last three years (2017-2019) while there were only 12% publications in the first years (2010-2012).

The scarcity of asymmetric decentralization studies can also be seen from the type of country where the research was conducted (see table 2). For instance, none of the articles were carried out in Australia, and

Latin America. A total of 22 articles were studied on the unitary state, with six studies in China (Shi, 2012 & 2017; Chien & Zhao, 2015; Li & Chan, 2017; Li, 2018; Zhou & Xiong, 2019), five in Indonesia (Hadna, 2016; Zulkifli, Susanti & Novia, 2019; Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, 2019; Isra, Villiers & Arifin, 2019; Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzacker, 2019), three in Italy (Alber, 2017; Rizzi & Zanette, 2017; Podesta, 2017), two in Spain (Prieto, 2012; Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, 2017); and one each in Senegal (Ndongo & Klein, 2013), Serbia (Golic & Počuča, 2017), UK (Simpson, 2017) and comparative studies in Southeast Asia including South Korea (Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe, 2014). In addition, three articles were studied carried out on the federal state, namely Canada, Malaysia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. Schertzer (2015) and Harding (2017) studies in Canada and Malaysia, respectively, used the asymmetric decentralization concept (devolution) to ensure the proper relationship between federal states and regions as well as to settle conflicts. In this case, asymmetric decentralization is referred to as asymmetric federalism and falls within the concept's scope stated by Tarlton (1965). Therefore, base on the location mapping of this study, the asymmetric decentralization issue is still popular in Asia with a total of 13 (52%) studies compared to 10 studies (40%) in Europe and 1 study (4%) each in North America and Africa, respectively. China and Indonesia are still developing with a total of 11 studies (44%) available in both countries. This tendency remains consistent for future usage. Furthermore, asymmetric decentralization study is popular in some European countries, such as Italy and Spain. Meanwhile, this study is also starting to be carried out in Albania and the countries that made up the former Yugoslavia, namely Bosnia & Herzegovina and Serbia.

Table 3. Research Method

Research Method	References
Quantitative	Prieto (2012); Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe, 2014 (Comparative); Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, (2017); Rizzi & Zanette, 2017; Podesta, 2017 (SCM); Li, 2018; Soko & Zorič, 2018 (DEA); Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, 2019 (SCM). Zhou & Xiong (2019)
Qualitative	Schertzer, 2015 (in-depth consideration); Hadna, 2016 (Comparative); Harding, 2017 (Case Study); Simpson, 2017; Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzacker, 2019; Zulkifli, Susanti, Novia (2019)
Literature Review	Lane (2011); Ndongo & Klein (2013); Chien & Zhao, 2015; Alber (2017); Shi (2017); Li & Chan, 2017; Golic & Počuča, 2017 (normative); Guga (2018); Isra, Villiers & Arifin, 2019 (normative).

This study utilized various research methods (see table 3), such as the nine quantitative methods. Two studies used by Rizzi & Zanette (2017) and Li (2018) on asymmetric decentralization. Two other studies were conducted by Podesta (2017) and Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019), which specifically used the synthetic control method (SCM). Furthermore, Soko & Zorič (2018) specifically used this method to research data envelopment analysis (DEA). Furthermore, six studies utilized the qualitative methods with in-depth consideration, namely Harding (2017), Simpson (2017), Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzacker (2019), and Schertzer (2015). Nine articles also used literature

reviews, namely Chien & Zhao (2015), Li & Chan (2017), Golic & Počuča (2017), and Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019). The last two studies used normative analysis. Two studies make use of the comparative method with different approaches. These are the studies carried out by Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014) and Hadna (2016), which make use of the quantitative and qualitative approaches. In terms of methodology, there were many variants for assessing asymmetric decentralization, therefore, there are opportunities to use a variety of methods to study various issues related to asymmetric decentralization. In short, there is no single and dominant methodology used in developing the asymmetric decentralization study. However, there are still opportunities for various methods used in exploring this method, such as the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Table 4. The Meaning of Asymmetric Decentralization

