

Understand, analyse and manage a decentralization process

The RED-IFO Model and its use



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The Institutions for Rural Development Series includes four categories of documents (Conceptual Notes, Guidelines, Case Studies, Working Papers) aiming at supporting efforts by countries and their development partners to improve institutions, be they public, private, centralized or decentralized.

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Foreword

The FAO's Division for Rural Development has developed projects in a multitude of countries. This technical assistance is carried out from three perspectives:

- 1 The Public Institutions Perspective. This is related to the production of information to improve the performance of state actions, institutional restructuring and training.
2. The Civil Society Perspective. This is a contractual approach to management capacity, participatory extension, participatory programs for the structuring of farmers' organizations and, more recently, the sustainable livelihoods approach.
3. The Local Government Perspective. This is related to the role of local governments and development poles, the building of interfaces and regionalization.

The accumulated experience of working within these three perspectives constitutes the expertise that the FAO can offer to Member States to help them create the necessary conditions to successfully lead decentralization processes and the restructuring of institutions in charge of rural development. These FAO – led actions are in line with a legitimization and re-legitimization of the role of the State, which is based on three factors that favor the Public Perspective:

- the diffusion of accompanying measures (information, training, organization), related to institutional restructuring plans at central level;
- support to the design and application of the legislative and operational framework for the sustainable establishment of partnership and social dialogue related to social and territorial agreements at local level;
- support to the strengthening of the regional dimension, which is the most conducive to partnership and social dialogue.

The manual capitalizes on the experience of the Division over the last ten years of following the Analytical RED-IFO Model of Regionalization of Demand and Policy Differentiation, as well as accompanying measures in Information, Training, and Organization. It offers a tool for thinking and training for managers and trainers.

The manual is based on the experience of field projects, on the results of the Technical Consultation on organized Decentralization organized by the Division in 1997 and on a series of publications on this same theme which was subsequently initiated.

Parviz Koohafkan

Director of the Division for Rural Development

Presentation of the document

This manual is a training and self-training tool on decentralization. It allows executives and technicians to familiarize themselves with the main principles and operational aspects of decentralization in rural development and to start a more in-depth analysis on particular points of interest

The manual is made up of three parts:

- UNDERSTAND (Part one);
- ANALYZE (Part two);
- MANAGE (Part three) a Decentralization Process.

The document proposes the Analytical RED-IFO Model of Regionalization of Demand and Policy Differentiation as a tool for decentralization management. It also presents accompanying measures in Information, Training and Organization. The RED-IFO model supposes the allocation of resources by the state as well as other actors to allow the fulfillment of the following functions:

1. the identification of the risks of decentralization;
2. a good understanding of different types of producers and regions and; the ability to follow them up and foresee their evolution;
3. the preparation of dialogue between different actors through the establishment of an information system on several aspects related to the national and local level;
4. the capacity building of local actors through a formal transfer of competencies and training which is tailor made to the local situation;
5. the redefinition of the role of public institutions supporting rural development at central level;
6. the creation of a forum for dialogue at regional level between different actors in the interests of a participatory and negotiated management of the territory.

The pedagogical nature of this document is based on the following elements:

- i) the main themes dealt with propose a specific tool (RED-IFO) to allow familiarization with the technical content in question. For example, a specific methodology for assessing a decentralization process in a given country is dealt with using the “Country Outlook” tool (Part Two, Chapter 2).
- ii) an illustration concerning Senegal allows the reader to follow the evolution of concepts and different tools;
- iii) one part of the document presents concepts and definitions;
- iv) at the end, experiences referring to each part of the document are presented.

The themes presented are taken from a series of analyses carried out by the Rural Development Division of FAO over recent years in different countries through support to field projects or the realization of case studies. The Country Outlooks concerning the Maghreb and West African countries come from a survey conducted by FAO in 1997.

The illustration of the Senegal example was carried out by Mr. M'Baye Sarr, consultant and was presented during a training course for members of the Federation of Senegalese NGOs (FONGS). It was then updated at the end of 2004.

The interested reader will find the summaries of the 21 documents published by the Rural Development Division (SDA) in the series "Rural development and Decentralization" in the annexes. The complete texts are available and downloadable on the FAO's website at page www.fao.org/sd/index_en.htm.

Complementary information is provided on the FAO/World Bank web site www.ciesin.org/decentralization.

The final version of the document¹ was produced by Jean Bonnal, Rural Development Officer of the Rural Institutions and Participation Service (SDAR), in collaboration with Massimo Rossi, consultant. The English version was produced by Clare Sycamore.

¹ The FAO tested the manual's pedagogical nature between January and March 2005 during the "Advanced Course on Sustainable Agriculture in the Mediterranean and Balkan Area" organized by the Institute of Mediterranean Agronomy in Bari (CIHEAM) during distance training of SARD operators (Agriculture and sustainable rural development). Furthermore, in April 2005, the manual was tested during a 2 week course as part of the Masters in Rural Development at the Institute of Mediterranean Agronomy in Montpellier.

PART ONE:

Understanding a Decentralization Process

Chapter 1. The Nature of the Problem: FAO Experience and Skills in Decentralization

This chapter presents an overall view of lessons to be drawn from different aspects of FAO experience and acquired assets in decentralization.² The underlying question of this study is, given the essential conditions for the successes of decentralization, what expertise can FAO bring to bear on the formulation and implementation of a decentralization policy? FAO has provided technical assistance to project implementation in different countries within the following three perspectives.

1. The Public Institutions Perspective

Information production to improve the quality of state action, the restructuring of institutions, training.

2. The Civil Society Perspective

Managerial capacity by contract, participatory extension, participation programs and structuring of the peasantry.

3. The Local Government Perspective

The roles of local institutions, development poles, construction of dialogue, and regionalization.

The accumulated experience in these three areas constitutes the expertise that FAO can contribute towards the efforts of Member States to create the necessary conditions to successfully carry out the decentralization processes and reconstruction of institutions responsible for rural development.

The Public Institutions Perspective

FAO has worked to improve the performance of public institutions responsible for agricultural support services. It has promoted new relationships between these institutions and rural populations. The FAO's Public Institutions Perspective comprises three lines of action:

- Surveys and typologies of rural populations;
- Training local actors on decentralized planning;
- Restructuring public institutions that have responsibility for agricultural support services and rural development.

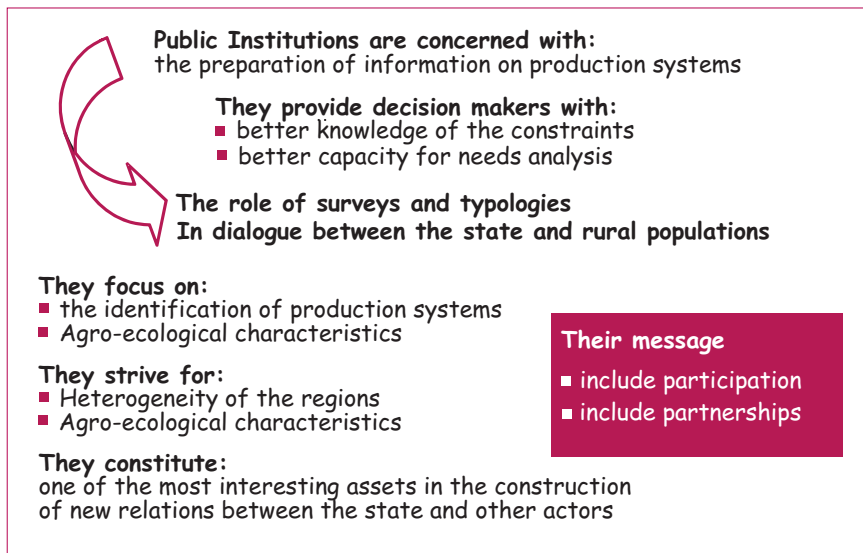
The Role of Surveys and Classifications in Dialogue between the State and Rural Populations

This line of action gathers information on agricultural production systems and their development. It provides decision-makers with better knowledge of the constraints which weigh

² See FAO-SDA, "FAO experiences in decentralized rural development", Decentralization and Rural Development Series, N°1, FAO-SDA, Rome 1997..

down these systems. It makes it possible to integrate the needs of rural populations (determined through surveys and classifications) into policy-making.

The hypothesis is that, to elaborate effective policy, information available at local level must be taken into consideration. Accumulated experience in gathering such information is an asset that enables a counterbalance of the disparity of access to information. This also enables better coordination of development activities.



This approach initially focused on the identification of the multiple components of production systems. This was ensured through the integration of both agricultural and non-agricultural activities of rural families, on the basis of agro-ecological characteristics at local level. More recently, it has also sought to take into consideration regional diversity. Consequently, it can be used as a useful tool in the formulation of adaptable policies and in the appraisal of public institutions and

specific problems of rural populations, and regions; therefore it would make these institutions more effective. The advantage of this approach is that it was one of the first attempts to include grassroots participation in problem identification and resolution. Projects implemented along these lines have demonstrated a convincing willingness to register the opinion of farmers and to create structures for consultation at regional levels. The establishment of a framework for consultation is crucial in this approach and is another of FAO's assets. Another characteristic of this approach is its emphasis on partnerships at all levels. A network of partners, consisting of representatives from public institutions, elected officials and representatives of other social groups and organizations, should be created at each level of intervention. This type of partnership is one of the most useful assets resulting from the FAO experience in establishing new relations between the state, rural populations and other players in rural development.

Decentralized Planning and the Role of Training


The establishment of new mechanisms for decentralized planning and strong training programs is the second line of action of the Public Institutions Perspective. Decentralization is a complex process requiring certain enabling conditions in order to be sustainable. It especially requires a strong on-going education program for personnel, citizens and/or organizations that are assigned decentralized functions and responsibilities.

FAO has developed the important skill of analyzing decentralization processes and analyzing training needs. This is important because it provides the possibility of supporting governments to better target training actions to key sectors in the decentralization process. Those actors who play a key role are thus given priority.

The second skill concerns efforts to integrate rural populations in policy-making. Experience shows that training constitutes a means of creating a true culture of decentralization within civil society organizations and government institutions.

There are three conclusions concerning training:

- for training to be integrated into the participatory approach, it has to target not only managers of support institutions, but also citizens and their organizations;
- training is not useful if its themes and methods do not give priority to knowledge and organizational abilities of the grassroots actors and if the knowledge and abilities of local populations are not taken into account;
- decentralization increases the need for training just as training increases the chances of success of decentralization.



Public Institutions are concerned with:
the need to respond to the complexity of decentralized planning activities

They provide decision makers with:

- capacity building
- better allocation of responsibility

decentralized planning and the role of training

They focus on:

- the identification of training needs
- training key actors as priority

They strive for:

- a decisive role for rural populations
- the paramount role of training

They constitute:
one of the most interesting assets in the involvement of grass roots organizations in policy formulation

Their message

- better target training
- appropriate actors
- rising demand

Restructuring Agricultural Support Services

The third line of action concerning public institutions relates to the restructuring of rural development institutions. Restructuring, a key element of structural adjustment, is supposed to have been based on the principles of democracy, transfer of responsibilities and consultation between development actors.

Experience has made it possible to:

- define the new role of the State and transfer of responsibilities to actors of civil society (including the private sector) that had been, until then, in the arena of the central administration;
- review relations between the different levels of government;
- redefine the relations between the state and private operators;
- establish a representative model, making it possible to consult farmers on matters that concern them.



Public Institutions are concerned with:
the new role of the public sector in the context of structural adjustment

They provide:

- better allocation of individual responsibilities
- better consultation between actors

the restructuring of agricultural support services

They focus on:

- a redefinition of state roles
- transfer of responsibilities to civil society

They strive for:

- the maintenance of control functions
- New public - private relationships

The constitute:
one of the most interesting assets in the construction of new communication modalities that constitute rural organizations

Their message:

- strong communication
- represent rural populations
- establish dialogue

One key aspect of this line of action relates to the functions of Ministries of Agriculture. Rural development institutions must possess enough capacity to intervene. However, this capacity should be used in the framework of clearly defined functions for each type of rural development operator. The specifically public area of intervention would be planning, the promotion of private initiatives, the reinforcement of farmer and local capacity, regulation and control and monitoring and evaluation.

One important aspect of the accumulated knowledge in this domain concerns the relationship between the new functions of the ministries, the strengthening of professional organizations and the mechanisms for dialogue with the State. Indeed, the institutional restructuring approach insists on the need to strengthen farmer organizations so that they can provide services required by their members. These organizations should be able to do this through partnerships with NGOs and the private sector. In pointing out that decentralization cannot work if the State does not have interlocutors who are representatives of different categories of the population, FAO has made decisive progress in understanding the most important conditions for decentralization to take place properly.

Perspective 2: Civil Society

This perspective is central to FAO's experience in decentralization and it includes activities enabling populations to play a meaningful role in rural development and the management of their own affairs. Three lines of action appear to be particularly interesting. Firstly there is the experience in the management of village territories (better known by its French name, "Gestion de Terroirs Villageois/GTV). Secondly, the organization of extension services on the basis of a participatory approach and finally, people's participation programs and the structuring of peasant organizations.

"Gestion de Terroirs Villageois" Programs and the links between Local Governments and the State

"Gestion de Terroirs Villageois" (GTV) projects are an important line of action in creating the conditions that make it possible to involve local communities in the management of social investments and natural resources. Underlying this methodology is the diagnosis that projects put together without local participation do not lead to sustainable development. Consequently, the GTV approach emphasizes a significant move towards the process of

local ownership by rural populations in development. The major advantage of this line of action is the increased ownership by farmers' organizations and rural authorities regarding the provision of agricultural support services.

The experience of GTV is relevant to the debate on decentralization because it indicates the necessity of developing contractual relations between villagers and the state. It is from this



Civil Society is concerned with:
ways of involving Rural Communities in the management of their resources and activities

It offers:

- better knowledge of advantages / constraints
- better consultation between actors

Land management projects and links between Local Communities and the state

It focuses on:

- linkages between actors
- learning of responsibilities

It strives for:

- indispensable decentralization
- new relationships between local /national

It constitutes:
One of the most interesting assets in the construction of new policies and decentralization modalities

Its message:

- learn management skills
- contractual linkages
- different levels

point of view an important asset for the creation of conditions enabling decentralization to work successfully because it prepares local governments for the transfer of responsibilities, while teaching them to manage their own affairs. In this regard GTV can only succeed in a context where the power to formulate policy, manage and evaluate, are decentralized. Regional coordination guarantees the effective and coherent implementation of the methodology, and the success of national policy in the field.

A second advantage of this approach is the development, within rural populations, of a new kind of relationship based on consultations, first at the local, then regional and finally the national level. This is an approach, which privileges the immersion of extension agents in the field, consultation of citizens and all other relevant stakeholders, responsibility sharing, as well as pooling of knowledge and know-how. The transfer of responsibilities and partnerships are thus the two principle lines of actions in this approach. In this way, the accumulated experience in these areas is to be taken into consideration for the proper formulation of a decentralization policy.

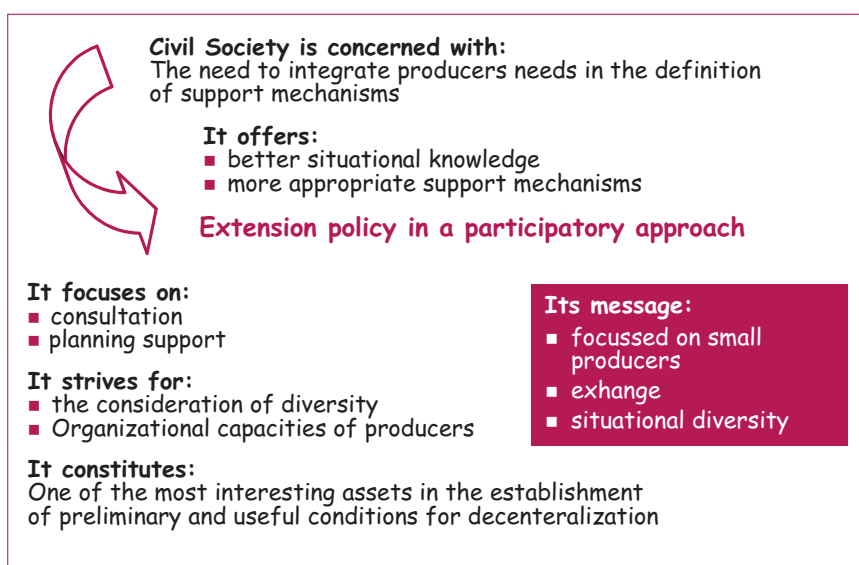
Participatory Extension Policy

The second line of action in relation to the civil society perspective concerns agricultural support services. The FAO's work has taken a participatory approach to extension services, making it possible to integrate the needs of small farmers in a larger set of development actions. This approach leads to the specific support effort to farmer organizations.

FAO projects have included coordination of local actions to ensure their coherence and enable regional programming. Moreover, extension systems have taken into consideration the diversity of production systems by putting in place a set of differentiated messages designed on the basis of the knowledge of local know-how. These strategies turn agricultural extension into a tool to reinforce: (i) the associative capacities of communities and; (ii) their sense of ownership in solving both up-stream and down-stream production problems.

The participatory approach to extension services involves three main strategies of gradual commitment (consultation, co-management, and transfer of responsibilities) used for the analysis of situations, review of problems encountered in implementation of actions and monitoring and evaluation.

The long-term goal is for organization and consultation to be the mode of transfer of responsibilities to the farmers themselves. One can therefore understand the advantage of the experience for discussions on decentralization. These types of projects make farmers the key players in the implementation of the process. Public extension agents (in collaboration with NGOs and specialized agencies) build exchange relationships with them.



Decision-making is done on a contractual basis, committing both farmers and extension agents. In this methodology, rural people work in partnership with extension agents. These are some of the FAO tools for establishing the enabling conditions for decentralization.

People's Participation Programs and the Structuring of Farmer Organizations

A people's participation program is the third line of action of the civil society dimension. In the context of decentralization and the transfer of responsibilities, this line of action is a way of creating the conditions for the most underprivileged groups to organize themselves to take over the management of support services. There are two basic aspects to FAO's accumulated experience in citizen participation. Firstly, there are the People's Participation Programs (PPP) themselves, which emphasized the building of rural organizations capable of carrying out income generating activities. Secondly, there are projects aiming to promote the structuring of peasant organizations.

The PPP perceive people's participation in terms of returning the power of initiative and decision-making to rural populations. According to the PPP, participation has two dimensions: an economic dimension directed toward income generation and integration of citizens into the monetary exchange network and a political dimension, which for the poorest is having a voice and recognition in



Civil Society is concerned with:
the possibility for destitute populations to develop income generating activities and to organize themselves in to associations

It offers:

- better involvement of the poorest people
- increased sustainability

Popular participation programs and the structuring of peasant organizations

It focuses on:

- an economic and financial dimension
- listening, recognition and dialogue

It strives for:

- entrepreneurial competency
- management skills in associations

It constitutes:
One of the most interesting assets to allow poorer groups to get organized and assume responsibility

Its message:

- involved groups
- organized groups
- sustainable actions

their development. Since participation can only be achieved through a mobilizing project, PPPs seek to identify income-generating activities. In these conditions, the approach has given priority to the development of entrepreneurial skills as a means of ensuring self-sufficiency in the medium and long term. This is a very important methodological asset.

Actions in structuring farmer organizations and improving dialogue between the state and representative organizations take root in sustainable development. This postulates that development actions cannot be replicated if they are not taken over by rural populations themselves. This rural development strategy recognizes that if the rural poor are not given the resources to participate in actions that concern them, they will remain excluded and marginalized. An important experience in this regard is the Forests, Trees and People Program (FTPP) directed towards ensuring farmers' participation in the management of trees and community forests. Even if the program has not always succeeded in modifying policies, it has nonetheless had some influence in their formulation.

Perspective 3: Local Government

This third perspective is comprised of actions to reinforce regional and local levels of government. The subject of local government is directly related to deliberations on decentralization to the extent that regionalization is introduced when local governments are

capable of being real centers for rural development. This course of action is complementary to that which attempts to build interfaces between national and local levels of government. The two approaches are an FAO contribution, which can lead to new thinking about the role of the region.

The Role of Local Governments in Decentralization

With decentralization, local levels of government have the vocation of becoming places in which local actors may take the initiative to define and implement their own development goals. The revalorization of the local level as instigator of initiatives and decision raises the question of connecting this level with higher levels of decision. The advantage of focusing on local levels is that this can create a platform for organization and initiative taking, association, economic activity and recognition of participants. The idea is to support local actors so they can define their own mobilizing goals. This approach recognizes that local levels are not homogeneous and, as a result, it is necessary to take into consideration multiple actors who are directly involved in decision-making at the local level.

The context created by structural adjustment policies is an important background to understanding this development approach. There has been a wave of democratization and strong demands for participation. This requires the strengthening of local administrations.

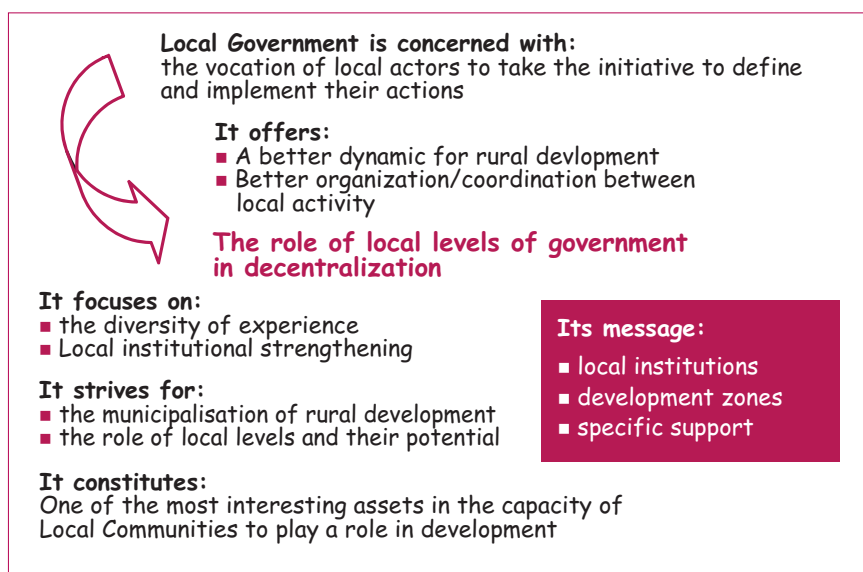
Local governments are slow to emerge as the key players for the implementation of new development strategies. This requires institutional strengthening to enable them to establish dynamic relations with their people.

Therefore, one analytical path consists of identifying possibilities for action by rural municipalities. It is essential to identify the real potential of the rural municipalities in terms of support services to small farmers and social services to poor populations and also the necessary conditions for

them to fulfill these functions. In this way municipalities could become the key geographical level for the formulation and implementation of public and private initiatives in rural development, hence opening the way for the municipalization of rural development. In order to go ahead with municipalization, it is necessary, as some FAO teams have done, to identify the most dynamic regions and middle-level towns and then analyze those factors, which could enable them to become poles of rural development. Hence, FAO can provide services and support to assist governments to solidify the dynamism of these poles.

Building Interfaces between National and Local Levels of Government

The strengthening of local governments and their potential transformation into true poles of rural development require local levels to have decision-making powers and responsibilities. This is only possible through decentralization, especially with devolution of the decision-





Local Government is concerned with:
the capacity of the regions to play a key role
in the strengthening of local levels and state withdrawal

It offers:

- better distribution of tasks and responsibilities
- better partnerships between different levels

The construction of interfaces between national and local levels

It focuses on:

- the central role of local actors
- the mainstreaming of partnerships

It strives for:

- complete devolution
- arbitration and coordination

It constitutes:
One of the most interesting assets for managing allocation
of responsibility whilst respecting balances between local levels

Its message:

- balance between levels
- coherent action
- access to information

making powers and responsibilities relating to the financing of local institutions elected by its citizens. The choice of sub national entities as the focal point of development initiative is justified in so far as it is from there that it will become possible to ensure the sustainable integration of grass-roots communities and organizations of civil society in a coherent political whole.

This development strategy, implicit in FAO experience, is based on the idea of partnership. The idea involves certain development characteristics that should be explained:

- the recognition that local actors play a central role in determining and implementing development programs;
- the primary role given to local governments as places of initiative and decision-making;
- the recognition that there should be a sequence of actions between the short and mid term in development programs. This would allow activities aimed at overcoming immediate problems to also address more long term and structural orientations.

The increased role given to local actors does not mean that the State no longer has important functions to carry out. It is critical to ensure coherence in participants' actions. This means building interfaces between the local and national levels to integrate the needs and initiatives expressed at grassroots level on the one hand, and the national-level problems and coordination on the other. The presence of the regional level would make it possible to arbitrate these two contradictory requirements. The regional level could, in particular, provide rural populations with information on the institutional, economic and technological environment that would enable them to participate effectively in policy making.

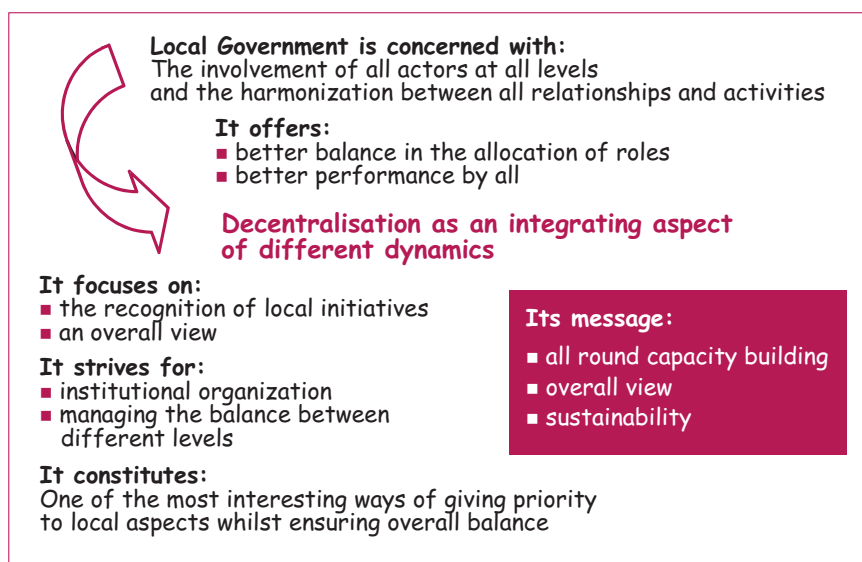
It is the recognition of the role of these interfaces that has led FAO to support the structuring of the rural sector through regionalization, seen as a dynamic method of strengthening the local level and supporting State withdrawal. However, on this relatively new path, a clearer definition of the boundaries between the local and regional levels still has to be made.

Conclusion

There is a consensus that the rural sector has a decisive role to play in food security, poverty alleviation and the improvement of natural resource management. It is also recognized that decentralization could improve the actions of the sector. However, consensus is not enough. The institutional framework has to be organized in such a way as to transform this consensus into a participatory and sustainable approach to rural development. Experience and accumulated knowledge can help in building this framework.

If we had to briefly summarize the main lesson learned from FAO's experience, we could say that the **big challenge of decentralization is the management of the tension between the recognition of collective but local initiatives and the requirement of integrating these initiatives into one overall vision.**

Differentiation, regionalization, and institution strengthening can help resolve this tension. In the final analysis, decentralization requires that the level receiving the decentralized functions be strong and dynamic so that its actors can welcome the decentralized functions and initiatives. The three perspectives (Public Institutions, Civil Society and Local Government) and the different lines of action taken by FAO all appear to work in this direction.



Chapter 2. Concepts and Definitions

One of the major obstacles in understanding others is not giving the same meaning to the same word. This applies especially to people with different cultural backgrounds (from different countries and/or speaking different languages) but can also happen to people with similar backgrounds.

The objective of this sub-section is to provide the clearest definition possible of the basic concepts that are useful in understanding decentralization processes. A definition of all concepts used in this Training Manual is provided.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 – Decentralization; | 18 – Regional partnerships; |
| 2 – Regional level; | 19 – Local partnerships; |
| 3 – Local level; | 20 – Transfer of resources; |
| 4 – Transfer of powers; | 21 – Global grant and global negotiation; |
| 5 – Division of powers; | 22 – Territorialization of financing; |
| 6 – Subsidiarity; | 23 – Additionality and co-financing; |
| 7 – Democracy; | 24 – Vertical partnership; |
| 8 – Local Governments (regional and/or local elected bodies); | 25 – Joint evaluation; |
| 9 – Deconcentrated administrations and deconcentration; | 26 – Top down / bottom-up approach; |
| 10 – Delegation of functions; | 27 – Self-development |
| 11 – Devolution; | 28 – Regional development |
| 12 – Civil society organizations; | 29 – Participation; |
| 13 – Enterprises; | 30 – Governance; |
| 14 – Tertiary sector; | 31 – Privatization; |
| 15 – Formal/Non-formal sectors; | 32 – State Withdrawal; |
| 16 – Horizontal/territorial partnerships; | 33 – Legal Framework; |
| 17 – Territorial engineering; | 34 – The five types of capital; |
| | 35 – Risks of decentralization. |

1 – Decentralization

In its most elementary definition, decentralization is a partial *transfer of power* (4) and *resources* (20) from the central government to institutions at the *regional level* (2) or at the *local level* (3).

Decentralization can be limited to the state sphere. In this case, a transfer from national public institutions towards regional or local public institutions takes place (sub-national jurisdictions, *local and/or regional* (8) and/or *decentralized administrations* (9)). However, decentralization can also go beyond the state sphere when a *transfer of power* to semi-public organizations takes place (in which case one speaks of *delegation of functions* (10)) or even to civil society bodies (decentralization then takes the shape of a *devolution* (11)).

See also: transfer of power, transfer of resources, regional level, local level, local and/or regional administrations, decentralized administrations, devolution

2 – Regional Level

The definition of the regional level depends on which country is considered. In all definitions that are given in this kit, region means a substantial administrative territory including between 500,000 and 5,000,000 inhabitants. At this level, direct fieldwork is not possible but rather general planning in order to define the broad outlines for development strategies as well as town and country planning is carried out.

3 – Local Level

The definition of the local level also depends on the country in question. However, whatever its definition the local level distinguishes itself fundamentally from the *regional level* (2) by the fact that a direct link between local bodies and participants is possible and desired which radically changes the working logic of institutions. Project realization, mobilization of actors and GTV are carried out at this level.

From an administrative point of view, the local level mostly corresponds to municipalities/communities (or sectors/districts for large cities). However, for some investments (for example in infrastructure) or for ensuring local actor mobilization around common projects (in order to have a critical mass) the moving up to a higher administrative level might be needed.

Furthermore, the local level is also defined through a certain common territorial identity. Therefore, a wider concept defined through a certain natural homogeneity is often sought for beyond the municipality as a merely administrative division. In the European Union, there are many initiatives that have taken this direction. In a rural environment the local level corresponds to a territory containing between 20,000 and 100,000 people.

See also: regional level

4 – Transfer of Power

Transfer of power can also mean the “transfer of expertise” or the “transfer of functions”. By powers/expertise/functions, one should consider:

- who formulates and makes the proposal;
- who takes the decisions;
- who provides financing;
- who manages the implementation;
- who does the follow-up and evaluation.

Decentralization can encompass the transfer of some, or all, of these powers. The different types of powers are complementary and linked to each other. The *division of powers/functions* (5) by institutions or different stakeholders at the *local or regional level* is often a sign of maturity in *decentralization* (1). The transfer of power presents itself in different ways at these two levels, being much more formal at the *regional level*, compared to the local level (see *regional partnership* (17) and *local partnership* (18)).

Decentralization is a transfer of power to *different regional or local levels* in accordance with the *principle of subsidiary* (6).

See also: division of powers / functions, regional level, local level, decentralization, regional partnership, local partnership

5 – Division of Powers/Functions

The division of powers or the division of powers between institutions or different people is fundamental to the principle and a certain guarantee of *democracy* (5). Conversely, the concentration of powers on only one person, or only one institution, is an open door to authoritarian and autocratic regimes.

The division of executive, legislative and judicial power is generally considered to be the essential basis for democracy. This does not necessarily mean that one must stick to this division in all circumstances. The division of powers must be seen as a general principle to be applied as widely as possible according to the context. For example the division between the different types of power/functions defined previously, (see 4) can be an essential element to ensure a healthy and transparent operation and maximum efficiency, at local, regional or national level. It is important that the decision-maker and the one who pays are different persons, while quite frequently the one that has the power to pay often tends to assume the power of decision-making.

See also: [democracy, regional level](#)

6 – Subsidiarity

Subsidiarity describes the principle according to which all problems must be solved at the lowest level where a solution is achievable and most relevant. The concept of subsidiarity is mostly referred to in the context of relationships between supranational structures and national states or between a national state and its regions. The principle of subsidiarity was officially introduced in the texts of the European Union to ensure that the European Commission would only deal with those problems that could not be solved at the level of the member states.

In fact, the principle of subsidiarity concerns all levels down to the local, micro-local and individual level. For example, the problem of survival of a family must be solved at the family level as long as it is not linked to problems at another level such as children's education and health which must be solved at other levels: village level, township or inter-communal for the construction of a school or health centre, regional or national levels for training of teachers, physicians, nurses, etc.

Subsidiarity and *horizontal partnership* (16) are basic principles in *democracy* (7). They guarantee that the problems of every person or group of individuals and people living in the same area are solved by the people themselves.

See also: [horizontal partnership, democracy](#)

7 – Democracy

Etymologically, democracy is the power of the people. First applied in Greece, this concept evolved from the practice of agora, which is the word for the public place where public affairs were directly discussed and all citizens, with the exception of slaves, could participate. This type of direct democracy is only possible for small communities such as in some indigenous communities of Latin America and some other places.

When communities become larger, the *delegation of powers/functions* (10) through elections is needed. Therefore, elections constitute the basis for a representative democracy. This does not mean that a democracy must limit itself to a debate between elected officials, or that elected officials must govern alone at the *local, regional or national level*, even though they have the legitimacy to do so. It must be completed by more direct and participatory types of

democratic expressions. These can be informal, for example organizing direct debates, or more formal within institutions created to this effect. *Decentralization* (1) offers interesting possibilities in this sense, such as *horizontal partnership* (16), at the *local or regional levels*.

See also: *delegation of powers/functions, local level, regional level, decentralization, and horizontal partnership*

8 – Local Governments (Regional and/or Local)

Local and/or regional governments are representative institutions elected on these two levels. At the *local level* (3), these are normally municipalities or townships and at the *regional level* (2) regional governments. The existence of sub-national governments, regional and/or local, as elected authorities, is a basic condition for *decentralization*. Indeed, as long as regional and/or local public administrations are merely representations of the central government, it is not a *transfer of power* (4), but rather of a *deconcentration* (9) of power.

Local governments often regroup (and form associations of townships, inter-community unions, etc.) to solve problems at a higher territorial level (e.g. the building of some types of infrastructures).

See also: *local level, regional level, decentralization, transfer of powers, deconcentration*

9 – Decentralized Administrations and Deconcentration

Decentralized administrations are local administrative offices that provide some parts of the central government services at the *regional or local level* (e.g. a ministry that transfers some of its functions and expertise to its regional and/or local subsidiaries).

Deconcentration therefore differs from *decentralization* (1) insofar, as it does not *transfer the power* (4) of decision-making but only some administrative and technical responsibilities to the regions while maintaining strong control and decision-making power at the central level.

See also: *regional or local level, decentralization, and transfer of power*

10 – Delegation of Functions

Delegation of functions means that the central authority delegates part of its functions to a semi-public regional entity (e.g. a ministry that transfers part of its functions and expertise to regional agencies). The delegation of functions can also take place through the assignment of certain tasks to a specialized entity or to administrative services that are relatively autonomous. The delegation of functions is, in essence, related to the implementation and the progress of activities as well as the local or regional coordination, but overall does not concern the general formulation and planning. The concerned organs may or may not be under the direct control of the state but the latter always keeps at least an indirect control.

See also: *local level*

11 – Devolution

Devolution is the transfer of functions and resources to the citizens themselves or to *local level* (3) governments (transfer towards organizations representing the citizens, townships, village authorities or rural communities) implying the creation or strengthening of these entities.

Devolution is the most advanced form of *decentralization* (1) because it entails the *transfer of powers* (4) towards an institution or a local association with high autonomy. This institution can be a *civil society* (12) organization or a mixed private/public organization in the form of a

regional or local *horizontal partnership* (16).

See also: local levels, decentralization, transfer of powers, civil society, and horizontal partnership

12 – Civil Society Organizations

“Civil Society” is a generic term to designate everything that is outside the State perspective. The organizations of the civil society are therefore all kind of organizations outside of the public sector. There are generally two broad categories of civil society organizations following completely different logics with very different levels of awareness and capacity for intervention:

- *Private enterprises* (13) that operate essentially in the economic sector;
- All organizations subsumed under the *third sector* (14), e.g. associations, co-operatives, NGOs, etc.

See also: private enterprises, third sector

13 – Private Enterprises

Enterprises are organizations with essentially economic functions (production of goods and services, processing, distribution and trade, financial and banking services, etc.) and are therefore structured according to this objective. Enterprises can belong to the state (public enterprises that are more or less autonomous from the state budget), to natural persons or corporations outside the state perspective (private enterprises) or simultaneously to both types of owners (mixed enterprises). A mixed enterprise can for example be created at the local level by a community and an individual.

The shape a private enterprise takes can greatly differ.

- First by size: it can range from the individual enterprise or “micro-enterprise” (for example a craftsman or a small tradesman) to SMEs or large enterprises; depending on their size enterprises can be solely present at the *local level* (3) (in case of micro-enterprises and most SMEs) or at the regional, national or international level (in case of multinationals). depending on their size, enterprises also take the decision to remain in the *informal sector* (15) (in case of numerous micro-enterprises) or to enter the *formal sector* (15);
- Then by sector of activity: some enterprises are specialized in a sole sector; others are specialized in one sector but try to spread their activities within the sector (production, processing, merchandising, etc.) so-called vertical integration; finally enterprises operating in several sectors (e.g. tourism enterprises that offer lodging, restoration and leisure facilities) so-called horizontal integration.
- Finally by organizational form: from types of enterprises with a strict separation between labor and capital (e.g. listed enterprises where the owners of the capital have absolutely no contacts with the employees), to enterprises owned by the workers (such as craftsmen and micro-enterprises). In this context co-operatives are a part of the *third sector* (14) bordering with enterprises.

The relationship between different types of enterprises is very diverse and complex involving purely economic relations (e.g. big enterprises often subcontract the simplest phases of the production process to SMEs or micro-enterprises) or institutional relations (e.g. an association or consortium between enterprises of the same or a group of sectors to lobby their interests at the regional or national level).

See also: local level, informal sector, formal sector, and third sector

14 – Third sector

The third sector normally covers the social economy, i.e. co-operatives and associations. Hence, the third sector includes all organizations that are neither public institutions nor private enterprises which make up the first two sectors. In other words, the third sector covers all *civil society* organizations (12) with the exception of enterprises, where satisfaction of needs comes before profit.

This implies a concern for the types of democracy internal and/or external and the importance of human criteria over purely economic criteria.

In order of appearance in history, one can consider:

- local traditional organizations. These are often pre-existing under influence of the state and filling various functions at the local level (exchanges – of work, of other goods – security and solidarity, current business management, etc.). These organizations have a long history and remain alive especially in rural areas of developing countries where the state has little influence;
- local associations. Quite recently local associations have become an extension of traditional local organizations and respond to a whole set of needs arising in daily life, notably in the non-productive sectors such as sports, cultural or recreational associations, etc.;
- organizations playing a role in representation and “lobbying” unions, political parties, consumers’ associations, professional organizations, and consular chambers / chambers of agriculture, chambers of commerce, etc. These organizations are located at the local level, for example an association of parents of pupils in schools, but try to join forces or merge in order to operate on higher levels both regional and national, to ensure representation and as a means of “lobbying” their interests;
- “Non-Governmental Organizations” (NGOs). NGOs are civil society organizations who aim to solve problems that would normally fall under the responsibility of the public sector, such as: the protection of the environment; fighting unemployment; fighting social exclusion; mediation in conflicts; etc. With a strong presence in the field, NGOs are also active at regional, national and even international levels, in order to be able to influence decisions taken at these levels;
- finally, it is necessary to mention those organizations of the civil society that are directly involved in the production of goods and services. These organizations although they come closer to enterprises, nevertheless, are organized as associations. Examples are co-operatives and mutual funds. Although, presented last, these organizations are older than the NGOs since they developed during the 19th century and today occupy a dominant place.

See also: [civil society organizations](#)

15 – Formal Sector/Informal Sector

The informal sector is the whole undeclared economic sector that escapes the control of the tax authorities. In some countries, particularly in the developing world, this sector plays an important role in the country’s economy. In contrast, the formal sector is the officially declared economic sector, which is subject to tax collection.

Enterprises can normally only be a part of the informal sector in the first phases of their development (e.g. initial phase of micro-enterprise) once they have reached a certain size and level of development, they have to become part of the formal sector.

In the case of the third sector, many organizations remain in the informal sector, not to escape taxation (associations are not subject to taxation anyway) but rather because of lack of incentive to acquire a legal status and the concern of maintaining a certain level of

independence. This is especially the case for all informal organizations existing at the *local level* (3) with a strong tradition and/or based on mutual confidence or other types of social relations.

It would be a mistake to think that *decentralization* (1) and *devolution* (11) should neglect the informal sector because it is not officially recognized by the state. Many experiences with devolution, notably *local partnerships* (19), have demonstrated the importance of including the informal sector. For example, informal partnerships often play an essential role in the participation of the *civil society* (12).

See also: local level, decentralization, devolution, local partnerships, and civil society

16 – Horizontal Partnership (Territorial Partnerships)

Formally, partnerships can be defined as simple associative agreements. Beyond this purely formal aspect there are two stronger concepts; namely of collective engagement around a common objective or project and of complementarities between different stakeholders which help reach this objective or project. A horizontal or territorial partnership is an alliance between several stakeholders (public and/or private) from the same area, resulting in the creation of a legal entity that unites the partners (an association, an agency, etc.). However, an association agreement only takes the form of a partnership in its true sense if participants share the formulation and implementation of a common project and every participant is regarded a necessary member for its achievement.

A horizontal partnership requires time to be forged. It is necessary that partners know each other, come to appreciate the value of working together and recognize individual roles. This is far from straightforward since frequently public and private stakeholders are ignorant of each other's goals and even work against each other, being convinced theirs is the only right approach.

In most cases, horizontal partnerships can only be built as a reaction to a specific outside motivation. The process of *decentralization* (1), of *transfers of power* (4) and *transfers of resources* (20) specific to horizontal partnerships, is found in the form of *intergovernmental grants* (22). The transfer of powers and resources to a horizontal partnership (regional or local) is an advanced form of decentralization insofar as it combines the *delegation of functions* (10) and *devolution* (11).

A horizontal/territorial partnership can equally be established at the regional or local level. In the first case, it will be a *regional partnership* (18), in the second case a *local partnership* (19). These two levels follow different logics and consist of different partners (see the two definitions).

Horizontal/territorial partnerships are highly interesting in terms of mobilization of human and institutional resources. They allow:

- the mobilization of partners and consensus building around common objectives linked to territorial development;
- the building of mobilization capacity to create a real *territorial engineering capacity* (17), which can pave the way to the formulation of new perspectives in contrast to a merely administrative approach of development.

The quality of a partnership depends above all on the quality of the relations between partners. If it is taken into consideration that a partnership develops over time, it is difficult to assess its quality at any single point in time from a snapshot; rather the entire process has to be evaluated. Whereas in a bad partnership some partners would cling to their supremacy

and control while others would not participate in decision making, a good partnership is dynamic and rebounding and fosters the mobilization of local actors and the emergence of *territorial engineering* (17).