Terminology	Meaning	Authors
Asymmetric Decentralization	"The distribution of competence in the field of agriculture has distinctive characteristics. In addition, the jurisdiction for affairs in agriculture is divided into different government levels."	Golic & Počuča, 2017
	"power is transferred to lower government levels, while sovereignty rests solely with the central government"... "Furthermore, some competences were unequally transferred to regions."	Podesta, 2017
	"increasing decentralisation asymmetrically by granting wider self-government to those regions which spark the greatest conflicts, treating regions asymmetrically in the distribution of resources in an effort to satisfy asymmetry in their demands, etc"	Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, (2017);
	"This applies to Scotland, where significant divergence from UK government social security policy requires new devolved competences."	Simpson, 2017
	"different levels of decentralization by different subnational units, depending on the effective demand and needs of the local community, as well as the institutional capacity to accept responsibilities."	Soko & Zorič, 2018
Asymmetry	"economic decentralization to the local" along with "political centralization under the same party."	Chien & Zhao, 2015
	"economic system is decentralized, with a centralized administrative system"... "an interdigitated process of de-centralization."	Li & Chan, 2017
	"A special autonomous region is exempt from some aspect(s) of the countrywide constitutional framework, and has its own statute or receives special treatment in the constitution or statutory law."	Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014)
	"Quebec has considerably more power (and funding) than other provinces in immigrant selection and settlement."	Schertzer, 2015
	"The regional structure is asymmetric with fifteen regions consisting of the ordinary statute and five with a special statute that enjoys greater legislative and financial autonomy."	Rizzi & Zanette, 2017
"powers granted to lower-level governments do not follow a single consistent pattern, rather it is customized to the conditions or desires of the lower-level territory or territories in question."	Harding, 2017	
"a system whereby special powers and functions are granted to subnational governments within federal and decentralized unitary systems"... "some regions are treated differently within the same country in terms of the nature, scope or extent of their powers and functions."	Isra, Villiers & Arifin, 2019	

The next analysis is associated with the concepts chosen to carry out this research, which comprises various terms and meanings (see table 4). First was the term of asymmetric decentralization, which was used in the several studies. Golic & Počuča (2017) further interpreted asymmetric decentralization as transferring different powers and functions at different government levels. A similar definition was also presented by the research conducted by Soko & Zorič (2018), which added that submission needs to be based on aspirations, requirements, and ability to carry out functions. Soko & Zorič (2018) used asymmetric decentralization to analyze the relationship between the state (entities) and the municipalities in the Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina. This country

is a federal state divided into two entities: Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina and Republika Srpska with one district, known as Brčko. The country is further divided into 10 Cantonese, and each Canton is subdivided into municipalities. Therefore, the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina and Republika Srpska consists of 74 and 63 municipalities, respectively. The relationships between the state (entities) and its subordinate regions are similar to the unitary state's subnational government. Therefore, Soko & Zorič (2018) developed the concept in line with the asymmetric decentralization concept used by 22 other articles in the unitary state.

Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, (2017) defined asymmetric decentralization as granting wider self-government to special regions in order to satisfy asymmetric demands. This policy is a tool to reduce conflict and separatism. Podesta (2017) stated that asymmetric decentralization is the transfer of authority from the higher to the lower government level with the assignment of functions that are not similar between regions. Podesta also used the concept of asymmetric federalism to explain that this concept can be used in a unitary state as long as the single sovereignty remains at the national government level. This is however, different from federalism, which divides sovereignty between federal states and their component regions. Italy tends to interpret the asymmetric decentralization concept as federalism applied in the unitary state. The earlier similar thinking was conveyed by Lane (2011) that unitary states employ fiscal federalism concept without accepting federalism. The concept is implemented to be fiscal decentralization concept. Furthermore, the concept is also used by Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019) to research asymmetric fiscal decentralization. This concept is also widely studied both in the field of public administration and finance. Subsequently, asymmetric fiscal decentralization is also part of asymmetric decentralization, which is specifically focused on fiscal administration that is asymmetrical between regions or special regions. Therefore, there is a specificity of factors governed by asymmetry. Including in this variant is the term asymmetric devolution used by Simpson (2017). Simpson interpreted this concept when delivering a significant divergence policy between the UK and Scotland as a central and regional government. This term is typically used by UK to originate references and can be regarded as the equivalent of the asymmetric decentralization concept used in many other countries, including Indonesia. The concept of decentralization has two scopes with the first associated with decentralization, which includes devolution, deconcentration, or delegation. Secondly, decentralization is often matched with the concept of devolution.

Different meaning of asymmetric decentralization offered by Chien & Zhao (2015) and Li & Chan (2017). Chien & Zhao (2015) defined it as a combination of economic decentralization and political centralization. This is similar to the definitions presented by research conducted by Li & Chan (2017).

Economic decentralization created a territorial competition to promote economic prosperity and infrastructure development simultaneously using a centralized administrative system to ensure an established political integration. The thinking method associated with this concept is also reflected in the studies carried out by Shi (2012 & 2017), Li (2018), and Zhou & Xiong (2019). Furthermore, asymmetric decentralization is used to achieve a comparative advantage in each region, therefore social harmony is achieved along with social, economic and infrastructure progress.

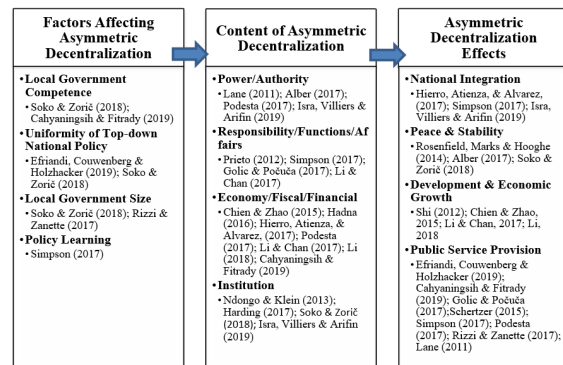
Table 5. Suggestion for Future Research

Issues of Study	Suggestion	Author
Cause	"research on the underlying causes of asymmetric fiscal decentralization failure in Papua needs to be emphasized in the future."	Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, 2019
Content	"Strategies utilized by the Chinese party-state mechanism to initiate inter-regional governance from the top to respond to an emerging trend of inter-regional governance below." "Urban-rural disparities, land and infrastructure financing and industrial upgrading are important issues that need further research. It is also necessary to learn from the developed countries' experience of inland city development to further open up domestic markets in Western China."	Chien & Zhao, 2015 Li & Chan, 2017
Method	"the relationships we find suggest that future quantitative comparative research might usefully look beneath the outer shell of decentralization at the country level." "Note that the procedure proposed in this article is suitable to be applied to other local government systems and tiers" "Therefore, using the synthetic control method or other appropriate strategies of analysis, further studies can be carried out to estimate the economic consequences of the autonomy utilized by certain areas of other national asymmetrically decentralized systems."	Rosenfeld, Marks & Hooghe (2014) Rizzi & Zanette, 2017 Podesta, 2017
Area	"Spain, the UK, Belgium, and Canada represent the object of future analyses. Furthermore, in enlarging the perspective, another potential case study is Indonesia, where some regions have recently enjoyed special powers...."	Podesta, 2017
Impact	"It determines the ability of the initial work to undertaken through these mechanisms to improve service delivery and outcomes for migrants. These are questions beyond the scope of this article, however, they provide future research directions." "It is too early to analyze the strategies used to ensure that this works in the long term. However, this article has been able to iterate the process of cooperative federalism is finding ways of using existing or easily realized powers and pragmatic measures to deliver real autonomy in decision making and realizable practical benefits to the state in terms of development."	Schertzer, 2015 Harding, 2017

The second variant of terms was used with the concept of asymmetry. For instance, the research by Rizzi & Zanette (2017) used asymmetric as an adjective to describe the situation in Italy as a unitary state with different arrangements in several regions. Rosenfeld, Marks & Hooghe (2014) defined asymmetry as special autonomous region that receives special treatment differed from other regions. Zulkifli, Susanti & Novia (2019) described special autonomy for Aceh in Indonesia. Furthermore, Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019) used the concept to describe the differences in features in 5 out of 34 provinces in Indonesia. These provinces have two types of differences with the first associated with institutional arrangements that have occurred in Papua, West Papua, and Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, the second is the difference in terms of the distribution of authority and functions granted to Aceh and Jakarta. Schertzer (2015) stated that the term province in Canada means state. It is an inter-state asymmetry arrangement regarding immigration systems and certainly different from the use in many countries where it means an autonomous region. Meanwhile, Harding (2017) reported in the Malaysian context, that the federal state uses the concept of devolution to determine the strategies used by the UK to allocate powers to Scotland, Northern Ireland, and

Wales. In this case, Harding stated that federalism and devolution are two different things developed using asymmetric decentralization. The devolution used by the UK can be used to build asymmetric federalism in Malaysia by differentiating Sabah and Sarawak from other states. Harding tended to use the concept of asymmetry to arrange different patterns of power between sub-national governments according to different conditions and needs.