See also: decentralization, transfers of power, transfers of resources, intergovernmental grants, delegation of functions, devolution, regional partnership, local partnership, territorial engineering

17 – Territorial Engineering

The “territorial engineering” concept covers two ideas:

First it applies to the idea of territorial intelligence meaning the application of collective intelligence at territorial level. Collective intelligence implies that each person possesses a different sort of intelligence according to his/her character, culture and personal history, which results in different sensibilities and ways to approach problems (intuitive approaches, imaginative, rational, etc.). As a result the integration between various types of intelligence through collective work can lead to more valuable and effective results. The same reasoning can be applied to actors and institutions of a territory. For example, if the viewpoint of an administrative unit is confronted and completed with the viewpoint of private entrepreneurs or associations, analysis will be enhanced, which in its turn can reduce the chances of mistakes and lead to much better results.

Besides the collective intelligence idea, territorial engineering also covers the idea of capacity for action through the merging of various different abilities and resources mobilized. The strength of territorial engineering depends on the diversity of partners. An effective participation of stakeholders from the three sectors (public sector, private sector and *third sector* (14)) is especially important because their awareness, viewpoints, interests, mobilization capacities and know-how are very different from and therefore complementary to each other.

See also: third sector

18 – Regional Partnership

A regional partnership is made up of partners with a voice at the regional level (2).

Those can be:

- in the public sector: regional authorities (*regional jurisdictions* (6); deconcentrated administrations at the *regional level* (7);
- in the *private sector* (13): regional entrepreneurial associations or large enterprises that strongly represent a key sector of the region;
- in the *third sector* (14): organizations representing a certain sector (e.g. consular chambers, unions, etc.), NGOs present at the *regional level* (2), etc.

These regional partnerships establish general strategic plans for the area that serves as a reference for regional policies. For example, in the European Union, regional partnerships produce “DOCUPS” (Documents Unique for Programming) that serve as a general framework for financing development actions in different sectors.

At the regional level, the *division of power/functions* (3) is especially desirable since forms of direct control are absent. The European Union, for example, distinguishes in the procedures of regional programming, between the programming committee (function of proposal), the operations committee (function of analysis and decision), the funding entity (function of financing) and the follow-up committee (function of follow-up and constant evaluation).

See also: regional level, sub-national jurisdictions, third sector, and division of power/functions

19 – Local Partnerships

Local partnerships consist of different types of actors at the *local level* (3).

Those can be:

- in the public sector: municipalities or groups of municipalities (inter-communal unions, etc);
- in the private sector: SMEs or associations of SMEs, craftsmen's associations, farmers, etc;
- in the *third sector* (14): all kinds of local associations and co-operatives such as cultural associations, agricultural co-operatives, mutual credit funds, etc;
- local partnerships can also involve natural persons.

It is quite often the case that particularly dynamic local partnerships are solely made up of individuals representing public or private institutions. Actually, there is no precise rule for the constitution of a local partnership. The initiative for creating a local partnership can come from municipalities, individuals or organizations of the *civil society* (12).

The local development plans established by the local partnerships are a lot more precise than those at the *regional level*. They are real local action plans that are embedded in the general objectives formulated at the national or regional level. At the *local level* (3), the *division of power/functions* (3) is much less formal than at the *regional level* (2). It happens at the core of the local partnership and depends on its level of development.

See also: local level, third sector, civil society organizations, regional level, and division of power/functions

20 – Transfer of Resources

Public resources are the second part of transfers from the government to a lower level that have to take place to achieve *decentralization* (1). If the *transfer of power* (4) is not accompanied by a transfer of resources, *decentralization* will not be possible.

The transfer of resources means primarily financial resources. There are different ways to transfer financial resources from the central state towards the regional or local entities:

- one possibility is to transfer the collection of revenue from certain sources to regional and local levels. This applies especially to local or regional taxes that can be collected more efficiently at lower levels because evasion is lower than if the taxes were collected at the national level. The percentage of the locally collected taxes that has to be sent back to the central level can vary. (For example, in some provinces in northern Italy 80% of the fiscal returns appropriated at the regional level remain at the disposal of the provincial authorities providing them with ample room for intervention);
- the transfer of government funds towards local or regional entities' budgets according to pre-established rules is another way. Most municipalities rely on financial resources transferred to them from the central government in addition to those from locally applied taxes;
- finally, there is the possibility of a *global grant* (21). This solution, which is part of a *global negotiation* (21), presents several advantages in terms of local mobilization and *vertical partnership* (24).

The careful articulation of these three ways of financial transfer can have a leverage effect on resource mobilization (see *additionality and co-financing* (23)).

In quantitative terms, the transfer of financial resources from the central state towards the lower levels must agree on some principles, namely the principle of *territorialization of public aid* (22).

The transfer of resources can involve other types of resources, in particular human resources. Human resource transfer toward the regional and local levels, notably of executives, is also an

important element for successful *decentralization*. People with higher training are often absorbed by the central administration, tend to remain in the large cities and refuse to settle in the small cities or in rural areas. The difficulty of access to some services in isolated areas is not the only reason for this attitude. The few opportunities for professional achievements at the local or regional levels are another reason. As experience shows in several countries, a well-driven decentralization process can reverse this tendency, enabling a particularly interesting professional achievement at local level, while having room for maneuver in terms of proposals and decisions. For example, in countries such as Portugal or Greece, the European program in decentralized rural development LEADER, allows the Constitution of local partnerships in rural areas. These are professional teams composed of engineers, agronomists, economists, sociologists. This was unimaginable 10 or 20 years ago.

See also: decentralization, transfer of power, intergovernmental grant and intergovernmental negotiation, vertical partnership, additionality and co-financing, territorialization of public aid, local level

21 – Global Grants and Global Negotiation

The global grant is a particularly interesting resource transfer instrument because of the leverage effect it can have. Unlike other modes of financial *resource transfer* (20), the global grant is the object of a negotiation between the superior level which is the source of the transfer and the lower level that is the receptor of the transfer. This negotiation is based on program formulation by the receiving level for which financing from the higher level is needed.

The negotiation has a necessarily general character as it is the entire program that is discussed and possibly reviewed before a financing agreement is concluded. The working modalities of global grants are generally defined at the national or supranational level (federal, European, etc.).

See also: transfer of resources

22 – Territorialization of Public Aid

The territorialization of public aid consists in applying the principle of the *subsidiarity* to territories (6) in terms of financial resources. This means assigning the necessary problem solving resources to each level. It is a general principle that acts as a guide in the transfers of resources (20).

See also: subsidiarity, transfers of resources

23 – Additionality and Co - Financing

Additionality to financing or co-financing signifies that a project at the *local level* (3) can benefit from various complementary sources of financing, such as self-financing, other local or non-local private financing, local, regional and/or national public financing.

Additionality allows the involvement of several levels in the project implementation. For example, in the negotiation of the *global grants* (21) for a plan of local action, co-financing rates for projects by different levels are often defined.

This implication of different levels incites dialogue and acts as a catalyst in the building of *vertical partnerships* (24).

See also: local level, intergovernmental grants, and vertical partnership

24 – Vertical Partnership

If a partnership is a collective engagement around common objectives or projects that are complementary to each other, this principle can also be applied to the relationship between entities of different levels. Indeed different entities can have similar objectives and/or take part in a common project and therefore make a commitment to jointly achieve these objectives while being complementary to each other. Even though this might seem an ideal situation the different views and concerns on each level can lead to tough and arduous discussions. However, through dialogue and consultation, objectives can be brought into line.

All elements that facilitate dialogue between levels are carriers of local partnerships. Tools such as the intergovernmental grant and the *intergovernmental negotiation* (21) or the *additionality of financing* (23) can play a key role in building a vertical partnership. Another crucial element is *joint evaluation* (25), allowing partners to speak the same language, and to formulate the specific roles of different levels. The vertical partnership implying *horizontal partnerships* (16) on different levels is a sign of great maturity in decentralization. It allows efficiency of action by the cohesion and mobilization that it creates at all levels.

See also: horizontal/territorial partnership, intergovernmental negotiation, additionality, horizontal partnership, joint assessment

25 – Joint Evaluation

Evaluations of projects (or programs) are carried out on different levels with specific and sometimes even contradictory concerns. The superior levels (national, supranational) are interested in an overall evaluation of programs using broad indicators that give a general idea of the impact in relation to coordination/complementarities with other projects. Intermediate levels (regional) are more concerned about the implementation of projects at their level and are often interested in financial indicators (rate of disbursement, rate of co-partnership, etc.) as well as other efficiency and effectiveness indicators. Finally, the *local level* (3), being closer to the field, is a lot more sensitive regarding the qualitative aspects of efficiency, effectiveness and impact of a project. At this level the assessment often occurs informally and directly.

The joint evaluation links the different levels taking into account their specific concerns and criteria of assessment. It is therefore a very valuable evaluation and conducive to dialogue. Prerequisites for a joint evaluation are the putting in place of a common language and an agreement on criteria with coherent indicators, which can be an arduous and long-term task.

See also: local level

26 – Top-down/bottom-up approach

The general idea behind the top-down approach of *regional development* (30) is that large investments can be made in specific sectors of the economy or geographical areas and the benefits will spread and help other areas. It is often described as the “trickle-down” approach. Decisions are made by government without consultation with local people and the beneficiaries are not given any authority for decision-making or program execution.

As opposed to the top-down approach the bottom-up approach holds that decisions and power should be as close to the basis as possible and coming from a region rather than being imposed from outside. Self-directed and self-generated economic growth and development are believed to occur with greater success than a potentially risky project imposed from above. The end of the “dominant paradigm” of top-down planning signals a shift toward

self-development (27) wherein local stakeholders are the priority audience, self-reliance and building on local resources. However, it has to be noted that development ‘from below’ is not necessarily a panacea and may easily be the object of internal manipulation by local leaders and influential people.

See also: regional development, self-development

27 – Self-development

The self-development approach emphasizes the self-reliance and building on local people and local resources. This means that projects rely on local community organizations, the investment of local resources and local ownership and monitoring. Factors which determine the success of a self-development strategy include the appropriateness of the type of project to the local resources, an organizational structure that fosters participation, a community’s ability to gain access to financing and the building of *vertical partnerships* (24) to gain access to external sources of technical assistance, however, without yielding control of the project.

Successful implementation of self-development strategies does not mean that communities become independent of the central government or market forces but that there will be a greater reliance on local sources.

See also: vertical partnership

28 – Regional development

Regional development promotes the development of a particular region by giving emphasis to the spatial dimension of development and the regional framework of action. The underlying idea being that the development of locally compatible solutions can turn local government entities into the driving force for development efforts in their region.

In order to avoid one of the risks of *decentralization* (38) (outright replacement of a supply-based policy by a demand-based policy) the first step is to establish a meeting-procedure for rural development actors who have a global view and can supply comprehensive policies (international organizations and States) and the actors who know local conditions and have specific demands for projects and support program (rural people, NGOs, the private sector). This meeting-procedure is the logical way to ensure the decentralized formulation of a rural development strategy.

However, if the demand for support services from the rural population is not to be too specific and localized, the needs and demands of rural people must be translated onto a regional plane in order to set them in a broader perspective. A graph of the content of this intersection between policy supply and support demand can show what is involved in policy differentiation and the regionalization of demands.

See also: risks of decentralization

29 – Participation

Participation can be defined as a process through which stakeholders in rural development can influence and share control over development initiatives in general – and decentralization efforts in particular – as well as the decisions and resources which they depend upon. Participation and decentralization depend upon each other. A successful *decentralization* (1) process requires participation of stakeholders on the *local* and *regional levels*. On the other hand participation without a certain level of decentralization and the

transfer of powers and resources (4), (20) as well as *delegation of functions* (10) it implies, is impossible.

See also: decentralization, local level, regional level, transfer of power, transfer of functions, and delegation of functions

30 – Governance

Governance is the exercise of authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. This includes the working of public institutions operating at central and local levels as well as their interrelation with citizens, *civil society* (12) and *enterprises* (13) of the private sector. The quality of governance depends on political commitment and bureaucratic capacity of public institutions as well as on the transparency of administrative processes and responsiveness to the needs of the citizens.

See also: civil society, enterprises

31 – Privatization

Privatization is the permanent *transfer of powers* (4) to any non-state entity, including individuals, corporations, NGOs, etc. Privatization, although often carried out in the name of *decentralization* (1), is not a form of decentralization. It operates according to an external logic, rather than to a public internal logic of decentralization.

New measures taken in the name of liberalization and related to Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) have considered privatization both as a condition and as an objective.

At the beginning, SAPs were focused on the priority objective of public finance rehabilitation and restoring of macro-economic balances, in particular by the reduction of public expenses and external debt.

From an economic point of view, SAPs require the abandonment of state-driven interventions, the promotion of the private sector and the transition to a market economy. From an institutional viewpoint, they focus on the reinforcement of the roles and responsibilities of actors of civil society.

The role of the state in economics has been re-defined to reduce its intervention as far as possible and to facilitate the economic activities of civil society. The state's newly defined public service mandate consists of defining economic policies, facilitating their implementation by civil society, through specific promoting measures and to prepare and assure the respect of legislation and regulations in different sectors. In addition, a relevant and long lasting support to small-scale producers as well as to the destitute and disadvantaged categories has been foreseen, through support to their voluntary and autonomous organization in order to better mobilize and manage resources.

Based on the SAP orientations, Agricultural Structural Adjustment Programs (ASAP) were created for the agricultural and natural resources sectors. They led to the necessity for ministries and related public entities to cease all management of trade or production activity and concentrate their mandate on functions such as guidance, monitoring and coordination of development actions, legislation, regulations and control in different sectors such as plant and animal disease control, natural resources, quality of production factors and agricultural products, rural institutions, land tenure etc.

Besides the mentioned functions, these ministries have kept an important role of technical support but they are now called to implement this support by involving civil society, in

particular farmers' organizations and NGOs. These activities are mainly to do with extension, management advice, information and training of farmers and agronomic research. This contribution of ministries to different ways of technical support is essential for helping disadvantaged farmers who are not able to access advice, training and information by their own means.

Many international institutions (UNDP, FAO, UNICEF, WHO) and independent specialists have recently stressed the risks related to privatization and to the accelerated rhythm of its application. In fact, in many cases, not only did SAPs and ASAPs not contribute to the struggle against poverty, but they increased social inequality and polarization.

See also: [transfer of powers, decentralization](#)

32 – State Withdrawal

In recent years it has become increasingly clear that development programs and projects cannot be formulated and decided solely at the central level. It has been realized that development programs that are being designed with the sole participation of the central governments and donors can lead to the most blatant failures. Rather the project formulation must be devolved to persons directly interested, which includes the recipients and the local actors and their representatives, including the local jurisdictions. This insight together with a scarcity of public funds in many countries has led to an increasing withdrawal of the State from activities that can be carried out at lower levels.

Decentralization (1) appears as an answer to the withdrawal of the State in order to ensure the participation of *civil society* (12) and also as an answer to the failure of the projects that were formulated at the central level without the final beneficiaries.

See also: [decentralization, civil society](#)

33 – Legal Framework

The legal framework for *decentralization* (1) is made up of the constitution, laws and regulations that codify the formal rules of the game by which a decentralized system is supposed to function. Structurally, the desirable architecture of these rules is quite straightforward:

- the constitutions should be used to enshrine the broad principles on which decentralization is to operate, including the rights and responsibilities of all levels of government; the description and role of key institutions at central and local levels; and the basis on which detailed rules may be established or changed.
- one or more laws should define the specific parameters of the intergovernmental fiscal system and the institutional details of the local government structure, including, key structures, procedures (including elections), accountabilities and remedies;
- a series of regulations associated with each law should interpret and describe in detail the practices and measures by which the related law will operate. Laws that deal with tasks that are shared between national and sub-national governments should include sections on intergovernmental relations.

Substantially greater detail and specificity is provided in moving down this three-platform architecture from the constitution to regulations. Conversely, a higher degree of authority (e.g., Minister, Parliament and Constitutional Assembly) is required to change the provisions when moving up from Regulations to the Constitution.

See also: [decentralization](#)

34 – The five types of capital

A key component in the Sustainable Livelihoods framework is the assets on which livelihoods are built, and can be divided into five core categories (or types of capital). These are: natural capital, human capital, financial capital, social capital, and physical capital. These are also generically known as livelihood assets. Outside the sustainable livelihoods framework the term Capital is used in a variety of ways. In economics it is commonly defined as being one of three factors of production, the other two being labor and land.

Natural Capital

It is the term used for natural resources stocks (e.g. trees, land, clean air, coastal resources) upon which people rely. The benefits of these stocks are both direct and indirect. For example, land and trees provide direct benefits by contributing to income and people's sense of well-being. The indirect benefits that they provide include nutrient cycling and protection from erosion and storms.

Human Capital

It represents the skills, knowledge, capacity to work, and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood outcomes. At a household level human capital is a factor of the amount and quality of labor available. This varies according to household size, skill levels, education, leadership potential, health status, etc. Human capital is necessary to be able to make use of the other four types of livelihood assets.

Financial Capital

Within the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) framework, it is defined as the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. These resources include:

- **Available stocks:** savings are the preferred type of financial capital because they do not have liabilities attached and usually do not entail reliance on others. They can be held in several forms: cash, bank deposits or liquid assets such as livestock and jewelry. Financial resources can also be obtained through credit institutions, in which case liabilities are attached.
- **Regular inflows of money:** excluding earned income, the most common types of inflows are pensions, or other transfers from the state, and remittances. In order to make a positive contribution to financial capital these inflows must be reliable – while complete reliability can never be guaranteed there is a difference between a one-off payment and a regular transfer on the basis of which people can plan investments. It should be noted that this definition is different from a strict economic definition of financial capital as it includes flows as well as stocks. (Economists would look only at stocks).

Physical Capital

It comprises the basic infrastructure and physical goods that support livelihoods.

Infrastructure consists of changes to the physical environment that help people to meet their basic needs and to be more productive. Key components of infrastructure include: affordable transport systems, water supply and sanitation (of adequate quantity and quality), energy (that is both clean and affordable), good communications and access to information. Shelter (of adequate quality and durability) is considered by some to be infrastructure, while others would consider it to be a private physical asset and somewhat different from infrastructure. Other components of physical capital include productive capital that enhances income (e.g. bicycles, rickshaws, sewing machines, and agricultural equipment), household goods and

utensils and personal consumption items such as radios and refrigerators. Individuals or groups own most of these. Some, such as larger agricultural equipment or processing units, can be accessed through rental or by paying a fee for the services used.

Social Capital

It relates to the formal and informal social relationships (or social resources) from which people in their pursuit of livelihoods can draw various opportunities and benefits. These social resources are developed through investment in:

- interactions (through work or shared interests), which increase people's ability to work together;
- membership of more formal groups in which relationships are governed by accepted rules and norms;
- relationships of trust facilitate cooperation, reduce transactions costs and sometimes help in the development of informal safety nets amongst the poor.

35 – Risks of decentralization

State withdrawal and decentralization entail certain risks resulting from the centralizing policies that were formerly in effect. The RED-IFO model, explained in detail below, starts with a concise analysis of the legacy of centralization, which helps it to identify five major risks of decentralization.

■ *Risk 1. The replacement of a supply-driven approach by a demand-driven approach*

Centralist policies were completely supply-driven and consisted of a general development strategy designed at the top by central government authorities, which did not take the demands of local populations into account. These policies did not adapt their instruments to the specific problems of each region or each social group. The risk of this legacy is that in the face of the inefficiency of supply-driven interventions, governments would resort to purely demand-driven policies. This approach would certainly have the merit of taking into consideration the specific circumstances of each locality or type of producer, but at the risk of dispersing interventions, and the loss of an overall view in the determination of rural development strategies. There is no empirical evidence showing that taking local solutions into consideration produces the best overall solution for rural development.

■ *Risk 2. Poor information sharing is not conducive to good coordination*

Centralist policy means centralized information systems. The concentration of information at the central level of government takes away from local populations the possibility of knowing the institutional, economic and technological context in which they live, and participating effectively in policy determination. The risk related to this legacy would be that, even if local actors in development have a voice, they are unable to select their demands and problems from a general, national, perspective, or coordinate their activities. Development strategies targeting the local, level even though based on precise knowledge of local problems, may not be coherent from a regional perspective, and even less so from a national perspective, of development. The possibility of formal participation made possible through decentralization is not enough. It is necessary to create the conditions for this participation. Therefore, symmetry in the access to information is a condition for the coordination of activities.

■ *Risk 3. Persisting paternalism can lead to poor quality of services*

As far as centralist policy was concerned, only state interventions could correct market failures and pave the way for development. This paternalistic approach held that rural populations could not effectively use the institutions of the market because they had

neither the capacity to do so nor the resources to find solutions to their own problems. It hindered independent action by rural populations and local governments. This legacy has enormous consequences because if the transfer of functions to local actors is not followed by a transfer of sufficient powers and resources, decentralization will lead to diminishing support services for small and medium size agricultural units, reinforcing the polarization between different types of producers, and the gap between commercial and peasant farmers.

- *Risk 4. Traditions of Clientelism (enlarged nepotism) make it easier for the most influential actors to dominate decentralized structures*

Experience shows that resource allocation in centralized policy has, in the past, benefited privileged members of society or clients of the state. These were those who were the most capable of clearly communicating their needs in terms of projects and programs, and had a level of organization enabling them to put pressure on the state to obtain the lion's share of public expenditure set aside for rural development. Clientelism gave rise to attempts at capturing institutional income and de facto solidarity between central governments and large producers, who being the sole interlocutors of the state were the only beneficiaries of its interventions. The asymmetry in levels of organization in rural populations could translate into the capture of functions and resources transferred under decentralization, by local elite, municipalities, and the most organized and richest organizations.

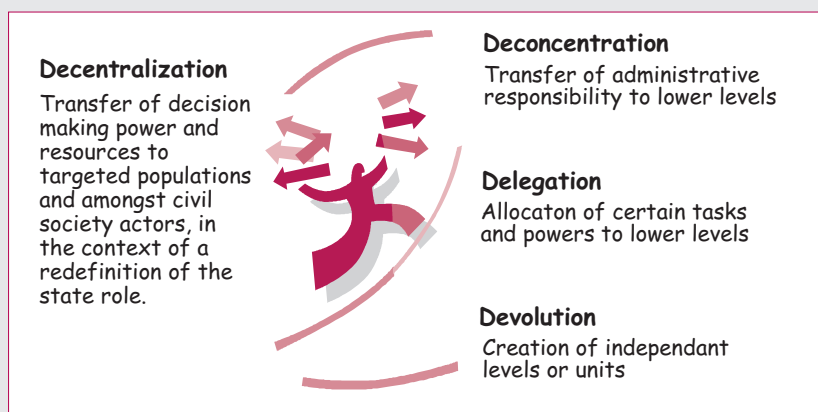
- *Risk 5. Institutional rigidity and the pace of the decentralization processes*

The local and intermediate levels of centralized institutions were designed to implement policy decided somewhere else. They are inflexible and find it difficult to adapt themselves to a changing environment. Their inflexibility and that of civil society organizations do not allow them to adapt themselves in the required time frame to the challenges of decentralization policy. It is not enough to adopt decentralization: it has to take effect immediately and must be implemented in a coherent fashion. Therefore, the question of the suitable pace of decentralization must be raised.

Box no 1 on Senegal: **Centralization and Decentralization**

Nowadays, decentralization is a widely debated concept. It constitutes one of the conditions that all countries (especially those developing ones with a long history of centralized administrations) who wish to access funds from donors and international institutions (IMF, WB) must fulfill. In the case of Senegal, it must be recognized that orthodox centralization has never been a prevailing form of government. Indeed, tentative moves towards decentralization have been being made ever since colonization. Regionalization has been the most decisive phase.

Definitions



Deconcentration and decentralization, far from replacing each other, have always been considered as complimentary by political decision makers at the time of independence (with however a notable preference for concentration, considered as the means of administration most capable of responding to the imperatives of the time: national unity, social cohesion, strong state...).

Before focusing fully on the concepts and definitions of decentralization, it seems appropriate for the purposes of this study to first of all clarify the notion of centralization.

1. Centralization

Centralization assumes the existence of a united administrative center and is made up of two variants: concentration and deconcentration. Firstly, concentration was adopted at the end of the 1960s in Senegal. This came after the experience of a bicephalic central executive (up until 1962) and a monocephalic executive, which held all decision-making power, after the 1962 crisis. Under this regime everything had to go from the center and subsequently return to the center. Consequently, this meant that the local authorities didn't have any decision making power. Faced with the massive inconvenience of this system (such as heavy and slow administrative activity and above all the distance between the administrations and the administered), the authorities decided to apply the second

above mentioned variant of centralization, that of deconcentration. Deconcentration implies the transfer of administrative responsibilities to lower levels of the same administrative apparatus, in this case, the State. In Senegal both territorial deconcentration and technical (or service specific) deconcentration were adopted. Territorial deconcentration meant entrusting decision making power to a competent authority in an area of national territory called an administrative circumscription. This was represented at the time by: (i) the department under the authority of the

prefect; (ii) the arrondissement managed by a sub-prefect and (iii) the region administered by the governor. On the other hand, technical (or service specific) deconcentration meant entrusting decision-making power to an authority or technically specialized organ (ministerial departments, service directorates, technical service departments etc...).

In Senegal, the authorities have always included a dose of decentralization in their deconcentration strategies.

The institutional coordination of decentralization has been

characterized by frequent changes that denote many trial and errors and many uncertainties in the management of the institutional process. Since the year 2000, decentralization-related functions have fallen under the responsibility of four different ministries as the following events demonstrate:

- the Ministry of Territorial Management and Decentralization was created in 2000 and subsequently dissolved in March 2001;
- since April 2001, the Ministry of the Interior and in particular the Delegate Minister of Local Communities (collectivités locales), has been in charge of all aspects of decentralization;
- at the end of 2002, the Ministry of Regional Planning and Decentralized Cooperation was created;
- on April 23rd 2004, a State Minister for Local Governments was appointed (Ministre d'Etat des collectivités locales et de la décentralisation, or MCLD). There is ongoing reorganization to create a new State Ministry.

2. Decentralization

Decentralization is currently presented as being a determinant factor for the institution of democracy, good governance, transparency and economic development.

It has become a major course of action for many developing countries, which aim to access international funds whilst striving to promote an image of modernity. However, in the case of Senegal and its long experience of decentralization (that dates back to before independence); it is more judicious to talk about consolidation of the decentralization process. The pace of this decentralization has often been dictated by the various prevailing socio-political trends. Decentralization, as a form of administrative organization, necessitates four interrelated preconditions:

- the existence of a legal body: the decentralized local government must have a legal status and be considered a viable legal entity with its own possessions, agents, budget, the capacity to go to court and award contracts;
- recognition of own interest: the local government must have the vocation to manage its own affairs according to its own interests. This is why the notion of local affairs constitutes an important element of decentralization law;
- existence of own organs: the local community must be administered by its own authorities who, as far as possible, are designated through local elections.
- existence of an a posteriori administrative control of legality. This control must be exercised by the local representative of central power in the local community in the case of autonomy but not in that of independence, must be loose (control of legality with obligatory seizure by the administrative judge for annulment).

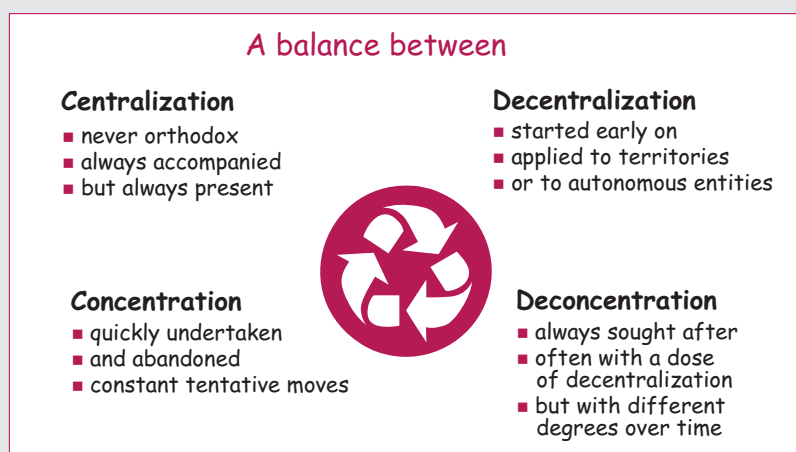
As far as Senegal is concerned, these preconditions (that allow us to consider decentralization as democratic) only legally came into being during the 1990s. During this period, the sub prefects power over Regional Councils was

removed, municipal administrative functions in the communes were abolished and attributed to mayors, all advisors of decentralized local communities were elected by universal suffrage, regionalization took place and the a priori power of control on the part of the representative of the central executive at the local level on the actions of local leaders etc. was abolished.

Decentralization can operate in two ways. Firstly, territorial decentralization implies identifying one geographically contained local community that has the task of managing all its own affairs (creation of autonomous local bodies like regions, communes and “Communautés Rurales” in Senegal). Secondly, technical or service based decentralization consists of detaching from an entity (state or local community), a service or a series of specialized services and to entrust them to public entities (governed by the principle of specialization which means they can only operate within the parameters of the task specifically entrusted to them.

Presented like this, deconcentration and decentralization show differences from a techno-legal point of view³ and also in terms of meaning. However, there are a number of similarities⁴: the territory of a deconcentrated local community corresponds to that of a decentralized one (since 1966 with the region), which can cause delicate problems of delimitation of the respective domains of competence between the concerned authorities and the problem of functional duplication which means that one authority may be able to exercise two different powers under two different titles: either as state representative (application of laws and regulations) or as an agent of the commune (contract signing

The example of Senegal



³ In decentralization, decision-making power is given to legal personas other than the state, which have their own organs and goods, which manage their own affairs and act in their own name: the acts taken by the organs of decentralized entities engage them and the state. On the other hand, the deconcentrated authority is but an organ of the state that has been designated by the center. Here the acts taken are state acts (which mean that damages caused by this authority are separated by the state).

⁴ Deconcentration is considered as an internal technical reform of a public entity (the State): it's a reshuffle of central power. Decentralization on the other hand is considered as a fundamental political choice since it allows for the establishment of democracy based on the participation of populations in the management of their own affairs; thus the existence of a technical meaning and a political meaning of the concept. In certain countries, such as Senegal, it is even conceived as a means of economic development.

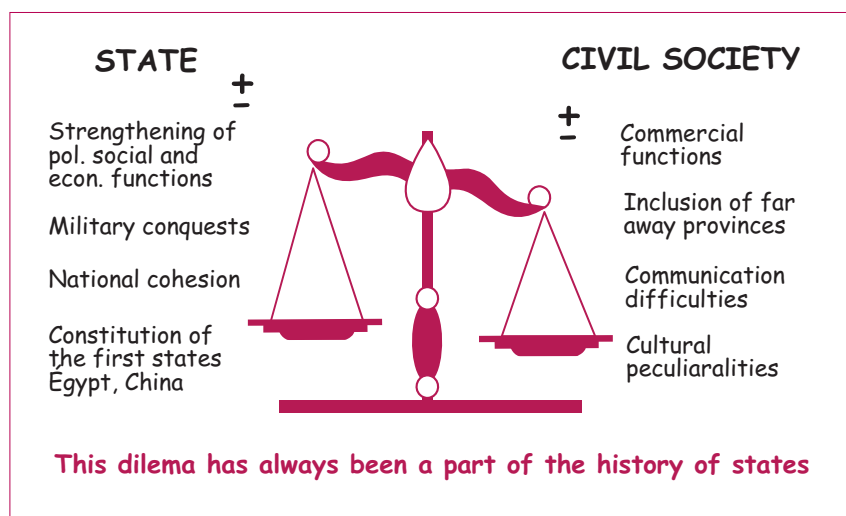
Chapter 3. The History of Decentralization

The Dilemma of Centralization and Decentralization

The founding of States is an ancient process in human history. The first States were built around the management of large irrigated perimeters (Egypt, China, South-East Asia, etc.), then, they progressively spread to other zones where the existence of a surplus of agricultural production or other forms of wealth, such as gold, silver and other precious metals, allowed the constitution of a class of civil servants responsible of the management of certain communal affairs.

Above all, in the first phases of their constitution, States had a management function for the distribution of grassroots production resources (land, irrigation water etc.), a legislative and judicial function and / or a military function. Thereafter, their functions broadened to the economic and social perspectives to progressively reach all aspects regulating the functioning of the human society. Notably, with the development of Industrial Society, States took on a new dimension through establishing support policies in almost all sectors: research policies, industrial policies, policies for support to enterprises, policies of agriculture modernization, policies in rural, urban, social and educational policies, as well as in the areas of health and employment, etc. without forgetting the policies of cooperation with other states.

States have generally been organized in a more or less centralized or decentralized manner. Thus, in the past, some entrusted a large part of decision to the regional or local level, whilst still maintaining a certain unity. In other cases however, they were organized on the basis of a strong and authoritative central power. These differences were the result of the particular history of each population but were also related to the needs and the possibilities that every particular situation offered. For example, communication difficulties often meant that much decision-making power had to be delegated to regional or local levels. On the other hand, military strategies (in situations of war or the implementation of major works) imposed strong business oriented centralism.

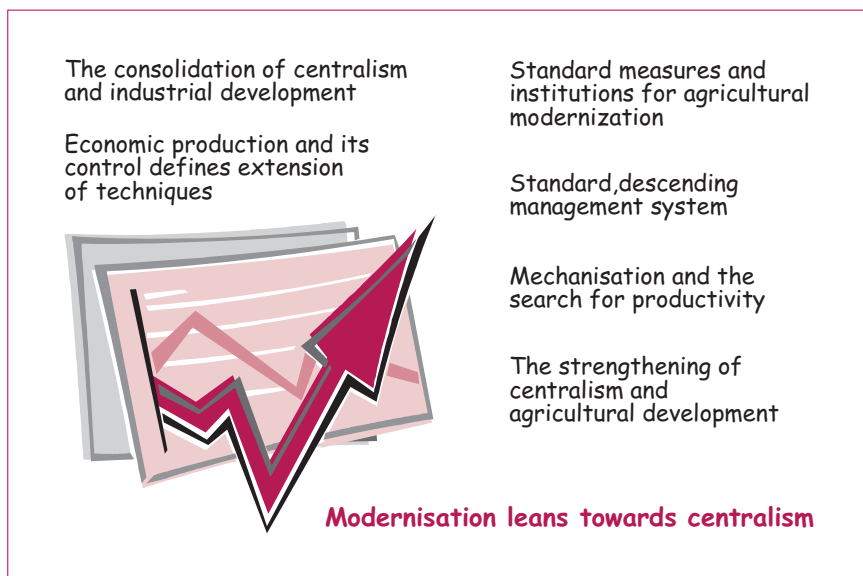


The Development of Industrial Societies and Centralization

With the development of Industrial Society and the modernization of agriculture in Europe and North America from the end of the XVIII century up until the 1970's, State centralization was reinforced at all levels.

The first reason for this tendency is that the technological progress made during that period was and remains the main driver of development. However, new technologies are the direct or indirect product of progress in scientific research. They are in fact, developed in specialized centers (research centers, universities), from where they are applied in a standardized way in the world of economic production (enterprises, agricultural

development, other units of production). States have extensively supported this approach to development either at the level of research policies or at the level of the dissemination and extension systems. It implies a centralized, descending and uniform management system, which starts with research and training centers and moves towards agriculture enterprises and development.



Agricultural development policies offer a good example of this method. Indeed, what is called the second agricultural revolution⁵, (referring to the introduction in agriculture of production resources from industrial origin such as mechanization, chemical fertilizers, insecticides / pesticides and herbicides, improved seeds, food for livestock, etc.) has been largely encouraged by the state intervention, especially after the Second World War. This was done,

on the one hand, at the level of the agronomic research and on the other, throughout the whole agricultural extension system and the available financial resources for the agriculturists. For example in France, the law on agriculture of 1960 was the starting point of a whole set of measures and institutions aiming at the modernization of agriculture. Management centers, technical support centers, Chambers of Agriculture, agricultural credit, etc. were put in place according to a system defined at the central level and applied in an almost uniform manner on the whole national territory. Even if it is true that these systems were based on the participation of the final beneficiaries who are the farmers, (most notably by the setting-up of the Chambers of Agriculture, mutual funds of agricultural credit, cooperatives) this participation aimed to ensure the smooth establishment of a general policy for agriculture modernization decided by the Central State.

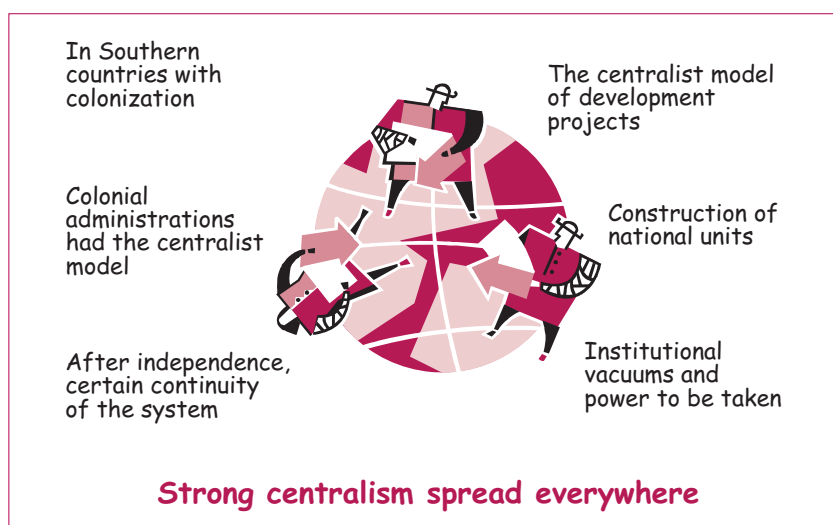
Other reasons that led to state centralization during the last two centuries are: the increased population growth in the cities, the concentration of enterprises, the development of social struggles, the birth of national organizations (parties, unions, etc.) and competition between the states. Thus the framework of development models devised at the central level and then distributed in a downward and homogeneous manner to all levels spread progressively to all areas of public life: policies on education, health, social protection, regional development, etc.

⁵ The first agricultural revolution corresponds to the suppression of the fallow and the rights of pasture (see for example the movement of enclosures England) and the second agricultural revolution corresponds to the introduction of means production from industrial origin in substitution of produced means exploitation itself (manure, animal traction, etc.). Both agricultural revolutions, but especially the second, resulted in a drastic increase of outputs and work productivity.

The Spread of State Centralization in Industrialized Countries

This centralist concept of state organization and of modern societies also spread in countries of the South, notably through colonization. The necessity of raw materials for their own development pushed the European States to colonize the countries of the Southern Hemisphere through colonial administrations modeled on their own systems. So at the time of decolonization, these countries inherited centralized administrative systems that were often “empty shells”, thus facilitating the implementation of authoritative regimes.

Furthermore, during the post-colonial period, development aid was usually designed as a transfer of the models existing in rich countries. For example in agriculture, the centralized and descending systems of agricultural extension have often been transferred, notably for the commercial crops. Even the projects in integrated rural development have nearly always been formulated and set-up in a centralized manner.



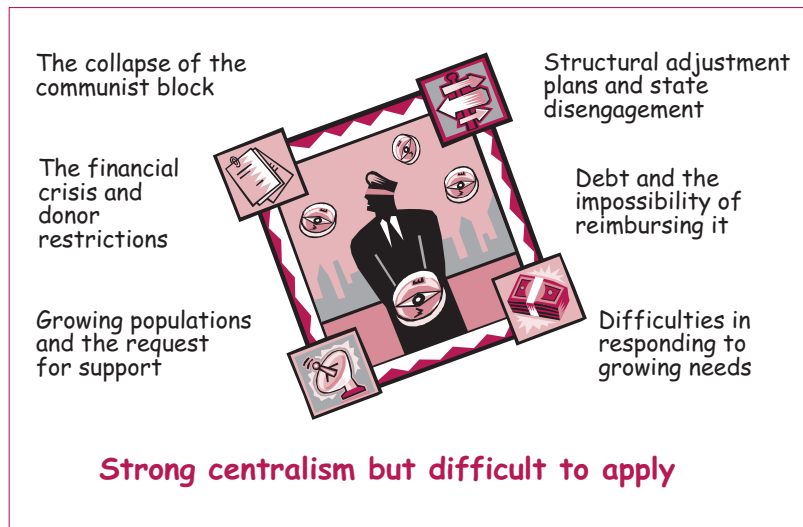
Decentralization comes back on the Agenda

However, since the end of the 1970s, several reasons militate in favor of decentralization and the deconcentration of state services and a new trend has emerged along these lines.

State Crises

Firstly, following an all out expansion of state functions, a general withdrawal of public entities can now be witnessed. The downfall of the Communist block that represented an extreme example of state intervention has certainly influenced this tendency. The financial crisis in Western States was also a factor that pushed towards State withdrawal at all levels following the "glorious 30s" (1945-1975), period during which sustained economic growth drove Northern States to get into debt to obtain the investments necessary to sustain the economic growth (infrastructures of transportation, energy, urbanism, etc.). It was also to develop a policy of support in the economic, social, cultural and other sectors. States had to fulfill their financial commitments without expecting the growth that they discounted during the period where they got into debt. This led to drastic revisions of expenses in order to balance budgets and to define much stricter rules, imposing strong financial constraints to elected political powers. The Maastricht convergence criteria within the European Union are an example of this.

In the Southern countries, one witnesses a similar phenomenon that takes more dramatic turns. There also, states (already independent or newly independent), committed themselves to investments aimed at re-launching economic development. This drove them heavily into debt, in proportions that cannot be compared to the rich countries compared to their respective GDPs. Faced with the impossibility of honoring their financial commitments, except in some exceptional cases, the Southern States became increasingly subject to strong pressures on the part of the donors who, during the negotiation of loans and repayment deadlines, had themselves defined the rules of the game. This situation paved the way for



the implementation of Structural Adjustment Plans. Although they allowed initial public finance purification with a view to recreating the conditions of an economic comeback (reduced inflation, disappearance of parallel exchange rates, etc.), they often had a disastrous effect on the social and human side (see reports by UNICEF, UNIFEM, WHO, FAO, etc).

This led to a drastic review of the role of the state in development. As the impossibility for the authorities to continue getting

into more debt became obvious, development models previously put in place were being questioned. It reached a point where the effects and limitations of the projects put in place during the 1950s and 1960s became manifest. It became increasingly clear that development programs and projects cannot be formulated and settled solely at the central level or between that level and the donors. Indeed, in order to avoid the most flagrant failures the design role should be devolved to persons directly implicated, which means the recipients and the local actors and their representatives, including the local jurisdictions.

Decentralization therefore appears to be both the answer to state withdrawal, through the establishment of linkages with Civil Society and the solution to the failure of the projects formulated at central level without the final beneficiaries.