Figure 1. Asymmetric Decentralization Framework



Of the two variants explained, the asymmetric decentralization meaning shows an asymmetric relationship between the central and regional governments. This meaning is also recognized from various concepts such as asymmetric devolution, fiscal decentralization and federalism. The last concept shows that, to some extent, the asymmetric federalism concept can be used in a unitary state while remaining within the corridors and not turning it into a federal state. Lane (2011) stated that asymmetric decentralization shows the ability of a unitary state to manage its part by being more accommodating to different demands compared to certain centralized federal states, such as Germany and Austria. In general, the understanding of the symmetrical relationship between central and regional government is still in line with the studies carried out by Tarlton (1965) and Katorobo (2007). The second meaning of asymmetric decentralization is still in line with the research carried out by Tarlton (1965), which stated the differences between regions in carrying out their regional autonomy to avoid conflicts. Based on the entire range of meanings, a new concept was recently developed in China, which defines asymmetric decentralization from a perspective different from the concepts of Tarlton (1965) and Katorobo (2007). References from China consistently interpret asymmetric decentralization with differences in the relationship between the central and the local government. Political centralization followed by economic decentralization is a characteristic of Chinese-style asymmetric decentralization. Therefore, with this concept, the Central Government has the ability to control its national interests by encouraging competition between regions for better development and public service. This understanding refers to the new Chinese concept of asymmetric decentralization developed by Chien (2007): the combination of

economic decentralization to the local, along with political centralization under the party.

Discussions need to be carried out to obtain useful suggestions for developing the asymmetric decentralization concept in the future. This suggestion can be a clue for subsequent studies to take advantage because not all studies provide advice for further research. For instance, out of the numerous studies conducted on this research topic, only eight have provided nine important future analysis clues (see table 5). The first is the research that provided suggestions on the importance of further studies to determine the various factors responsible for failure to implement asymmetric (fiscal) decentralization (Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, 2019). The second was two studies that provided suggestions on the content of asymmetric decentralization, namely Chien & Zhao (2015), on how the central government responds to regional cooperation initiated from below and Li & Chan (2017) on ways to examine urban-rural disparities further. The third was three studies that provided advice on the use of research methods to study asymmetric decentralization. Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014) suggested the use of quantitative comparative research by using Regional Authority Index to show up national indices of decentralization. They propose five dimensions of special regional autonomy for the index: institution, policy scope, fiscal autonomy, borrowing autonomy, and elected representation. Rizzi & Zanette (2017) suggested using *ex-ante* procedures, while Podesta (2017) reported the use of synthetic control methods with both included as quantitative research. The fourth was a research that provided suggestions on the need for further and deeper study on asymmetric decentralization in developed countries such as Spain, Canada, UK, Belgium, and Indonesia (Podesta, 2017). The fifth were two studies that provided suggestions for examining the impact of asymmetric decentralization, derived from studies conducted in federal states. Schertzer (2015) provided suggestions to determine the impact of asymmetric decentralization on the quality of public services, while Harding (2017) examined ways to determine development's impact.

A contemporary model of asymmetric decentralization built by compiling a framework for the relationship between the affecting factors, content, and the desired effects of asymmetric decentralization practiced in various countries (Table 6). However, various factors influence asymmetric decentralization effectiveness, which is defined as a way to achieve goals. Therefore, an analysis of the antecedent variables that affect asymmetric arrangements is needed. The first antecedent variables are the competence of local government, with the effectiveness of decentralization dependent on local governments' ability to exercise regional autonomy both in making and implementing regional policies. Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019) stated that the failure of Papua's special autonomy in health and education was due to the regional government's lack of ability to implement special autonomy. This weakness was in the form of

an inability to implement policies, large opportunities for corruption, and uncontrolled budget spending. Local governments' capacity to accept functions submitted by the central government is also a serious consideration for the success of asymmetric decentralization (Soko & Zorič, 2018).

The second is the uniformity of top-down national policy. Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzhaacker (2019) stated that the failure in achieving the asymmetric decentralization goal in the Papua province was due to the central government's "one size fits all" policy. In addition, the uniform policy for asymmetric decentralization has an impact on the failure in the effectiveness of the financial incentives provided and monitoring development. The uniform policy causes misalignment between the functional (deconcentration) and the territorial (decentralization) institution. Soko & Zorič (2018) reported that the central government's ability to manage asymmetric decentralization is a challenge for its effectiveness.

The third analysis is the size of the area studied by Soko & Zorič (2018) in Bosnia & Herzegovina, which influences asymmetry effectiveness. This can be enhanced when applied to a small area, however, this seems impossible due to the problem of government inefficiency. This problem can be fixed through partnerships and cooperation between regions and better governance arrangements. The advantages of asymmetric decentralization to smaller areas are that the system is more effective at absorbing local communities' different needs and aspirations. It is also associated with the institutions' ability to deliver services that are in line with local situations and conditions. Asymmetric decentralization increases the chance to produce solutions to problems. However, Soko & Zorič (2018) further stated that it tends to pose problems related to inefficiency when a region is too small. This was also revealed in research conducted by Rizzi & Zanette (2017) in Italy. Therefore, amalgamation is needed to overcome this inefficiency to absorb community aspirations and local needs. From these two studies, it can be stated that the size of the autonomous region determines the effectiveness of asymmetric decentralization.

The fourth analysis is related to the need for policy learning. Simpson (2017) stated that the ability of regions to exercise their authority differs from one another therefore, the transferred powers also vary. The different powers used to provide social security vary between Northern Ireland, Scotland, and the UK government. Therefore, certainty is needed to achieve this region, which can exercise this additional authority. For this reason, policy learning is needed to improve this capability, to enable the decentralized authority to be properly implemented in the regions.

The next analysis is related to the content of asymmetric decentralization, with numerous concepts presented in the analyzed article. Alber (2017) described very broad authority transferred to South Tyrol of Italy including legislative and administrative power. Legislative power means the authority to make

policies, while administrative power understood as authority to implement the policies. This meaning is typically understanding the concept for unitary states. Earlier, Lane (2011) explained the similar power transferred to Corsica in France. Rizzi & Zanette (2017) carried out research using legislative, financial, and competence, while Hadna (2016), Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez (2017), Podesta (2017) and Cahyaningsih & Fitriady (2019) used fiscal content. Meanwhile, Golic & Počuča (2017) discussed power and functions, which was later developed by Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019) with a focus on the content of institutional arrangements, power & functions. Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzhacker (2019) also discussed the content of functions, while Simpson (2017) analyzed the asymmetric power and competence. Prieto (2012) described asymmetric decentralization on health care system in Spanish regions. In addition, there was also content on economic decentralization reviewed by Chien & Zhao (2015), which stated that "economic decentralization provides more autonomy to handle trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), budgetary and off-budgetary revenues as well as expenditures." Li & Chan (2017) examined urban development, while Li (2018) analyzed the fiscal policy differences. Furthermore, Soko & Zorič (2018) stated that asymmetric decentralization is political and brings better democracy and participation. Administrative decentralization transfers authority and functions devolved to subnational governments. In contrast, fiscal decentralization gives sub-national governments autonomy to manage their revenues and expenditures independently. Soko & Zorič (2018) stated that institutional and service terms were contents of asymmetric decentralization. Institutional arrangement was needed to achieve effective municipality in Senegal (Ndongo & Klein, 2013), while Harding (2017) explained its importance for devolving power to Sarawak in Malaysia.

Asymmetric decentralization is a method used to achieve stated goals, therefore information is needed on the effects of the policy. Furthermore, information on the effect of asymmetric decentralization can be extracted and used to manage pressure in central and local relations. Simpson (2017) stated that asymmetric decentralization can lead to the maintenance of regional integration in a country, such as the cases of Northern Ireland and Scotland by the UK government. The policy brings opportunities for the diversity of services in the fields of devolved competence in accordance with the aspirations and capabilities of each region. This situation reduces the tension of central and regional relations in order to maintain integration within the country. Similar result was employed by Hierro, Atienza, & Alvarez, (2017) in Spain. Asymmetric decentralization means asymmetric treatments for asymmetric demands in order to reduce regional separatism. These results are also supported by the research conducted by Isra, Villiers & Arifin (2019), which stated that asymmetric decentralization adds to the complexity of governance. This

government's complexity reflects on those existing in society, such as differences in special needs, culture, tradition, heritage, and religion. Asymmetric decentralization does not reduce the sovereignty of a country, instead, it increases national integration.