Differentiation of Needs and Demands

Nowadays, other factors also come into play in favor of decentralization. These are notably environmental problems, increasing unemployment, poverty and social exclusion, as well as increases in situations of conflict or post-conflict and market differentiation:

- environmental problems: industrial development and the intensification of agriculture occurred often to the detriment of the environment; soil erosion, water pollution, fast reduction of bio-diversity, etc. If these problems have been ignored for a long time, today they have taken such prominence that they are a priority everywhere. However, most of these problems cannot be treated in a homogeneous manner at the central level. The specific situation of each territory's natural habitat, local production systems, etc. implies the formulation of specific solutions for every regional or local situation;
- increased unemployment, poverty and social exclusion: traditionally these problems are treated by aid policies formulated at the central level and applied in a uniform manner to the whole national territory as policies of social assistance by the Public Welfare Ministries, distribution of unemployment subsidies, minimum incomes, etc. At present, increased unemployment, poverty and social exclusion take such proportions that policies developed at central level are insufficient and inadaptable. There also, the solutions for creation of employment, of training, of social integration and of struggle against poverty must be formulated and set up at the local level based on the available human and social resources at the level of each territory;

- the spread of conflict or post-conflict situations often makes a decentralized approach to the problem necessary, notably through the implementation of reconciliation initiatives at the local level complementary to the programs of reconciliation negotiated at a broader level, either national or transnational level;

- market differentiation also militates in favor of a decentralized development policy to support enterprises, agricultural development or other units of production, transformation or distribution. As long as the industrial development and agricultural intensification have for their main objective to answer generally unsatisfied basic needs, priority is given to the quantity produced and

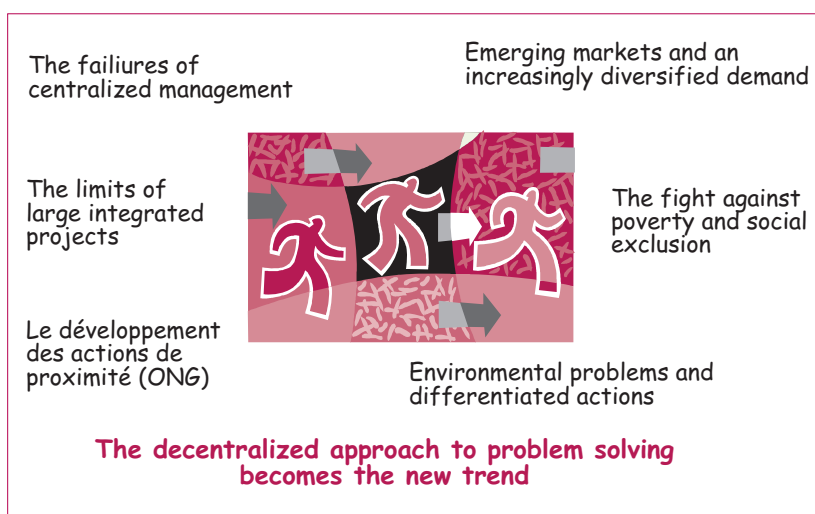
to the low price. This allows the set-up of mass undifferentiated production systems for which the policies of modernization and of homogenous and centralized intensification appear well adapted. However, when the satisfaction of the basic needs is ensured, consumers become more demanding and are not contented by identical and anonymous products. The diversity, the quality and the link with the origin of the product become the criteria of choice as well as with the price, which supposes new organizational structures of production based on the revitalization of local specificities. Production support policies must be reconsidered to give priority to the valorization of local natural, cultural, and human resources, which also supposes there be a decentralized design method at the local level. This not only concerns products but also services, such as tourism. Although this development concerns above all the rich countries, the differentiated markets of these countries can open new perspectives for the southern countries, for example through tourism or cultural development.

All these reasons call for a differentiation of the state services, allowing pragmatic adaptation to every local or regional context. It is thus less possible for states to insist on homogeneous services that are decided upon at the central level and applied in a uniform manner throughout the national territory.

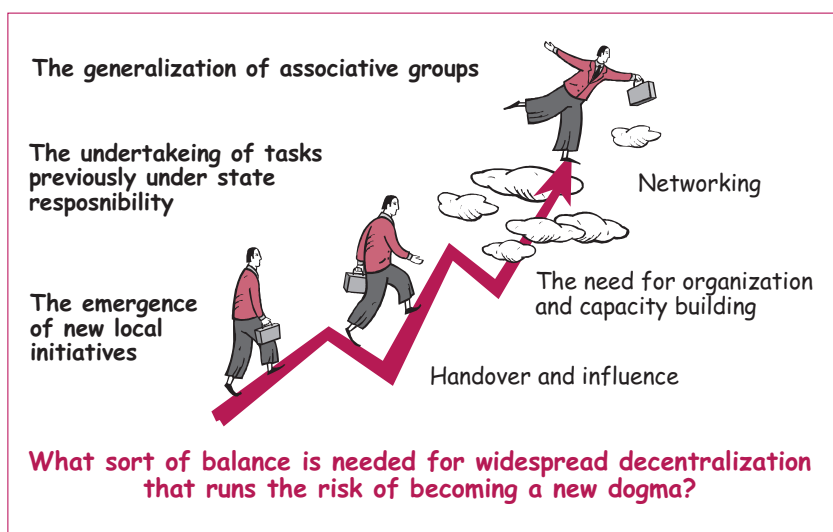
The Rise of Civil Society Organizations

Finally, a third set of reasons that put decentralization on the agenda is the increasing number of Civil Society Organizations (NGOs, local associations, professional associations or local development agencies.). Civil Society Organizations are not a novelty insofar as society has always structured itself locally. Indeed, various types of local organization naturally pre-date State formation and constitution. Organizations filled various functions at the local level (exchanges of work, of other goods - security and solidarity, current business management, etc.).

With the development of centralized power structures, be they state-controlled or not and notably with the development of industrial society and of centralized states, organizations of the traditional civil society tended to disappear at the local level. The state started to assume



practically all functions of social life, hence the term 'Providence State'. This excludes, however, developing countries where local / traditional organizations are still often very present. Other types of organizations then began to emerge at the level of enterprise and at the national level of unions, political parties, consumer associations, professional organizations, etc. that more often had a function of "lobbying" and of pressure on decision making processes, notably at the central level.



However, in the last thirty years, there has been a rise in power of civil society organizations of another kind. These organizations aim to solve the problems that the state is no longer able to manage. The aforementioned problems of environment, unemployment, conflicts, etc. are some examples of the issues around which these organizations constituted themselves. Therefore, at present, the conditions are often already there to ensure a link between civil society and the state.

Decentralization must not become a New Dogma

Although the evolution of the current context seems to militate in favor of decentralization, this must not be transformed into a universal solution or dogma.

This brief historical analysis of the situation has underlined how centralization and decentralization are two opposite tendencies that are more or less applicable according to the evolution of different situations and needs. Today it is clear that decentralization is becoming a more relevant approach from numerous points of view. However, it is essential to maintain the ability to weigh up its advantages and drawbacks in order to make the best choices. It is even truer that the speed of the decentralization process depends on the multiplicity of different contexts and situations. This requires time and a lot of ingenuity.

In other words, the choice between centralization and decentralization is not an ideological question, but a logical question. It is true that the methods of decentralization challenge the balance of power and upset certain habits and rules of the game. However, often the policy makers or civil servants, who have the feeling that they will lose a small part of the power with decentralization, react negatively for lack of ability to see that in exchange, they are going to win, and that is often objectively more attractive.

In order to depersonalize the debate, it is essential to analyze institutional assets in detail and identify positive aspects as risks of decentralization. The five risks of decentralization are presented in the following chapter.

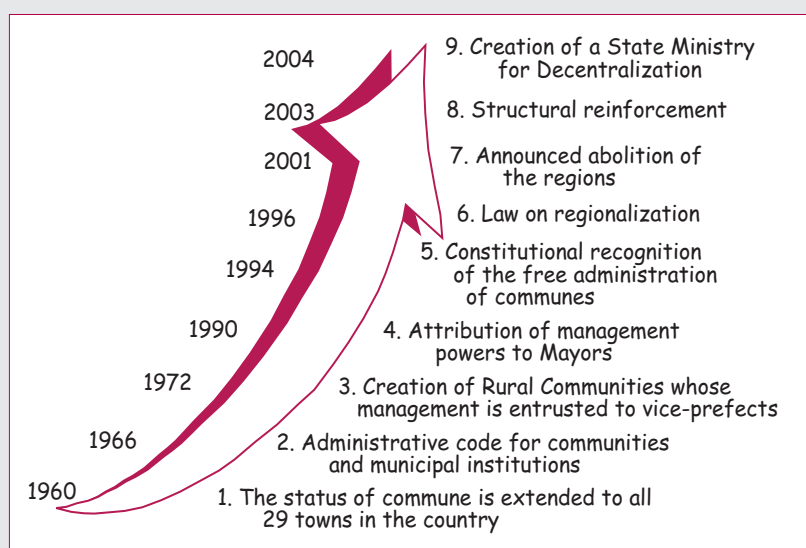
Box no 2 on Senegal: The History of Decentralization

Following the country's accession to international sovereignty, Senegal continued to pursue a long tradition of decentralization⁶ policy. How this was implemented depended on the national geopolitical situation of the time and on the aspirations of the population to participate a lot more than previously in the management of their local affairs.

Senegal, like other newly independent countries, strove to build a strong state capable of ensuring social cohesion and national unity. The country opted to concentrate powers and this was further accentuated at the end of the 1962 crisis between the President of the Republic and the President of the Council⁷ at the time.

However, a deconcentration strategy was always to accompany this concentration of executive power. This was supported by a decentralization process that has recently established one of its most important and long awaited elements, i.e. that of regionalization.

The case of Senegal



In 1960, the twenty-nine mixed communes in existence were given full recognition, like those of Saint-Louis, Gorée, Rufisque and Dakar;

In 1966, law n°66-64 of 30th June 1966 was passed. This concerned the code of communal administration and brought together, in one unique text, the different texts that governed the municipal institutions, that is: full practice commune, semi-practice communes and second and third degree communes.

In 1972, a series of laws were passed:

- law 72-25 of 19th April 1972 created the “Communautés Rurales” (Rural Communities) and entrusted their management to sub prefects;
- the law of 25th April 1972 defined the municipal regime of the commune of Dakar;
- Law 72-63 of 26th July 1972 defined the municipal regimes of the Regional Town Communes (chefs-lieux communes) other than the commune of Dakar thereafter named special status communes. Power over them was entrusted first to the regional governors, then to municipal administrators.

In 1990, mayors were given legislative powers:

- law 90-35 of 8th October 1990 modified the communal code of administration and plunged the special status communes into common law;
- law 90-37 of 8th October disempowered vice-prefects from the management of “Communautés Rurales” and

attributed this to the Presidents of Rural Councils and abolished municipal administrative functions in special status communes. These then became the responsibilities of mayors.

In 1992, free administration of communes was constitutionally inscribed. This followed the announcement by the Head of State that institutional reform of the region was imminent. Indeed, the constitution was revised in 1994 and article VI concerning public bodies was inserted. The principle of free administration of Local Governments (collectivités locales) was simultaneously made a constitutional principle (law 94-55 of 13th June 1994 concerning the revision of the constitution).

In 1996, the National Assembly adopted the law on regionalization during the plenary session of 5th February 1996. Members from the whole political spectrum unanimously adopted a series of texts establishing the legal strategy for regionalization. This meant the following:

- law 96-06 of 22nd March 1996 on local community code created a new order intermediary local communities between the state and the basic communities of the commune and the “Communautés Rurales”;

- law 96-07 of 22nd March 1996 on the transfer of competencies to the regions, to the communes and to the “Communautés Rurales”;
- law 96-09 on the administrative and financial organization of the arrondissement commune (commune d’arrondissement) and its relationship to the town;
- law 96-10 of 22nd March modified law 72-02 of 1st February 1972 concerning the organization of territorial administration;
- law 96-11 of 22nd March 1996 concerning limitations of certain functions including the accumulation of electoral mandates.

In 2001, the announced abolition of the Regions meant a period of uncertainty for the regions and the rural communities. In March 2001, the Head of State proposed

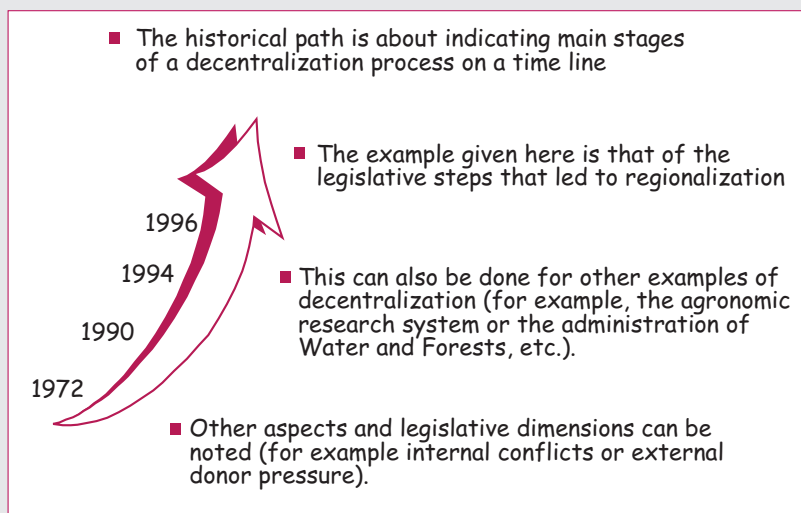
a re-formulation of the structure of the local communities and, in particular the abolition of the Regions as Local Communities. Only at the beginning of 2002 was this idea abandoned, following a year of serious institutional uncertainty at regional level and blockages in the implementation of the PAR in particular. This was followed by a seven-month period during which there were no elected members at local level. Following the Moussa-Sy amendment of 24th November 2001 and law 2001-11 on the end of the mandate of the locally elected members, Special Delegations, composed of nominated civil servants, managed the Rural Communities. The new elected members began their new mandate following the elections of May 2002.

In 2003, the ‘Contribution Globale Unique’ (CGU) undertook structural reinforcement. For the first time, this allowed a coherent decentralized tax system. Furthermore, state support

was reinforced and implemented by the allocation of 12 million FCFA to each Rural Development Agency (ARD) and by the appointment of 320 secretarial assistants for the Rural Councils.

In 2004, a State Ministry for Decentralization was established. This resulted in the creation of a new ministry to take charge of decentralization with, for the first time, the status of ‘State Ministry’. With the appointment of a Minister of State for Local Communities and Decentralization on 23rd April 2004, a new Ministry was born.

Sketch a historical trajectory



⁶ Already during the colonial period, the decree of August 10th 1872 signed by the President of the French republic, Mr. Alphonse Thiers created the communes of St. Louis and Gorée.

⁷ The bicephalic executive established at the time of independence, experienced blockages that led to a vote to censure against the Council President of the time, Mr. Mamadou Dia in 1962. In 1963, a constitutional revision, initiated by the President Senghor, allowed him to reinforce his powers to the detriment of the legislature: which marked the beginning of a Presidential regime.

Chapter 4. Stakes, Risks and Management

The Stakes of Decentralization

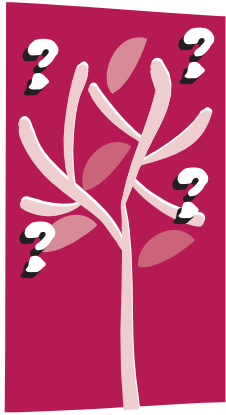
Based on the framework of concepts and definitions provided earlier on in this manual, here are some key questions that allow us to take stock of what is at stake in decentralization processes:

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of centralization and decentralization?
- What conditions and modalities are required for their implementation?
- In what context is one or the other preferable?
- Why does decentralization seem to score points in today's world?
- What are the risks of decentralization?
- How can these risks be faced?

What are the respective advantages and disadvantages of centralization and decentralization?

In which context is the centralist approach or the decentralized approach preferable?

Four questions inspired by...



What are the conditions and the modalities for their implantation?

Why is it that, today, decentralization appears to be the most appropriate policy?

...the rise of decentralization

These broad questions can be analyzed in table form by showing the main issues to be taken into account in the examination of every national, regional and / or local context.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of Centralization and Decentralization

In terms of:	Centralization	Decentralization
Implementation of development policies	Adapted to the implementation of non-differentiated policies Example: policies of agriculture intensification	Possibility of implementation of differentiated policies Examples: environmental policies, the struggle against unemployment and social exclusion, reconciliation programs etc.
Mobilization of the demand for local energies	Can lead to a certain "sclerosis" of local initiatives	Effects of mobilization at the local level: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ interest raising ■ creation of partnerships and social cohesion ■ gaining of expertise and establishment technical teams at local level
Effectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ More rigidity ■ More time required 	More flexibility: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ in decision-making ■ in management
Control of the use of public funds	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ In general only documentary control ■ Centralized control sometimes allows for economies of scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Direct physical control at the local level in addition to the documentary control

Prerequisites for Centralization and Decentralization

In terms of:	Centralization	Decentralization
Functioning of representative institutions	Strong State presence	Functioning democracy necessary
Capacities	Concentration of the capacities at central level	Required local technical capability
Civil Society Organizations	Only intervene as a type of negotiation at the central level	Civil Society Organizations well implanted at all different levels

The Favorable Context for the Establishment of Centralization and Decentralization

a centralized approach is preferable;	a decentralized approach is preferable;
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ If the policies put in place are homogeneous and applicable as they are ■ If it is necessary to face emergencies requiring a quick and coordinated intervention at the central level (situation of war, natural disaster) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ If the needs at the local level are specific to the context of each territory, requiring a differentiation of the support policies, ■ If local actor mobilization is a decisive factor for success of the set-up policies

Why is it that decentralization appears to be the most appropriate policy of today?

State withdrawal calls for alternative solutions

- search for backstopping in the context of budget cuts and aid
- new formulas in the face of privatization of the public sphere

The advancement of democracy opens new doors

- for consensual policies
- for the role of Local Communities
- for participation

Civil society is better prepared

- the general level of education is higher
- civil society organizations develop



The Increased Interest in Decentralization

State withdrawal calls for alternative solutions.

- As state budgets and public aids are increasingly cut, the identification of new linkages at the level of the Civil Society is required.
- Public corporations are privatized, leading to the conception of new ways of defending the general interest, such as the participation of salaried employees, the public-private co-transfer of responsibility, etc.

Democratic progress paves the way for new practices:

- the set-up of democratic institutions at the national level allows for the definition of more consensual and applicable national policies;
- the territorial jurisdictions elected at the local and regional level become unavoidable linkage points for decentralization;
- new forms of participatory democracy (participation of Civil Society Organizations in the public perspective; public-private partnerships, etc.) ensure a wider mobilization and cohesion at different levels (local, regional and national).

Civil society is better prepared.

- The overall education level is higher, which is necessary for the participation of citizens in public life in the areas of literacy, debate, organizational capacity and management, etc.
- Civil society organizations are formed at all levels, opening up new perspectives for active citizenship.

The challenges of development are more complex.

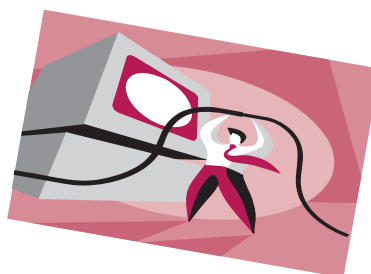
- Environmental problems require differentiated treatment at local level.
- The fight against poverty, unemployment and social exclusion is subject to suitable solutions according to the context of every territory.
- Crisis situations (areas in decline, conflict zones, etc.) cannot be resolved without effective mobilization of local actors around common objectives.
- Consumers are no longer satisfied by homogeneous, anonymous and characterless produce, paving the way to a revalorization of local specificities.
- New technologies open new perspectives in terms of innovation and differentiation of the products.

Technological development broadens new perspectives.

- New communication technologies allow direct connections at all levels, much better circulation of information and better democratic control, notably through the existence of the Internet.
- New production technologies provide considerable opportunities in terms of local innovation and differentiation of products and jostle the old barriers on the necessary size of enterprises for the production of some products.

Why is it that decentralization appears to be the most appropriate policy of today?

- Development challenges are more complex
- environmental problems demand differentiated treatment
 - the fight against poverty calls for differentiated responses
 - crisis situations demand the mobilization of all actors
 - consumers demand products of character




- New technologies bring new perspectives
- for easier connections between actors and levels
 - for local innovation and produce

The Risks of Decentralization

Although Decentralization seems appropriate in the present context, it is not without its risks. Five risks have been identified by FAO:

The Replacement of a Supply Driven Logic by a Demand Driven Logic

All state intervention can be considered a service to civil society. These services concern more or less explicitly an offer (or a supply from the state) or a demand (from civil society). In a

- 
1. The replacement of a supply driven logic by a demand driven logic
 2. Poor information sharing is not conducive to good coordination
 3. Persisting paternalism can reduce the offer of support services
 4. Traditions of Clientilism (enlarged nepotism) create the risk of misappropriation by stronger actors
 5. Institutional rigidity imposes the pace of decentralization

centralist regime where support policies and state intervention are designed at central level to subsequently be applied at regional and local level, it is essentially the offer that determines the type of services provided. Indeed, the beneficiaries (the demand) are little consulted and must adapt to what the state offers them. Therefore state services are designed in a *supply* perspective.

On the other hand, decentralization offers the possibility of defining state services that directly correspond to clearly expressed local demands. This has the advantage of offering services that are more adapted to the needs of populations. There is however a risk

of going too far and defining state services only in relation to the demand without worrying about overall coherence. This means the supply-driven logic is completely replaced by a *demand-driven logic*. It may also be added that, in responding to all the expressed demands,

the quality of the services supplied will be weakened. This could lead to a loss of overall perspective in the definition of rural development strategies.

Therefore a balance has to be found between supply and demand driven perspectives in the management of rural development. This should allow the provision of services that are better adapted to local populations and institutions whilst fitting into the overall objectives of a global development program.

1. The replacement of a supply driven logic by a demand driven logic

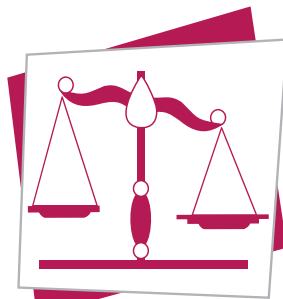
In a centralized system,

- planning is done at central level
- subsequently, services are offered to the population

An excessive demand perspectives impedes overall vision

In a decentralized system

- local demands may emerge
- services are adapted to local demands



This can lead to a loss of overall vision in policy-making

How is it possible to find a balance between local and central priorities?

Poor information Sharing is not Conducive to Good Coordination

In centralized systems, information is not evenly distributed but is more concentrated at central government level.

With decentralization, the risk is that rural populations don't have the capacity to globalise their demands and specific problems and coordinate activities. Local development strategies, although characterized by strong knowledge of local dynamics, can be incoherent in a regional logic and, even more so from the point of view of a global development model. The possibility for people's participation that decentralization provides is not sufficient. Therefore, the conditions for this participation have to be created.

Persisting Paternalism can reduce the offer of Support Services

According to centralist policies, only state intervention can correct market weaknesses and allow progress in development. This paternalist approach to development hampers the capacity for autonomous action on the part of rural populations and local governments. If the transfer of responsibilities is not accompanied by a transfer of capacities, decentralization can produce institutional voids, a decline of support services and a deepening revenue gap between urban and rural areas.

Traditions of 'Clientélisme' (enlarged nepotism) create the Risk of Misappropriation by Stronger Actors


The ways in which resources are allocated in centralized systems have often benefited state clients with a stronger capacity to formulate their needs. They are able to formulate projects and have a level of organization that allows them to succeed in pressurizing the state to receive most of the public funds available for rural development.

2. Poor information systems do not facilitate the effective coordination of activities

In a centralized system

- information is not symmetrically circulated
- it is concentrated at central government level

Excessive local vision impedes overall coordination of activities



In a decentralized system

- local levels do not have the capacity to absorb the quantity of information
- they are not capable of synthesising global information


It is necessary to create the conditions for the participation of all through strengthening coordination

3. Persisting paternalism can reduce the offer of support services

In a centralized system

- state intervention can correct market failures
- and this hampers the capacity for action at local level

An excessive local view point can lead to institutional voids and poor services



The transfer of responsibility must be accompanied by a transfer of competency

In a decentralized system

- the local level is considered as not having the capacity to manage
- or respond to multiple and complex needs



4. Traditions of "Clientelism" (enlarged nepotism) create the risk of misappropriation by stronger actors

- In a centralized system
- the state is lobbied by competent and well organized clients
 - but can counterbalance multiple influences



Excess transfer can mean that the better organized misappropriate power

The absence of intermediary organizations hampers mediation and arbitration mechanisms

- In a decentralized system
- organizations, municipalities benefit from
 - transfer of responsibilities and resources

The unequal levels of organization that exist in rural populations mean that there is a risk of misappropriation of resources transferred through decentralization by municipalities and the richer and better organized organizations.

Furthermore, the absence of strong, representative regional associations can reduce the capacity for conflict mediation at regional level to the advantage of the local elite, less concerned with the global development strategy in mediation and consultation.

Institutional Rigidity and the Pace of Decentralization

The intermediate and local levels of centralized institutions were designed to implement policies that they had played no part in making. They are thus characterized by a certain lack of flexibility in adapting to a changing environment and in accepting new conditions in participatory and decentralized policy-making. Decentralization can paralyze intermediary and local levels of government as well as producers organizations, which cannot manage to follow the political challenges of decentralization.

There is a risk of believing that the adoption of a law on decentralization is sufficient to lead to its immediate coherent application.

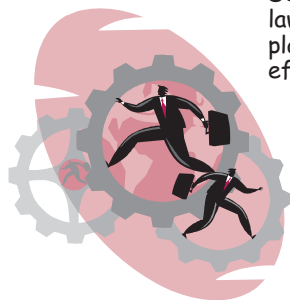
On the contrary, the appropriate pace for decentralization has to be determined. It should neither be too fast to allow adaptation, nor too slow to allow the decentralization process to move ahead.



5. Institutional rigidity imposes the pace of decentralization

- In a centralized system
- intermediary and local levels are created to implement policies without decision-making

An excessive local focus can lead to paralysis in the face of challenges



Decentralization laws need forward planning to be effective

- In a decentralized system
- the local level has flexibility to adapt to wider changes
 - and consider new conditions of environment

Managing the Risks of Decentralization

Risks must not be considered barriers to decentralization but as elements to be taken into consideration when planning a decentralization process.

For example, it is not unusual for a central power, (in order to maintain its prerogatives) to argue that capacity does not exist at the regional and / or local level. In this scenario, the central power can claim that there is a great risk of weakening the offer of support services (risk 2), if decentralization is pursued. However, since local capacities only usually emerge once a process of decentralization is put in place, we find ourselves in a paradoxical situation: decentralization is not put in place since the very capacities it could serve to enhance in the future are too weak.

Therefore it becomes crucial to weigh up all the stakes, difficulties, ways to overcome them and relevant potential solutions. Several interactions are possible; some measures can have unexpected leverage effects which may solve what could have initially seemed insurmountable problems. In general, the tendency has always been to underestimate the capacities at local or regional level. The fact that every territory is constituted of men and women capable of thinking and analyzing their own environment is all too often forgotten. This considerable human capital is often underestimated, under-exploited and remains dormant. The first challenge of decentralization is thus to be able to resuscitate local energies by giving them the opportunity to emerge and flourish.

This does not mean that risks should be ignored. On the contrary, they should be identified and evaluated at all times. However, the first objective cannot be to fully eliminate risks, but to set-up an appropriate decentralization process for the development challenges that a particular nation must face. Risk reduction is an indicator of success of this process.

Risks are not insurmountable barriers
They have to be taken in to account in a decentralization process

Weighing up the issues, measuring the difficulties, this is the best way to overcome them and exploit their potential

The role of intermediate bodies is essential in these processes

- to give direction,
- to synthesize local demands
- to be actors and partners

1
Ensure good knowledge of producers, regions and sectors

2
Facilitate dialogue between actors through information

3
Strengthen competency through transfer and appropriate training

4
Create the opportunity for dialogue and a network of associations

The Tools of Decentralization

The process of decentralization requires the set-up of intermediate institutions that no longer emanate directly from the state but that are created by the will of the actors.

Generally speaking, these institutions have three main objectives, (i) orient state activities, (ii) synthesize and regionalize demands, (iii) reach sufficient maturity to stand as partners of local development actors.

Reaching these objectives assumes the allocation of resources by the state and outside actors to allow the intermediate institutions to carry out the following main functions:

1. ensure strong knowledge of the different types of producers and regions and; follow up on their evolution;
2. observe each type of production chain as a whole and identify the difficulties / pressures and foresee their evolution; this paves the way for dialogue between private partners and producers and serves as a basis for partnership;

3. facilitate dialogue between outside and local actors by developing an information system on: standards/norms and regulation provisions taken by the state; economic comparisons between types of production chains and different regions; the evolution of market prices; technological alternatives for a particular specialization / diversification of products; the opportunities of profitability;
4. reinforce local actors' expertise by a transfer of expertise and the development of training adapted to the local situation; optimize the roles of NGOs, research centers and existing specialized schools in the region;
5. create space for dialogue with and at the regional level in the form of networks of associations. This could be a consultation committee with outside players and notably the state. One of the functions would be to reduce the risk of an over-appropriation of the decentralization policy by the local powers.

All these functions imply putting in place structures enabling a permanent exchange between local actors and national decision-makers.

To conclude, we can recall the following key-points about decentralization:

- the generation of sustainable development through focusing on poverty reduction in the rural sector;
- the limitation of conflict between local action and the global level;
- the strengthening of democracy at the initiative of the beneficiaries; the reduction of risks of gaps created by decentralization and the development of a global strategy allowing the emergence of comparative advantages;
- the recognition that the main driving forces for development are the broadening of market opportunities, the increase of savings and investments through an effective policy of resource identification and utilization;
- the reinforcement of decentralized functions and powers to allow better consideration of underprivileged populations and to better identify future problems.

Conclusion

This first approach to decentralization indicates how analysis, management and follow-up of a decentralization process are clearly key elements of its success. It has also highlighted that these are difficult tasks, full of obstacles that generate preconceived ideas, ideologies, power games, etc. This is why the second part of this Training Manual is entirely dedicated to these issues. The aim is to give the reader tools for analysis, management and follow-up, as well as for the conceptualization of a decentralization process that is pertinent to particular context of his/her country, region or territory, and in relation to the challenges they must face.

Box no 3 on Senegal: **Limits and Risks of Decentralization**

A constitutional review process was initiated by law 94-55 of 13th June 1994. It established the principle of free administrations of the Local Governments as a constitutional principle. The Senegalese Constituent Assembly defined five principles to be respected and three objectives to be reached in the constitutional review process.

The principles were as follows:

- unique status for all regions;
- a balance between decentralization and deconcentration;
- better distribution decision-making powers related to available resources;
- planned ex post control, and;
- national unity and territorial integrity.

The objectives:

- ensure the economic and social development of each region;
- set-up administrations close to their users, and;
- create dynamic regions within a Unitarian State.

On the legal front, the Senegalese legislature undertook the strategy of harmonizing the organization of Local Governments (LG – collectivités locales) through the Local Government Code (le code des collectivités locales -CCL). Identical rules were set on the control of legality, transfer of competencies, financial relations with the state, local administration and public local services. However, the principles of election of LG organs through universal suffrage, state control and the transfer of competencies to the LGs are perhaps the most important and innovative elements.

Therefore, it appears more pragmatic to examine the opportunities and limits of decentralization before making an inventory of the main risks of the present actual process.

1. Opportunities and constraints

According to article 3 of the Law on the transfer of competencies, 'the allocation of competencies between local governments is done through distinguishing those which are devolved to the regions, to the communes and to the rural communities'. The idea behind this article is that no LG will be able to dispose of exclusive competence in any one domain: there is no complete

transfer of competencies. All LGs have the same competencies. To avoid the risk of one LG being subordinated by another, the legislature banned tutelage between LGs of the same level and those of different levels. However, the LGs can maintain functional cooperative relations between each other. LGs have a total of 9 areas of competence that they share with the state. These are: management and use of the private and state domain and of the national domain; management of the environment and natural resources; health ; population; social action; youth; sports; leisure; culture; education; literacy; promotion of national languages; professional training; territorial planning and management; urbanism; housing.

Hence, in all possible scenarios, the Rural Commune always disposes of administrative autonomy. They have the freedom to improve their budget on the condition of being able to obtain the financial and human resources necessary within the norms governing public finance.

In the same way, LGs have a recognized freedom in financing their budget. In fact, apart from state funds (financial compensation for the transfer of competencies), the LG budget can be replenished by ordinary resources of fiscal origin (except from the Regions) and resources from loans and decentralized cooperation.

However, decentralization does not mean independence but rather autonomy in the management of certain affairs. Indeed, under certain circumstances LG competencies can be limited. In the following cases, the state foresees a share of competencies with the LGs': territorial administration and management, economic development, education, health, culture science, environmental protection and improvement of living conditions. However, the state retains exclusive competencies in certain areas such as sovereign tasks (police, defense, currency), control of legality of LC acts, coordination of development activities national solidarity, cohesion and territorial integrity. Consequently, LGs must manage their affairs whilst respecting the national policies defined by the government, especially in the area of decentralized and external cooperation.

2. Risks

Today, the decentralization process in Senegal faces a number of weaknesses. These include inconsistencies between institutional planning and social reality, lack of training, information and organization of rural

populations, lack of or absence of human, material and financial resources. Therefore, in order for it to succeed, decentralization in Senegal must overcome the following risks:

- Scattered activities and loss of overall view in the definition of rural development strategies. This requires replacing the supply driven management perspective by a demand driven management perspective;
- Poor information flows are currently detrimental to effective activity coordination. This must be addressed by supporting free access to information not only between central and local levels but also within the local level, between local executives and all other local actors ;
- Reduced offer in terms of support services to small and medium sized farmers due to insufficient transfer of competencies and resources, which contributes to increasing inequality between different types of producers, and the gap between small-scale and commercial farming;
- The tendency for the local elite (from the municipalities and from the richest and better-organized organizations) to take control of the transferred functions and resources;
- Poor adjustment on the part of the intermediate levels as well as civil society organizations to the foreseen pace of decentralization. The long tradition of rigidity of these local actors does not allow them to adapt to the challenges of decentralization policy in the expected time frames. This is why it is necessary to address the question of the most appropriate pace for decentralization etc.

One example of loss of overall view is provided by the drawing-up and implementation of Local Development Plans (Plans locaux de développement (PLD)). The central level did not produce any methodological guidelines on how PLDs should be identified and drawn-up (participatory diagnostic assessments and planning processes). Only at regional level, in Kolda has this type of document been written. Furthermore, the contribution asked of beneficiary populations is differs according to which donor is involved: the European Commission demands 20%, whereas the French Development Agency, UNDP and GTZ demand a percentage that varies between 10 and 15%.

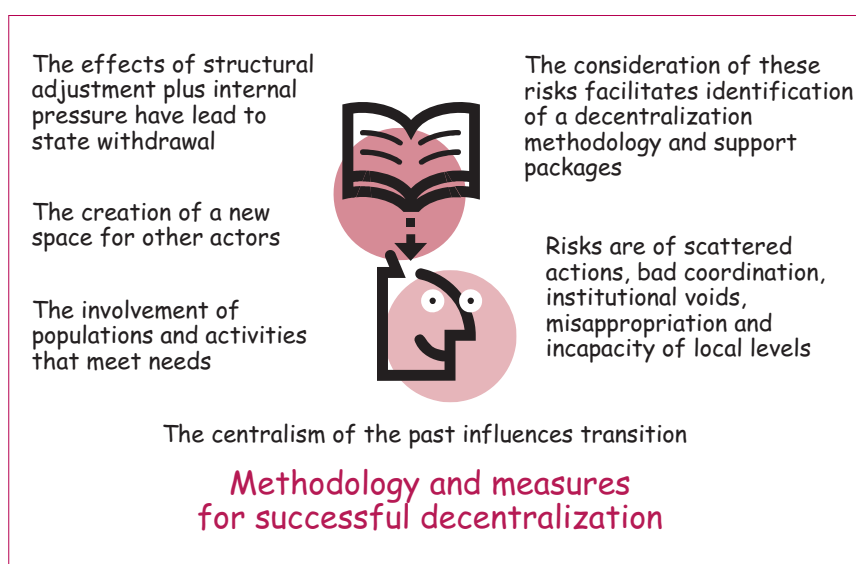
An example of misappropriation of resources is provided by the Process of Support to the Regions and to the Rural Communities. Given the reliability of official statistics in Senegal; confirmed by the IMF in January 2003, it would have been possible to identify a number of indicators to allow classification of the different living conditions existing in the regions and zones of intervention and consequently diversify accordingly: i) the amount allocated to the different territorial entities and ii) the percentage of the contribution asked for on the part of the populations for the infrastructure works. On the contrary, over the last few years, several programs supporting planning, training and equipment have been implemented homogeneously (not differentiated) to all the regions and ARDs. For example, in 2002–2003, all ten regions of Senegal received the same amount of money to improve their equipment and for training from the PAR program. This resulted in an increase in dualism between the richest and the poorest regions.

Chapter 5. The Analytical RED-IFO (Regionalization and Differentiation – Information, Training and Organization) Model of Decentralisation

Decentralization policies and state withdrawal have gained new momentum and created opportunities for a plethora of actors in rural development.⁸ These trends should increase the efficiency of development policies by making them better reflect the needs of citizens. Policies should be formulated on the basis of local assessments carried out by those who have the most relevant information. It must be recognized that policies of centralized rural development have some risks. Taking these risks into account helps to identify a methodology for decentralization to design a set of support policies necessary to successfully carry out the decentralization process.

The RED-IFO model on decentralization identifies, on the one hand, the risks associated with decentralization and on the other, the methodology and support policies for managing the risks and making decentralization a tool for rural development.⁹

The model helps in the design of a more adequate decentralization policy and in the evaluation of on-going processes. In order to overcome the problems posed by the legacy of centralization the RED-IFO model proposes, first of all, a methodology for decentralization which consists of regionalization with a view to meeting the needs of rural populations and ensuring policy differentiation (Risk 1); followed by three support policies dealing with information (Risk 2); training (Risk 3); organization (Risk 4); and finally broad consultation on the modalities of the most appropriate schedule for the implementation of decentralization (Risk 5).



Regionalization and Differentiation Methodology (RED)

To overcome the first problem of decentralization (Risk 1), decentralization policy makers must create a forum for interaction between, on the one hand, the people in development who have an overall view and policy offer and on the other, actors who have knowledge of local circumstances and specific project or program support proposals. This forum would be the place for the formulation of a strategy for decentralized rural development.

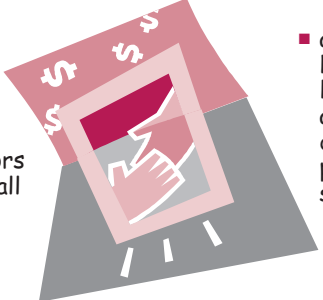
In other words, to ensure that the proposed policy is not too broad, it must differentiate between, on the one hand, the specific problems of each region, product and type of

⁸ See Chapter 2, Part Two, Country Outlook in this Manual. For the purposes of this document, the main actors in rural development are international organizations, the State, decentralized levels of local government, the private sector, NGOs and various Civil Society organizations.

⁹ This model was used to design a questionnaire on Decentralization on the basis of which a typology of decentralization processes was established. This typology can be consulted in Bonnal J / Muheim P., "Preliminary analysis of a questionnaire on decentralization: Outline of a Typology", Decentralization and Rural Development Series, N°16, FAO-SDA, Rome 1997.

To avoid the first risk of decentralization, decentralization policy must construct an intersection between

- development actors who have an overall view and a global policy offer
- actors who have knowledge of local circumstances and specific demands for projects and support programs



This context becomes the place of policy-making in decentralized rural development

So that the policy offer is not too wide, it is necessary to differentiate

- through identification of specific problems in each region, product and type of producer
- through appropriate support to different local development actors

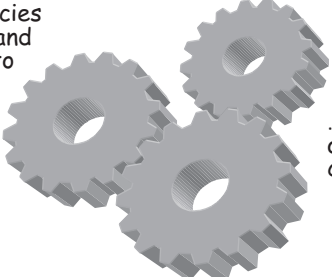


At the same time, it is important to ensure that local demands are not too local and uncoordinated, it is necessary to regionalize the wishes of the rural people

... in order to ensure coordination and coherence

The combination of regionalization and differentiation would allow the phasing out of centralist policies whilst maintaining a level of coordination and coherence in rural development

.....towards policies that are more and more adapted to local realities



.....but keeping a level of coordination and coherence

The issue here is to coordinate actions of each actor on the basis of mutual recognition of the capacities of that each one can bring in the context of decentralization

producer, and on the other hand, the most appropriate support to be given to local development actors. At the same time, to avoid both overly narrow requests on the part of locals and overly dispersed interventions, the preferences of rural populations have to be regionalized to broaden their scope, and give them an appropriate level of coordination and coherence.

The combination of regionalization and policy differentiation would facilitate the transition from centralized policies to those more reflective of local reality, whilst at the same time having a level of coordination and coherence that makes them a lever for development. This would enable the state to redirect its action toward suitable policies. This would make it possible for the agricultural and rural sector to found a development strategy, thus creating employment and diversification between agricultural and non-agricultural revenue. The poorest segments of the population could increase their chances of accessing various markets.

Differentiation of policies and regionalization of preferences can play a central role in ensuring that local actors cooperate with each other, through dialogue, to achieve an effective and transparent rural development strategy. The challenge of such consultation process is to coordinate the actions of the locals and for each participant to recognize the strengths that other actors can bring to bear on decentralization. Support policies for decentralization would be designed and implemented within this general framework.

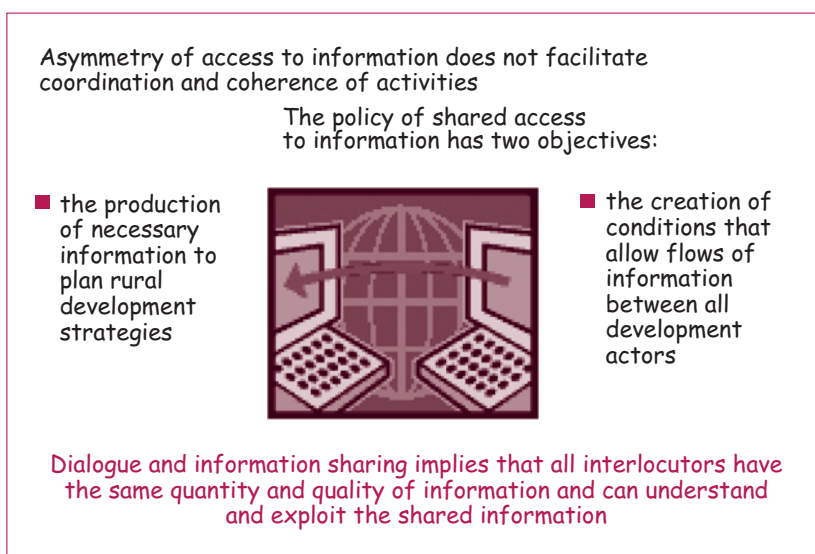
Support Policies: Information, Training and Organization (IFO)

According to the RED-IFO model, for the expected impacts of decentralization to materialize, three support policies for regionalization and differentiation are necessary to facilitate access to information, training and organizational support.

The Role of Access to Information

Earlier, it was pointed out that asymmetry in access to information does not facilitate the coordination and coherence of activities. The policy of access to information has a two-fold objective: (i) the production of information necessary for the formulation of a rural development strategy and; (ii) the creation of conditions allowing the flow of this information to all actors in rural development. Access to information for all is a condition for dialogue between the state and the other actors in development, without which there cannot be a participatory and decentralized development strategy. For this dialogue to be established it is necessary for interlocutors to have the same quantity and quality of information on the problems and opportunities; institutional, macroeconomic, and technological that affect local development.

The production and flow of information can let rural populations have some control over development action and guarantee the coherence of activities through enabling local actors to have information beyond that pertaining to the circumstances of their lives. A priority for decentralization is to have an economic, technological and participatory content.



Training to avoid Institutional Voids

The long period of centralized governments prevented rural populations from acting independently. The technical capacity of all actors in development must be ensured or strengthened so that decentralization does not give rise to diminishing support services. Indeed, decentralized functions need to be carried out. Therefore, what is necessary is a transfer of the functions followed by a transfer of competencies to technical services, local governments and civil society organizations.

The need for training also comes from the fact that decentralization emphasizes the demands of local populations. Municipalities and civil society organizations have varying degrees of capacity to formulate their demands. All depends on the accumulated social capital and organizational experience of any particular entity. Without a significant training policy, decentralization would favor the richest and best organized local governments and organizations. This would be to the detriment of those that have the most need for support but do not have the capacity to formulate their demands in terms of development projects and programs. Therefore, priority in training has to be directed to these levels of government and civil society organizations.

So that decentralization does not lead to a reduced service supply and so that decentralized functions be accomplished:

- The transfer of responsibility must be accompanied by a transfer in competency and knowledge to all actors and partners

So that decentralization can focus on the demands of the population

- The capacity to formulate these demands must be developed throughout all categories of local actors to avoid the risk of missappropriation by certain more powerful actors

The technical competencies of all development actors must be created or strengthened

Organizational Support and Mediation Structures

Although the availability of information and training can counterbalance the tendency for the local elite to capture the main benefits of decentralization, this may not be sufficient if there is no strong organizational base to give actors in development the possibility to participate in the design, implementation and monitoring of policies. That's why the third support policy recommended by the RED-IFO model is support for civil society organizations, recognizing them as interlocutors of the state, and the creation of an institutional framework which is conducive to participation.

The importance of organizations is multi dimensional.

- Organizations can guarantee the participation of rural populations in the formulation of the modalities for decentralization, ensuring that they are not formulated solely by the central government. The objectives, modalities and pace of decentralization can thus be discussed with local actors.
- Organizations facilitate institutional innovations that allow actors in development to actively participate in policy differentiation and in the regionalization of demands for support. It is through organizations that different social groups can become actors in their own development because they reinforce their ability to reclaim functions previously centralized.

The third series of measures is two-fold:

- organizational support to civil society with their recognition as state interlocutors that they may become more involved
- organization also concerns mechanisms of consultation, mediation and arbitration between different groups of actors in order to give them good capacity for dialogue and the circulation of information

All the proposed measures take time and require decentralization to have a certain pace that is appropriately planned on a case by case basis

They form part of a progressive process for the implementation of decentralization

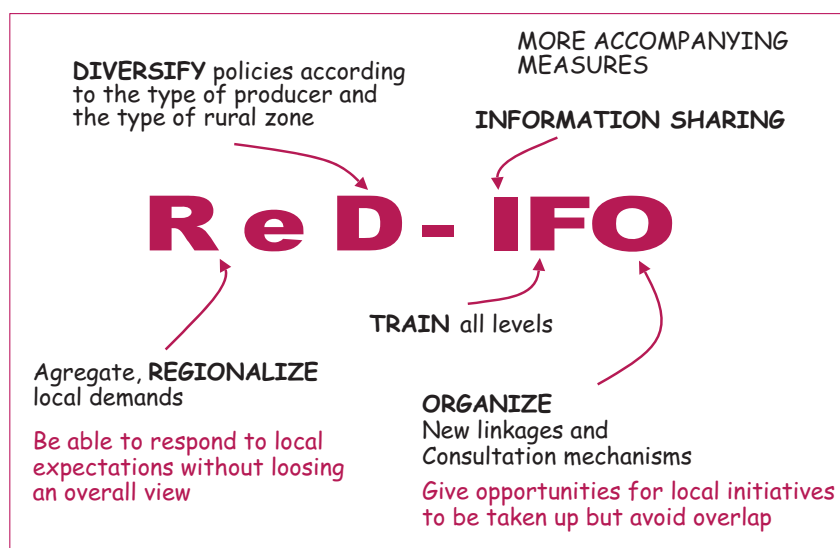
- Finally, organizations are important because the success of decentralization depends on the existence of local structures of mediation and consultation, which transform social pressure into development projects and programs. Nevertheless, the important role of social pressure must be recognized. Centralized states had the tendency to see conflicts as nothing but opposition to their interventions, whereas often, conflicts were demands for intervention. These demands took the form of conflicts because there was not any forum for dialogue at the local level. With decentralized mediation mechanisms, social pressure could be a vehicle for structuring demands and synthesizing them into a rural development strategy.

The *pace of decentralization* is one of the first areas where dialogue between the state and other actors in development should take place. In determining the pace at which decentralization will be implemented it is important to recognize the diversity of each region, the production conditions and the strategies of each participant. For these reasons decentralization should be implemented on the basis of dialogue between national and local actors, and on the regionalization of the results of such dialogues. This can enable each region, town, municipality or social group to regulate the pace of decentralization according to their capacity. In sum, the RED-IFO model proposes decentralization as a gradual process of transferring functions, resources and decision-making powers at a pace that corresponds to the evolution of institutional capacity.

Conclusion

The modalities for decentralization and the support policies offered by the RED-IFO model are not compatible with the centralized state as the only vehicle for policy formulation. On the contrary, differentiation and regionalization suppose an open dialogue between the multiple actors. In order for that to happen, institutions of the centralized state should give way to new institutions capable of creating conducive conditions for dialogue between the state and other contributors in rural development. However, these new institutions must not be seen as instruments which simply import information, training and organization into rural populations. They must be to a large extent the creation of rural populations themselves, who would thus be providing the means to engage in dialogue with all their partners. That is why the strategic element of **the RED-IFO model is in the creation, reorganization and strengthening of institutions.**¹⁰

A decentralization process centered on institutional capacity building can allow the state to be present nationwide and get closer to local realities, without losing the national perspective in its rural development



¹⁰ For a presentation of this strategic element, see the document, "Institutional Systems Analysis (ISA). Methodological Suggestions", Coll. Decentralization and Rural Development, N°4, FAO-SDA, Rome 1996.

actions. The RED-IFO model aims to enlighten the rural development actors about the risks and conditions for the success of and decentralization process. The cornerstone is the creation of institutional conditions conducive to the participation of citizens in the choice and implementation of actions affecting their future.

The model implicitly recognizes that the prospects of decentralization can only be realized if it is closely tied in with the building of democracy. Hence, the transition from supply-driven intervention to demand-driven intervention can be achieved through: a) ensuring the impetus of local actors in development, b) ensuring decentralization does not produce power vacuums, and c) formulating a coherent, participatory strategy, which should work for all participants in development, not only for the strongest and best organized. Hence, the model proposes the creation of **a new alliance for sustainable and participatory rural development**, where rural populations participate fully in achieving the expansion of rural markets, better savings and investment, which are three key factors in any rural development process.

Box no 4 on Senegal: The application of the RED-IFO model

This analytical model of decentralization allows us to evaluate the possible stumbling blocks that can hinder the process. This is a way of evaluating and adjusting the implementation of decentralization.

a) The regionalization of local demands

The implementation of decentralization raises the problem of state withdrawal and the consideration of the needs of grassroots populations. The risk involved here is that the global supply-driven management approach be completely taken over by a fragmented and dispersed demand-driven management approach.

In Senegal, the entry into force of the new legislation (legal framework on regionalization, law 96-06 etc.) means that the Region (that is the new Decentralized Local Government) is in charge of development planning. In this perspective, it takes into account the concerns of the rural populations when drawing up Integrated Regional Development Plans.

The collective regional entity is a diligent framework for decentralized rural development policy in particular and local development in general. To reiterate the objective of grassroots democracy, the transfer of decision-making power creates administrative autonomy of local affairs and new financial autonomy introduces transparent management of local funds by elected members with the implication of civil society actor.

In this context of regionalization of local demands, the Producers Organizations (POs) Regional Consultation Forums (CRCOP) foreseen by the PSAOP, constitute frameworks for coordination and harmonization of actions and perspectives of the POs with regard to development projects and training. The PO (CRCOP) Regional Consultation Forum at Regional Level is made up of representatives from all the POs local consultation forums. (CLCOP) The regional level thus represents and defends the interests of the local level. However this methodology must necessarily be accompanied by the identification of local specificities of global demand of grassroots entities.

b) The differentiation of local policies

Since proximity justifies relevance, all decentralization models must agree that the satisfaction of daily needs of the population is the affair of the local levels (in this case the Rural Communes) when the latter are in charge of the 9 areas of competence transferred to existing Local Governments.

The objective of the CLCOP reflects this logic because it aims to ensure that POs participate in consultation mechanisms with all actors in rural development taking part.

This differentiation of policies is very necessary; otherwise the globalization trend would stifle specific aspirations. Nevertheless, a wise balance between the regionalization of needs and the specification strategy is needed in order to have both a coordination unity for the satisfaction of needs and a consideration of the different types of needs. To resolve the globalization –differentiation issue, a three-pronged measure – on concentrating on information, training and organization- is necessary to support the decentralization process in rural development.

c) Information and Information Sharing

Decentralized rural development is based on a relevant, precise and available information system between grassroots actors and the state. A deficient communication system slows down participatory process in relation to the content of the rural development strategy and hinders its role in capacity building of local populations.

A Communication plan forms an important part of the decentralization action plan produced by the Minister of the Interior in September 1998. This communication plan has the following main objectives:

- facilitate understanding of the content of the texts on decentralization;
- reach common ownership of the final project, and;
- develop a communication system appropriate for a rural environment.

The POs are considered as both actors and the target group in this plan and must therefore play an effective role in the diffusion of information flows be they general, economic or technical.

Appendix 6 of part 3 of the PSAOP, describes an implementation strategy for the Communication Development Support Program which aims to eliminate the communication gap between actors who design development programs and the potential beneficiaries of the rural sector. For example, communication on research must be made understandable with the help of pedagogical aids (slides, videos, illustrations...) to facilitate understanding at the grass roots.

A good information system must logically be based on good training on different intervention modalities by local actors.

d) Training

Training is needed in order to achieve autonomy of action for rural actors. It is very important that these, generally illiterate, actors be in possession of the precise definition of their role in the new context of decentralized rural development. The themes that will be of interest to them will be:

- functional literacy both for the elected local members and OP leaders ;
- production improvement techniques (e.g. on increased yields, loss minimization, etc.);
- group communication exercises, and;
- management of the productive unit(technique and style).

The National Rural Infrastructure program (PNIR), financed by UNDP/UNCDF works on strengthening the capacities of organizations and training which should allow the emergence of autonomous "Communautés Rurales" able to manage local development. The training takes place in the CLCOPs and the CRCOPs for the modules addressed to POs or in the consultation forums for the local communities and representatives of all categories of the population regarding the choice; management and maintenance of infrastructures of community or structural interest.

The component on 'support to rural organizations and producers' of the PSAOP foresees the training of PO leaders in the form of short workshops (3 to 5 days). The modules of these workshops will enable actors to familiarize themselves with the practical content of their responsibility. These are special workshops of reflection, and strategic training of local actors in different negotiation and fund raising techniques for global rural decentralized development projects

The Regional Support Program (PAR), financed by the European Commission started its training program in 2003.

e) Actor organization

With the installation of structures to facilitate the decentralization process, the Local Governments (in this case the Region and the Local Commune) are in charge of

managing economic development activities and must work in close partnership with the organizations of rural producers (cooperatives, GPFs, GIEs, ...).

The Local Governments involved in rural development have the responsibility over their own competencies defined in the local government code and by virtue of proximity (nine areas of competence now belong to them). On the other hand, rural producer organizations are structured from local to national level in each of the following sectors: animal rearing, agriculture artisan fishing, forestry, and rural women's organizations.

At federal level of POs, commercial activities are related to supply management, processing, and financial organization and training.

At national level, the CNCR works on the exchange of ideas on rural development in the interests of the defense of the rural world in governmental programs and finally, on the synergizing of the potential of the different actors in rural development.

With this structure now in place, the functionality of these organizations is needed in order to guarantee their dynamic and efficient intervention. For this reason, the rural councils need strategic planning strategies for their activities, an operational budget management system and mechanisms to control the execution of their tasks.

The organizations of rural producers have the advantage of being able to adapt to the demands of development the more they intervene in proximity to target populations. Nevertheless they suffer from a lack of professionalism, means and participatory measures to facilitate the capacity building of vulnerable groups (women, youths).

In sum, the RED-IFO filter on the decentralization process in Senegal can tell us the following:

- the decentralization policy, in place since 1990, suffers from a lot of information gaps and lack of training of rural development actors;
- the competencies that have been transferred do not always cover all key sectors of the rural world such as agriculture, animal rearing and fishing.

PART TWO:

Analyzing Decentralization Processes

The process of decentralization aims to fulfill the following objectives:

- ensure citizens participate in the management of their own affairs;
- value local initiatives;
- reduce the interventions of the central state to typically public functions;
- decrease the financial burdens of the state;
- create the conditions for sustainable development through making Civil Society Organizations more responsible.

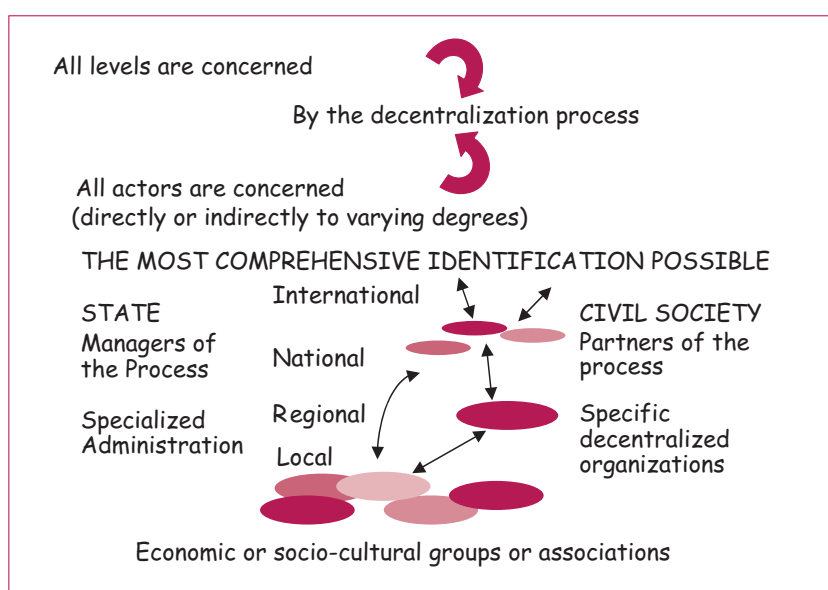
Decentralization means giving autonomy to decentralized administrations in managing local affairs. It is quite legitimate that the central powers verify that local responsible persons do this with diligence and as a mission of public service. To carry out such control, two institutional entities exist at rural level. Both of these should encourage competition and activity among different actors to achieve varying degrees of regional or local development:

- -the deconcentrated territorial administration (governors, prefects, sub-prefects and village chiefs);
- -the decentralized territorial administration (regional council and its president as well as the rural council and its president).

In many countries, relationships between the state and the citizens have always been based on assistantship: the citizens received all from the state, which tried to meet the needs of the citizens. This period of state providence has now passed and many countries have involved themselves in processes of regionalization and decentralization whose first results are positive in spite of the corrections and improvements that need to be applied in certain sectors.

The objective of this chapter is to enable strong understanding of decentralization issues

starting from an analysis of the institutional environment and an analysis model of the decentralization process (RED-IFO). This chapter starts by providing the elements that will allow one to assess the decentralization process in a given country, considering the landmarks that have been provided in the previous sections on concepts, history, etc.



Secondly, this chapter will enable you to prepare:

- either a review of the decentralization process in a given country according to one of two formats (a complete document or a summary of 4 about pages) or;
- a comparison of processes underway in several countries.

First you need to be able to specify the institutional landscape in which a particular decentralization process evolves. For this, we suggest you take the following steps:

- A. identification of existing actors (institutions, social and economic operators, groups, etc.) concerned by decentralization;
- B reconstitution of the relations between these actors while specifying the nature of these relations of collaboration, contradiction and conflict;
- C establishment of clear strategic paths followed by key actors in the decentralization process.

Secondly, in order to better characterize the process of decentralization, a set of assessment criteria, compiled into an analytical model, (RED-IFO) is proposed. It will allow you to measure the extent of the decentralization phenomenon and its current status. The five observation points below tell us what is being done in terms of decentralization by:

1. taking into consideration individual and local demands emanating from the rural populations and their aggregation;
2. the formulation of global policies at national level and their diversification;
3. management of the information flows;
4. training actors concerned by decentralization;
5. organizing the rural environment.

Chapter 1. The Institutional Environment

It is important to analyze the existing institutional system in a given country (concepts...¹¹), through looking at the various actors and their strategies. The functioning and malfunctioning of this system should also be analyzed as well as the mechanisms of its reproduction.

The analytical process should be progressive and follow three main stages:

1. **actors and their strategies;**
2. **relationships between actors** (flows of information and power, regulating mechanisms, storage devices, etc.);
3. **institutional system, operation and malfunction.**

Identifying the Actors:

Decentralization necessarily concerns all levels of administration, from the central level to the periphery and the heart of the rural zones. At these different levels, some actors play a direct role in the process of decentralization while others indirectly influence social dynamics. For these reasons, it is important to make a very wide inventory of actors regardless of actors' individual degree of proximity to the studied phenomenon.

We can therefore distinguish three main groups of actors at the central, regional and local levels (those at the latter level act as interfaces with the outside).

- The actors at the central level are first and foremost those who promote or manage the decentralization process within the state machinery (often a ministry or a specialized ministerial directorate). Then there are those that revolve around this management as directly involved institutions or as partners in the machine. These players can belong to state administration (Ministry of agriculture for example) or come from the civil society (professional associations for example).
- Actors at the regional level are linkage institutions created in the framework of decentralization as well as existing public or private organizations that benefit or undergo decentralization. The same distinction as for the central level can thus be taken into account in the identification of the regional players.
- The local actors (see concept 31) play both a role of beneficiary and partner in development projects. For this reason, they are at the heart of decentralization. They are the main actors of local development, whether they are individuals, professional organizations or representatives of the populations.

A number of remarks are appropriate in facilitating the understanding of actors' features.

- There is no one single method to identify actors. This requires a case by case approach relevant to the specific situation of the country or of region considered.
- In some situations, one can be content with making a list of the actors active in decentralization and noting their economic area of activity (agriculturists, pastoralists) and various specializations (vegetable producers, cattle herders etc).

¹¹ Institutions in a given environment are considered as several interrelated elements, subjected to exchanges of information within an automated or piloted regulatory framework. It is therefore a complex institutional system capable of reproducing itself according to certain rules. Analysis of the institutional system enlightens us on the past (history), on present functioning (and malfunctioning) and on future perspectives. The analysis is not only in terms of structure or function, as is generally the case when we speak of institutions, but that what we are dealing with is a (see systems) system (s).

- We can also consider groups and groupings of a professional or economic character and cooperatives (associations, cooperatives, unions).
- It should be noted that more and more rural households practice several activities (agricultural and extra-agricultural). This phenomenon incites integration of the multi-activity criteria that characterizes most rural populations and the introduction of a classification system based on income origin (regarding farmers, multi-activity workers or seasonal migrants).
- In addition to the economic dimension, the social dimension plays a very important role in the characterization of actors: a producer is also a citizen that can carry out a political role or have a cultural influence. One will thus be able to include people, socially active institutions, non-governmental organizations, associations and groupings, etc. in the list of actors identified.
- Some traditional structures still have a strong and determining influence in today's social dynamics and it is important to take chieftains and user associations into account in the classification.
- Sometimes, it is useful to go lower in the classification by distinguishing, among the economic and social actors, the differentiation between peasant families and even within the family between elders and youths, men and women because often these aspects influence the behavior of rural people and their strategy.
- Beyond territorial limits, social networks are as important but little taken into account. For example, this is the case of migrants who keep ties with their communities. In some countries, one inevitably finds non resident users: transhumance or nomadic breeders forest operators, etc.

Box no 5 on Senegal: The Institutional Environment

Senegal has been striving to implement its decentralization policy since independence. The regionalization of 1996 constituted a significant step forward in this process. Up until then, the Region was considered as a simple administrative circumscription. With regionalization, the Region gained the legal status of moral persona, with the new vocations of managing its own affairs through elected councilors. Apart from the creation of a new legal category, the reform was of particular importance for the allocation of responsibilities between the Local Governments (“Communautés Rurales”), the Communes and the Regions. This is how certain state competencies came to be transferred to the Local Governments. However, it must be stated that even if, in legal terms, the necessary structures are in place, legal level concrete policy application experiences real difficulty.

are capable, together, of finding the necessary resources for their development. Every “Communauté Rurale” is lead by a Rural Council composed of elected councilors plus a President and two Vice-Presidents, who are responsible for the implementation of Rural Development activities. At the local level, the other actors are producers groups, women’s groups, youths associations, NGOs, the “Centre d’Expansion Rural Polyvalent (CERP – multidisciplinary rural support centers) and the Vice Prefect.

The main four local actors who can facilitate a strong decentralization process are the Rural Council, the Vice-Prefect, the CERP and the producers groups.

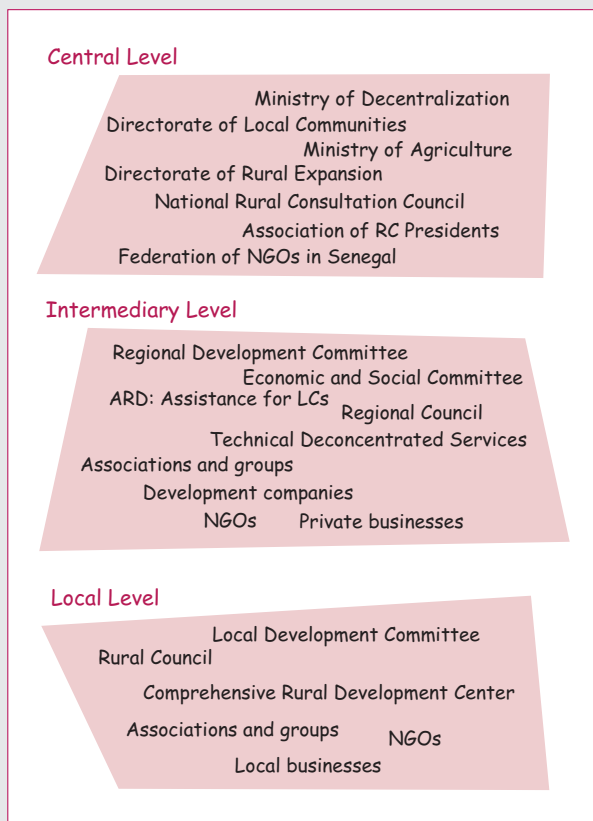
The Rural Council:

This is the operational arm of the “Communauté Rurale” composed of a President and two Vice Presidents elected by the Councilors and by themselves. The president has absolute power inside the Rural Council according to law 90-37 of 8th October 1990 which attributes the power to manage “Communautés Rurales” to the Presidents of Rural Councils. Vices- Presidents are devoid of any prerogatives. Many competencies have been transferred from the state to the “Communautés Rurales”. Furthermore, article 215 of law 96-06 of 5th February 1996, authorizes the president of the Rural Council to pass conventions with state representatives at regional and local level, for the assignment of special agents, necessary for the efficient functioning of the rural council and the “Communautés Rurales”.

The “Communauté Rurale”, through the Rural Council can carry out all the activities related to the 9 competencies that the state has transferred to it. What are missing are the decrees of application of transfer of competencies to define the roles of the rural councils, those of the regional councils and those of the deconcentrated state services.

The nine transferred competencies are the following:

1. Land;
2. Environment and management of natural resources;
3. Health, population and social action;
4. Youth, sports and leisure;
5. Culture;
6. Planning;
7. Territorial management;
8. Education;
9. Urbanization and housing.



The “Communauté Rurale” (CR) / Local Governments.

The “Communauté Rurale” is made up of villages of the same geographical area. They have common interests and

The deconcentrated services:

- the Vice-Prefect

The Vice-Prefect is the local representative of the Central and Regional authority. The Vice-Prefect works under the Directorate of Territorial Administration of the Ministry of the Interior and is in charge of all administration concerning the *arrondissement*. It's the first level of administration that can be contacted by populations. All Vice-Prefects understand the reform but they continue to intervene actively in the different debates of the rural council notably on budgetary issues. The Rural Councilors including the Presidents are not authorized to lead budget planning (lack of training).

- The "Centre d'Expansion Rural Polyvalent" (CERP): This is the deconcentrated technical state service at neighborhood level ("*arrondissement*"). The CERP is the technical advisor of the vice-prefect, the presidents of the rural council and all organizations of the neighborhood. It is in charge of co-coordinating the activities of all actors in neighborhood development. Normally, the CERP is composed of a multi-disciplinary team.

The Region:

The Region is represented by a Regional Council, a debating organ whose members are regionally elected councilors. The President of the Regional Council is the executive organ of the Region. The Region's revenue comes from state funds as well as from local taxes and local produce.

The Regional Council is in charge of planning regional development. It develops projects/programs and, following consultation, gives its opinion on state-developed projects. It organizes territorial management and draws up regional development plans (PRD). As far as the environment and management of natural resources is concerned, the Regional Council now has the duty of management, protection and maintenance of forests and protected areas; nature, management of continental waters, and the planning, implementation and follow-up of regional environmental action plans. As far as planning is concerned, the regional council is now in charge of drawing up and implementing Integrated Regional Development Plans (PRDI). As far as territorial management is concerned, the Regional Council draws up its own regional territorial management plan of action.

In sum, it can be said that Local Governments are a strong link in the chain in the implementation of all development projects. They have the mission of conceiving, planning and implementing development activities in the economic, social, educational, cultural areas of regional, communal and community interests. Regarding the implementation of

economic, social, educational and cultural development projects they bring together sports groups and community producers groups etc. in partnerships.

Producers Organizations (POs):

The evolution of the agricultural sector is marked by the significant development of rural organizations. The diversity and experience of these organizations constitute favorable factors to lead the structural reforms foreseen by the Senegalese government.

- Agricultural Cooperatives constituted the first form of PO set up nationwide by public services. Up until the end of the 1970s they formed the structure of the rural world, from the grassroots to the top through the creation of the National Union of Agricultural cooperatives in 1978. At the beginning of the 1980s, the number of official cooperatives in the primary sector reached approximately 2,300, of which more than three quarters for groundnut production. The system of organization and support to producers set up by public authorities (ONCAD, SONAR) was not able to promote a spirit of initiative, autonomy or even solidarity in the rural areas. The cooperative reform of 1983 introduced the principle of the 320 Rural Communities. The cooperative was subdivided into village sections which became primary units (*unités primaires*). Several cooperatives could then coexist within one "*Communautés Rurales*" according to the type of activities carried out such as agriculture, animal rearing, fishing, horticulture, etc.
- The national union of agricultural cooperatives can now count 4 500 village sections with approximately 300-400 members in 338 agricultural cooperatives.
- Producer Groups (*les groupements de producteurs*) are located at village level. They sprang up at the end of the 1960s with the creation of regional rural development businesses, in order to disseminate knowledge and reach their production objectives. They had to be the reference point for credit, supplies and technical advice. Initially, their development was linked to the evolution of the regional rural development businesses. The reform measures that affected these businesses at the end of the 1980s, coupled with the difficulties of reimbursing credits and the relatively inefficient support system, ended up considerably reducing the scope of these organizations.
- Women's Groups (*les groupements de promotion féminine*) first appeared in 1968 regarding training in health and domestic management and for encouraging the installation of equipment to ease domestic work (such as millet mills). This constituted a learning pool as far as domestic work was concerned and promoted income generating activities. From 1987 onwards, the network

which covered nearly all villages was structured in federations according to administrative boundaries. Today, the 4000 Village Women's Groups are very active in all regions and particularly in commercial activity, in cereal stocking, in vegetable production produce and millet mill management. However, rural women's organizations still face many constraints related to social reasons and to low levels of organization and training than men's ones. Indeed it is their effective participation in mixed associations that offers them the best chance of financing their production activities and better opportunities to manage and make decisions in business and village matters.

- Economic Interest Groups (les groupements d'intérêt économique -GIE): laws 84-37 and 85-40 made the creation of GIEs legal. They can be constituted of one to two hundred members and, as a business, have a legal status which allows them access to credit for the implementation of their activities. The majority of GIEs are made up of men and/or women, youth GIEs are less developed. Men's associations often benefit from development projects. This support allows them to master cash crops as well as decision making in their farms and local territory. Although food production is a priority in family units, the majority of this work is carried out by women. The financing of the intensification of this activity is relegated to second priority.
- Thanks to the advantages of this form of organization, there has been a significant development of GIEs in areas such as animal rearing, horticulture, fishing and forestry. A number of GIEs have created national networks.

- Village Based Producers Groups (les groupements villageois de producteurs) first sprang up in the 70s. Indeed many were started alongside those groups initiated by the state or NGOs. Different groups, associations and unions were created in all regions with different interests at heart (such as the need to be recognized and have their opinion taken into consideration by public authorities, individual responsibility building, self-promotion, transparency and democratic organization, autonomy etc.). These organizations are particularly focused on training, especially in organization and on the analysis of their socio-economic organization based on their socio-cultural and peasant identity. In the context of state withdrawal and the reform of development policies, the various rural producer organizations are carrying out these new roles without having been trained to do so. For this reason, results have not always matched producer needs.
- Federal Unions of Producers Organizations (les unions fédératives des organisations de producteurs) are active in most sectors. Producer organizations have set-up sub groups aiming to unite efforts and create synergies. This is how sectoral national organizations in agriculture, animal raising, fisheries, horticulture and forestry exist alongside each other. Other groupings of a more general mandate also exist in parallel to these sectoral structures

The situation of these sub-groupings is presented in the following table:

Table of organizations and sector activity

Organizations	Sector of activity
- National Union of animal rearing GIEs - National Federation of animal rearing cooperatives	Animal rearing
- National union of agricultural cooperatives of Senegal (UNCAS)	Agriculture and commerce, sector management
- National federation of horticulture GIEs - National inter-professional committee of horticulture (CNIH) - National inter-professional committee of groundnuts (CNIA) - National inter-professional union of seeds (CNIS)	Horticulture – arboriculture – market produce, sector management
- National federation of fishermen - National collective of fishermen of Senegal	Artisan fishing, transformation of aquatic products
- National union of forestry cooperatives - National federation of forestry groups	Forestry
- National federation of women's promotion groups	Rural women, community development
- Senegal federation of NGOs (FONGS)	Training, local development

These unions and federations are structured according to administrative boundaries. Grassroots producer organizations at village level form a union at Local Government level. Then, through the representation system, unions and federations are established at the level of the *arrondissement*, department and region. This pyramidal structure directly concerns the producer and it is rare for federative organizations to have professional support structures, with the exception of the FONGS and UNCAS. The national inter-professional committee is a horizontal grouping for agricultural sector management.

The objectives of the federations and unions are:

- provide service delivery in the areas of production, transformation and marketing;
- ensure the representation of producers and defend their professional interests;
- train producers and their organizations so as to better ensure the quality of their functioning.

In this context, the activities concern organization and management of distribution networks (supplies, equipment), production collection and marketing, establishment of structures and financing mechanisms (community savings schemes) and organization of training workshops and seminars. However, the sustainability and effectiveness of these activities comes up against obstacles such as financial dependence and insufficient capacity and human resources for the continuation of programs.

Some federal organizations, contacted by state structures due to state withdrawal face difficulties with their members. After having long served as messengers of state support services, these federations have difficulties in overcoming years of state management. This problem has long hindered their democratic functioning, which has weakened communication, knowledge and the taking into consideration of producer worries. However, other federations which were established autonomously manage to ensure the representation of their members. They have a level of organization and a way of working that has allowed them to develop good communication between their members and the central level.

- The National Council for Rural Consultation and Cooperation (CNCR). In 1993, nine (9) federations (peasant associations, agricultural cooperatives vegetable & fruit growers, women, fishermen, animal herders and their cooperatives, foresters etc.) created the CNCR.

Although it doesn't represent all grassroots organizations, it has become a strong actor in rural development. In 1995, the 9 members of the CNCR and other inter-professional groups created the Senegalese association for the promotion of small grassroots development projects (ASPRODEB), to whom the government allocated IDA credit funds and an IFAD loan to support small rural investments to promote food security and increase revenues in rural areas. The technical execution of the project has been entrusted to the Agency for Project Implementation (AGEP).

CNCR aims to:

- encourage dialogue, reflection and sharing of experiences around essential issues in rural development in order to strengthen peasant organizations and federations;
- establish a dynamic that encourages the sharing of resources, capacities and information as much for its own members as for Senegal's development partners, in order to improve rural conditions;
- represent rural populations at state and development partner level for the defense and safeguard of the professional and social interests of the rural areas.

As a producer platform, CNCR aims to ensure the representation of the rural population at the level of national consultation and decision entities which aim to improve the rural environment. However, it is still the federations and the sub-members who have to implement development projects and programs.

The administrative organs of the CNCR are the Administrative Council, and the Executive Committee. These two organs are exclusively composed of producers groups representatives and hold prerogatives for deciding which activities to implement. To that effect, the General Secretary of the CNCR has the support of the Technical Support Unit. This is an internal technical support organ which handles the preparation of projects, program negotiation, the training of producer organizations as well as the coordination and follow-up of CNCR activity.

Inter-actor relationships

The Vice-Prefect is devoid of power to manage the "Communautés Rurales " by-law 90-37 of 8th October 1990 which attributes this power to the presidents of Rural Councils. Since then, these two actors have maintained conflicting relations (power struggle). The Vice-Prefects still exert a strong influence on the Rural Council. All important

debates in the rural council are influenced by the vice-prefect, especially on budgetary issues. The CERP generally maintains good relations with the rural council to whom it provides technical support in the planning and drawing up and implementation of development projects of the local development plan. It also supports the rural council in the coordination and the supervision of all local development actions. The CERP is simultaneously technical advisor and consultant for all local development actors (vice-prefect, Rural Council, Producers organization, GPF, cooperatives, GIE etc.) The “Communautés Rurales”, which are the decentralized autonomous entities, maintain relations of cooperation and technical support with the state regional level without any hierarchical structure. The Regional Agricultural Services advise them on the integration the agricultural development dimension into their multi-sectoral development programs.

The relationships between “Communautés Rurales”, POs, Cooperatives, Women’s Promotional Groups and GIEs are not developed or indeed do not exist. Their collaboration is informal and circumstantial. The Rural Council is not often informed of the activities of different groups inside the “Communautés Rurales”. The creation of the National Agricultural and Rural Advisory Agency added new direction to the relations between the different rural development actors with the creation of a strong partnership between these actors (State, Local Communities, Producers Organizations, and Private Sector). This new framework is based on decentralization and the political will to support and consolidate producers organizations and local communities in close collaboration with the Regional Development Agency (ARD) and Rural Councils.

Actors’ Strategies

Different actors develop different strategies to deal with the decentralization process. These strategies correspond to individual interests and traditions. It is interesting to trace the key points of these strategies. Generally speaking, these strategies can be pro-active, of simple cooperation, neutral or in some cases of contradictory nature.

To understand different actors’ strategies it is necessary to clearly identify:

- the actor’s environment (biological environment, production systems, socioeconomic milieu, economic environment of the domestic production units and power balance);
- the room for maneuver of each actor in terms of challenges, objectives, hierarchy, risks and opportunities and the status of each actor in terms of alliances and possible conflicts.

Let us take the case of governmental institutions. Often, the economic and political structural constraints that they face can lead them to shut themselves in short-term, often sectarian strategies. These strategies are not without contradictions and danger for the future of agriculture in these countries. In this case, public development institutions, following a survival rationale, prioritize short-term strategies that sometimes lead them to hinder the emergence of farmer organizations that they also perceive as competitors.

In the past, constraints imposed from the outside have influenced the behavior of the politico-administrative structures. Generally, the diverse and sometimes disparate strategies of the donors led to incoherence in national policies and grassroots initiatives. They could be reduced by stronger consultation mechanisms. However, such efforts come up against the will of autonomy behind each source of financing and raise little enthusiasm on the part of the governments who find a means to decrease their dependence on the outside and sometimes a means of protecting their immediate interests in the diversity of their financial partners.

(explicit or implicit missions)

Each actor will act according to their own interests

A specific strategy in the face of decentralization

Each actor develops a certain type of behaviour (different attitudes and practices)

Deduce and understand actors strategies in the face of decentralization

The situation of the actors in their specific contexts

Their leeway

- biological environment
- cultural environment
- socio-economic environment
- issues
- challenges
- objectives

Actors move in terms of alliance, cooperation or conflict



Regarding NGO strategies, we can put forward the following aspects:

- i) they are in favor of decentralized development based on the initiative of grassroots economic agents; thus they instigate or support certain micro – projects;
- ii) this option sometimes means that they limit their collaboration with the State;
- iii) their flexibility allows them to identify upcoming key issues in development to come up with new and appropriate tools;
- iv) NGOs are closely tied to the farmer associative movement and have often helped in its establishment.

Inter-Actor Relationships

Observation of actors' strategies must allow us to identify the extent of compatibility or incompatibility that can exist between different actors' interests. To assess this, it is necessary, on one hand, to highlight the perception that each actor has of the others and on the other, to indicate the time-scale in which the different actors are situated (short, medium and long term).

However, it is also necessary to follow the movement and the construction of these strategies because they and their global configuration constantly evolve due to constraints, outside opportunities and the different reactions they create throughout local society. At local society level, it is possible to find evidence of resistance or adherence amongst different groups.

What is necessary to assess is which configurations create or modify themselves according to social relationships, either to reinforce or contest them.

Each actor develops their own strategy

convergence/divergence/compatibility/contradiction

Each actor is confronted with the other

Consider the perceptions each actor has of the other


Nature of relationships

- cooperation
- neutral
- conflictual

Consequences for decentralization

- adhesion
- contestation
- resistance

The possibility of evolution in time

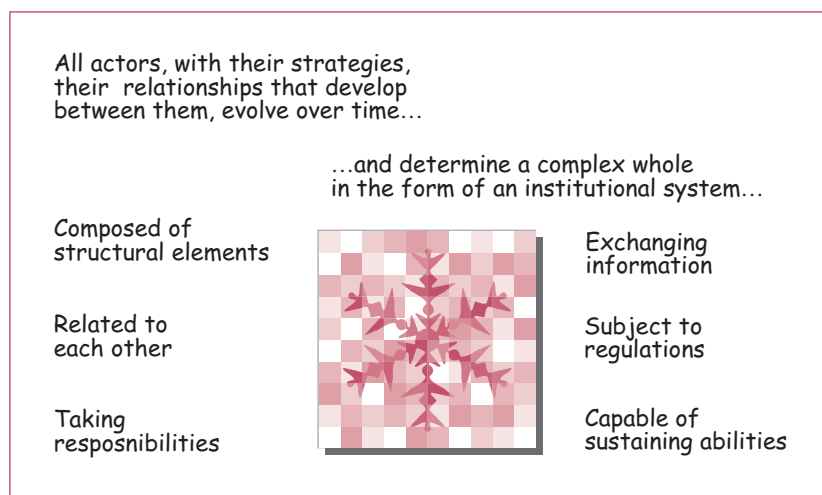


Functioning and Malfunctioning of Institutional Systems

To understand the institutional environment as a whole, we must dissect its operation in terms of time, space and external actors.

The analysis of the decentralization process must focus on state functions, i.e. do they stimulate or hinder the emergence of local dynamics?

State policies are varied. They include legislative provisions to free up and stimulate the initiatives of local actors (decentralization being one of them), the creation of public local jurisdictions, secure tenure systems and the organization of different economic activities through partnership frameworks and the assurance of coherence of different initiatives. Bearing in mind that the transfer of responsibilities to citizens does not mean that public agencies are no longer necessary; we should evaluate their functions and their capacity in order to identify new services, support modalities (financial and human) and new relationships between civil servants and citizens.



Understanding the history and origins of local organizations is likely to provide interesting indications on the local dynamics and on the relevance of the initiatives of these organizations as well as their adequacy to the problems considered prominent throughout the history of local development.

Box no 6 on Senegal: Institutional Functioning and Malfunctioning

Senegalese agriculture employs between 65 and 70% of the population (currently estimated at 8 800 000 inhabitants). This rural population is very young (over 58% are less than 20 years of age) and lives in 13 240 villages. It exploits 2 500 000 ha out of 3 800 000 ha of arable land. The number of plots is estimated at 480 000 spread across the different agro-ecological areas. Thus, Senegalese agriculture is characterized by small farms (5,2ha on average). However, in the South West of the groundnut basin, the average smallholding is 12 ha and only 1,5 ha in Oussouye area (Southern region). In irrigated areas, the average size of individual plots is between 0,25 and 1 ha.

Today, with the hindsight of past policies and the constraints encountered, it can be clearly stated that the dominant organizational mode in agricultural production remains that of family farming with multi-purpose family smallholdings. This is despite the emergence of entrepreneurial agriculture (in the Senegal river valley, Niayes areas etc.).

Indeed, producers are at the heart of agricultural development. The choice of agricultural activity is

made through reviewing objectives, roles and by the reorganization of the technical directorates of the regional and local services of the Ministry of Agriculture and the regional rural development businesses. This reorganization aims to support capacity building in producers organizations and to promote the agricultural private sector through consolidating liberalization and privatization, a policy of financing for agricultural activities and a tidying up of their legislative and regulatory environment.

In the new strategic context, the State faces two major challenges: ensure food security and establish sustainable rural development.

Two elements are important here: (i) establishing diversified and competitive production that is capable of raising rural incomes; (ii) consolidating the management of the private sector with all development partners, especially grassroots communities. Given the importance of the roles they play both in production and in the protection of the environment they constitute the real guarantors of sustainable development policy.

An analytical example: the case of the Maghreb and Sahelian countries:¹²

1. The institutional environment is defined by its historical context. Most institutions are rooted in the administrative and interventionist forms of government developed by the colonial administration. Some countries however, while committing themselves to centralized economic planning, reinforced the interventionist aspects of their activities in the rural environment (e.g. Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Guinea, and Guinea Bissau, Mali). Others maintained a strong administrative presence (e.g. Morocco, Mauritania, Chad and Togo) or otherwise showed the political will to decentralize and regionalize very early in (e.g. Burkina Faso, Niger, and Senegal).
2. Most countries have a "top down" system, controlled by central services with the support of external parties. However, consultation with the decentralized institutions began to develop in a more limited fashion, more in some countries (e.g. Guinea Bissau, Morocco, Mauritania, Chad, Togo) than others (e.g. Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Guinea), with even some cases of upward planning (e.g. Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal).
3. Although consultation processes are being developed everywhere, the effective participation of populations in the management of their affairs remains at a pilot stage in many countries. The transfer of powers and responsibilities continues to be distributed unequally. Countries that began decentralization early (e.g. Burkina, Niger, Senegal) and those that had important changes in the recent years, like Mali and Guinea, are those that are most advanced in local development.
4. The assessment of the situation in these countries reveals that the current organization at the regional level results both from centralism inherited from colonization, as well as efforts made by territorial organization and development administrations to adapt to local conditions. More recently, structuring of the local environment and the rural sector has tended to be in favor of regionalization. This can be seen in the individual strategies of various countries.
5. These choices are governed by multiple incentives that shape the decentralization processes. We can mention for example the incentive for State withdrawal from some functions, internal and external pressure, financial problems and wider participation of populations, etc.
6. Contrary to what happens at central and local levels, it appears that the recent experiences of regionalization in terms of objectives, modalities and results are, at present, less known. We can nevertheless see that, while partially disengaging the central level, the aim is to reinforce the local level according to the specific context of each country.
7. Depending on the institutional environment and according to the evolution of different countries, the demarcation lines between regional and local levels are not always clear. We can find administrative structures or technical support that have a reduced territorial coverage in some countries whereas in others they go back to the regional level. Under these conditions, we suggest that a sub-regional level be identified within this latter (regional) level. In the same way, within the local level and in order to differentiate, for example, the township from the canton or village, we can speak of locality and of micro-locality. The following table attempts to classify country situations according to three types of structure: administrative, technical and socio-professional and the consultation forums corresponding to the different levels.

¹² This illustration is based on the proceedings of the Decentralization workshop held in Praia, Cap Verde, organized by the FAO in May 1996.