Furthermore, Soko & Zorič (2018) stated that asymmetric decentralization is used to achieve better peace and stability. The Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina adopted an asymmetric decentralization policy to maintain the country's stability and maintain peace. Asymmetric decentralization also increases the effectiveness of democracy, which is more evenly distributed in all regions in order to reduce regional conflicts. Alber (2017) also gave empirical prove that asymmetric decentralization brings settlement of regional conflict in Italy's South Tyrol. This condition empowered national integration for Italy. Rosenfield, Marks & Hooghe (2014) argued that asymmetric decentralization ultimately designed to accommodate ethnic or religious demands in Southeast Asia. This accommodation in order to keep peace and stability of each countries.

In addition, asymmetric decentralization can also be used to increase economic growth and development. The research carried out by Chien & Zhao (2015) showed that asymmetric decentralization in China is useful in increasing infrastructure development, investment, and economic growth. Shi (2012) conveyed that urban-rural harmonisation was the result of government effort to reduce urban-rural gap. The effort was introduced by centralized political decision along with local government policy making and implementation in economic welfare engineering. Li & Chan (2017) stated that asymmetric decentralization's objective was to achieve a more effective urban development. Li's study (2018) supported the argument that asymmetric decentralization increases local policy preferences to allocate resources needed for regional development. The last is the effect of asymmetric decentralization in the form of public services. Lane (2011) underlined that asymmetric decentralization brings public service more responsive to democratic preferences. According to Efriandi, Couwenberg & Holzhacker (2019), asymmetry policy was used by the Indonesian government to improve services in the field of education. This public service also includes health services in Papua, Indonesia (Cahyaningsih & Fitriady, 2019), agriculture in Vojvodina, Serbia (Golic & Počuča, 2017), immigration in Quebec, Canada (Schertzer, 2015), social security in Scotland, UK (Simpson, 2017) and public services in general in the special region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Italy (Podesta, 2017) and in the Veneto region, Italy (Rizzi & Zanette, 2017).

CONCLUSION

There are limited numbers of studies on asymmetric decentralization with a continuous increase in its usage both in unitary and federal states. There are growing studies on asymmetric decentralization

in recent years. Furthermore, due to the use of large methodological variations, the effective policies are still open for the implementation of asymmetric decentralization. Therefore, suggestions for further research on asymmetric decentralization need to be conducted on the factors causing the failure, the growing content, variety of research methods, a more extensive research area with different contexts, and the impact in different countries. Asymmetric decentralization has been applied in countries experiencing domestic conflict, those with diverse characteristics, and developing countries.

The novelty of this research lies in the emergence of a new meaning on asymmetric decentralization, which is driven by various studies from China, and especially refer to the Chien concept (2007). It is also interpreted as a centralized political system carried out simultaneously with a decentralized economic system. Furthermore, this system is an integration of political decisions and personnel administration at the central level, which is used to support economic decentralization that creates competition and innovation between regions to provide better public services and more effective local development. This meaning is certainly different from the initial definition conveyed by Tarlton (1965) and Katorobo (2007), which stated that asymmetric decentralization includes asymmetrical central and local government, or special autonomy received by several regions which is different from the generally autonomy accepted by other regions. The other novelty of this research is the speculative framework, which is influenced by several factors, and the effects generated by asymmetric decentralization. Antecedent factors include local government competence, uniformity of top-down national policy, and size. Asymmetric decentralization can arise from asymmetric power or authority, responsibilities or functions or affairs, economy, fiscal, finance, and institutions. The effects of implementing asymmetric decentralization include national integration, peace and stability, development, economic growth, and public service provision. This framework still needs further research to be transformed into robust policies.

This research's limitation is in accordance with the literature studies, which was based on the Proquest database, thereby excluding opportunities for other articles not listed in the database. This limitation tends to occur due to the numerous document databases besides Proquest that also provided similar services. In addition, the limitation of this research is also determined by other excluded relevant articles. Further research is recommended to systematically compare studies of asymmetric decentralization and federalism using different countries. It is also necessary to carefully study the impact of asymmetric decentralization both for society's good and the resolution of conflicts within a country. Subsequent studies need to use the systematic literature review with multi databases to cover a complete study to describe asymmetric decentralization development.

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