Table 1: Geographical levels and institutional structuring

Levels	Territorial organization	Technical services	Civil society	Partnership Framework
National/ Central	State	Ministry General, central, and national management	Federation of Cooperatives Trade Unions, Associations, Chambers of Agriculture, NGOs, etc.	Committees, National counsels
Regional	Region, Province, Prefecture, Department, Willaya	Regional, Departmental Direction	Trade Unions Federation of Cooperatives Associations Chambers of Agriculture, NGOs, etc.	Committees, Regional counsels
Sub-regional	Department, Prefecture, Sub- jurisdiction, Circle	Circumscription District, Sector and Sub-sector	Chamber and prefecture Trade Unions	
Local	Municipal township, neighborhood	Bureau Sub-sector Zone Station	Cooperative Group Association Trade Unions	Committee Counsels locals
Micro-local	Canton Village Quarter Sec Tor		Association Agriculture Exploitation	Committee

8. There are four types of functions filled by these different regional processes: (i) those of central and administrative services in the regions (which are therefore directly involved in the process of State withdrawal); (ii) those representing populations and producers (concerned by the emergence of the civil society), (iii) those of the regional level itself (which aim to strengthen the role of the region), (iv) those of capitalization of experiences and methods at the regional level.
9. The first limit of this new distribution is first fixed by the concern over national cohesion to avoid the risks of federalism and rupture of State affairs. The other limits can be analyzed as being constraints in the framework of a better feasibility of these different regional processes.
10. The main constraints identified are those bound to the functioning of the State and of its support services. There are often old habits inherited from centralism, of frequent institutional changes concerning programs, staff and an imbalanced power share between the central and regional levels.
11. Other constraints are linked to the emergence of the civil society itself, such as the weakness of the private sector, the behavior of certain social categories, the weak capacity to take on and manage new functions.
12. It is also necessary to mention constraints bound to the very functioning of regional institutions. These are indeed conditioned by the very process that led to their creation and the existence or not of appropriate legal frameworks. Finally, it is necessary to face the constraint of the cost of the process and it's financing.

Preparation and Finalization Sheet for Country Contributions

1. The Institutional Environment in Rural Development (2 pages)

- a) The historic, geographical and socio-political context concerning the origin of the institutional environment in the context of rural development has to be considered: different development choices made since independence need to be identified since these led to the present institutional situation. The main stages should be indicated and characterized in terms of main criteria, i.e. participation and decentralization.
- b) The institutional system and the main actors present: this should indicate who is who and who does what, according to the central, regional or local level of intervention and decision while expressing, if possible in graph form, the nature of the different relationships between these actors (subordination or partnership).

2. The Strategic Frameworks and the Modalities of their Development (2 pages)

- a) Rural development planning systems and working mechanisms: it is important to outline the main procedures underway for policy development and the planning of programs and projects by indicating the degree of participation of the different levels. It is also important to distinguish the sectors, the multi and bilateral partners, and the relevant geographical coverage. Innovative experiences and illustrations can be pointed out. In the same way, programs connected to international and sub-regional exercises can be highlighted in a small separate paragraph.
- b) Experiences of preparing National Programs to Fight against Desertification and Programs of Human Development: if relevant in the country – briefly discuss during these two exercises underway under the aegis of UNDP and other agencies of the United Nations' system to see if the selected procedures have led to greater participation of populations.

3. Experiences in Participatory Development (4 pages)

- a) Institutions and grassroots organizations with a territorial and/or productive character: with the help of the previous diagram, identify the actors of rural society, local jurisdictions, cooperatives, peasant associations, women's groups, etc. that have taken initiatives or influenced project formulation and resource management. Indicate those actors capable of entering into a participatory dynamic. This should include for example: the joint diagnosis of problems, consultative planning, collegiate decisions initiative taking, entrepreneurial activity, the substitution of State roles etc. If necessary, one can highlight the areas of rural development that have been covered, i.e. global or integrated, specific or sectoral
- b) Mechanisms of consultation, regulation and management of rural development: here one should distinguish the traditional types of autonomy in the management of the public domain, – such as pathways, forests, organization of the village solidarity, etc. identifying their strengths and weaknesses, from the current mechanisms, in order to

promote participation and decentralization. Some examples of projects implemented in this sense could be mentioned whilst trying to classify them according to the degree of implication of the populations and the sectors covered, as indicated in the previous point.

4. Decentralization Processes and the Role of the Regional Level (2 pages)

- a) Political will, applied measures and support: the existence of an affirmed will to undertake some reforms in favor of political and / or administrative policies should be clearly indicated. This concerns State withdrawal from certain functions, the privatization of certain sectors, as well as the existence of legislative texts and the application ordinances. These remarks will highlight the measures already taken for the implementation of these processes, and their strengths and weaknesses. The most prominent progress and the main difficulties encountered in the application of this decentralization processes should also be highlighted.
- b) The regional and local institutions and their functioning: this should summarize the institutional organization applied in each process in question, highlight the roles of public and private partners and the extent to which local populations participate and are represented. Indicate the main categories of common problems encountered by the decentralized structures.
- c) The role of the regional level: this last point presents a short synthesis of the previous ones while focusing on the interface between “top down and bottom up” that comes into play at this level. The main findings from the analysis of the central, regional or local institutions as presented above should be indicated and recommendations made for a better management of the interface between national and local levels.

Box no 7 on Senegal: Analysis of Decentralization

Senegal is situated on the West coast of Africa and covers an area of 196,720 Km². It has a population of approximately 7.5 million inhabitants (unevenly spread across the country).

1. The institutional environment in rural development

1.1 The historical, geographical and socio-political context

The territorial and local administrative reform is part of a long process that aims to globally increase the efficiency of administration. Key stages in this process are as follows:

The reform of 1960 marked a rupture between the colonial way of administration and the concerns of the Senegalese public powers. A three tier deconcentration process began.

- The Region, lead by a Governor becomes the biggest administrative circumscription through the regrouping of the old '*cercles*'. Seven regions are created to represent development centers. An elected Regional Assembly had its own responsibilities.
- The '*Cercle*' corresponded to a deconcentrated circumscription. It is led by the '*Cercle*' Commander who must ensure coordination between state services and the responsibility of Local Governments (collectivités locales). In so far as public order and general administration is concerned, the '*Cercle*' constitutes the first local level circumscription.
- The '*Arrondissement*' corresponds more or less to the geographical areas of the former Cantons, not including the Communes. The Chief of the '*arrondissement*' works directly under the orders of the '*Cercle* Commander'.

With the 1964 reform:

- the Region remains but the Governor's powers are increased. The Governor becomes the delegate of the President of the Republic and the representative of each Minister. He becomes the head of the Regional Administration and has authority over the Local Communities;
- the Department replaced the former '*Cercle*' and the Prefect, ex-*cercle* Commander, works under the authority of the Governor and does not exert any more control over the local communities. However, the Prefect remains the representative of all Ministers and is responsible for ensuring coordination of activities of all civil servants in the Department;
- the '*arrondissement*' does not undergo any changes except for the decision to raise the intellectual level of the Chiefs of *Arrondissement* who have to be recruited by C- grade civil servants;

- the 1972 reform responded to the need to establish a modern and dynamic administration. This was to be done through bringing the administration closer to the people. One of its main innovations was the creation of the post of Vice-Prefect (who replaced the Chief of '*Arrondissement*'. The reform was based on four main pillars: Deconcentration, Decentralization, Participation and Regional Planning. Deconcentration increased the responsibilities of the Village Chiefs and made them auxiliaries of the prefect in applying laws and regulations. Decentralization established decentralized Local Governments (Communes and "Collectivités Rurales"). The establishment of consultation and coordination structures (the Regional Council, the Departmental Council and the '*Arrondissement*' Council) facilitated responsible participation.

Regional planning put new instruments in place such as Integrated Regional Development Plans (PRDI). Apart from state projects for the Region, the PRDI include Communal Investment Plans (PIC) and "Communautés Rurales" Local Development Plans (PLD). The spatial management of the PRDIs is ensured by the Directorate of Territorial Management (DAT) whereas the Rural Expansion Service through rural expansion centers (CER) must manage the conception of the PLDs. Conscious of the importance of the primary sector in the country's economy and of land as the main means of production, the political authorities in Senegal, decided to render access to land more democratic through a land reform. This was done through law 64-46 of 17th June 1964.

This land reform was carried out in two stages:

- nationalization of all land not classified in the public domain, not registered and of which ownership has not been registered at the date on which the law enters into force. However, it was on that date that occupiers now had the possibility of registering that land in their name,¹³ thus adding permanent value to the land.
- power over the management of the land was transferred to organized populations, broken down into "Communautés Rurales".

The second phase of the reform was essentially focused on the economic and social development of the local communities and the allocation of responsibility to elected local councilors in the management and administration of their localities. Certain changes were made to the Administrative Code and to the Law on Rural

¹³ All land that is part of the national domain is classified in four zones: urban zones, classified land (land used for forestry purposes or protected zones), "terroir" zones (exploited by rural housing, crops, and pastoralists) and "pioneer" zones.

Communities. The law on the National Domain and the Reform of Territorial Administration constitute complimentary legal and institutional instruments to redefine land status and to introduce new techniques in the attribution and the valorization of land. The 1972 reform goes on to create the “Communautés Rurales”, which are the participatory structures that represent villages. With the Rural Communities, the state wanted, on one hand, to create facilitating structures for the land reform of 1964, and on the other hand, instigate the decentralization process that would become privileged instrument of peasant participation in the rural areas.

The third phase of the reform was constituted by the recognition of the Regions as Local Governments and the transfer of certain competencies to them.

1.2 The Institutional System and the Main Actors

Since independence, rural development has always been a priority of the Senegalese administration. Although there has always been a ministerial department in charge (Ministry of Rural Economy, Ministry of Rural Development), its management has always implied other ministries such as those in charge of the local communities and territorial administration. The evolution of government structures in rural development has also been characterized by periods in which the main sectors of rural development have been reassembled under one ministerial department (for example, the Ministry for Rural Development also being responsible for agriculture, animal raising, water and forests, hydraulics, fisheries). It has also been characterized by other periods in which there has been a dispersion of ministerial departments in charge of Rural Development (Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Animal Resources and the Ministry of Hydraulics). This dispersion still continues today with the existence of the following structures:

- the Ministry of Agriculture in charge of Agriculture, Animal Rearing, Horticulture, Rural Engineering and Irrigation, Protection of Vegetation;
- the Ministry of Hydraulics;
- the Ministry of Environment responsible for Water and Forests;
- the Ministry of Decentralization in charge of the CERP – *centres d’expansion rurale polyvalents* (multidisciplinary technical support), whose agents work hierarchically under their respective technical ministries;
- the Ministry of Women, Children and the Family in charge of Community Development.

These different ministerial departments have national directorates (for agriculture, animal rearing, water, forests etc.) which are represented at the level of each Region. Some national directorates have representations at Department level and even Arrondissement level (forest protection teams for example).

The national level is usually in charge of defining state policy (conceptual level), whereas the regional and local levels (Department and Arrondissement) are the policy implementation bodies (operational level). Their dispersion constitutes a real problem for communities who are faced with several interlocutors, often with differing terminologies. To resolve this problem, the Ministry of Agriculture has called upon operational representatives from the agricultural services to discuss possible solutions to the problem.

The Rural Council is in charge of managing land, the main means of production. However, it does not dispose of all the necessary technical, legal and methodological tools to carry out its tasks. The main actors present in rural development are:

- the State through its technical services and administrative authorities, which defines global policies and ensures the public functions (regulations, control, disaster management, training, extension);
- local communities which ensure land management in their local areas;
- producers who are the principle users of natural resources;
- NGOs who play an advisory role for producers;
- the private sector which is involved both in production and transformation;
- civil society organizations (village-based interest groups, women’s associations, youth groups etc.) which are sometimes involved in production and who emerge more and more as defenders of national resources and area management policy, with a view to sustainable development.

2. Experiences in participatory development

2.1 Grassroots Institutions and Organizations of Territorial and /or Participatory Character

The Village

The village chief is in charge of applying laws and regulations and observing decisions of administrative authority and those of the rural council. The Village Chief is nominated by the Prefect after consultation with leading Chiefs, and with the approval of the Minister of the Interior. He must work under the authority of the Vice-Prefect.

The Commune

The municipal reform enabled the enlargement of the participatory approach. It placed councilors (representing different economic and social groups) in Rural Councils. Communes gained responsibilities in development management. This reform also established (i) Urban Communities who had to manage their inter-communal services and ; (ii) a Regional Council as a consultative organ.

The “Communauté Rurale”

The creation of the “Communautés Rurales” was the novelty of the 1972 reform. The principle of decentralization spread to the rural areas. The “communauté rurale” is made up of a certain number of villages belonging to the same geographical area. These villages share solidarity and common interests. The representative organs are the Rural Council and its President. To support the establishment of the decentralized structures, consultation and communication organs were created (the Regional Council, the Departmental Council and the Council of the Arrondissement).

The Regional Council

It is composed of representatives of the Communes and “Communautés Rurales”, elected by universal suffrage (1/3) and indirectly so by the departmental councils (2/3). Its main role is that of coordination, harmonization and assistance. It gives opinion on budgets of the communes and “Communautés Rurales” before their approval.

The Departmental Council

This body is composed of elected representatives of the Communes and representatives of the ‘Arrondissement Councils’. They are chosen from the elected councilors of the “Communautés Rurales”. Two thirds is composed of Rural Councilors and one third of representatives of the cooperative movement. The CERPs are made up of multidisciplinary teams established in each arrondissement to help the “Communautés Rurales” participate in the preparation and implementation of Local Development Plans (PLDs). Since 1984, in collaboration with the regional planning and territorial management services, the CERP have been undertaking the preparation of PLDs. The PLD presents a monograph of the “Communautés Rurales”, an analysis of the different sectors of activity and underlines the main problems described by the population. It determines local development priorities and selects local development projects. The PLD therefore represents a reference document in rural development.

However, the CERPs have run into difficulties due to lack of material, human and financial means. This impedes them from carrying out their role to the full. Their rehabilitation is becoming urgent since they should ensure synergy between community structures, NGOs, development partners and technical state structures that support local communities.

‘Rural Forestry’ is a good example of an area in which an integrated participatory approach to rural development has been applied in Senegal. This came just after failure on the part of local government to stem and curtail the disappearance of vegetation and the degradation agricultural production base. The ‘Rural Forestry’ integrated approach associates the tree with all productive activities in the rural world (agriculture, animal rearing, etc.). Local

populations are key protagonists and are involved at each phase of the program. This original integrated participatory approach is the corner stone of a new methodology for preparing village land management plans.

The first step is a participatory diagnostic assessment that gives all actors a chance to express their concerns. This enables identification of the main activities to be carried out, by whom and by when. It pools resources at local level before any external means are asked for. It is now being more and more applied to rural development projects.

2.2 Mechanisms of Consultation, Regulation and Management of Rural Development

Formerly speaking the State has established consultation mechanisms at all levels of rural development in Senegal. At national level, an inter-ministerial council on rural development is called upon as and when necessary. Furthermore, consultation structures are more or less permanent between ministerial departments operating in the same sector. At regional level, the Regional Development Committee (CRD), which represents all technical services working at regional level, constitutes a privileged consultation opportunity. It can meet in special sessions that are open to all other actors. This facilitates the assessment of practical rural development issues such as the preparation of agricultural campaigns. The same thing occurs at departmental and local level where departmental committees of local development committees (CDD and CLD) play the same role as the CRD. Moreover, at “Communautés Rurales” level, Rural Council meetings present opportunities for consultation and management.

Outside these formal structures, informal mechanism of resource management have always existed. These mechanisms, often based on traditional values, were often tacit but allowed self-discipline in so far as the protection of resources was concerned. For example, this is the case for the sacred forest system, which tended to protect wood resources, ponds or protected animal species. This way of managing resources is tending to die away with the loss of old values and ever increasing urbanization.

Many projects attempt to learn useful lessons from the traditional management of natural resources. In such cases, their management structures often include representatives of influential personalities at local level. With the objective of creating a consultation framework that involves all actors in environmental management, the Senegalese government created the Superior Council of Natural Resources and Environment (CONSERE). This must facilitate the harmonization of different sector policies and activities. The diversity of actors that it represents gives it a certain authority in the environmental planning processes that it manages.

3. Strategic frameworks and how they are designed

3.1 The Rural Development Planning System: how it works

At the time of independence in 1960, the Senegalese economy essentially depended upon groundnut production. This alone accounted for 49% of cultivated land and represented 87% of the country's exports. However, very early on, a policy of agricultural diversification was introduced to reduce the imbalance between cash crops and food crops and address ongoing food shortages. This policy was supported by different measures such as the creation of rural cooperatives in charge of promoting grassroots development. They took on production, transformation and marketing. The land reform established the National Domain and financing companies; the Senegalese Development Bank, later to become the National Bank of Development in Senegal (BNDS), leader of the main banking consortium; The Agricultural Marketing Office (Office de Commercialisation Agricole-OCA); the National Office for Agricultural Marketing and Development Assistance (*Office National de Commercialisation Agricole et d'Assistance au Développement*, ONCAD); the Agricultural and Extension Development Company (*Société de Développement et de Vulgarisation Agricole*, SODEVA). This land reform started to face serious difficulties during the drought of 1973 coupled with petrol crisis of the same year and the unexpected fall in the world price of ground nuts.

Between 1973 and 1985, state action in the rural sector entered a new phase, characterized by the regional approach (creation of regional rural development companies such as management and exploitation of the SAED Delta for the River zone (zone du Fleuve); the Company for the Valorization of Casamance (*Société pour la Mise en Valeur de la Casamance* - SOMIVAC); the Company for the Development of Textile Fibers (*Société de Développement des Fibres Textiles* - SODEFITEX) for East Senegal; SODEVA for the groundnut basin and the Company for the Development of Animal Raising in Forest zones (*Société de Développement d'Élevage* - SODESP), and a certain specialization (creation of the New Earth Company – (*Société des Terres Neuves* - STN); the Company for Agricultural and Industrial Development (*Société de Développement Agricole et Industriel* - SODAGRI); the BUD-Senegal for the development of horticulture products for export. It was during this period that the fight against drought and the need for diversification were made national priorities. Generally speaking, the impact of actions undertaken by the state and rural support units (rehabilitation of the natural environment, improvement of peasant living conditions etc.) was rather poor.

In April 1984, the Government of Senegal adopted a New Agricultural Policy (NPA) which represented a new approach in rural development. It consisted of:

- the reduction of the role of the state and the opening up of the private sector;

- the reorganization of the rural world and allocation of responsibilities to producers;
- reduction of support service, what services remain are mainly training activities;
- organization of the production by sector and the promotion of cereals;
- the establishment of a rural credit system;
- the initiation of a price policy and an incentive based marketing system.

The NPA made cereals a priority through the Cereals Plan. This plan aimed to make the country capable of covering 80% of its need in cereals by the year 2000 (representing an increase of 20%) by increasing production. Following the structural adjustment process, the agricultural sector underwent a number of changes as regards state involvement in the Agricultural Structural Adjustment Program (PASA):

- liberalization of prices and marketing of agricultural products;
- privatization of production, transformation and the marketing of agricultural products;
- state withdrawal from private sector profit and all marketing activities in order to dedicate itself to public services (agricultural research, extension, monitoring and evaluation, management of natural disasters);
- creation of a framework of incentives to encourage the emergence of a dynamic private sector.

This reform of agricultural policy should enable the following objectives to be reached:

- agricultural growth sustained of 4% per year;
- Improvement of the food security situation;
- better management of natural resources;
- Land security;
- job creation and the improvement of revenues in the rural world;
- promotion of private sector investment efficiency of public spending.

An important Agricultural Sector Investment Program (PISA) has been designed to implement the PASA. For a long time, policymaking and program and project planning was solely the responsibility of state technical services. This top down approach rarely considered the needs of grassroots people who are supposed to be the final beneficiaries. At best, local people's participation was limited to the implementation of certain activities. This meant that people had little ownership of a process that had not sought their involvement from the beginning. Given the mitigated results of this approach, more participatory and consensual action is being taken. The state has involved its partners in defining the PASA, (private sector, producers associations, and local councilors).

3.2 Experiences in the Preparation of National Plans in Combating Desertification and in Human Development Programs

The first task given to the Superior Council of Natural Resources and Environment (CONSERE) was to draw up a National Action Plan for the Environment (PNAE) to facilitate the integration of the environmental dimension in socio-economic development processes. The chosen methodology was participatory and decentralized. It was in this vein that the PNAE was drawn up. It was based on a thematic and eco-geographic synthesis of the Regional Action Plans for the Environment (PRAE). The decentralized process was supported by a national level thought process on 9 themes. Indeed, for this purpose, working groups were established to further this thought process during the launch week, they were to continue during the planning phase of the PRAE.

During the design phase, those planning the PNAE considered the lessons learned from previous planning exercises (National Plan to combat Desertification, the Forest Development Plan, the Forest Action Plan, and the National Territorial Management Plan). Senegal signed and ratified the United Nations Convention on Desertification. The main means of implementing this legal instrument at national level is the National Action Program (PAN). The preparation of the PAN is part of the larger context of environmental planning. It was decided not to lead two separate activities but rather to closely coordinate them. Indeed, combating desertification constitutes one of the major components of the PNAE since this represents the most serious environmental problems in several regions of Senegal. Furthermore the target populations are the same and they would run the risk of being confused should two parallel exercises be carried out. This choice also respects the spirit of the Convention itself which recommends (in article 6 of the annex on regional application for Africa) that PANs are part of a wider process of national policy planning in sustainable development. For this reason PANs preparation is part of the wider PNAE preparation in which the participatory approach and decentralization are key elements.

As mentioned in articles 9 and 10 of the Convention, the PAN has the aim of identifying the factors that contribute to the desertification process. It should then develop concrete measures to face the problem and reduce the phenomenon and the effects of drought. It has to allow the application of the articles of the Convention and the establishment of a favorable environment for permanent dialogue between actors. It also has to facilitate the participation of local populations, encourage dialogue and consensus building and, finally, the establishment of financial mechanisms allowing the mobilization of local resources for local priorities.

4. The decentralization processes and the role of the regional level

4.1 Political Will, Applied Measures and Support

In order to further the decentralization process started in 1964, the government of Senegal decided to modify legislation on local government. The Region has become a Local Government endowed with an elected Assembly and financial autonomy. The nine areas of competency that used to be under national control (management of natural resources, education, health etc.) are entrusted to the region. This measure has marked the end of a long process characterized by:

- state withdrawal from profit-making activities in the rural world in order to concentrate on state business;
- the known evolution of the local communities who gained management skills;
- the need to put in place intermediate structures between local communities and central administrations.

The Regions are thus to provide the framework for economic, social and cultural development.

4.2 The Regional and Local Institutions

With the third phase of the administrative and territorial reform, three categories of Decentralized Local Governments can be distinguished: the Region, the Commune and the "Communauté Rurale". They are endowed with a moral personality and have financial autonomy. They are free to administer themselves through elected councilors. They have the mission of conceiving, planning and implementing actions of economic, educational, cultural development that are of regional, communal or rural interest.

The state preserves all its sovereign competencies and the overall coordination of economic and social development actions. The objective is to allocate responsibility to local communities, whilst still maintaining the role of the state. Each local community has the following areas of responsibility:

The **Region** has the following areas of responsibility:

- the management, protection and maintenance of forests, protected areas and natural sites of regional interest;
- the establishment of environmental defense measures;
- management of continental waters excluding those waters of international or national statute;
- reforestation and protected zones;
- the installation of fire-guards and anti-fire measures to discourage bush fires;
- protection of wildlife;

- the sharing out of regional quotas for forestry exploitation between communes and the “communautés rurales”;
- the release of hunting permits following the opinion of the rural council;
- the drawing-up, implementation and follow-up regional environment plans;
- the drawing-up of specific regional plans for the management of emergency situations and risk management;
- the release of ground clearance permits following the opinion of the rural council;
- the creation of voluntary brigades for environmental matters, notably the fight against poaching.

The **Commune** has the following areas of responsibility:

- release of preliminary authorization for free cutting inside the perimeter of the commune;
- reforestation and the creation of rural woods;
- the collection fines emanating from the forestry code;
- the management of refuse, pollution and annoyances, promotion of hygiene;
- the drawing up of communal action plans for the environment.

The **“Communauté Rurale”** has the following areas of responsibility:

- the management of forests situated in inhabited zones on the basis of a plan approved by the competent state authority;
- the release of preliminary authorization for free cutting inside the perimeter of the “Communautés Rurales”;
- the collection of the share of fines based on application of the forestry code;
- the constitution and management of protection teams to reduce the risks of bush fires;
- opinion on the deliverance of hunting permits by the President of the Rural Council;
- the management of natural sites of local interest;
- reforestation and protected areas;
- the creation and maintenance of artificial ponds and the creation of hill reservoir for agricultural purposes;
- waste management;
- hygiene;
- the drawing-up and implementation of local action plans for the environment.

4.3 The Role of the Regional Level

As a Decentralized Local Government, the region constitutes an intermediate level between the central and local levels. It can undertake actions that are complimentary to those of the state thanks to its management and planning autonomy. It can play a valuable role in promoting the economic, educational health, cultural and scientific development at grassroots level by acting as an interface between the national and local levels. The regional organs are in charge of managing the strategic framework for the management of natural resources and the environment. In this respect, CONSERE got there first by entrusting the design of Regional Action Plans for the Environment (PRAE) to consultation frameworks led by the head of the regional executive. Once the plan is adopted, this context of consultation and partnership could evolve into an operational structure.

Example of a Country Contribution (1997): Morocco

1. The Institutional Environment in Rural Development

The first elections of the Communal Rural Councils took place in May 1960, four years after independence. Nevertheless, for many years, the communal representatives had very limited power and did not dispose of any administrative framework of their own. At supra-communal level, the provinces and the prefectures constitute, more and more, an example of deconcentration and linkages between the central administration and the local units.

Moreover, seven economic regions were created in 1971. They were defined as a group of provinces from one geographical area, likely to be able to maintain relations that encourage development. The Constitution of 1992 attributed the status of Local Community (*collectivité locale*) to the Regions.

The number of communes, provinces and prefectures has been increased several times since Independence. Besides the political reasons, these increases are due to demographic growth, the emergence of new urban centres and the extension of big towns. For the same reasons, and in view of better effectiveness in the management of public affairs, qualitative significant improvements were introduced from the mid 1970's on in order to strengthen the processes of democratization, deconcentration and decentralization.

The proclamation of the Fundamental Charter on communal organizations took place on 10th September 1996 and is part of this dynamic. It associates local people with local development activities through their elected councilors and significantly reduces the authority of central control. The governors, with significant control over public powers, are representatives of the King, delegates of the Government and have seen their powers strengthened. The role of the region has remained limited. However, given the place that the region has in the new constitution and during official declarations, this role is expected to undergo important development in the near future.

Besides their Central Directorates, all Economic or Social Ministers, dispose of Regional Delegations or Provinces (case of the Ministries of Agriculture, Public Works, Health, Education, etc.). The Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Valorization (MAMVA) is, after the Ministry of the Interior, the most represented in the rural areas, with notably:

- nine Regional Offices for Agricultural valorization (large irrigation works). There are 170 Valorization Centers ;
- forty Provincial Directorates covering nearly all provinces of the Kingdom and disposing of more than 120 Agricultural Work Centres, (CT).

The CTs are public entities endowed with a moral personal and financial autonomy. They therefore constitute a considerable asset for the implementation of participatory approaches, above all thanks to their place in the rural environment and their good relationships with farmers. In limited numbers, at the beginning of independence, the external services of the different ministerial departments saw their numbers increase. This was in parallel to the creation of new Provinces to respond to increasing management and technical support needs. .

It is important to note however, that a relatively small number of farmers are organized in cooperatives or associations. The 33 Agricultural Chambers have a Federation. The number of cooperatives, outside the land reform is approximately 2,100, and there are 400 associations. Although agricultural organizations play a more and more important role in development (professional associations, Agricultural Chambers, irrigation associations and production cooperatives), others seem to be going through a decline (i.e. the case of the *jmaa*¹⁴, land reform cooperatives and service based cooperatives).

As a financing institution, the Agricultural Credit Institution is very much rooted in the rural areas with a multitude of local saving banks and regional savings banks. Finally, it is appropriate to note that local NGOs have been working on participatory development for the last few years. These associations are more and more managed by urban

¹⁴ Traditional associations, which involve the inhabitants of same douars .

citizens. Their contribution to development is more and more recognized even if it remains somewhat limited for the time being.

2. Strategic Frameworks and Modalities for their Design and Implementation

a. The Planning System and how it works

There is no real rural development planning system in Morocco. Although development projects and programs generally fit into overall strategies (not rural development specific), they are usually designed according to a sectoral approach by different ministerial departments.

Moreover, previous rural development strategies such as that of 1988-1992, as well as those presented in most official declarations and speeches prior to 1992, only consider rural development in specific cases such as that of MAMVA.

Generally speaking it is the Central Administration which is in charge of the conception and formulation of rural development plans and of development programs and projects. The Central Administration is often closely involved in project implementation.

Regional Councils were established notably for areas such as forestry development. Their essentially consultative role remains limited. The role of Regional or Provincial Directorates is often focused on project implementation. Their contribution to the preparation of these projects is largely defined by the collection and sorting of baseline data on targeted zones and by the expression of needs and development proposals resulting from monographic studies at field level.

Recently, Provincial Committees, led by Governors and composed of provincial or regional level civil servants from different ministerial departments, have been established. These councils provide consultation and coordination frameworks between different departments. They meet once per week and often involve Provincial Councilors in their work.

Mokadems,¹⁵ as well as being the best information providers on the rural world for the Provincial authorities, are often indispensable for the implementation of local development activities: surveys, census, demonstration activities, and farmer

organization regarding the implementation of work in the common interest. Thanks to their knowledge of the rural environment, their contribution can be very beneficial and is often very much appreciated. However, their presence can bias the smooth implementation of some activities, notably those aiming to define development needs or specific target criteria for specific support actions with potential beneficiaries.

This situation is now changing, notably following the drought years. One sign of change is that current strategies emphasize rural development, more than ever before, in particular through advocating sustainable development based on the integration of activities and the strengthening of coordination and dialogue between different actors. These strategies should be formalized during the preparation of the next 15-year plan. Ambitious rural development programs concerning the opening up of isolated areas, potable water supply, electricity provision and social housing, are beginning to make use of these strategies. These programs are more and more conceived and implemented with the actors concerned and, above all with ministerial departments and communes.

The Fundamental Charter of 1976 concerning the organization of Rural Communes is in favor of this new approach. It extended the responsibilities of the Rural Communes to project studies, water and electricity provision, decontamination of liquids and solids, social equipment including primary schools, sanitary and sports equipment, specialist equipment (slaughtering houses, service stations, fridge warehouses, etc.), sewage collection, public transport, administrative buildings, local hydraulic, agricultural infrastructure as well as water points.

In the context of this new dynamic a working group led by MAMVA, and made up of staff from the Ministry of the Interior and of Public Works, proposed a Rural Development Strategy, of which the main priorities can be summarized as follows:

- break with the sector-based conception of programs that had dominated until then. This means going from a system of competition that was little productive to a conciliation between the logic of different actors, to obtain synergies and a better impact;

¹⁵ Aides to the authorities, recently made civil servants. They serve as intermediaries between the caïd (representative of Communal authority) and the populations of one or several douars.

- ensure larger mobilization of financial resources, public as well as private, and rationalize public interventions of different actors in the rural areas as well as resource allocation;
- work towards more people's participation in development actions.

Given the current context of liberalization, privatization, decentralization, deconcentration and regionalization, and increasingly limited financial resources, the strategy in question advocates a new approach to development that should be differentiated according to the potentialities and constraints of different areas. The formalization of this approach should be done through components of projects based on driving and income generating activities (agricultural, tourism, mining, etc.), likely to stir other sectors and improve people's living conditions and level of education. This strategy is being widely adhered to. It is soon to be enriched by a study currently underway with the World Bank. This study is based on perspectives and experiences in rural development, taking into account the new context of liberalization and the engagements taken by Morocco in the context of the GATT agreements with the European Union.

b. Experiences in Social Development and Anti-Desertification Measures

– in Social Development

The consideration of social development in the rural environment has been a constant element of development plans ever since independence. Since the end of the eighties it has been the subject of particular interest. This interest relates both to the existence of a significant development gap between the rural and urban areas and to the idea that the implementation of structural adjustment programs would have had negative effects in underprivileged areas.

Therefore the state decided to refocus its interventions through providing more resources in favor of underprivileged peoples as part of a Social Development Strategy (SDS) for the period 1995-2005. Here, the priorities focused on potable water provision, access to basic health services, schooling, literacy and the development of social housing programs.

This strategy is neither specific to the rural world nor part of a more global strategy which could be that of rural development. Indeed, the implementation of the SDS requires the allocation of resources, created by the country's more global strategy which exploits those areas with strong production potential, to underprivileged areas.

- in Anti-Desertification Measures

Out of the 7.7 million cultivated hectares, 5.5 million are subject to intense erosion and out of the 22.7 million hectares studied, 12.5 million, that is 55%, are under threat¹⁶. In sum, the degradation of the forests is nearly 35,000 hectares per year, notably due to land clearance, to excessive fire wood collection and forest paths. Faced with this situation, action plans have all run short of meeting needs.

New orientations focus on the adoption of new management techniques that emphasize the necessity of incorporating the needs of riverside people in integrated agricultural development, notably in the critical watershed zones, and on agro-sylvo-pastoral improvement.

It is also necessary to note the recent creation of a ministry in charge of environment as well as the existence of several strategies, plans or projects, which integrate the desertification component. These are notably:

- a National Reforestation Strategy (underway, in collaboration with the Rural Communes and foresees the planting of an average of 60 000 hectares per year) ;
- a National Watershed Management Plan (in the context of which agricultural and rural development programs, advocating a participatory approach are undergoing preparation, notably with the World Bank);
- an Environmental Protection and Sustainable Development Strategy (underway in collaboration with UNDP, UNESCO, and including the establishment of an environmental observatory).

The conception and implementation of these different plans and strategies is carried out through consultation between the concerned departments. However, the rules, mechanisms of this consultation

¹⁶ Source: MAMVA, contribution of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Land Reform to a Rural Development Strategy, May 1993.

and the roles of the different actors and partners are not always well clarified. Indeed, whether it's a Social Development strategy or an Anti-desertification measure, the defined objectives appear to be beyond the realistic financing possibilities.

3. Experiences in participatory development

Two types of approach are to be distinguished as regards participatory development in Morocco:

- the first was conceived and implemented by the authorities, often in collaboration with international donors such as the World Bank, the African Development Bank or IFAD;
- the second was essentially promoted and implemented by teachers and researchers from the Hassan II Veterinary Agronomic Institute (IAV) and in the context of bilateral cooperation, notably involving K.F.W. or G.T.Z.

The first aims at cost-sharing with the beneficiaries or ensuring their adherence to operation that cannot be well carried out without their agreement. These approaches have been worked on in integrated agricultural development projects, in road improvement projects, in the rehabilitation and equipping of irrigation perimeters and soil protection operations.

The participation of beneficiaries was mostly ensured through:

- the contribution in labor for works on *douars*, on access roads or on the edges of exploitations;
- the acceptance (in certain cases, on the condition of partial compensation) of specific operations on land that they possess or on which they have user rights. This concerns operations that do not provide immediate benefits and /or which limit their source of revenue for a determined period (case of soil defense and restoration).

Participation is achieved through associations (of water users, animal breeders etc.) or cooperatives and/or through traditional forms of organization such as *jmaa* or the *naïbs* of collectives. The role of

the authorities and councilors is often important. The technical aspects are entirely taken care of by the services concerned. This approach was applied to projects of national interest covering large areas. Overall, it had positive results in relation to the defined objectives (cost sharing, lifting of certain constraints). This is nevertheless a very partial approach, which leaves beneficiaries out of activities.

The second type of approach involves beneficiaries in the main stages of the project, notably in management. Development needs are identified and prioritized by or with the population. The choice of sites and technical variants is done in consultation with beneficiaries. The latter are active in the planning and implementation of activities. They support, at least in part, the costs acquisition, installation and/or maintenance of equipment provided by the project.

One study carried out by UNDP¹⁷ underlined experiences with this type of participation have seldom concerned the management of natural resources, an area in which obstacles are numerous. They are effective in "rural household activities" (water supply, decontamination, health, electrification). This is where the State is active and supported by UN, national and foreign organizations. In this case people's participation is achieved through associations (*jmaâ*) and/or through modern cooperatives or associations. Support, from the authorities and councilors is often necessary and sought after from the beginning. Once their approval has been given, they generally intervene very little in the life of a project. The technical services are protagonists in this type of project (such as the Oued Serou project). This is about approaches that are adapted to small spaces in one or several *douars*. Their application to projects of national interest would be difficult, unless backstopped by local development projects.

However, as mentioned in the UNDP study, the assessment of this type of approach can allow for many rich lessons for the future of participatory development in Morocco. However, their marginal scope should be considered (few projects and limited intervention zones). The current orientation of public

¹⁷ UNDP, People's Participation and Rural Development in Morocco, 1994 (work done by: Iraki, Tamim and Tozy, with the collaboration of Herzenni and Ms. Bouchanine).

powers is not very clear, although the participatory approach is more and more advocated. If agreement on the principle is reached, the content and modalities of formalization of the approach remains to be seen. The tendency seems to move more and more towards a compromise between the two approaches, according to the dimension and type of project. However, if the orientation towards smaller-sized projects is materialized, the progressive adoption of real participatory approaches should gain more ground. The pace could however be very slow if the idea, (based on political considerations) of people's participation could be ensured through greater involvement of communal councilors.

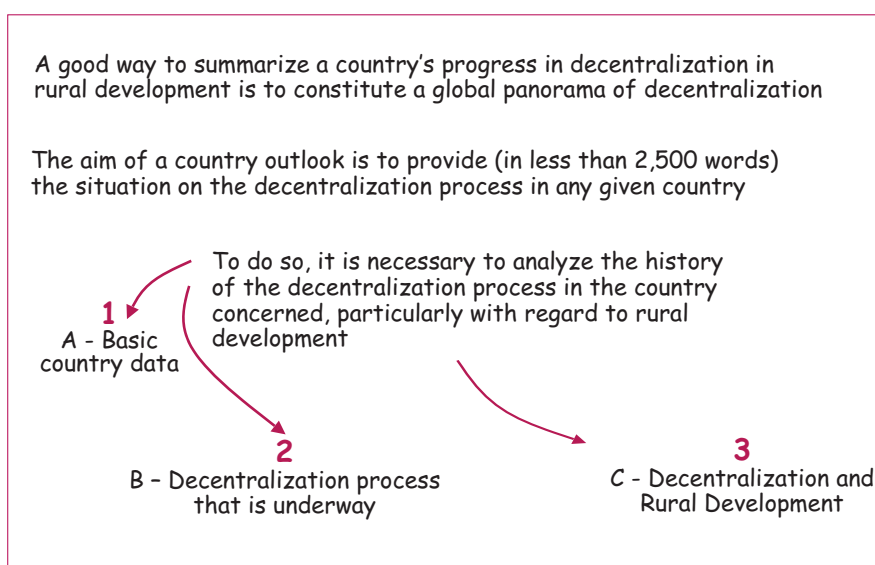
In reference to the UNDP study, the evaluation of previous activities lead to the following conclusions, which reduce the scope of participation:

- the need to try to associate the population right from the beginning of the identification and formulation process (confirmed by the failure of certain participatory techniques);
- no effective people's participation is possible if field workers are but executors of decisions that they have had no part in;
- the size of a project influences the degree of peoples participation;
- the knowledge of local conditions and issues is quintessential before carrying out any action (this phase helps to avoid the exclusion of a of a particular group or the de-motivation of another);
- participation must be flexible, the formalization or the contracting of relations is appropriate, but it is not an end in itself;
- training of field workers in contact with populations is indispensable, to be able to reduce the gap between the organization as foreseen by the experts and its implementation in the field.

Chapter 2. Putting Together a Country Outlook

Advice for the establishment of a Country Outlook for on-going decentralization processes

A good way of summarizing a country's situation as far as decentralization is concerned, is to develop a global view of the process. The aim of a country outlook is to provide (in less than 2,500 words) a country's status in decentralization. To do so, it is necessary to get an overview of the country's context and form an idea of major elements that have shaped the decentralization process. The general plan for this is as follows:



Document Plan

A – General Country Data:

- Statistics (surface area, population, density, rural population, total GDP, GDP per capita, place of the agricultural sector, export situation etc.)
- Administrative and institutional forms (political regime, administrative map)
- On-going Structural Adjustment Programs (Structural Adjustment program - SAP), Agricultural Structural Adjustment Program (ASAP) Economic Stabilization Program (IMF).

B – On-going Decentralization Process

- History (start date, origin of the process)
- Objectives of the process
- Organisms, instruments and mechanisms in charge of the process (Institutions, Law on Decentralization, decrees or other existing texts and forms of coordination between Local Communities of the same level)
- Nature of the responsibilities of different levels of administration (decision – making, deliberation, execution).

C – Decentralization and Rural Development

- Predominant form of decentralization in rural development (deconcentration, delegation or devolution and spatial area that is privileged by decentralization)
- Rural Development planning modalities and design of strategic program (levels involved, degree of participation of decentralized institutions)
- Decentralization of the main support services in agriculture (training, extension, research, credit, fertilizer, seeds, irrigation)
- Financial Decentralization of agricultural support services (training, extension, research, credit, fertilizer, seeds, irrigation)
- Importance of the role of the main actors in rural development at regional and local level (public sector, populations, NGOs, others)
- Implementation of the decentralization process (implementation schedule of decentralization in the agricultural sector; extent of application of the legal framework foreseen for decentralization)
- Existence of accompanying measures (in information, consultation, training, organizational support)
- Prior re-structuring of accompanying public entities in view of decentralization (functions, size, number of employees, financial situation)
- Constraints that still weigh down decentralization (weaknesses at regional and local level, civil society organizations, absence of consultation frameworks, lack of coherence of activities, absence of coordination between different levels, institutional voids, ownership of local powers, others)
- Corrective measures that might have been implemented (better information on the process, training programs, organizational support)
- Evaluation of the rural development decentralization process? Impact on agricultural support services, on measures linked to rural development, poverty reduction, local infrastructures (health, housing, education), on productive infrastructures (paths, irrigation, warehouses), on people's participation, on environmental protection measures.

Example of a Country Outlook: Senegal¹⁸

General Country Data

Surface Area	196,722 sq. km
Population (millions)	8.1
Population Growth	2.7%
Urban Population	40%
Density (1995)	41.2 inch/sq. km
GDP (1994) Billions	US \$3.06
GDP per Capita	US\$ 377
Currency	CFA Franc
National Budget	14% of GDP (1994) 15.3% (1995)
Human Development Indicator	0.340
HDI Ranking (out of 174 countries)	152

Borders, Topography and Climate

Together with Cape Verde Island, Senegal occupies the westernmost position in West Africa facing the Atlantic Ocean. It is situated between 12 degrees and 17 degrees of the northern latitude and 11 degrees and 18 degrees of the western longitude. Senegal is bordered by Mauritania in the North and North-East, Mali to the Southeast, Guinea and Guinea Bissau in the South. The Gambia is an enclave of 10,000 sq. km within Senegal.

Senegal is a flat country not rising above 130 m with the exception of the Southeast region where the relief does not rise beyond 581 m in the Fouta Djallon. Senegal's climate is affected by its position facing the Atlantic Ocean for more than 700 km, and by atmospheric conditions determined by sea breeze and the Harmattan. There are two distinct seasons with extremes of rainfall. The dry season lasts from November to April. The rainy season lasts from May to October. It begins in the east and then spreads to the rest of the country. Precipitation's decrease from 1,500 mm per year in the southern regions (Ziguinchor, Kolda) to 800 mm in the central region (Kaolack) and then to 300 mm in the north (Podor, Matam).

The river system is of tropical regime, marked by great differences in the river levels between the rainy season and the dry season. Riverbeds can be dry during the dry season. Flooding from the Senegal River contributes to ground water replenishment. Senegal has significant underground water resources and many vegetation zones. In the north, the Sahelian zone is covered with rare, mostly thorny bushes. The wooded savanna is rich in fauna and characterizes the Sudanese zones (East-Central). Thick forests are found in the Sub-Guinean zone of the lower Casamance. The average annual temperatures of the coastal region are 27 degrees centigrade and those of the interior are 35 degrees centigrade.

Characteristics and Recent Developments of the Political System

After the failure of the short-lived Mali Federation, Senegal, like most African countries, gained independence in 1960. The first constitution installed a parliamentary democracy (a new experience) that did not survive the December 1962 and the 7 March 1963 crises and a new constitution establishing a presidential regime was adopted.

Single party politics was the norm at first with the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), which later would become the Socialist Party (PS), at the helm. Later, starting 1974, four schools of thought¹⁹ were instituted by the new constitution (law 76-1 of 19-03-73 and constitutional law 78-68 of 28th December 1978) with the creation of three other parties. Complete multi-party politics was introduced in 1981 with the election of a second president, which led to a proliferation of political parties (36 at the end of 1998). Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly of 140 members and the Senate of 60 members, elected for a five-year term.

Senegal is divided into ten administrative regions headed by governors appointed by the national government, and regional councils, the deliberative bodies whose members are elected by universal suffrage for five-year terms.

¹⁸ The way in which the country data contained in this publication is presented does not pertain to any opinion on the part of the authors regarding the legal status of the countries, territories, towns, zones, their authorities or their borders and limits.

¹⁹ The four schools of thought are as follows: scientific socialism, democratic socialism, liberalism, conservatism.

Agriculture in Senegal

The agricultural sector, which employs 60% of the work force, has faced enormous problems for two decades. Its contribution to the GDP (18.75% between 1960 and 1966) has fallen to 10%. Agricultural production rose only by 2.7% between 1981 and 1991 (the rate of population growth). 3.8 million hectares of the country's 19.7 million hectares are arable 2.4% of it is farmed. Soil diversity, climatic conditions and underground water resources all help to divide the country into six homogeneous zones known as agro-ecological zones. Rice production has been insufficient in spite of major investments especially in the valley of the River Senegal, with the building of the Diama dam, which keeps salt water in check, and that of Manantali, which evens the flow of the River Senegal.

The production of other crops (cotton, peanuts, and cereals) has even gone down. Rural depopulation has increased and the food deficit has worsened because of the growth in urban population and the divergence between the agricultural production system and consumption. The signature in 1995 of the Agricultural Development Policy Letter (ADPL) and its approval by the World Bank led to the implementation of the Agricultural Sector Adjustment Policy (ASAP) followed by the Agricultural Sector Investment in 1998. On the whole, the government's price policy translated into real increases of the price of most crops, but the decrease in the real revenue of farmers was followed by the sharp reduction in the use of agricultural inputs, the obsolescence of agricultural equipment and the insufficiency of good quality seeds. At the start of 1997, most of the Agricultural Sector Adjustment Policies were carried out and the sector is practically liberalized. Nonetheless, the results are below expectation and the agricultural sector still has some difficulties.

Current Economic Situation

Since independence, the Senegalese economy has seen contrasting developments. The first five years were characterized by high growth. Then at the end of the 1970s the economy was stagnant, the internal finances deteriorated and the external debt mounted. This period marked the beginning of the implementation of radical reforms: a stabilization policy in 1978 and the implementation of the Economic and Financial Recovery Plan (EFRP). A Medium and Long Term Structural Adjustment

Program (MLTSAP) put into effect between 1985 and 1992. In spite of these reforms, the Senegalese economy was still characterized by the slow growth of its GDP (on the average 2.9% in real terms). However, public finances improved considerably, and the balance of government operations rose from 2.9% of the GDP in 1985 to a slight surplus (0.2% of GDP) in 1991.

In 1993, the country plunged into a serious economic crisis due to a depressed international context, the downturn in certain sectors: (fishing, phosphate mining, peanuts and tourism). An economic emergency plan was put into effect in August 1993. The change in the parity of the national currency in 1994 was followed immediately by the signing of a confirmation agreement with IMF and changed into a three-year agreement called the Reinforced Structural Adjustment Facility (RSAF). In March 1994 the World Bank made an economic recovery credit, and multilateral and bilateral budgetary arrangements (EU and France, notably) relating to the rescheduling of the external debt, also supported this program. Also, in July 1995, a consultative group of donors met in Paris and offered Senegal financial aid over the 1995-1997 period. Overall, Senegal made considerable progress on the macroeconomic level, the reduction of financial imbalances, and liberalization of the economy and the establishment of a more favorable base for a more sustainable economic growth. The macroeconomic objectives have been generally attained, and most of the criteria have been adhered to. Over the period as a whole, the growth rate of the GDP was above the rate of population growth of 2.7%.

On-going Decentralization Process

Background, Objectives and Legal Framework

The Senegalese experience in decentralization goes back to colonial times with the four self-governing communes, which were a training ground for participatory management of local affairs. However, this experience had very little impact on the country because it only involved the elite of some towns. That is why the real beginning of the process is when the "Communautés Rurales" entity was created in 1972, so that the rural population, the majority of citizens of the country, could participate in the management of local affairs. In 1990 and especially in 1996 considerable progress was made with regard to

the strengthening of accountability of presidents of rural councils, the creation of regions as legal entities with their own responsibilities.

Functions, Resources and Autonomy of Decentralized Entities

Through the 1996 law, a new entity, the region, was created to be focal point of regional development policy formulation, with "Communautés Rurales" having the task of implementing policies. The law was followed by a well thought-out distribution of powers in nine areas, among regions, "Communautés Rurales" and municipalities. A major fiscal reform is in process, which would assign local jurisdictions enough financial resources to carry out their new responsibilities.

Decentralization and Rural Development

Forms of Decentralization, Agricultural and Rural Development Policy Formulation

The systematic interventionism in the decade after independence relating to the affairs of local communities did not bring about the desired results and basic reform was undertaken starting in 1984 with the New Agricultural Policy (NAP) and the implementation of the Agricultural Sector Adjustment Program (ASAP).

With the changes in the decentralization process, the "Communautés Rurales" became the primary target of central administration policy. Many ministries have responsibility related to the "Communautés Rurales": the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Environment and the Protection of Nature, the Ministry of Hydraulics, and especially the Ministry of Agriculture. Deconcentrated sub-national authorities: governors, prefects, sub-prefects, and village chiefs represent the state in the regions, districts and villages. There are two types of decentralized local authors: the "Communautés Rurales", the lowest jurisdiction, and the Region. They have legal status and financial autonomy and are freely governed by elected councils.

Decentralization and Agricultural Support Services

The Agricultural Sector Adjustment Loan is intended to prop up the decentralization framework while providing a new direction for agricultural support

services. It is expected that the loan will be used to implement many support programs, especially the National Program for Rural Infrastructure, which is supposed to last twelve years. The objective is to improve and consolidate the regulatory and institutional framework of decentralization, the establishment of a Rural Investment Fund (RIF) to provide extra financing for basic community infrastructure, and to end the isolation of rural communities.

The state intends to use the Agricultural Services and Producer Organization Program to build the capacity of producer organizations. It also aims to reorganize agricultural services in restructuring central, regional and local services of the Ministry of Agriculture, in reorganizing agricultural and agribusiness research, and in creating a new agricultural and rural council to be assigned to peasant organizations and the private sector.

Support Policies, Constraints and Evaluation of the Decentralization Process

The support policies for decentralization involve institutional support and capacity building of "Communautés Rurales" in particular. To this, one must add the creation of collective infrastructure and financial support.

The major constraint is the extreme poverty of local governments. In order to solve their financial problems, an extensive fiscal reform is in process, which would supplement the various grants (FDD, FECL) they receive. Productive investments are also encouraged and the law offers the opportunity to take advantage of decentralized cooperation.

Future Perspectives

Three important conditions need to be satisfied in order for decentralization to work in Senegal:

- a) an extensive information campaign targeting citizens and actors in the decentralization process, locally elected officials and authorities of the decentralized administrations;
- b) a working framework for consultations as stipulated by the regionalization process;
- c) sufficient resources for local jurisdictions so they can effectively carry out their new responsibilities.

Chapter 3. Typology of Decentralization Processes

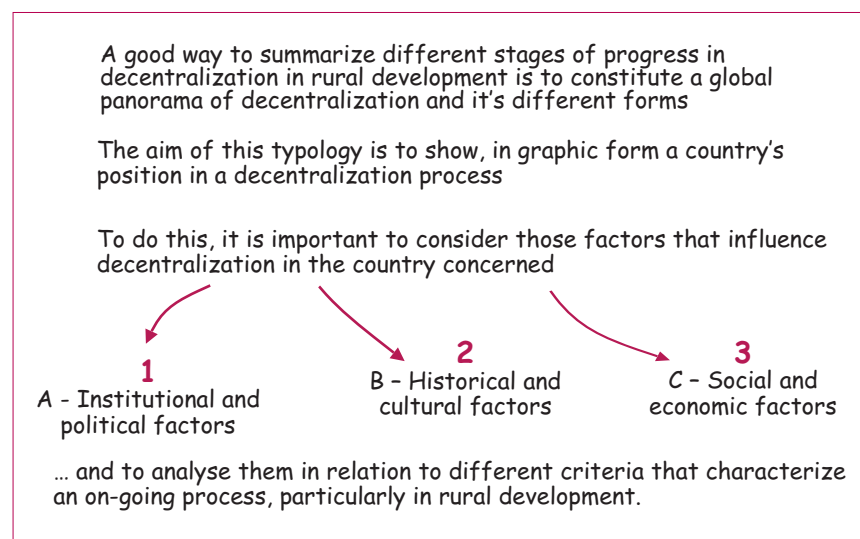
Firstly, we will introduce the issue of decentralization in a historical and conceptual context, taking into account its risks, assets and potentialities. Secondly, existing situational diversity will be analyzed. This will underline the need to view each specific situation as part of this diversity. Thirdly, we will then provide some elements to facilitate the analysis of an institutional environment of decentralization in a given context.

Situational Diversity

1 – Differentiation Factors

Decentralization takes on different forms in different countries. This diversity is due to a multitude of factors.

- Firstly, there are the institutional and political factors, such as the level of formal democracy, the real practices of participatory democracy, the balance of power between different institutions, the types of resource pooling, etc. To understand these factors, one cannot limit him/herself to the analysis of formal reports. It is necessary to also analyze the real practices also and to understand the underlying power balances.
- Institutional, political and historical factors are themselves influenced by historical and cultural factors and the following questions need to be raised: since when is democracy in place? Does effective participation exist in the tradition of the country or the region? What are or were the conflicts (be they social, ethnic or religious) that can or could hinder the consultation process? It is also necessary to ask questions on recent developments of the political system in place since these can strongly influence the particular type of decentralization to be undertaken: for example the influence of the public sector and traditional power structures can be considered.
- Finally, social and economic factors also have a considerable influence: stark social inequality is not favorable to consultation and to effective decentralization. Economic development generally tends to facilitate decentralization, provided that all social strata are concerned.



2 - Examples of Typologies

How then should one identify oneself in this diversity? Various typologies can be proposed which can enable us to revitalize the situation and to make relevant comparisons.

For example, FAO sent a pilot questionnaire to approximately twenty countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This led to the identification of seven most important variables, thus proposing a rather simple classification. Analysis of these seven variables has distinguished roughly five types of countries.

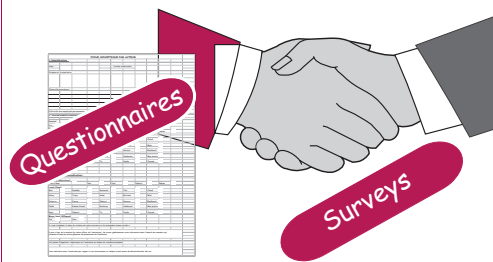
- I. The countries with weak decentralization and participation
- II. The countries with weak decentralization and medium participation
- III. The countries with medium decentralization and weak participation
- IV. The countries with medium decentralization and participation
- V. The countries with strong decentralization and participation

■ We can differentiate further by looking at the different levels affected by decentralization:

- In some countries such as Benin, Burkina Faso, Cambodia and Sudan, decentralization has above all, concerned the public administration itself.
- In other cases such as in Ivory Coast or in Senegal, decentralization not only affected the Ministry of agriculture, but also the Para-statal or mixed societies in rural development.
- Finally in other countries, decentralization of public administration and quasi-public entities was accompanied by the establishment of a network of agricultural chambers constituted of decentralized and autonomous regional chambers, under an umbrella association to facilitate cooperation between the chambers. This was the case in Togo and in Haiti.

A rapid survey questionnaire

- The origin of the process
- The phases of its history
- Legal basis
- The place of each level's functions
- The degree of autonomy of decentralized entities
- Financial and fiscal arrangements
- Policy diversification
- Regionalization of local demands
- Accompanying measures (IFO)
- The role of public/private actors
- The impact on decentralization



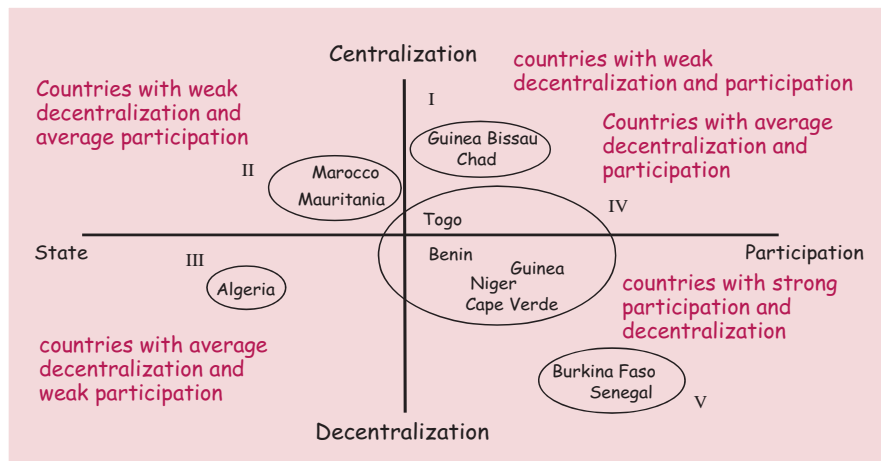
So while taking into account both factors concerning decentralization itself and factors concerning the role of the State or the Civil society, it is possible to draw up country clusters. This exercise was carried out with about ten countries during the Praia seminar in May 1996. Four domains were studied: central/local and State-control/participatory: a classification of different countries according to their degree of decentralization allowed some comparisons to be made to better appreciate specific constraints (see frame below)

Example: the Extent of Decentralization in Different Countries

A diagram was drawn up to show the level of the different constraints that oppose decentralization in different countries of the Maghreb and the Sahel. Two variables were taken into consideration: notably, (i) the degree of decentralization / centralization and (ii) the level of civil society participation in relation to a State-controlled economy and centralized society. In so far as the first criteria are concerned, the countries are thus classified according to the degree of importance of the decentralization process: Guinea Bissau, Chad, Morocco, Mauritania, Togo, Benin, Guinea, Algeria, Niger, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso and Senegal. With regard to the type of economy and the level of civil society participation, the countries are classified as follows: Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Togo, Guinea Bissau, Benin, Chad, Niger, Guinea, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso and Senegal. The following diagram illustrates the positions of the different countries and proposes a typological regrouping. The crossing of the two criteria creates five types of situations:

A Typology with Five Categories

from state to the participatory..... from the centralized to the decentralized



Questionnaire to Establish a Typology of Decentralization Processes

Country: _____

Date : / /

Filled in by:

Central level civil servant

Local level civil servant

expert

A. The institutional context of decentralization

1a. According to you, what was the first step of the decentralization process in your country and when did it happen?

..... Date :

1b. What other important steps or events have taken place in the decentralization process?

..... Date :

..... Date :

..... Date :

..... Date :

..... Date :

..... Date :

2a. Indicate, by order of importance, those actors who, in your opinion, have influenced the start-up of the decentralization process (put a "1" for the most important and "2" for the second most important etc.)

Degree of importance

Civil Society Organizations

Central Government

Local Governments

International Agencies

International Agencies

2b. At the time, in your country, did one of the following phenomenon exist?

Strong social movements for increased democratization Yes No

A particularly severe economic crisis Yes No

Significant cuts in the state budget Yes No

3. In order to successfully implement decentralization, did your country equip itself with any of the following? (please indicate which).

A constitutional reform Date :

A law on decentralization Date :

Implementation decrees Date :

4a. Let us consider three levels of government: the central level, corresponding to the state, the local level, which represents the most direct interface between the administration and the population, and the intermediate level, which links the other two levels. Following this framework, what are the names of the different administrative units in your country and at what levels are they situated?

Intermediate level: _____

Local level: _____

4b. From an institutional and legal point of view, what is, if it exists in your country, the central level entity in charge of decentralization?⁽²⁰⁾

4c. From an institutional and legal point of view, who ensures the tutelage of the decentralized entities at the local level?

- A ministry Name: _____
- A regional entity nominated by the centre Name: _____
- An elected authority Name: _____

4d. Briefly describe the role (from an institutional and legal point of view and with particular attention to consultation and decision-making) played by the three levels of government in policy-making, planning, implementation and financing.

Central level:

Policy-making: _____

Planning and implementation: _____

Financing: _____

Intermediate level

Policy-making: _____

Planning and implementation: _____

Financing: _____

Local level

Policy-making: _____

Planning and implementation: _____

Financing: _____

²⁰ Delegation of functions to regional para-public entities is the transfer of part of the functions and expertise to agencies with regional and thematic vocation.

5a. In your opinion, do the decentralized entities at intermediary level have:

- a. fully sufficient budgetary resources sufficient insufficient nothing
- b. fully sufficient human resources sufficient insufficient nothing
- c. a strong degree of autonomy in the use of resources sufficient insufficient nothing

5b. In your opinion, do the decentralized entities at local level have:

- a. fully sufficient budgetary resources sufficient insufficient nothing
- b. fully sufficient human resources sufficient insufficient nothing
- c. a strong degree of autonomy in the use of resources sufficient insufficient nothing

B. Decentralization and rural development

1a. According to you, what was the first step of the decentralization process in the agricultural and rural sector and when did it happen?

.....Date:

1b. Do specific institutional and legal arrangements exist for the implementation of decentralization in the agricultural and rural sector? If so, when were they adopted?

Yes No Date:

2. Indicate which forms of decentralization are being implemented in the agricultural and rural sector in your country (put "1" for the form of decentralization that carries the most weight, a "2" for the second etc.):

- The deconcentration of central state services⁽²¹⁾:
- The delegation of powers regional semi-public entities⁽²²⁾:
- The devolution of power to local governments⁽²³⁾:
- The devolution of power to civil society organizations:

²¹ Administrative deconcentration towards the regional and /or local levels is the process through which a ministry transfers a part of its functions to its regional / local branches. It only aims at the relationship between the different levels of the central organs and implies that decision-making power is at the top and in the capital city; the other levels have a the role of transmitting information and implementing decisions: In deconcentration, decision-making power on important questions remains at the top, the central organs are geographically dispersed and have decision-making power (by delegation) on less important issues. Decentralization by devolution only exists when real decision-making power is transferred not to the local levels of the central organs but to local government and civil society organizations.

²² Delegation of functions to regional para-public entities is the transfer of part of the functions and expertise to agencies with regional and thematic vocation.

²³ Devolution consists in the transfer of functions and resources to populations themselves or to local government (transfer toward citizen representative organizations or toward municipalities, village authorities or rural communities). Devolution is the most advanced form of decentralization because it implies the transfer of power toward an institution or local association having high autonomy and representativeness. It is in this form of decentralization that popular participation is most important in the process of decisions making.

3a. Is the decentralization process being accompanied by a restructuring of the Ministry of Agriculture and / or Rural Development in terms of:

- a. a reduced budget Yes No
- b. reduced personnel Yes No
- c. a reorganization of services Yes No

3b. If we consider three levels (central, intermediate and local, see question 4a), which services of the Ministry of Agriculture and / or Rural Development correspond to the intermediate and local levels?

Intermediate level: _____

Local level: _____

4. What level of involvement does the local level have in agricultural and rural development policy-making?

a. According to the official institutional and legal arrangements:

- Autonomy of decision-making at the local level
- Consultation and joint-decision
- Simple consultation
- Absence of consultation at the local level

b. According to you and / or in reality

- Autonomy of decision-making at the local level
- Consultation and joint-decision
- Simple consultation
- Absence of consultation at the local level

5. In your opinion, do the agricultural and rural development policies take into account the differences between:

- a. the regions:
strongly sufficiently insufficiently not at all
- b. types of production:
strongly sufficiently insufficiently not at all
- c. types of producers
strongly sufficiently insufficiently not at all

6. In your opinion, in your country and in most cases, is intermediate level coordination of implementation in the agricultural and rural sector:

- strongly sufficiently insufficiently not at all

7. According to the institutional and legal framework, for actions concerning development, equipment and rural infrastructure:

- a. decision-making is mainly done at: central level intermediate level local level
- b. financing is mainly done at: central level intermediate level local level
- c. monitoring and evaluation is mainly done at: central level intermediate level local level

8. In your country, who mainly ensures agricultural support services?

	Training	Extension	Research	Credit	Inputs
Public sector:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Private sector:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Producers organizations:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
NGOs:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. According to the institutional and legal framework, for different agricultural support services, who holds decision-making power over:

a. Policy-making:	Training	Extension	Research	Credit	Inputs
Central level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intermediate level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Finance:	Training	Extension	Research	Credit	Inputs
Central level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intermediate level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. In your opinion, how have the decentralization process's accompanying measures been carried out in the agricultural and rural sector and in the following areas:

a. Diffusion of information about decentralization to:	Strong	Sufficient	Insufficient	Non-existent
- central technical services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- deconcentrated technical services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- local government civil servants / elected councilors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- population groups and / or their representatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Training in new decentralization-related responsibilities in the agricultural and rural sector for:	Strong	Sufficient	Insufficient	Non-existent
- central technical services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- deconcentrated technical services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- local government civil servants / elected councilors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- population groups and / or their representatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Support to rural organizations and / or their representatives	Strong	Sufficient	Insufficient	Non-existent
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. In your opinion, until now, what have been the two most important constraints in the implementation of the decentralization process in the agricultural and rural sector in your country?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____

12a. In your opinion, until now, what have been the two most important positive results in the decentralization process in the agricultural and rural sector in your country?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____

12b. In your opinion, what are the two most important recommendations to be given to increase effectiveness in the decentralization process in the agricultural and rural sector in your country?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____

PART THREE

Managing a Decentralization Process

This part analyses three aspects of decentralization. The first aspect concerns the change of functions and the restructuring process of Agriculture and Rural Development ministries. In fact, the mandate of these institutions is less and less focused on production and trade and more and more concentrated on specific functions such as guidance, enforcement of rules and control.

The second aspect concerns the increasing role of the region, which is supposed to reinforce the process of State withdrawal in rural development. The process is analyzed, and, in particular, constraints and possible solutions are identified.

The third aspect concerns the role of specific rural organizations, such as Chambers of agriculture and specific actors of civil society. These actors are called to play relevant roles at the regional level and to ensure the transfer of functions that were previously State-specific functions.

Chapter 1. The Restructuration of Rural Institutions

Interventions in developing countries have increasingly sought to support public institutions in the rural sector to adapt to the new economic context and to the establishment of new relations with farmers and other actors of civil society. Partners in development have been able to define and improve methodologies, analytical instruments and models of organization (after testing them in real situations) that respond to current objectives of food security and sustainable economic and social development.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, an increasing number of countries have made requests to institutions engaged in development support. These requests have been for support in the restructuring of public institutions, and for the building of professional agricultural organizations.²⁴

The Ground Work: Redefining the Role of the State

Policies aimed at establishing market economies lead to a review of the role of the state. This is achieved through refocusing it exclusively on its public service mission and through enabling it to do so in the most cost-effective manner.

This public service mission corresponds to the following major functions:

- the guidance function: gathering of useful information for the agricultural sector, macroeconomic analysis, and forecast of the sector's development, proposals for agricultural policy, monitoring and coordination of development actions.
- the regulatory and control function: preparation and adaptation of laws and regulations seeking to encourage development, preservation of the general interest in different institutional areas, health, veterinary capacities, the quality of agricultural products, production factors and the assurance of their implementation by all the players involved.

²⁴ The following text comes from analyses that have been carried out and implemented by the rural development division of the FAO.

- natural resource conservation function: taking stock of resources, determining and implementing with citizen participation, planning for their rational development and conservation.

in the three State functions of...

1. orientation and coordination
2. regulation and control
3. preservation of natural resources

...with some precautions:

- affirmed political will for restructuration
- benefiting participation and civil society
- a total reconstruction of the institutional environment
- decentralization of powers and responsibilities
- organization of the agricultural profession and linkages
- better governance can be sufficient
- a change of attitude in the public sector
- a global approach to development

Beyond these three exclusive functions, the State has an important role to play alongside other actors, in contributing to technical support for production, technical assistance to farmers (especially through agronomic research), extension, and agricultural training.

Definition and Basic Principles

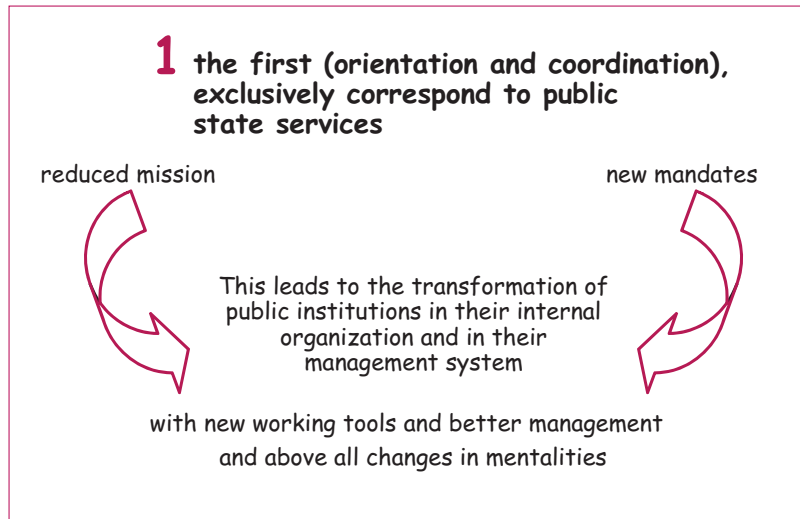
Restructuring is based on the new role of the State and it involves a complete structural transformation, including dismantling, revamping, and the creation of new types of institutions. It takes into consideration problem solving, especially personnel problems, which its implementation causes.

The underlying restructuring principles are:

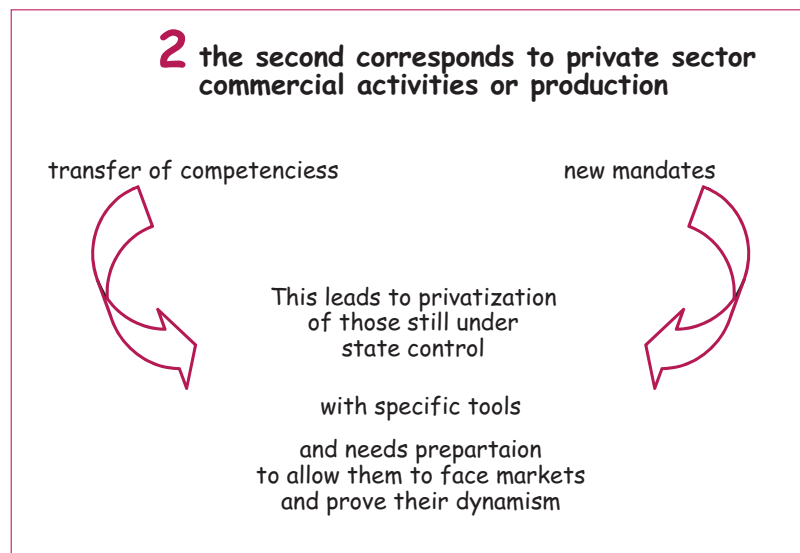
- a clear separation of public service functions from those of the private sector, the establishment of new types of relations between the two sectors based on consultations and favoring the participation of civil society in the choice and implementation of development policies;
- a general reconfiguration of the institutional landscape based on the new assignment of the State, and a greater role for representative organizations of civil society;
- decentralization of powers and responsibilities, giving local representative organizations more freedom, decision-making powers and means to carry them out;
- organizing the rural profession and its institutionalization to create an autonomous and associative sector capable of reconciling the general interest and economic efficiency;
- a change in attitude by the public sector toward actors of civil society, replacing centralized planning methods with dialogue and collaboration;
- a broad approach to development, integrating all factors (agro-ecological, human, economic, time, etc.);
- rational management of financial and human resources based on continuing evaluation of results and improvements on performance.
- a restructuration request which emanates from actors (including civil society) and is well established and structured.

The restructuring of rural development institutions is envisaged along three interdependent lines:

1. the first, which relates to the focus on public service functions, concerns the transformation of public institutions, with parallel attitude changes;



2. the second concerns the commercial or productive activities which belong to the private sector. It leads to the privatization of commercial or those types of activities still carried out by the state. It involves the preparation of personnel to compete in the market, and demonstrate dynamism;



3. the third is collaboration between the public sector and civil society, with strong participation of producer organizations. This collaboration leads to the creation of new types of institutions and enables both producer participation and the establishment of a framework for dialogue between public and private partners and the agricultural profession.



Important precautions must be taken into consideration during restructuring:

- restructuring must at all costs avoid the break down or deterioration of the provision of goods and services relating to agricultural production. This means ensuring that the form and pace of privatization make it possible to respond to producer needs and allow them to participate;
- with regard to reduction in personnel in the public sector, care must be taken on the one hand, to avoid abrupt dismissals leading to social problems, and on the other, loss of personnel having received valuable training;
- For public institutions, the risk would be to think that restructuring stops when new services are put in place. Restructuring would not be considered successful if it did not change attitudes. It will not achieve its goal if it does not bring about a change in behavior in an irreversible way, and if it does not instill management methods which favor the constant improvement of human resources, and the continuous adaptation of structures to the needs of development.

Pitfalls to be avoided

in agricultural production	avoid rupture or deterioration in the supply of goods and services by arranging necessary replacements
in managing staff who have to leave their posts	avoid the creation of social problems through straight redundancies and the loss of ready trained human potential
with public institutions	avoid the creation of human problems and foresee training, financial incentives and improvements in working conditions

Methodology for Restructuring Public Institutions

The process of restructuring takes place in three main stages:

- basic institutional analysis and the design of the master plan;
- detailed preparation of the restructuring plan;
- implementation.

Without being considered a stage as such of the process, an evaluation of the impact of restructuring on development must be undertaken two or three years after implementation, in order to make adjustments or to integrate additional inputs.

Institutional Analysis and the Design of the Restructuring Master Plan

The first stage is the basic analysis, which helps to bring out the necessary elements for the design of restructuring proposals to be submitted for discussion and decision by all actors involved.

The analysis basically includes:

- the activities of agricultural public institutions, to identify those public services which must continue to be provided by the restructured institutions, and those which must be transferred to the private sector;
- the institutional aspects of existing agricultural public services: their organization, internal and external relations, decision-making process, monitoring of implementation, human, natural and financial resource management, etc. and the evaluation of their technical capacity;
- the performance of institutions which depends largely on the capacity of their personnel and on its distribution and tasks assigned to it. Particular importance is given to knowledge of personnel, to its continuous evaluation and management, in order to improve its capacity so that it can continue to be useful. Data banks on human resources enable automatic comparisons revealing the quantitative and qualitative disparities between current personnel and the needs of restructured services. Thus, they allow the measure of disparities and to correct them by appropriate measures reassignment, training, dismissal, redeployment, and in some cases, hiring;
- Producers' evaluation of services provided by public institutions, and the nature of relations they wish to have with the latter, as well as knowledge of their needs and aspirations in terms of development support.

The three main stages

1 Institutional analysis and design of a master plan	
with the common diagnostic of current and future activities	without omitting consultation with different partners concerned
2 The preparation of a detailed restructuration plan	
with legal details	without omitting financial costs and the pace of change
the management of information and capacity building	

Restructuring proposals are designed to respond especially to production systems considered on a microeconomic scale, which take into account their diversity and that of their closest agro-ecological and socio-economic environment. They are then put in a macroeconomic context, integrating them on a regional and international scale.

After being designed, these proposals are presented and discussed at all levels before being submitted to the authorities.

Following consultation with their development partners, the authorities put together the definitive document. Informing all interested actors, including farmers, civil servants, development partners and ensuring their participation in consultations is essential as it prevents the risk of misunderstanding on the objectives of restructuring, and gains their support, which is necessary for implementation.

The overall organization of services at different levels and a preliminary general estimate of its impact are presented as a master restructuring plan. It is intended for national authorities, to allow them to make their choice after consultation with their partners.

Preparation of a Detailed Restructuring Plan

The detailed plan for restructuring is prepared on the basis of the choices made by national authorities after extensive consultations on the proposed master plan with the relevant actors, and their partners in development. It includes:

1. a reminder of the role of the State and the presentation of the total institutional set-up, indicating the position of different actors in agricultural development;
2. the details on the way structures are organized at different levels, and the legal status and the financing mechanisms of the institutions resulting from restructuring;
3. the principles related to ways of working and the type of internal and external relations, in a spirit of the decentralization of responsibilities, and producer participation to the decision-making process;
4. the assignment of the different units and the detailed description of staff profiles at all levels, in the form of standardized filing systems, describing the major activities of each position and indicating the qualification and experience required to carry out assigned functions;
5. quantitative evaluation, qualitative composition, and geographic distribution, of required workers by department;
6. an outline of the training plan for the personnel of the restructured institution and the technical assistance needed for mastering the new methodologies;
7. evaluation of the need for extra equipment and the budgets required for the effective working of the departments and for ideal working conditions for personnel. This evaluation is carried out in a deconcentrated fashion for each responsibility center;
8. the major channels of the technical and managerial information system, including the decision-making process, and the set-up of programming, monitoring, and control of implementation of activities;
9. the basic rules for streamlined management of human resources, allowing for its continuous adaptation to the requirements of the jobs to be done, continuous staff development, and improvement of working conditions and job performance;
10. human and financial implications of restructuring. The implications for human resources defined by comparing the results of analyses and evaluation of current personnel, carried out at the first stage, with the personnel needs determined at the second stage. With regard to budgets and equipment, impact is also evaluated by comparing the current resources with future needs of the restructured departments. Moreover, an evaluation of the cost of restructuring is carried out. It consists of:
 - the cost of redeployment of personnel no longer needed after restructuring;
 - the cost of putting the new structures in place, as well as that of building them.

11. the plan for implementation, established at the last stage, makes all the aspects of restructuring coherent; indicates the preliminary conditions and measures before implementation, and presents the indicative schedule of the major phases of the implementation of restructuring.

Implementing Restructuring

Institutions to be restructured can obviously not be put in charge of implementing their own restructuring. Other public institutions that need to be restructured are not recommended either to properly conduct such an operation. Therefore, it is necessary to put in place ad hoc structures that can implement the restructuring, hence avoiding bureaucracy and unjustified influences.

3 Restructuration

through specific
consultation measures

without omitting
accompanying measures
of specific areas
(Research, extension,
rural credit, etc.)

and above all avoid effects on the poorer
farmers and attempts by the richer
ones to take all the benefits

The structure set up for this purpose would be composed of political authorities and a technical body. The role of political authorities is to determine the direction of the different phases of the implementation process and to make the important decisions, especially concerning the future of personnel and what will become of privatized activities.

This authority can be a national restructuring committee composed of the ministries concerned by restructuring decisions, representatives of staff from institutions to be restructured, and representatives of the agricultural profession. This committee meets periodically to examine the reports and implementation proposals prepared by technical services.

The technical services responsible for the implementation of the restructuring plan have the role of informing the political authorities about the process, to prepare decision-making elements for their attention, and to supervise their implementation by the relevant actors. These bodies are composed of a national and several regional implementing cells, with the necessary means to decentralize the restructuring process, and to resolve the problems that restructuring entails, especially regarding personnel.

Each cell is organized into two sections:

- the section on human resources;
- the section on activity/function transfers and privatization.

The implementation of the restructuring plan requires two types of support:

- financial contribution for the expenditures that restructuring entail;
- equipment and technical assistance for putting the new organization in place.

Accompanying Measures

Restructuring cannot by itself bring about agricultural development. Its effectiveness depends on supplementary measures taken to transform the overall legal, institutional, and economic framework, in order to create a more favorable environment for agricultural development. Among the measures that must be taken to support the restructuring process, it is important to note:

- the reform of legislation on professional agricultural organizations and associations;
- the establishment of an agricultural credit system capable of mobilizing rural savings, to be administered by rural producers, and responding to the needs of different producer categories;
- the restructuring of agronomic research, to better take producer problems into consideration;
- the reform of agricultural education and training; including the continuous adaptation of program contents, methods and modules in response to rural development needs;
- the restructuring all public institutions, civil service reform and the reform of the way budgets are formulated and implemented.

How to choose between five forms of Decentralization

Excerpts from the document on the Reform and Decentralization of the agricultural services, A Methodological Framework (FAO series: Agricultural Policies and Economic Development, No 7 Rome 2004).

Appropriate choices

appropriate options

- 1 the deconcentration of public administration
- 2 delegation to public or private organisms
- 3 devolution
- 4 partnerships with civil society organizations
- 5 privatisation

...but some key points:

- a clear separation of public and private functions
- a prior study on the effectiveness of different options
- political feasibility study for decentralization
- rigor in resource management
- the search for better service provision
- less high supply costs
- capacity on the part of new linkages to assume transfers
- a well planned approach and an appropriate pace

Is deconcentration an appropriate solution?

Under which conditions?

- 1 The administration wishes to keep control over some or all services including financing
- 2 The centralization of service provision turns in to real economies of scale
- 3 The differences in local needs require flexibility

...but some key points:

- determine the competencies to be deconcentrated (which functions, which levels, which follow-up modalities)
- analyze capacity building needs at all levels
- identify ways of maintaining service provision without disturbing the receivers

Is delegation a justified solution?

under which conditions?

- 1 The administration wishes to conserve the necessary control over service provision including subsidies
- 2 The delegated organism is more flexible in managing human resources, political choices and administrative procedures

...but some key points:

- prior consultation among interested parties
- existing organisms and their capacities (human and financial) to ensure the delegated services
- the creation of new structures and their profitability
- acceptable procedures for service receivers

Is devolution an appropriate solution?

under which conditions?

- 1 The central administration wants territorial communities to be in charge of certain services
- 2 No possibility of an economy of scale
- 3 Beneficiaries of service provision are the main payers

...but some key points:

- which functions and which levels?
- are there conflicts of interest between partners concerned by devolution?
- how can good quality services be ensured?
- are financial procedures clearly defined?

Is partnership with civil society an appropriate solution

under which conditions?

- 1 The central administration would like civil society organizations to control certain services
- 2 Local organisations are present and accepted
- 3 Beneficiaries are ready to pay for these services or finance their associations

...but some key points:

- the promotion and encouragement of associations
- clear definition of partnership rules
- accompanying and strengthening measures
- an a posteriori monitoring and control system

Is privatization the preferable solution?

under which conditions?

- 1 The conditions for private production are possible
- 2 Market size is sufficient for national production or with external financing
- 3 Market actors are present and reliable enough

...but some key factors:

- progressive capital transfer mechanisms
- calls for tender, preferential sales or auctioning
- rent and management contracts
- protection mechanisms for employees and excluded clients

Some examples of Institutional Restructuring

Restructuring of agricultural institutions using this method with the support of FAO can be classified according to three cases, the one of Benin, the one of the Ivory Coast and the one of Togo.²⁵

1. The case of Benin

The restructuring of the Ministry of Rural Development and Cooperative Action (MDRAC) in Benin was the first of its kind using this methodology. It was prepared by FAO in 1990 and was implemented from 1991 to 1995 with the assistance of several partners, including the World Bank.²⁶

It limited itself to the Ministry of Rural Development and Cooperative Action (MDRAC) and only indirectly affected professional agricultural organizations. These were constituted in this case by the only pre-cooperative groups of which only those of cotton producers had a real existence and an activity limited to cotton.

MDRAC was made up of Central Services and Centers of Regional Initiative in Rural Development (CARDER) at the regional level. In addition to its mission of public service, it exercised in a quasi - monopolistic way the upstream and downstream activities of cotton production. In collaboration with the State Cotton Company (SONAPRA), it controlled the provision of inputs to cotton producers, marketing and transportation, rural cotton credits, as well as mechanical repair activities and rural works. MDRAC was also solely responsible for extension and support to farmer groups.

The agricultural profession was poorly structured. Its organization was limited to the local level in the form of producers' groups acting under the guidance of CARDER with very poor farmer participation.

Strongly centralized, the MDRAC did not succeed in accomplishing any of its public or private service

activities, and its operating cost was very high.

The restructuring re-defined the functions of MDRAC - that then became Ministry of Rural Development (MDR) on its solely public service mission. All other activities were privatized and some of them were taken up by staff leaving the public sector to take up activities in repair shops, transportation or rural works.

Activities regarding credit, marketing and input supply were entrusted to producers groups in direct relation with the cotton export company.

The function related to extension and advice in organization and management is shared between CARDER and the producers groups with the participation, whenever possible, of other partners such as NGOs. In any case, the programs and the assessments for this function are conducted with producer participation.

The services of the MDRAC, now MDR, were reorganized, giving more importance to the local and regional levels. The heavy structures of statistical analysis and forecasting were strengthened at the regional and central levels. A Human Resources department was created to ensure continuous training of personnel and its adequacy to the evolutionary needs of the services, and to help orient agricultural teaching toward the needs of rural development.

The restructuring entailed the departure of about 3 000 agents from the public function. Those that wanted it benefited from support that enabled them to set-up private activities. A Guidance and Advice Office was created in every region so that problems could be solved locally.

This restructuring had very positive effects on the Ministry by redefining its role and organization in a more decentralized way, while giving the personnel new and more appropriate activities. It also modified

²⁵ The main other cases of restructuring prepared with the support of FAO are:

- Similar cases in Benin: Burkina Faso, Sudan, Cambodia with particularities and to a certain extent Mali.
- Case of the Ivory Coast: Senegal
- Case of Togo: Haiti

²⁶ -UNDP - FAO/BEN/89/024 project in preparation of restructuring CARDER (1989-1990).

- World Bank -FAO/UTF/BEN/090/BEN project in preparation of restructuring central services of RAC (1990).

- World Bank project of Restructuring agricultural services PRSAS (1990-1995).

- UNDP - FAO/BEN/90/007 project in support of the implementation of restructuring rural development institutions (1990-1992).

its relations with farmers by encouraging participation and autonomy for their professional organizations.

However, it was not fully implemented, particularly regarding the recommendations on human resources. Thus, it could not fundamentally change the methods and internal working relationships in the Ministry. The administrative and financial mechanisms remained subject to general public service and finance regulations, which also require deep reforms.

The agricultural profession remained outside of the restructuring process. The cotton producer groups certainly saw their roles and responsibilities increase with more autonomy. However, their activities remain little diversified varied and subject to the cotton export company, of which they are more or less the and executing arm. They do not participate in company matters; which prevents them from being informed and voicing their views on cotton marketing and its results. The other non-cotton groups stayed very weak and are poorly structured.

In spite of the creation by the administration of an Agriculture Chamber, there are no truly representative autonomous institutions of agriculturists, capable of voicing the farmers' viewpoints and enabling their participation in the formulation and implementation at all levels of agricultural policies and programs.

In conclusion, this restructuring in Benin had incontestable positive effects insofar as it redefined the role of the Ministry, improved its organization and its working methods, gave more autonomy to agriculturist groups and transferred commercial and production activities to the private sector.

On the other hand it remained limited because it did not touch the agricultural profession directly. This organization therefore needs to be reviewed and strengthened.

It has not ended in that some improvements still have be carried out at the very heart of the services of the Ministry and reforms of rules governing public finances.

An assessment of the results of this restructuring and the complementary initiatives to prepare and implement is more than advisable at this stage.

2. The case of the Ivory Coast

The case of Ivory Coast differs from the one of Benin in that it concerned not only the services of the Ministry of Agriculture but also the main rural development companies (SATMACI, SODEVI, SODEFEL, SODEPRA, Palm - Industry, Office of Seeds and Plans, etc..).

Besides the restructuring of departmental and regional agricultural services, the creation of a specialized institution was proposed for agricultural extension and organizational management to farmers and to their associations.

This proposal met the need to regroup extension and counsel services dispersed in the services of the Ministry and rural development organizations, whose action was little effective and expensive, in spite of the supports brought by the World Bank project on agricultural extension (PNVA).

The restructuring plan prepared by FAO, with UNDP financial support and in concordance with the World Bank was developed in the framework of the World Bank project.²⁷

It succeeded in reorganizing the departmental and regional services of agriculture. Their new role was defined along the lines of public service as in the case of in Benin.

The function of extension and advice was given to a new institution called the National Agency for Support to the Rural Development (ANADER).²⁸

This Agency is a mixed status company in which the State participates, together with producers groups, private tradesmen, inputs suppliers and agricultural product exporters. Its organization is decentralized at regional level to enable agriculturists, public and private local actors in agricultural development, to participate in project formulation, use of resources and the assessment of results.

²⁷ -UNDP - FAO/IVC/92/001S projects and 92/005 in preparation of restructuring plan for support institutions in agricultural development and conditions for its implementation.

- UNDP - FAO/IVC/93/007 project of support for the implementation of restructuring.

- PNASA, national project in support to agricultural services mainly financed World Bank and other partners.

²⁸ ANADER: setting up beginning 1994 and supported by the PNASA project.

This restructuring entailed the dissolution of several state companies whose actions were dispersed, even contradictory and were largely ineffective, such as, SODEVI, SODEFEL, SATMACI, and SODEPRA. The ANADER benefited from part of their heritage and human resources.

The creation of the ANADER is the main difference with the case of Benin where the agricultural advice function remained in the Ministry. It constitutes progress in relation to the case of Benin in the sense that it offers producers the possibility to participate in the management of the agricultural counsel function with a greater decentralization of responsibilities.

The evaluation of its application in reality remains to be seen and the progress accomplished from year to year needs to be measured in terms of decentralization and participation of the farmers in influencing and controlling ANADER activities at all levels.

The agricultural profession that was not part of the field of restructuring is in the same situation as in Benin, with the same need of structuring, autonomy and strengthening.²⁹

The case of Togo

Togo is the first country where restructuring was done according to the method indicated in this report. It concerned the Ministry of Agriculture and the agricultural profession simultaneously.³⁰

The proposals made by FAO concerned three complementary aspects:

- the restructuring of central and regional services of the Ministry on the basis of their new role;

- the creation of a mixed statute institution responsible for agricultural advice (ICAT), similar to the ANADER in Ivory Coast ;
- the organization and set-up of a network of Chambers of Agriculture made up of decentralized autonomous regional chambers and an umbrella association of these chambers to facilitate the exchanges cooperation between them to the national level.

The huge progress accomplished in the case of Togo in comparison to Benin and to the Ivory Coast is that the agricultural profession was taken into account. The profession needed to be institutionally represented and have the right to participate in policies and programs in agricultural development at all levels.

This representation of the profession materialized in the creation, by the Law 97-12 of 09/07/97, of the decentralized professional network of chambers of agriculture, founded with the farmers through a series of dialogues and workshops from the local to the national level.

This network corresponds to the principles defined in the report "Agricultural Chambers: Representative Model and Participatory Tool for Farmers". It was set- up according to modalities indicated in this same report. It is at the final stage of its installation with elections that must take place in December 1997.³¹

Togo undertook the application of this general restructuring during the year 1997. This experience, the most comprehensive of its kind, deserves all necessary support and an attentive follow-up to act as a complete example to other countries of the region and beyond.

²⁹ Organization of the agricultural profession is limited to pre - cooperative producers' groups whose situation is the same to Benin. As in Benin, a Chamber of agriculture requiring deep restructuring to really become professional, to represent the farmers in their diversity and be completely decentralized and autonomous.

³⁰ FAO-TCP/TOG/4451 project for preparation of restructuring plan in rural institutions, 1995. This plan proposes the restructuring of services from Agriculture Ministry, the creation of ICAT and the organization of Chambers of Agriculture' network. The first two relative aspects to the Ministry and ICAT are taken over for their realization by World Bank's PNASA project implemented in 1997.

³¹ The preparation of the Chambers of Agriculture' network was made with the support of AO/TCP/6611 project of the same name. This project that defined the mission, organization and operation of the Chambers of Agriculture as well as the necessary support prepared all its proposals in consultation with farmers in the framework of local dialogues along with regional and national workshops.

Chapter 2. Territorial Decentralization

Decentralization is often approached in **institutional terms** and affects to the balance between government levels (from national to local) or in certain cases between sectors (public institutions and civil society organizations). Decentralization mechanisms primarily concern decision-making power and are **information based** (management and share of). The RED-IFO model follows this principle since it constitutes the backbone of decentralization analysis.

In our approach, institutions are not simply structures with certain responsibilities. They are perceived as a **system** made up of interdependent elements. This system has its functioning logic, it has exchange mechanisms, capable of reproduction and the system can also be subject to malfunctioning. In these conditions, decentralization can be approached through considering other **flows** than those related to information even if they are the main ones. Indeed, it is possible to examine financial flows to analyze the degree of decentralization. **Fiscal Decentralization** focuses on just that. This is considered the most advanced degree of decentralization since it is in the transfer of resources that the independence of decentralized structures can be judged.

Questions about territories

Some basic rules:

- institutional forms are linked to places
- inter-actor relations concern different institutional levels
- decentralization is about managing territories
- management is done collectively
- the size of the territory varies according
- the approach is always similar
- participation, sharing, negotiation between actors
- partnerships and maximization of potentialities

...three dimensions are envisaged

- 1 evolution of the process
- 2 obstacles and needs in local development
- 3 possible solutions

Another important dimension is that of **Territorial Decentralization**. In the majority of cases, the dimensions mentioned above could fit into a space or territory where institutional relations are established between levels, structures, flows and decision sharing. All modalities related to decentralization could be linked to the management of a territory.

By territory, we mean any space (of any size) managed by a group. It can be an agricultural perimeter, a municipality, a district or a province, or a small region. The modalities of the analytical and management approach can be adapted according to the size in question, but the principle remains the same: shared

diagnosis of actors and the institutional environment, historical trajectory, negotiation on existing constraints and feasible solutions, activities aimed at improving certain situations, and at valorizing potentialities of the territories and their peoples.

The Role of the Region

- At the institutional environment level
- At the partnership level
- At the regional process level

We have divided the work into 3 series of questions as regards the definition of the role of the Region in a decentralization process

- What are the present developments?
- What are the obstacles and needs to support the local development?
- What are the possible solutions to overcome these obstacles and to answer these needs?

What are the current developments?

- a) Regarding State withdrawal: in what way can the current process of State withdrawal constitute linkage opportunities for civil society and / or a better service to producers? Are there problems in some services because of the vacuum created by withdrawal? Has this resulted in a mobilizing process at local level? What characterizes these processes? Can one speak of a broader local development process following State withdrawal?
- b) Concerning decentralization: what are the main functions assigned to the decentralized entities? In what way can the existing decentralization processes constitute opportunities for local development? What are its limits? What are its risks?
- c) At the level of civil society organizations: are the existing civil society organizations better prepared for a decentralized and local development approach? What type of partnership exists between civil society organizations in a same territory? What are the relationship problems between the local governments and civil society organizations?
- d) How is the cultural dimension of development taken into account in civil society organizations?
- e) What is their capacity to mobilize financial resources (local savings, financial partnerships with institutions, international support, NGOs, etc.)?

What are the constraints and needs?

- a) The new institutional environment and its functioning: what are the needs concerning jurisdiction?
- b) What type of support is preferable on the State's part so that the process becomes participatory?
- c) How to go from paternalism to partnership? What type of awareness and training needs to be implemented to achieve this?
- d) How does the problem present itself at different levels: local, regional, national? How can a link be ensured between these levels?

What are the possible solutions to go beyond these limits and answer these needs?

- a) Solutions for partnership between the State and civil society: What types of solutions are foreseeable regarding the partnership between the State and civil society? Institutional solutions (such as the creation of local partnership structures) human resource solutions (awareness and training). Are local development associations and agencies a possible answer?
- b) Territorial approach for development: is the territorial approach for development a reality? Can it become a reality? Can GTV approaches developed over the last 10 years be a starting point for a territorial approach?

The Three Levels of Questions

A. How can Decentralization be Facilitated by the Institutional Environment?

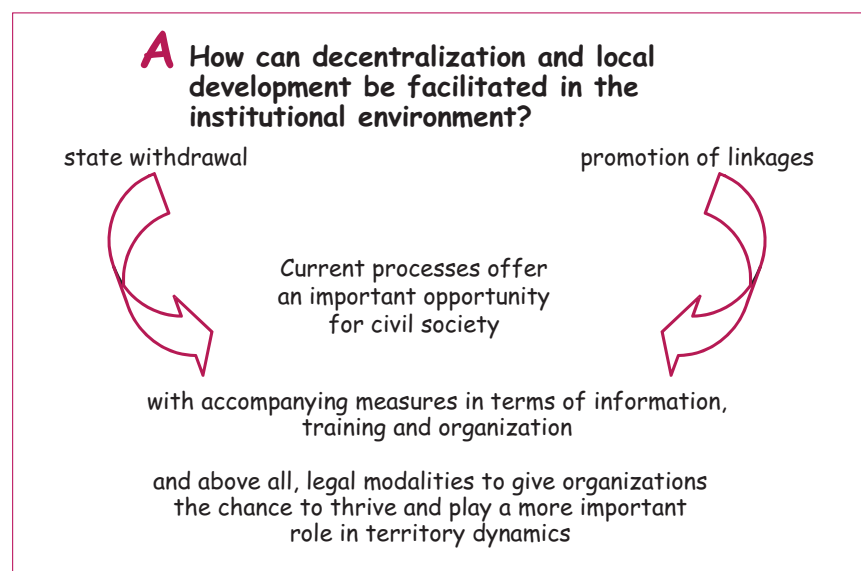
I – Current Developments

a) At State Withdrawal Level

Withdrawal processes are essentially about activities related to production, commercialization, transformation and work implementation, which do not usually fall under exclusive public service missions. These processes mostly appear in the framework of deep reforms and are achieved to the benefit of those operators, traders, producer organizations, etc. who are inclined to or capable of ensuring better effectiveness and efficiency.

Withdrawal processes offer linkage opportunities for civil society.

- They concentrate on the harmonious pursuit of activities for as long as they are necessary, while instituting new initiatives and transferring expertise to those taking over the activities (in this case producers organizations) through training, and by following a cautious and if needed stepwise process. In Benin, for example, the transfer of the input management to producer organizations was spread over four years, with the implementation of a suitable training program to the benefit of the members of the those organizations.
- They enable the emergence of a dynamic private sector by supporting liberalization measures.
- The redefinition of the role of the State on public service missions, concomitant to withdrawal, enables it to better support rural areas. It also encourages growth in productivity and incomes, and hence makes the State more capable of facing material and financial needs that imply the taking over of those activities in which the State disengaged itself.
- State withdrawal to the benefit of producer organizations generates additional collective income, hence reinforcing their self-financing capacity regarding collective communal infrastructure capacity for better management.



Problems have emerged when the State withdraws itself from an activity without handing over preparation or without ensuring that it happens smoothly. For example, in the case of Benin, withdrawal of the Regional Action Centers for Rural Development from rural engineering works led to the emergence of only one private enterprise that did not have the necessary resources to face all the existing demand.

When initial measures are taken, State withdrawal mobilizes rural communities more easily. Due to substantial gains expected in the activities involved, mobilization sometimes creates impatience at community level. Caution in the withdrawal process has in most cases given way to a structuring dynamic inside candidate organizations which to meet the requirements.

Incipient evidence of local development is visible at the level of economic interest groups, which democratically decide to achieve communal infrastructure (repairing of tracks, construction of stores, schools and health centers, etc.) using non distributed collective incomes. However these actions are selective and circumstantial. They do not fit into a coherent and coordinated framework due to insufficient structuring of the groups concerned who do not have any necessary resources for programming of activities and promoting real local development.

b) In terms of Decentralization

Existing decentralization processes are of different scopes and are currently at different stages of development. Generally speaking, the regional level is made responsible for planning, programming, regulation, and implementation and follow-up, whereas the lower level is entrusted with the implementation of programs and natural resource management.

Existing decentralization processes offer opportunities for local development by reinforcing democracy and creating favorable conditions for local communities to become responsible for their own development through increased participation in identification of their needs as well as in the programming and implementation of actions.

The limits of these processes are essentially in the non-preparedness of communities to exercise their powers, because they lack human, technical and financial resources, and because of sociological problems.

These processes imply serious risks of monopolization or domination by local elites or by the sometimes-retrograde traditional powers that have been able to grasp a certain level of leadership at various levels.

c) At Civil Society Level

Today, most civil society organizations have a professional, economic or political character and increasingly enjoy recognition of the authorities to the benefit of the democratization processes. They participate in public debate and are widespread with differing levels of development in most countries.

With some exceptions (e.g. the National rural people consultation council that became extremely powerful in Senegal in decision-making and the implementation of programs of interest to them), civil society organizations (rural producer organizations in particular) mostly lack maturity, are not well structured enough and do not have the necessary resources to reach their objectives.

As an asset, these organizations are formed in the context of democratization and liberalism, often generated by the valorization of various countries' strengths, and sometimes supported by the international community. However, a number of them are limited in their capacity to carry out the role of real counter-power to authorities for the above-mentioned reasons.

II – Obstacles and needs

Decentralization and local development initially assume a strong political will and must take shape in a clear institutional environment, without vacuums or conflicts. Their success is conditioned by an appropriate *deconcentration* of services at regional and local levels and emergence at all levels of well-structured civil society organizations. In terms of needs to be satisfied for the achievement of decentralization and real local development, the following elements can be considered:

a) *Jurisdiction and Legislation*

- The need for clear legal texts on decentralization showing the different levels and their respective expertise, as well as resources enabling them to function effectively.
- The need for applicable tenure laws that take into account the countries political, economic and sociological realities.
- The need for documents favorable to the emergence of civil society organizations that have real autonomy

Apart from certain exceptions noticed in a few countries, legal documents exist but are not applied because they are not relevant to current conditions or are ignored or disapproved of by citizens.

b) *Training*

This involves making local governments and civil society organizations capable of efficiently participating in local development while improving their organization, programming, management, communication and follow-up expertise.

c) *Information*

Information for civil society must be provided through all channels (written, oral and televised press) and be accessible to all, which assumes adequate community literacy, creation and strengthening of rural radios with programs adapted to the needs of target groups. Information must focus on extension of legislative and authorized texts difficult to apply due to citizens' ignorance.

d) *Organization*

Local governments must benefit from resource support at all levels to be able to take on their missions effectively.

III – Possible solutions

Reforms undertaken in different countries show more or less advanced experiences, which give indications on how to successfully overcome problems. For example:

- the land law of Senegal, dated 1964, enabled the State to hand over the management of the lands in rural zone to “Communautés Rurales” through the rural counsel that ensures the assignment to operators. Some conflicts naturally exist between legitimacy of the traditional system that has not entirely disappeared, and the legality of the modern system, needs to be improved with sociological factors in mind;
- the agrarian and fundamental reorganization in Burkina Faso, which has application difficulties because of it overlapping the traditional land rights regime. To overcome these difficulties, traditional chiefs as well as representatives of civil society have been involved in the reappraisal of the related law;

- laws governing farmers' organizations in various countries, some of which need to be updated to guarantee higher institutional autonomy;
- training actions often taken in the framework of projects that restructure agricultural services in the various countries, for the benefit of farmers' organizations as well as for the benefit of agricultural service agents, making them more capable of supporting producers in organization, management, programming and follow-up evaluation;
- the experience of rural radios, which must be generalized with programs in local languages discussing questions of importance for local communities. Other types of support are possible such as literacy of local citizens in their own language.

With regard to the legislative framework, it is indispensable to fill institutional vacuums and review various texts with application problems in view of the adoption of objective conditions in various countries. Extension of these texts at citizens' level must also be ensured.

B. How can Decentralization and Local Development be facilitated in terms of Local Partnerships and Participation?

I – Current developments

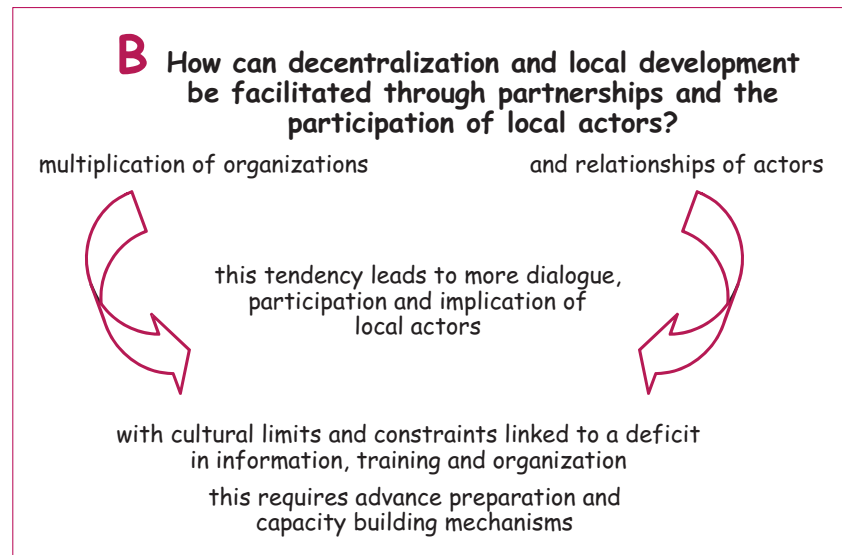
National and international environments have favored State withdrawal and decentralization since the end of the 1980s. This is shown by the following factors:

a) *At the Local Level*

- GTV approaches exist and have made some progress.
- Local groups exist and others are forming amongst partners with similar interests (associations, cooperatives, townships).
- The implication of civil society associations in local development processes is increasingly strong.
- The associative movement is spreading and diversifying, and is increasingly interested in local development.
- There is a tendency towards professionalizing the associative and cooperative movement.

b) *At a more General Level*

- An increasing interest by authorities and financial partners in participatory approaches and local development.
- A tendency toward multi-sectoral approaches.
- An increasingly strong movement of regional and national producer federations, representing a strong lobbying and consultation capacity at national level.
- An increasing interest in rural development by city-dwellers, resulting in the creation of local development associations in rural areas.
- Direct cooperation is set up between producer organizations, townships (twinning), cooperatives, associations, etc.



II – Limitations

In spite of this generally positive outlook one has to note that:

- local partnerships still remains weak or non-existent;
- territorial approaches to development remain few;
- intervention capacities for cooperative and associative movement remain limited.

III – Obstacles and needs

- Townships and municipalities do not necessarily have the necessary resources and their capacities to mobilize local resources are limited.
- Little access to financing and notably to State subsidies, credits and to individual contributions. These obstacles are bound to the legal frameworks of concerned parties, their capacity to formulate projects and negotiate and their level of knowledge of the institutional environment.
- Insufficient management capacities, that is poor working resources and shortage of qualified personnel.
- Lack of infrastructure for human resource placement in necessary activities at the local level.
- The organization of the civil society is confronted with politicization and blanket solutions.
- Attitude of distrust towards the types of organization in civil society in relation to a lack of transparency and to some practices contrary to the associative and cooperative spirit.
- This distrust towards the types the civil society organization also exists with administration executives. This often stems from the lack of transparency of some practices which are contrary to the cooperative spirit.
- More generally, lack of partnership culture, including within government administrations.
- Lack of transparency and clarity in consultation forums and government administrations.
- Some donor approaches do not allow project participants to express their well-thought out demand to them.

- The acceptance of this attitude by the national authorities for reasons external to the projects (e.g. national budgets and payment balance).
- The tendency to want to take advantage of available funding without previously verifying real needs.

IV – Possible solutions

1. Broad actions

- Strengthen democracy and freedom of speech at the local level.
- Encourage local initiatives and collective expression about needs and projects common to the local level.
- Take into account local needs in regional or national programs.
- Facilitate access to financing resources for local participants.
- Reinforce mobilization of local financing resources.
- Encourage transparency and partnership spirit.
- Strengthen solidarity between institutions and implementing people at the local level.
- Promote professionalism in grassroots organizations.
- Ensure NGOs participation in local development projects.
- Enable civil society components to know each other and to get know.
- Diffuse and development the associative and cooperative spirit.
- Sensitize and train executives on partnership development and participatory approach.
- Work towards changes in executives' mentalities.
- Ensure stability for executives on national and local structures.

2. Concrete Solutions

a) *Improve information for local actors*

- Introduce accounting and management procedures likely to ensure better transparency for local actors.
- Develop media implementation in rural environments (rural radios, functional literacy).

b) *Reinforce Solidarity and Exchanges of Experiences*

- Encourage collaboration between entities with common interests at the local level and between the different levels (local, regional, national).
- Encourage partnerships between organizations of different sectors (examples: environment, hygiene and health, literacy, etc.) and their counterparts in different countries.
- Exchange experiences and visits between actors of different countries on local development and its' financing.

c) *Improve expertise*

- Promote professionalism in associations by encouraging permanent teams.
- Formulate and set-up training programs to benefit associations, cooperatives and townships in project formulation, management, knowledge of institutional and legal environments, communication and negotiation.

- Ensure greater responsibilities and stronger engagement by executives, while taking into account incentive and filed experience while creating conditions for long-term partnership.
- Create awareness and train executives in new approaches to local development.

d) Introduce new means of Intervention and Financing

- Review collaboration modalities to facilitate expression and accounting of local demand with financiers.
- Encourage the emergence of local initiative and projects in local development using financing towards the strengthening of communication, awareness, training, information and exchange of experiences.

C. How can Decentralization be facilitated at Regional Level?

I – Recent developments

The review of the country situation shows that the present regional organization is the result of centralism inherited from colonization, of local appropriation. More recently, restructuring of rural areas has experienced marked tendencies favoring regionalization, as shown in the strategic orientations of different countries.

a) Origin of Decentralization Process

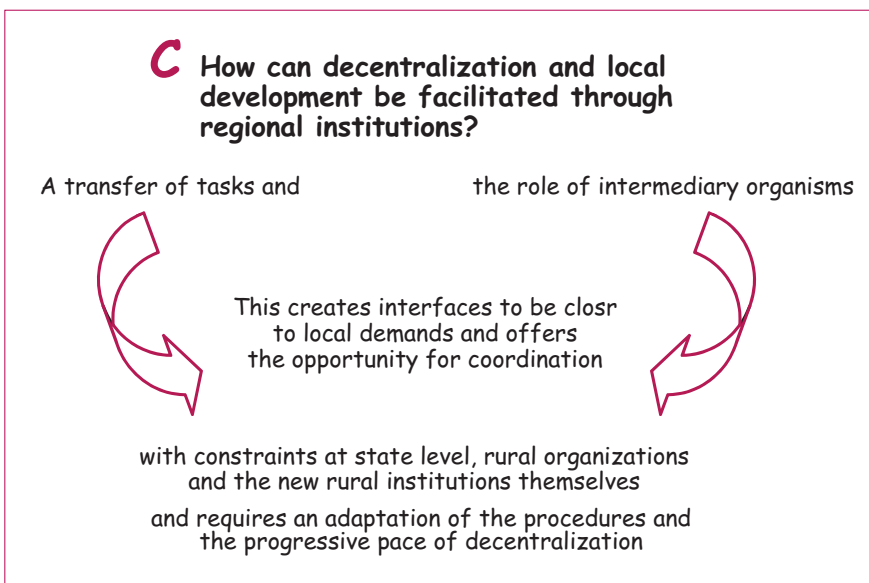
There are multiple factors that influence the way the decentralization process takes place such as concern over State withdrawal from certain functions, along with internal and external pressures, financial problems, increased implication of citizens, etc.

b) Objectives of the Regional Interface

Contrary to what happens at the central and local levels, it appears that because of the recent character of regionalization experiences, their objectives, modalities and results are presently less known. While partially disengaging the central level, they aim to reinforcing the local level within the specific context of each country.

c) Structuring of Rural Areas

In the institutional environment and according to the way countries have evolved, the limit between regional and local levels is not always clear. In some countries, administrative structures or technical support will have a reduced territorial coverage whereas in others, they could call on the regional level. Under these conditions, a sub-regional level can be distinguished. Just as within the local level and in order to differentiate townships village for example, there will be local and micro – local levels.



II - Roles of the regional interface

a) *There are four types of functions in these different Regional entities:*

1. those representing central services and administrations in the regions and are therefore directly involved in the process of State withdrawal;
2. those representing citizens and producers, which are concerned by the emergence of civil society;
3. those related to the coordination of the regional level per se, which aims at strengthening the role of the region;
4. those capitalizing from experiences and methods at the regional level.

b) *Limitations of the Interface and Possible Solutions*

The first limitation of this new institutional distribution is marked by the concern of national cohesion to avoid risks of federalism and the State's disintegration. Other limits can be analyzed as being constraints in the framework of a better operation in these different regional proceedings.

Main identified constraints

A - Constraints linked to the State's operation and its support services

1. Habits inherited from centralism
2. Frequent changes in institutions, programs and people
3. Sharing of powers between the central and regional levels.

B - Constraints related to the emergence of the civil society

1. Weakness of the private sector
2. Social behaviors
3. Weak capacity to manage new functions.

C - Other operating constraints in regional proceedings

1. Origin of the process
2. Non-adapted or non-existent legal framework
3. Cost and financing of the process.

III – Possible solutions

To overcome these different constraints, the following proposals are put forward. They assume the existence of a democratic regime, a firm political will, awareness and strong citizen's adherence. Finally, such a process can only be formulated in the framework of a permanent consultation between partners for joint preparation and implementation.

■ Regarding habits inherited from centralism

A stepwise process is necessary in the implementation of decentralization to allow appropriation of its mechanisms. The missions and mandates of the central structures such as the new regionalized entities must be adapted to the new context while staff must have a workable framework favorable to the new procedures. Likewise, adequate work tools and training are to be foreseen.

Particular attention must be given to information of all the actors and partners in order for them to participate in the different stages of these processes, more especially in the actual conceptualization of decentralization.

- **Regarding frequent changes concerning institutions, programs and people**

Continuity in the processes is needed. Hence, the functioning of technical entities should be independent from the political arena. Furthermore, the introduction of a results-based evaluation system would ensure better stability for technical positions. The multiplicity and frequent changes of strategic executives should be avoided since they are a source of disruption in the progress of these services ex. PNLCD, PAFT, PNGRN, PNAE, national plans, etc.

- **Regarding power sharing between central and regional levels**

Grant higher autonomy to decentralized entities with a progressive transfer of responsibilities including financial aspects and types of budgetary allocations. Offer attractive conditions along with career valorization.

- **Regarding the weakness of the private sector**

The hand over is made difficult by the fact that often, the private sector is not present or because there is a lack of expertise and financial resources. It is important to encourage the emergence of an effective and dynamic private sector using favorable actions (legal framework, incitement, regional preference, training and access to credits, etc.).

- **Regarding the risks of appropriation of power by some groups**

Ensure better follow-up of the regional level by the central power in order to reduce this risk.

- **Regarding weak management capacity in new functions**

A clearer and more precise definition of the different partners' roles would enable better understanding of the needs and organize appropriate training programs. Sometimes associations and NGOs carry out the role of interface at national and regional levels.

- **Regarding constraints bound to the origin of the processes**

Since an imposed process is more difficult to implement, more efforts will be needed to ensure extensive dissemination of information through for example, use of rural radio, participation of partners in decentralization exercises, etc. It is recommended to reinforce the consultation and harmonization between internal and external intervening parties.

- **Regarding the absence or inappropriateness of legal frameworks**

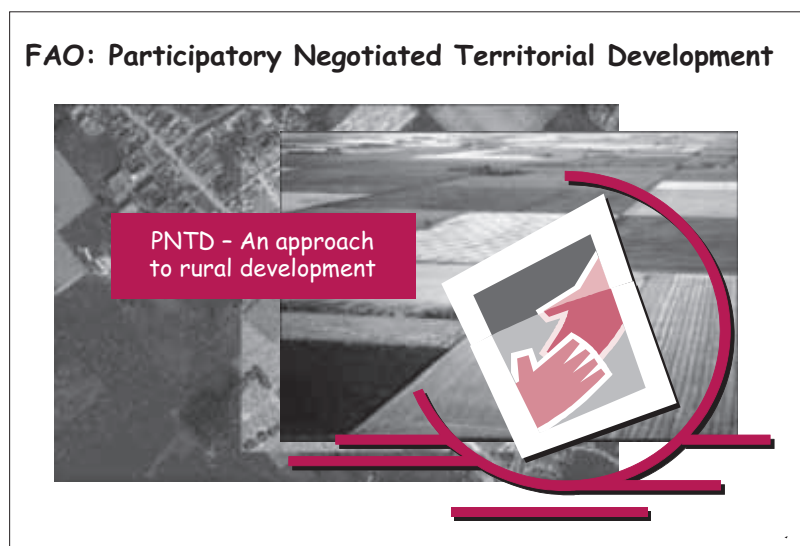
Review the texts, adapt them, complete them and create conditions favorable to their application.

- **Regarding the costs of the process and financing problems**

When the policy has been jointly defined the State and local entities can be engaged in the financing of its application according to the framework of contracts and conventions agreed between these different partners.

An example of Territorial Decentralization

Excerpt from: Participatory Negotiated Territorial Development (DTPN), FAO 2005



Why use a territorial approach?



To reduced asymmetries and induced power through access and legal control of resources, information and capacities.



To stimulate and /or initiate change processes and ensure their assimilation.



To support socially legitimate agreements by involving all actors and by supporting their voluntary commitment and their appropriation of the development process.

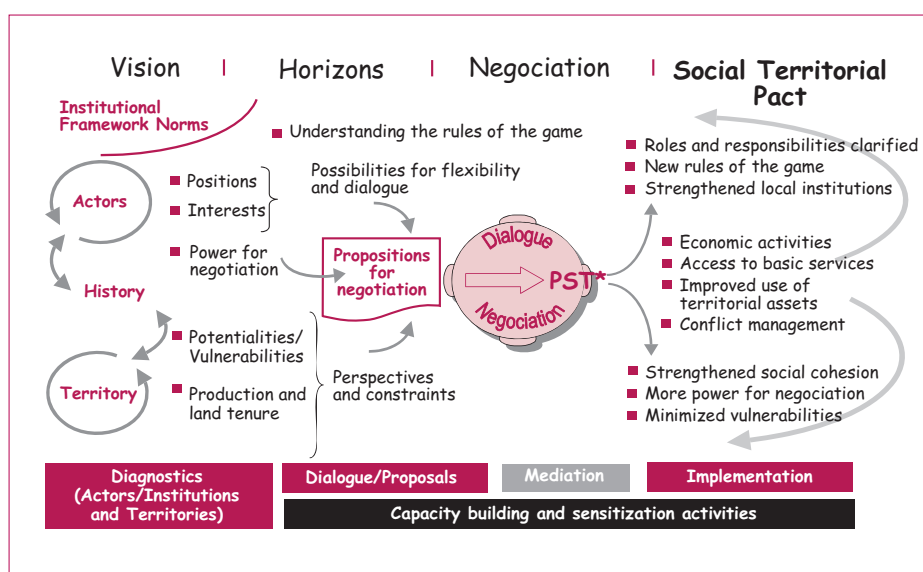
What are the basic principals?

Coherent and relevant, to be effective and efficient keeping in mind the availability of resources.

Iterative and progressive, to allow reconsideration of a given problem and formulation of new hypotheses, analyses or evaluations to re-launch dialogue and to result in agreement negotiation

Flexible and evolving, in time and space with continued adaptation to changes or cultural, social, context, etc.

Learning process, the methodological approach is not results orientated but focuses on the sustainable reestablishment of social dialogue.



Horizons

- 1 Support actors to conceive coherent and feasible plans for the future development of their territory.
- 2 Help actors to be conscious of all main issues on their territory.
- 3 Encourage the formulation of proposals for territory development, as a basis for negotiation.
- 4 Organize a negotiating table that considers the chances of flexibility of each partner, their openness to dialogue and the power to negotiate.

Negotiations

- 1 The use of the term negotiation does not only refer to conflictual situations
- 2 Dialogue is a means to allow aggregation of the diverse interests of territory actors
- 3 Negotiation rules and procedures that have been accepted by all interested parties and rendered operable by a credible and legitimate third party

Outlooks

- 1 Analyze diverse visions of territorial actors;
- 2 Constitute a coherent framework for the positioning of actors' interests strategies and potentialities and vulnerabilities of their territory;
- 3 Identify the causes, existing constraints and tendencies for progress and evolution through historical analysis;
- 4 Promote dialogue between actors;
- 5 Inform all actors on territorial questions and their issues;
- 6 Analyze the specific political and institutional context, the legal framework at regional, national and international level that influences local development.

Social Territorial Agreement (STA)

- 1 Thanks to a participatory process, this agreement includes an activity / initiative plan for local development, in the short, medium and long term;
- 2 It mentions indispensable needs and resources for implementation;
- 3 It implies solid engagement with regard to activities, institutional arrangements or resource management;
- 4 It helps improve social cohesion through the leveling out of disparities in negotiating power for social actors. Etc.

Chapter 3. The Place of Civil Society and the Role of Intermediate Bodies

Civil society is henceforth called to play a more important role in this new political and economic context. Therefore it needs to organize itself and to strengthen its capacities, which have been weakened by its distance from decision making entities as well as its political and economic marginalization in the past decades.

In the context of decentralization, state withdrawal constitutes an important point. It operates through the devolution of certain prerogatives to new or existing actors who can either represent decentralized state structures or civil society through election or appointment.

In this way, civil society is called to play a key role in the decentralization process. However, it may not necessarily have the capacities required to assume this role and its strengthening is therefore required. These needs are complimentary to the political will to better accommodate civil society.

Producer organizations are the key to obtaining a good dynamic in participatory development programs. They allow the provision of appropriate responses to problems and different constraints faced by local actors (natural resources, institutional pressure, economic environment etc.). The strengthening of these producer organizations stimulates, not only the emergence of local initiatives, but also the creation of exchange forums (for information, techniques and finance) between local and external actors.

In the face of numerous problems encountered in participatory projects, we aim to present those solutions that can help strengthen producer organizations. Firstly, the four important factors, the five fundamental principles to be respected in rural development projects and two important remarks concerning the role of the state in training managers will be presented. Finally we will examine the model of farmer representation through describing how Chambers of Agriculture function.

As far as civil society is concerned, specialized texts can be consulted. In this manual, we will focus on institutional structures which are specific to the agricultural profession.

Professional Agricultural Organizations

Current Trends in Cooperative Development

Today, economies in several countries are subject to mutations designed to allow them to follow market reforms. The implication of the state and para-statal organizations in national economies has been demonstrated as being harmful and consequently, they have been called to reduce their interference and leave the markets to function. In certain countries, state intervention has had a tendency of reducing the efficiency of cooperative organizations.

Cooperatives have often been created exogenously without any real member participation. In several cases such members turned away from these organizations that were not concerned with matters of key interest for them such as commercialization and price fixing. The potential of cooperatives in contributing to rural development based on full participation has been largely wasted and the very concept of self-promotion in cooperatives has fallen largely into disgrace. In several countries a review of the policy on cooperatives has been necessary on the basis of a new approach based on participatory and consultation principles rather than on "interventionism". This does not mean current policies should be entirely rejected; they can be adapted to be more participatory and market-oriented.

The impact of economic and political changes on cooperatives is varied: it has positive and negative effects. The positive aspect is that cooperatives often benefit from the withdrawal of para-statal organizations and better adapt to their environment. Cooperatives also bring a plus to society as “schools of democracy” without state subsidy or support.

Today’s trend is that of decentralization and participation, which give people more responsibilities regarding their own development. This implies the focus be put either on self-promotion and the principle of counting on one’s own means, rather than on state aid. Many states adopt this approach.

The application of these ideas requires a long process of adequate training and better organization in order to develop the entrepreneurial skills required in the market economy.

Although the restructuring process, which is beginning to see the light of day in a number of countries, creates a more favorable environment for the development of cooperative organizations, it also exposes them to the hard conditions of free enterprise and competition with commercial companies.

Thanks to self-promotion, cooperative organizations can constitute strength on the market. With participatory approaches, it is possible to mobilize resources and local knowledge to obtain autonomous development. It is a way of developing a real cooperative movement and an economic system for small farmers. The ownership of the organizations on the part of the small farmers is a sign of success for numerous countries all over the world.

Four Factors to Consider

The Presence of a Multiplicity of Actors

Projects which give up on face to face dialogues with farmers (usually men) and sometimes also reduced to a single productive dimension, should take into consideration the multiplicity of actors which act directly at local level or take decisions (at other geographical levels) which repercussions on local reality.

The use of natural resources and their management are an example of the multiplicity of actors involved. Farmers and animal breeders are privileged users of natural resources but there are other users: artisans (carpenters, masons, potters), hunters and fishermen and external actors who come to exploit local forest resources (charcoal makers, traders interested in fruit products, sawmills, seasonal migrants and pioneers) or transhumant or nomadic animal breeders.

The state, through its legislation, policies, administration, is also involved in natural resource management as well as donors who make the environment an important part of North-South cooperation. The state sometimes delegates certain responsibilities in this area to public local bodies in the context of a decentralization policy (for example, this is the case for the Senegalese “Communautés Rurales” who are in charge of land management in their areas).

In this way the identification of the different actors concerned, directly or indirectly, through planned intervention, how their perception of reality, priorities, and strategies is characterized, as well as the identification of converging or incompatible interests which exist, should be a priority action.

The Interdependency of Actors and Levels

Economic and social reality is characterized by different but intertwined decision-making forums at the level of land plot, village or village group.

Decisions taken in each of these forums are influenced (and sometimes defined) by decisions taken in other forums. The room for maneuver (initiative and autonomy) of

each decision-making forum or level is variable. In this way, the decisions of the smallholder take into account the decisions taken at village and inter-village level, but he can influence the latter levels. The smallholder can impose decisions and practices on those who work under him (women, young people, to whom he allocates land) but he also considers their aspirations. The local level is part of bigger geographical and political realities (region, country, etc.) where other decision-making centers can influence the practices and management of lower levels.

Each of the above-mentioned forums corresponds to a decision-making level and often several existing or potential decision-makers, which complicates the perception of local reality for projects. For example, before proposing changes in the use of natural resources, it is important to identify the concerned areas and the decision centers which govern them as well as the relationships between these areas and decision centers.

Tenure Systems in Transition

In many countries, land tenure systems seem to favor practices that are not so conducive to conserving the natural environment. However, even if it is not the responsibility of state agents or representatives of producer organizations to modify existing land systems, they must nevertheless know and understand them and consider them in the proposals they make. They must also indicate the adjustments or revisions which seem necessary.

- At village level, farmers who benefit from the land on a temporary basis cannot undertake long term actions. The establishment of land laws based on 'the land belongs to he who works it' shortens the length of loans and makes land improvements impossible.
- The co-existence of two types of ownership rights (according to the state and the traditional authorities) often causes contradictory evolutions. On the one hand, the right of the "tiller" prevails over all other user rights, in particular pastoral ones and also evolves towards western style ownership rights (for example through sale and the pawning of land in suburban areas). On the other hand, the respect for authorities and traditional rules concerning clearance and user rights (fruit-picking, hunting, pasturing...) on collective areas is weakened.

Leaving the Initiative to Local Structures

Certain political contexts constitute an obstacle for participation. Participation is, in effect a democratic practice which is not very compatible with authoritarian regimes. How can people express their needs and priorities, make their voice heard, negotiate the nature of projects that concern them if their rights of expression and organization are seriously limited? In many cases, the processes of democratization of public life as well as of liberalization of the economy create a more favorable context for civil society initiatives. However, limitations still exist:

- with uniform models of organization defined at national level and enforced on local reality;
- with difficulties to consider socio)cultural diversity;
- with the presence of obsolete legislation and procedures, etc.

A correct assessment of the real power of initiative left to local actors allows definition in a given place and time of realistic objectives.

Five Orientations and Principles for Action

New Balances

Development work should aim to create new balances between physical environments and societies that value them. Legitimate concerns related to environmental conservation sometimes lead external actors to value it more than those who live in it. We are faced therefore with an environmental deviation, which consists of protecting the environment against the action of local people, who are considered predators by external actors.

However, this is to forget:

- that societies have to exploit natural resources in order to satisfy their needs related to food, money, health care, clothing, housing, etc.
- that over-exploitation of natural resources maybe caused by the fact that the old balances are no longer adapted to the conditions created by demographic growth, the increase in monetary needs, etc.

The question of conserving and managing natural resources should therefore be placed in the context of environmental and societal dynamics. This is not about preserving or wishing to return to the old balances, it is about finding new balances based on ways of using resources that allow their regeneration and, if possible, their improvement.

At operational level, respect for this principle can be ensured through rejecting coercion-based approaches and attitudes that lay the blame on farmers. Such approaches and attitudes inhibit reflection, the search for solutions and can instigate defensive behavior and blockages. On the other hand, putting this into practice encourages the use of approaches based on:

- participatory analysis of the noticed imbalances and of their multiple causes (demographic growth, increase in monetary needs, food insecurity, etc.) which lead to the destruction of natural resources and current and foreseeable consequences (lower yields, diminishing ecological potential, etc.)
- multi-sector proposals, which simultaneously manage to: alleviate pressure on natural resources, take preliminary conservation measures for the environment, respond to short term (food and income-related) emergencies and plan to increase people's capacities to adapt to their new living conditions.

The Central Role of Rural People

Rural people must play a key role in the definition of objectives and programs that concern them. The local planning approach, with its multiplicity of variants, is one means which has shown to be adapted to diverse situations. Here, we will limit ourselves to recalling the main steps of this approach.

1. An Agreed Diagnostic Assessment:

This diagnosis is multi-sectoral (the sectors examined are identified by villagers). It includes the evaluation of local natural resources but if raised by villages, it also includes problems related to health, education, collective equipment and infrastructure.

The Agreed Diagnostic Assessment can be made up of 3 components:

- **an external diagnostic assessment**, carried out by the external actor. This must be carried out quickly through a close observation of the local environment, activities, and use people who know the area well. Light surveys can allow a preliminary analysis of the situation, which will be deepened in the subsequent steps;

- **a presentation of the external diagnostic assessment to villagers.** This must be made in an accessible and attractive way so as to allow them to analyze the situation and identify solutions to the problems identified. This presentation is usually made through several meetings held close together, with different homogeneous sub-groups (adults, youths, men, women), at grassroots level (neighborhood, village) to facilitate the participation of a large number of people;
- **a synthesis of the initial diagnostic assessment.** This is made of different inputs from the sub-groups, it aims to underline the main changes and priority problems in each of the examined sectors, as well as local people's capacities and equipment to face them, etc.

2. The Definition of a Priority Action Program

In the short term, this should be the first result of the thought process. This is necessary for supporting the thought process at village level since it demonstrates the concrete nature of the approach, which rapidly leads to concrete actions. The content of the program depends on villagers' priorities and available means (available solutions, existing means etc...). It is important to support those actions which have serious chances of success.

The agricultural field could be the testing ground for a new technique or the coherence of several techniques. The priority could be the improvement of input provision or activities in areas such as water or health.

Certain activities related to the conservation of natural resources can be foreseen in this program. These are often actions which have an immediate visible effect and are requested by the villagers. Other actions can sometimes only be programmed later on:

- because they result in a decrease of available resources (this is sometimes the case for the protection of a certain zone);
- because they require significant rearrangements of a smallholding, neighborhood or village and are therefore conditioned by several prerequisites;
- because farmers must regain confidence (through small successful actions) before embarking on bigger projects (be they material or social);
- because they instigate conflicts or tensions between groups which have different interests whereas these groups do not wish to negotiate a compromise.

3. The Implementation of the Program

The implementation of priority actions and the definition of a short-term local development plan is the third step in the local planning approach. This must be visible and attract as much attention as possible since its success reinforces the credibility of the approach. It assumes that tasks, necessary collaborations, organizational conditions, training etc. be identified with villagers.

This gives villagers confidence and underlines the possibility of shaping alliances at local level. It therefore creates favorable conditions for the participatory identification of a multi-year plan (3-4 years).

4. The drawing-up of a Local Multi Year Development Plan

This implies the definition of priorities that consider the needs expressed by rural people and external constraints and possibilities which, in the end, determine what is possible.

This is not about making choices for farmers and other local actors or about explaining why those choices are the best ones. It is about talking seriously with them about what is desirable and what is possible and the conditions under which the desirable can become possible.

This is also about ensuring the coherence of foreseen actions. Indeed, in looking for solutions to problems, there is a tendency to work at sector level: rain fed agriculture, inter-season crops, animal breeding, health, etc. This can lead to contradictions: diverging objectives, bad timing in terms of seasonal calendar year and use of manpower. Beyond sector coherence (logical progression of actions foreseen in a same activity domain), it is important to check the coherence between the actions envisaged in the different sectors. It should be noted that this coherence can also be sought for through the progressive expansion to different activities of a local service for a given activity. For example:

- the establishment of a forge to make tools (watering can, buckets, rakes etc..) can become a way of maintaining agricultural equipment in good shape;
- a warehouse for inputs related to large-scale crops can have a section for gardening or tree cultivation, etc.
- a savings and credit system based on agriculture and animal breeding can offer the possibility of launching activities related to product transformation and marketing, etc...

Natural resource management is a component of the local plan. The planned actions in the economic domain take into account the objective of preserving and regenerating ecological potential. Conversely, this objective can encourage economic activities that can alleviate the pressure on natural resources (as in the case of diversification of agricultural and non-agricultural activities).

The development of the local multi-annual development plan raises various questions concerning financing (local actors' resources, public or private financing, etc...), programming, monitoring and evaluation and re-adjustment, all of which must be addressed in a participatory way.

The Contractual Approach

The third principle consists of promoting contractual approaches throughout the local planning process. Contracts can be of different types, including:

- contracts which are internal to the rural society between professional categories and also sometimes between social categories;
- contracts between rural people and other local actors. The objectives and the programs of action defined by rural people should be negotiated with other local actors. This implies that the latter be associated in the local planning process. In many cases, experience has shown that it is often around limited yet realistic objectives that concrete, participatory modalities of collaboration can be defined. It is therefore not necessary to try from the very beginning of the process to establish collaboration between all local actors, nor to attempt the establishment of a multi-year contract.
- contracts between villagers and actors from other geographical areas and other decision – making levels are not always easy at the beginning but must remain an objective. They can be facilitated if villagers have representative structures, capable of presenting demands, proposals and concrete offers (which have the support of other local actors) to clearly identified partners (regional administrations, technical services, large regional projects and programs, donors, etc...).

Giving Responsibility to Local Actors

The fourth principle concerns the permanent creation of conditions in which the local actors and above all villagers can effectively assume responsibility. Four conditions appear essential:

1. The organization of producers

Beyond the micro-local level, rural populations can only participate in decision making if they have mandated representative structures.

Faced with the challenges of establishing such a structure, rural societies need to acquire new forms of organization, without relinquishing on their socio-cultural identity. The fact that they need various types of support to do this does not mean organizational models should be imposed on them.

2. The acquisition of new competencies

Rural people can only begin to effectively take responsibility if they formerly receive a transfer of competencies. This implies increased access to diversified information, driven by multiple channels, and considerable efforts in training (support to collective thinking, training, technical advice, management, literacy, etc...)

3. Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation

The local development program (see box at the end of this section) creates a multi-year referential framework for development actions and the management of natural resources, but it must not become a straight jacket which suffocates initiatives or leads to the refusal of opportunities which are coherent with the defined overall strategies.

Any readjustment of the plan must be thought out in relation to the diagnostic assessment (see box), to the defined overall strategies and discussed with different local actors.

Monitoring and evaluation provide the necessary data to readjust the local plan. These must allow the identification of effectively implemented actions as well as problems encountered, factors explaining success or failure, internal or external malfunctioning, etc. It must also allow the measurement of the effects of the implemented actions and any deviation between the objectives and results obtained.

While monitoring should be permanent, evaluation should be carried out at the end of each phase. Monitoring and evaluation should be participatory. This requires an external quantitative and qualitative evaluation which can be carried out by local program managers and their support networks. It also requires the presentation of the evaluation results to different actors involved in the program.

This dialogue allows local actors to progress in their diagnostic assessment of local realities and the environment. It also allows the opening up of an internal debate to adjust, where necessary, the mobilized means and resources to reach objectives.

4. Enlarging Peoples' Participation

Whatever the effort made to ensure the participation of many individuals, 'marginalization' still occurs. Intervention can strengthen existing advantages, create new farmer elites, who monopolize activities for their economic or political profit, favor opportunistic attitudes and sometimes opacity of accounting.

Such malfunctioning is largely inevitable and can only be reduced through the establishment of mechanisms, which allow increased transparency in decision-making. Several means can be used such as, for example, effective decentralization of programming; sharing of monitoring and evaluation results with different professional and social sub-groups; specific efforts to inform and train the most needy social groups; the establishment of internal control mechanisms; external and regular control of accounting with public dissemination of the results.

All these mechanisms and their implementation modalities should not be imposed on those who are, at the beginning, the privileged interlocutors of the external actors. They should be proposed, debated over and negotiated.

Learning from the Local Perspective

The fifth lesson consists of drawing lessons, in terms of regional and national policies, of actions taken at local level and the results obtained. Although such actions may be still somewhat infrequent, it would be useful for the results of local actions (strengths, weaknesses, favorable factors and hindrances) to be capitalized upon, debated over with higher levels of decision-making and used to influence future choices.

The respect of such strategies and decisions would undoubtedly be increased if local communities were associated (through recognized representatives) as full partners in their definition. There would furthermore be an ensuing strengthening of State authority to have them respected.

Two Complimentary Remarks

The Role of the State

The more important role given to local actors in decentralized development does not mean that the state no longer has an important role to play. Indeed, various measures are necessary for local dynamics to emerge and consolidate themselves and these are essentially related to state policies. Such measures can be for example:

- legislative and regulatory modalities that free up (and stimulate) local actors' initiatives. Among these, the creation and / strengthening of public local bodies should be there. They should have an important future role in local planning, coordination and integration of activities, financial support to local projects, monitoring and evaluation;
- flexible and inciting modalities should be present in local private groupings, associations, cooperative type organizations, etc.;
- legislative and regulatory modalities allowing for true land security would generally be necessary for the sustainable success of actions related to natural resource management.

Moreover, the state should:

- promote a secure and motivating socio-economic context through state support in product organization, price and an economic environment that meets producer needs (e.g. supply of inputs, credit);
- promote negotiated field interventions with stakeholders from the beginning. This requires better focusing of research on producer needs; the establishment of consultation forums, allowing negotiation between different actors; the appointment of qualified personnel to provide advice and the transfer of material and financial resources to local governments but also to producer organisations;
- check the coherence of the implemented actions. This implies that the state should be perceived by local actors as having the most integrity (this is not always the case today) and as constituting a strong moral personality capable of checking the coherence of the implemented actions. Policies on administrative decentralization and regionalization (Senegal) are moving in this direction.

Training Civil Servants

Resources for the training of civil servants are also necessary. The permanent pre-requisite is undoubtedly that of reassuring them by offering them motivating future perspectives.

The transfer of responsibilities to producers should mean a modification but not the disappearance of their functions. On the contrary, what is already changing and what should change more in the future, is the nature of support that these managers can bring to farmers, the modalities according to which this support can be ensured and the type of relationship that should be formed. This does not call into question the need for more effective and diversified support. Indeed, the demand is likely to increase.

Allowing civil servants to improve their understanding of local communities and producer demands is another necessity. Their specialization has sometimes kept them stuck in the past, in sector-based analysis, where reality was perceived through objectives designed by them and tools of their specialization. This is not about calling into question the necessary technical specialization, which guarantees the quality of the support given. It is about presenting it in relation to other analyses, be they sector-focused or global.

Without turning technicians into sociologists or economists, it appears important to provide them with certain tools that will allow them to better understand the organization and functioning of rural societies and analyze any resistance which may manifest itself in the face of their proposals.

It is important to give civil servants methods and tools which are appropriate to reach the set objectives and the means to evaluate their effectiveness and adapt them. Methods and tools exist in that respect, which have been tried and tested in different contexts. It is useful to make an inventory of them and create the conditions for a transfer of knowledge. This last point can be implemented in different ways:

- proficiency classes as long as they have clear objectives for beneficiaries and if they match a previously identified demand of the civil servants;
- long term refresher courses to adapt the profile of the concerned civil servants to new functions;
- increased access to information for extension workers. Visits to innovative sights in Africa and Northern countries, use of films and slide presentations, participation in networks, subscriptions to publications, etc. are all means which can help government workers to raise questions about their own practices and stimulate creativity.

The methods and tools transmitted through training and refresher courses are however rarely usable as they are. They require adaptation to local realities, to different stages of evolution of on-going processes. Civil servants can only contribute to these adaptations if they are involved in their design and evaluation, if they are given responsibility and if their initiatives are valued.

Some Concrete Solutions

Generally speaking, producer organizations are strengthened through improvement in their liberty of expression, the encouragement of local initiatives, the consideration of local needs at higher levels, transparency, the partnership spirit within organizations, solidarity between institutions, grassroots professionalism, sensitization and training of civil servants in participatory approaches and, finally, the mobilization of local resources as well as access to other financing mechanisms.

All these objectives that allow the strengthening of producer organizations can be reached with a certain number of concrete solutions such as:

Improve information for local actors

- Introduce accounting and management procedures likely to ensure better transparency for local actors.
- Develop media implementation in rural environments (rural radios, functional literacy).

Reinforce solidarity and exchanges of experiences

- Encourage collaboration between entities with common interests at the local level, and between the different levels (local, regional, national).
- Encourage partnerships between organizations of different sectors (examples: environment, hygiene and health, literacy, etc.) and their counterparts in different countries.
- Exchange experiences and visits between actors of different countries on local development and its' financing.

Improve expertise

- Promote professionalism in associations by encouraging them to have permanent teams.
- Formulate and set-up training programs to benefit associations, cooperatives and townships in project formulation, their management, the knowledge of institutional and legal environments, communication and negotiation.
- Ensure greater ownership and stronger commitment of executives, while taking into account motivation and field experience while creating conditions for long-term partnership.
- Create awareness and train executives in new approaches to local development.

Introduce new intervention and financing means

- Review collaboration modalities to facilitate expression and accounting of local demand with financiers.
- Encourage the emergence of local initiative and projects in local development using financing towards strengthening of communication, awareness, training, information and exchange of experiences.

The Case of Chambers of Agriculture³²

The professionalization of agriculture contributes to the strengthening of civil society and contributes to the privatization process. Its objective is to give farmers the place they deserve in civil society, by facilitating their access to economic channels and markets from which they were excluded, and by integrating their activities into the economy as a whole.

It consists of a long-term structuring process in the agricultural profession, including:

- the conversion of agricultural economic organizations, such as cooperatives and cooperative groups and changing them into professional autonomous units that abide by efficiency and profitability criteria;
- the set-up of a new type of professional organization whose mission is to represent farmers and participate, in their name, in the development and implementation of policies and programs in rural development.

Up until now, the focus has been on the creation or restructuring of Chambers of Agriculture. For farmers, these represent an institutional model of representation in new policies, and a means of expression and a participation tool.

The Principles Governing Chambers of Agriculture

Chambers of Agriculture must obey the following basic principles:

- **professional character**, which means that only agricultural producers or assimilated groups, such as breeders, fishermen, etc., can be represented by these organizations;
- **universality** according to which all physical or moral person who satisfies the criteria fixed by the status of agricultural producer is automatically part of the organization;
- **representation of the diversity of producers**, according to which every farmer is represented and is able to express his point of view. This principle considers collegial groups corresponding to identified categories of agricultural operators. For example, a collegial group can be planned for women, for pastoralists or for all other categories, because of the specificity of their problems;
- **autonomy**, which relates to the Chamber of Agriculture's freedom of choice in its own development objectives and programs for action and management of its own resources without outside interference;
- **decentralization**, meanings that the representational system for farmers as a whole and the decision making process must start at the grassroots level. This decentralization is the necessary condition for effective participation of farmers and consideration of local realities. Decentralization of Chambers of Agriculture does not mean their dispersion. The institutional framework of producer representation must be set as a series of decentralized structures, constituting a national network that facilitates exchanges and cooperation between them. It should also reinforce the unity of this representative system as a whole vis-à-vis its public and private partners;
- **incompatibility of the representation mission and commercial activities:** Functions of the Chambers of Agriculture must never lead to commercial transactions with farmer members.

³² This text comes from a document published elsewhere by the Rural Development Division of the FAO.

The Functions of the Chambers of Agriculture

The essential mission of Chambers of Agriculture is to represent farmers in order to ensure their participation in the formulation and implementation of agricultural policies and development actions. This mission can be realized through three main functions:

- consultation functions;
- information and training of agriculturists;
- support to professional producers' organizations.

Although recognized by law as the official spokesperson, Chambers of Agriculture do not have exclusive rights regarding this function. Others can indeed take the lead. In this case the role of Chambers of Agriculture is to encourage consultation between all those involved to farmers' benefit.

The Consultation Function

It consists of voicing farmers' viewpoints on their situation and on the agricultural sector. It also consists of participating in the development of agricultural policy measures, and choices to be made in rural development.

This function first applies to the State and results in the information of authorities on the situation of different categories of farmers and their appreciation of economic measures and their application. It should give to the Chambers of Agriculture the right to sit in all decision making entities and debates regarding agricultural matters, from local to national levels. Before any decision concerning equipment and planning programs – as well as regarding industrial infrastructures – it should make farmer consultation compulsory at all levels, in order to look after the protection of agricultural development and natural resources.

To fulfill this function correctly, Chambers of Agriculture must have capacities to:

- follow the situation of different agricultural production activities and different farmer categories and analyze micro and macro-economic factors that control their development, taking into account farmers' viewpoints;
- with farmer participation, formulate proposals for measures enabling the improvement of the situation of different farmer categories and production channels;
- disseminate and promote farmer's viewpoints and proposals in all entities and at all levels, with authorities and their partners from other professions.

The Information Function

This function addresses three types of audiences, with the objectives of facilitating integration of agricultural production in markets, contributing to the improvement in life quality in rural areas and ensuring a better balance between cities and the countryside.

It provides agricultural producers with information enabling them to orient their productions according to market requirements and adapt their activities to the existing economic and authorized context. At the same time, it must support agricultural operators, improve their management and organizational capacities to enable them to better produce and invest and increase their competitiveness. It must also contribute to the improvement of farmers' skills; to complement actions led by institutions specialized in this sector. Chambers of Agriculture must have agro-climatic, technical, economic, commercial and regulatory data banks, constantly updated and easily accessible to farmers and technicians responsible for advising them. Their contents must be about local agricultural activities and must be the subject of wide dissemination activities, while using locally available oral, written and

audiovisual supports and means of expressions, hence addressing the requirements of different categories of farmers.

More broadly, it reaches rural populations through the most accessible media channels such as rural radios, which Chambers of Agriculture should develop and maintain with the participation of different groups, within the context of programs specific to farmers' interests.

It is also oriented towards public bodies and professional organizations of other sectors and activities such as Chambers of Commerce, industry and handicraft. The aim is to inform them on the situation of the rural sector, its problems and priorities and its wishes and proposals to take into account and direct their actions favorably towards the agricultural sector. This type of information is aimed to facilitate integration between agricultural activities and those of other economic sectors, with a better balance between cities and countryside. To this effect, all existing media resources must be used, with a priority on inter-professional information meetings, consultation and workshops on agricultural themes.

The Support Function to Professional Farmer's Organizations

Farmers must create their organizations and contribute to the professionalization of agriculture, the basis of their participation in development and their harmonious integration to the market economy.

Agricultural professional organizations are important participants in civil society and their development contributes to its strengthening. In this way, they acquire an important role in the privatization processes. Indeed, they offer institutional decentralized formulas of state replacement, adapted to particularities of the agricultural world and calling on farmers' participation.

For the Chambers of Agriculture, it is possible to follow and analyze the situation of producer organizations, to propose political and legislative measures taken in support to the development of their activities. It also provides them the advice they need, by mobilizing necessary supports from existing public and private institutions. This function goes hand in hand with the one on information and training. It aims to spread and reinforce structuring at all levels of the agricultural world, and support farmers, especially the youths and women to create conditions adapted to the improvement of their activities.

The Institutional Organization of Chambers of Agriculture

The organization of Chambers of Agriculture includes two types of structures.

- **Elected bodies**, which represent farmers and are the only ones authorized to speak on their behalf. They have institutional responsibilities, which they assume with the support of technical and operational implementation bodies. They hold full decision power as regards the management of the Chambers, the choice of objectives and programs, the allotment and use of resources and the positioning and making of proposals regarding policies and agricultural development to be defended vis-à-vis the authorities and private partners.
- Elected bodies are defined by the texts that create the Chambers of Agriculture. They result from elections and constitute the sovereign bodies of the Chambers. Their nature, their prerogatives and their rules of operation are the same for all Chambers. Their composition can vary according to the composition of the farmers' population of the region.

- **The technical and operational implementation bodies** that act under the authority of elected bodies. Their mission is to assist in the realization of objectives and activity programs, in the management of their resources and in the preparation of their proposals concerning policies and agricultural development.
- Technical and operational implementing bodies make the technical and administrative structure of the Chambers. They can involve similar structures for tasks common to all Chambers such as administrative and financial management and producers' information. Besides, they can have structures for which the organization and resources can differ from one Chamber to the other, according to regional specificities.

The Overall Framework

The Chamber of Agriculture is composed of a set of member agricultural operators and their organizations. The sovereign constitutive bodies of the Agriculture Chamber are formed by their being elected as grassroots members and representing the different categories of farmers and professional agricultural organizations within the circumscription.

To defend farmers' points of view and interests, Chambers of Agriculture must be present at the regional or provincial level and at the national level, which are two strategic decision levels. The overall framework is therefore a decentralized and autonomous regional Chambers of Agriculture that creates an active network managed at the national level by an association of Regional Chambers.

The Constitution of Regional Chambers

To respect decentralization and to reflect local agricultural diversity, the constitution of regional Chambers of Agriculture follows a multilevel process, which is local, intermediate and regional.

- **At local level**, each "grassroots unit" (usually the village) identifies "its grassroots farmers' assembly" which then nominates three representatives for each college. Every college corresponds to a sector of activities, a channel such as cereal cultivation, breeding, lumbering, fishing, etc. or to a category of producers. These colleges are defined on the basis of an agro - ecological zoning early classification, with the participation of farmers to translate the diversity of agriculture and agricultural production units.
- **At intermediate level**, the overall group of these grassroots representatives form "the consular assembly of intermediate level," located between the local level and the region or province. This assembly elects "its consular delegates: within each of its collegial groups for the canton, borough, or prefecture, according to the country."
- **At regional** or provincial level, the overall consular delegates in this intermediate level form "the consular assembly of the regional Chamber of Agriculture" that further involves elected representatives from agricultural professional organizations with cooperative or union character of different levels including the mutual credit funds and agricultural insurances.

This consular assembly elects its "ministerial office" as well as the president and vice-presidents of the regional Chamber of Agriculture. These are assigned to represent the agriculturists, to speak in their name and to manage their regional Chambers of Agriculture for the realization of its functions and its objectives. The management of the regional Chamber of Agriculture takes place under the control of the consular assembly that adopts the programs of activities and budgets, translates farmers' view-points on important issues that concern them, following grassroots consultation, and evaluates the management and results of the ministerial office.

The Network and the National Association of Regional Chambers of Agriculture

The network is institutionalized as a national association of Chambers of Agriculture, responsible for coordinating the activities of the previously mentioned network on a national scale. Its existence does not affect the decentralized and autonomous character of regional Chambers from which it emanates and on which it does not have any hierarchical or tutelage power.

Indeed, this association has a very light structure, constituted by a ministerial office, formed by the regional Chamber presidents who elect among themselves a president of the association and vice-presidents. On the basis of the synthesis of the points of view expressed by the regional Chambers, this office formulates the common positions to be defended at national level in the decision-making entities and by the Government and other public and private partners of farmers. It also manages the association and actions or projects common to several regional Chambers. To remain close to their basic proceedings, members of this association's office continue to exercise their functions of regional Chamber presidents.

This association has an important role as a source of information, above all for farmers on their national and international economic environment and for authorities. The associations can explain farmers' viewpoints. Finally, the association is useful for outside partners who can develop cooperation with the agricultural professions of other countries. Actions in this framework are relayed by regional Chambers and go up to the agricultural development. To this effect they must use all previously mentioned measures while organizing frequent meetings with farmers.

Box no 8 on Senegal: The strengthening of Civil Society Organizations

a) Experiences in local development

The Senegalese Government gave professional agricultural organizations a key role in the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program for the Agricultural Sector (PASA). Sustained agricultural growth and growth of agricultural revenues, food security and the management of natural resources need investments and capacity. For this reason the government is trying to intensify the participation of the private sector. Family smallholdings are an important element in this perspective.

The State decided to undertake a partnership with professional agricultural organizations in order to strengthen their capacities and train them to take on certain tasks transferred to them. Indeed the technical, organizational and institutional capacities of these organizations deserve to be strengthened. The main objectives of support to organizations of rural producers are:

- strengthen the capacities of producers organizations (POs) and their members through on-going training;
- strengthen links between unions and federations through training actions and the drawing up of communication packages;
- strengthen competencies and information management at the CNCR.

Key experiences in capacity building of local community and POs include: 1) The CERP Program for "Communautés Rurales" Development financed by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation has ended its pilot phase in two "Communautés Rurales" (Paoskoto and Dealy). This program has continued in three other "Communautés Rurales" (Niakhar, Koussanar and Sinthiou Malème).

It has allowed the organization of village committees in the target "Communautés Rurales". Rural Councilors and PO representatives have been informed and trained on decentralization and on their responsibilities and the competencies that have been transferred to the "Communautés Rurales". As an accompanying measure, the program has financed micro-projects presented by local POs and has provided institutional support to CERPs at 'arrondissement' level, equipping them with transport (4 wheel drive), office equipment, and a petrol allowance for CERP travel. The training modules focused on decentralization as well as planning and management techniques.

2. The Community Management of Natural Resources Project financed by USAID: its objective is to contribute to raising private sector revenues through rational

exploitation of natural resources. This means improving land productivity. More specifically the objective of this program is to increase the participation of grassroots communities in environmental project identification, planning and implementation.

This project has developed a global approach to community management. A Natural Resources Management Committee under the authority of the Rural Council has been established in each "Communautés Rurales" concerned, with representation from different socio-professional organizations. This strategy depends on the active involvement of the community and its total responsibility in decision-making. It has the objective of improving living conditions and natural resource management. Each activity must correspond to a need expressed by the local population. Thanks to this allocation of responsibility and to the participatory approach, significant results are already tangible.

In this context, media sensitization campaigns are important for awareness raising. Natural Resource Management (NRM) committees, rural councilors and PO representatives receive technical support in participatory diagnostic assessments, territorial management, training in financial and administrative management as well as in communication and natural resource management. Institutional support is given to NRM and CERP committees. The GRN project also finances micro-projects submitted by the GIEs (economic interest groups).

3. PADEN (The Literacy Project for Local Councilors and Traditional Leaders) financed by GTZ, is active in 61 "Communautés Rurales" regarding basic literacy around issues of decentralization. PADEN has already reached more than 1.500 Rural Councilors in 6 regions of Senegal (Saint-Louis, Kolda, Tamba, Diourbel, Louga et Kaolack). The project aims to improve community and local government management capacity. It targets councilors and local traditional leaders as well as PO representatives. In this way it has contributed to the implementation of the decentralization process in Senegal.

The Directorate for Local Governments, the Directorate for Literacy and Grassroots Education and the APCR (Association of Presidents of Rural Councils) are privileged partners of PADEN. The project strives to have regular discussions and exchanges of experience with other projects and initiatives so as to work for the harmonization of literacy activity at community level.

4. The Women's Group Support Project (PAGF) is being implemented in nearly all "Communautés Rurales" to strengthen the capacities of women members of the GPFs. (women promotion groups). Activities focus on

basic literacy, construction and equipping of multi-functional home bases (include children's nurseries, literacy classes, sewing centers, etc.).

The PAGF has managed to render a large number of women literate and to ease their domestic work by equipping them with millet mills.

5. The Program for Agricultural Services and POs (PSAOP). The experimental phase of the PSAOP began in 2 regions with an institutional support for POs. The objective of the experimental phase is to begin this same approach in all 10 regions of the country. The aim of this institutional support component is to strengthen and give responsibilities to rural POs, in organizational economic and financial management issues. This is to be done essentially through training and communication activities.

Local and regional PO consultation structures (CLCOP et CRCOP) have been created at "Communautés Rurales" level. They are decision-making bodies and are concerned with the selection and financing of local training and development projects and inter-village exchange schemes. They facilitate the participation of POs in negotiations at rural council and regional council level as well as vis-à-vis CERP, NGOs and other development projects etc.

Generally speaking, the institutional support component mainly concerns grassroots rural POs. The idea is to strengthen their capacity to undertake their own development process and negotiate with other development actors in their areas.

In order to strengthen capacity and train POs, the institutional support activity also finances innovative initiatives undertaken by these organizations in production techniques, the transformation of agricultural produce and natural resource management. These activities are closely linked to the project's research & development component and they are complimentary to the capacity building component. The financial ceiling set at 300 000f CFA in the experimental phase could be revised on the basis of evaluation of results.

The creation of the National Agency for Agricultural and Rural Advice (ANCAR) brings a new angle to extension services in its support to the new institutional framework as defined in the Agricultural Policy. Indeed, ANCAR provides support and advice and also focuses on improving the management of information and communication capacities between rural producers and service providers.

ANCAR must serve as an interface between POs and State services and encourage synergy between all rural development partners with a view to economic liberalization and increasing the role of the private sector.

The agency aims to fundamentally change the methodological approach in agricultural and rural advisory

services. It aims to involve beneficiaries from the beginning and improve the defining and the diffusion of advisory services, thanks notably to the creation of a tripartite consultation body: ANCAR – Research – Producers Organization.

b) Participation in practice: obstacles to its application

Regionalization made the region a moral persona of public law, endowed with financial autonomy. Local Governments received new responsibilities in areas as important as natural resources, health, education and planning. This constitutes a significant step forward in the decentralization process and in the allocation of responsibility to local councilors.

As early on as 1990, the second phase of decentralization allowed the State to transfer more responsibility to Local Governments. The idea was to increase popular participation in local development. This facilitated the progressive ownership of the planning process on the part of the local populations.

Faced with the extent of responsibilities transferred to the Rural Governments, article 215 of law 96-06 of 5th February 1996 authorizes the President of the Rural Council to make agreements with state representatives at local and regional level for the mobilization of specialized staff for the smooth running of the Rural Council and the "Communautés Rurales". In the same vein, article 9 of law 96-06 of 22nd March 1996 on the Local Communities Code stipulates that in order to accomplish their missions, Local Governments dispose of their own services and rely on deconcentrated State services where necessary. Local Councilors have the right to be trained for the purposes of their job.

At Rural Council level, an average of 8 technical commissions can be found that often correspond to the 9 areas of competency transferred to the Local Governments. They are:

- the Health Commission;
- the Finance Commission (budget);
- the Cultural Affairs Commission;
- the Youth and Sports Commission;
- the Urbanism and Housing Commission;
- the Environment Commission;
- the State Affairs Commission.

Out of these commissions, only two are really functioning: the Finance Commission and the State Affairs Commission. In nearly all rural councils, the President is the only person who is really informed on the affairs of the "Communautés Rurales" and the activities of the Council.

The rest of the councilors, including vice-presidents of the commission are little informed on the activities that concern their institution. There is clearly reluctance on the part of the Rural Council to circulate information. Councilors who should regularly inform local populations are unable to carry out that task. The two most important activities of the Rural Council, which are budget planning and the drawing up of Local Development Plans, are not yet well mastered by councilors. The Vice-Prefect is still the one who carries out the budgetary task and the head of the CERP and his/her team continue to take care of the local development plans. The councilors content themselves with voting the budget and the communication of locally perceived needs. This lack of participation is due to the weak circulation of information and training for councilors and rural populations.

The evolution of the agricultural sector is characterized by the significant development of producer organizations. The combined experiences of these groups constitute favorable tools in the reform process envisaged by the government. In 1995 the 9 federations of producers organizations which are members of the CNCR, created ASPRODEB. The Government subsequently allocated IDA credit funds to them as well as an IFAD loan to support small scale rural investments to promote food security and increase rural incomes. The technical and financial implementation of the project is entrusted to the Project Implementation Agency (AGEP).

The CNCR focuses its activities on improving institutional capacities of producer organizations through offering useful services to members in their every day activities. Furthermore, the CNCR carries out consultation activities so as to take producers needs into consideration in policies, programs, and development projects initiated by partners. At the moment, the CNCR is implementing the following activities:

- small rural investments, through ASPRODEB ;
- special food security program with FAO and the Ministry of Agriculture;
- rural share-holding and entrepreneurial activity;
- financing of rural development and the mobilization of own resources through the promotion of decentralized and autonomous financing systems.

The role of the CNCR in the implementation of all these programs is to promote the participation of producer organizations.

However, the whole of the associative movement suffers from numerous constraints in ensuring its full and effective participation in decentralized rural development. This is mainly due to:

- weak organizational and professional capacity;

- lack of financial means of most federations, preventing them from establishing necessary contacts with the grassroots;
- the strong dispersion of grassroots organizations, of which a large number does not feel represented at federal union level;
- marginalization of women in their contacts with donors for access to financing of their agricultural activity;
- weak organization of youth producer organizations.

c) Possible solutions for strengthening producer organizations

In line with the PASA, the PSOAP has defined a support strategy to rural development services in the decentralization process. Component 3 of this program is called 'Institutional Strengthening of Pos' and responds to the fact that, by definition, be they GIE, GPF or Cooperatives etc., they represent real needs in technical and organizational capacity building. The strengthening of producer organizations must therefore take place at different levels: (grassroots Pos and federations) and through a progressive and participatory approach, involving the different rural development actors.

PO strengthening is essentially based on multi-module training (basic literacy, decentralization, management, credits and savings and specific trainings) on the request of the organizations themselves. These are complimentary activities to those carried out by ANCAR and other rural development programs.

Experience in PO support from the 70s, 80s and 90s, with the support of the World Bank, and CFD (re: technological transfers and promotion of cash crops), bilateral cooperation (integrated rural development projects) and extension projects, have had very limited results. In view of this experience it is appropriate to:

- Raise the organizational capacity of the producers organizations, define structures;
- Work towards a making members more professional;
- Sensitize them so as to encourage them to operate in federations;
- Identify likely means of increasing their financial capacity;
- Train representatives in appropriate financial procedures;
- Plan specific advantages for Pos representing vulnerable groups (e.g. Women / Youth).

Annexes: Documentary and Pédagogical File

1. Annotated Bibliography

This chapter presents a review of documents that concern different decentralization and rural development themes. The majority of the texts have been prepared by FAO but some emanate from academic institutions. The review is made up of 15 documents considered the most representative of the experiences and assets of FAO concerning decentralization.

Analysis of Documents Concerning Decentralized Rural Development

FAO's Rural Development Division (SDAR) has examined documents that directly or indirectly concern the theme of Decentralization in Rural Development³³ Among the 60 analyzed documents, for which an analytic profile is available, 15 were considered especially representative of the eight lines of FAO action in relation to decentralization.

FO:DP/NER/90/016, Evaluation et capitalisation des méthodes d'intervention en matière d'environnement sur les projets (NER/90/016 et NER/89/004: Communication et participation, 1993

(FO:DP/NER/90/016, Assessment and stock taking of the intervention methods concerning environment in the NER/90/016S and NER/89/004S projects: Communication and participation, 1993,)

This document is an evaluation of two environmental projects concerning the participatory approach in Niger, as well as an effort to take stock of their experiences. Environmental issues are specific in that they are bound to individual behavior and have an impact on people, but are also under collective responsibility. The participatory approach is therefore a requirement because good natural resource management can only be collective and consensual. In this sense, the participatory approach, which is based on negotiation, consultation and partnership, has been adopted in order to encourage coherence in the different levels of intervention.

In the NER/89/04 project, in particular, important training on participatory processes enabled high participation by the animators and technical agents of this process. However, they do not seem to have integrated the importance of ownership as success criterion for a participatory process. The conclusion is that it is necessary to intensify the bias of the projects towards village autonomy ('village weaning phase'). The weaned village continues to receive the support of the project but through punctual visits. This process encourages the appropriation by the villagers of the actions initiated with the project.

DE GRANDI, J.C., "Développement durable des systèmes d'exploitation agricole familiaux", in FAO/CIRAD/CTA, Promotion de systèmes agricoles durables dans les pays d'Afrique soudano-sahélienne, 1994.

(DE GRANDI, J.C., Sustainable development of family-based farming systems in FAO/CIRAD/CTA, Promotion of sustainable agricultural systems in Sudan-Sahel African countries, 1994.)

In 1993, FAO launched a Special Action Program for the development of sustainable family-based farming systems (PAS/SPFD). The original approach exclusively centered on the household operating system. This was expanded by incorporating the relations

³³ See FAO-SDA, "Analyse de documents en matière de développement rural décentralisé et participatif", Coll. Décentralisation et Développement rural, No 2, 1997. ("Analysis of documents concerning decentralized and participatory rural development", Coll. Decentralization and rural development, No 2, 1997).

between the household production unit and its social, political, economic, ideological and physical context. The challenge is therefore to integrate the dimension of sustainability, social fairness and citizen participation. The PAS/SPFD was designed to face this challenge.

This document presents the objectives of the program as well as its strategy. The objectives were: i) to improve the knowledge on the factors that encourage or limit sustainable development of family-based farming systems and to better understand their operation in terms of development and natural resource management and ii) to identify intervention opportunities in the areas of programs and projects related to human resources development and training, and of the institutional reforms. The strategy places in the center the small farmers and particularly the poorest. Priority regions are the most vulnerable and threatened zones. The African continent and the Sudan-Sahel region constitute priority regions.

FAO, Training for decentralized planning: lessons from experience, 1987

This document emphasizes the fact that decentralization will be able to ensure its promises of growth, fairness and efficiency by the public sector, only if it comes with new expertise and behavior on the part of the planners. New expertise and attitudes are transmitted by the technical services of FAO thanks to a training methodology namely “in-service training.” The document introduces a certain number of decentralization experiences and training programs that came with them. It is therefore simultaneously, a review of experiences and an effort of detailed explanations of themes that deserve serious consideration. The document also analyzes the main problems associated with decentralization.

- In Asia, the lack of experience of executives as well as the lack of methodologies and techniques.
- In Latin America, the difficulty to make regional priorities compatible with national priorities and to imply in the regional planning process, not only citizen organizations but also civil servants.
- In Africa, the absence of qualified and motivated personnel and the insufficient financial devolution to the local units, as well as the problems of coordination between the national and regional levels.

The document finally introduces an analytical instrument that enables planners to analyze the decentralization process, and to value the needs in training that result from it.

FAO, Training Manual on Decentralized Planning (district level), 1990

FAO collaborated with APROSC (Agricultural Projects Service Centers) in Nepal in a training program for the analysis of agricultural projects and rural development (FAO/GCP/NEP/035/SWI). One of the results of this program was the editing of a training manual for decentralized planning. The program and the manual were important in the context of the decentralized planning process in Nepal. This document introduces decentralized planning in Nepal and the lessons from the training experience.

A presentation of the specific role of each institution in the decentralized planning is also made. It shows that in spite of the complexity of the process, some coordination is ensured between descending (general lines and financial ceilings) and ascending (allowance of resources between the projects presented by the citizens) approaches in planning. The regional level proves to be of particular importance because it is the one that can ensure the integration of the two approaches (top-down/bottom-up) and of the specific constraints at the national and local levels.

FAO, Approche méthodologique et démarche de la restructuration des institutions du développement rural, 1993

(FAO, Methodological Approach and process in the restructuring of rural development institutions, 1993)

FAO's approach to restructuring of the public institutions starts from the following principle: the more policies enjoy the adherence of citizens and institutions, the more they will be effective as they will be the expression of the citizens' wishes, needs and constraints. The document gives a detailed presentation of the following criteria to build performing rural development institutions:

- the commercial and productive activities would be transferred to the private sector or to organizations of the civil society. The sectors for public intervention would be the promotion of private initiatives, the strengthening of farmers' capacities, regulations, and protection of the environment;
- people's participation in the choices and implementation of development actions and, in a general manner, in the management of matters that concerns them;
- decentralization of the powers and the financing modes of actions in order to give more freedom to the level closer to local realities;
- a global development approach that takes as starting point the knowledge of the local level, its potentialities, constraints and people's wishes and priorities coordinated first at local and then regional and national levels;
- a rational management of resources subject to regular monitoring and evaluation of results.

FAO, Organization and Management of Agricultural Support Services for Small Farmers in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1991

This piece of work is part of FAO's efforts to help member states reduce the costs of agricultural and rural development and improve support services to small farmers. Case studies carried out by FAO arrive at the following conclusions:

- small farmers play an important role in producing food in the region;
- land ownership remains concentrated in the hands of a few and efforts to ensure land redistribution have failed;
- small producers are experiencing little improvement in their technologies and revenues;
- the main causes of this stagnation are the scarcity and low quality of available inputs and weak organization;
- the lack of coordination between different levels has had negative consequences on rural development;
- extension workers are not trained to understand the mentality of small producers and the role of women is not well integrated.

The organization of small producers is important to ensure their representation and thus their negotiating power at all levels. The FAO document concludes that support services have to improve their level of coordination and they must begin to function in a more decentralized manner.

ARDOUIN-DUMAZET P., "L'expérience du Centre d'investissement de la FAO en matière de préparation de projets de gestion des ressources naturelles et de gestion de terroirs", in FAO/CIRAD/CTA, Promotion de systèmes agricoles durables dans les pays d'Afrique soudano-sahélienne, 1994

(ARDOUIN-DUMAZET P., "The experience of the Investment Center of FAO concerning the preparation of natural resources and soil management projects", FAO/CIRAD/CTA in, Promotion of

sustainable agricultural systems in the Sudan-Sahel African countries, 1994)

FAO's Investment Center helps public institutions understand the nature of constraints inherent to the agricultural systems and to the agrarian structures on which they intervene. It has tried out a new way of managing natural resource projects using the "Gestion de Terroirs" approach which has the following objectives:

- sustainable production and protection of productive resources capital;
- participation of rural people in the definition of policies;
- technologies based on the expectations of the rural population;
- decentralization of decision-making power and financing mechanisms;
- management aimed to avoid tenure conflicts;
- biodiversity protection.

The approach stresses the responsibility and ownership of rural people in the management of their heritage and a contractual relation to define the modalities of its use. Training of project facilitators is essential in order to guarantee good participatory processes. The process proposes coupled projects that develop in a concomitant manner, activities concerning natural resource management, rural infrastructures and support to biodiversity.

BKF/94/005, Gestion des terroirs : appui à la concertation/coordination, 1995

(BKF/94/005, "Gestion de Terroirs": support to consultation/coordination, 1995)

This study is part of a project, financed by the UNDP and executed by FAO in Burkina Faso, concerning the consultation and the coordination in 'Gestion de Terroirs' (GT) projects, in the context of a decentralization policy. In Burkina, coordination did not yet reach the desired level and the government decided to develop a new relation's approach with organizations based on consultation. The main obstacles remained expertise, legitimacy, representation of producer organizations as well as conflicts with customary authorities. Another problem concerned the weakness of legislative texts concerning tenure and natural resource management. Furthermore the GT approach cannot be developed without a certain organizational basis of rural communities. In the context of decentralization in Burkina, a law has been adopted which foresees putting in place village advisors.

One can see GT projects led to a progressive strengthening of the social cohesion within villages. Villagers meet and debate; and discussions between farmers and pastoralists have been tried; the level of technical skills has increased, and the knowledge and understanding of the natural resource degradation has expanded.

MAU/88/002 PNUD/FAO, La vulgarisation participative: texte méthodologique, 1991

(MAU/88/002 PNUD/FAO, Participatory extension: methodological text, 1991)

The government of Mauritania called on the UNDP and FAO to establish a national system of agricultural extension based on the principle of farmer participation. The country needed a group approach and to take into consideration the diversity of production systems by putting into place an extension system with differentiated messages. Moreover, it was about seeing the extension as a tool that reinforces associative capacities of local communities and their sense of responsibility in order to solve upstream and downstream production problems.

The main feature of the extension system allows one to define it as: "a coordinated set, aiming to introduce some improvements in farming systems". By supporting farmers through a series of activities related to sensitization, facilitation, training and technical assistance, following consultation with them and an analysis of the situation of their

farming systems. The regional coordination articulates the activities between neighboring and more diffuse intervention zones.

FAO, FAO People's Participation Programs - the First Ten Years: Lessons Learned and Future Directions, 1990,

The People's Participation Program (PPP) approach was conceived during the world Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, organized by FAO in 1979. "Established in 1980, PPP aims to develop an operational method for people's participation through pilot projects, which could be incorporated into large-scale agricultural and rural development programs, and adopted by governments in their national development strategies, policies and plans. Its main emphasis was on the training of small self-help groups within the poor section of the rural population. This would enable members to work together on income-generating activities, access to credit, farm inputs and training, and would provide a collective voice for representing their interests with local government and other organizations with whom they wish to interact" (p. 1).

The assessment of the PPP shows that it was an important contribution of FAO to the promotion of participation in agricultural and rural development, because it allowed the creation of organizations of the poor in rural environment and their structuring to develop income-generating activities. These activities were effective to demonstrate the interest of the participatory approach for the poorest sectors of the rural population.

FAO, Participation populaire au développement rural: le plan d'action de la FAO, 1992
(*FAO, Peoples' Participation in Rural Development: the FAO Action Plan, 1992*)

The FAO People Participation Action Plan was adopted in 1991 and this document presents its content. This rural strategy recognizes that if one does not give to the rural poor the resources to participate in the actions concerning them, they will remain excluded and marginalized in relation to the extension of rural markets, saving and investment. Hence the large majority of the rural population is not yet organized and does not benefit from such group dynamics. FAO therefore decided to integrate the concept of participatory development in all development policies and programs and has implemented an action plan on people's participation, which underlines the necessity to intensify cooperation between the governments, FAO and the NGOs.

The main points of this action plan are: i) sensitization of public opinion about the role of participation in rural development, ii) legal framework favorable to citizen participation, iii) strengthening of internal capacities of people's organizations at local and national levels, iv) decentralization of decision making, v) dialogue and technical collaboration between all development actors, vi) procedures and operational methods towards participation, and vii) follow-up and evaluation of people's participation.

FAO, FORESTS, TREES AND PEOPLE: phase II.

Rural populations depend to a great extent on forests and trees for food and energy requirements as well as for buying materials and medicine. The objective of the second phase of the Forests, Trees and People Program (FTPP) was "to reinforce national and regional institutions in their activities to develop the capacities of local populations to manage and to use their natural resources". The program ran through a partnership between a team of the community forestry Unit in Rome and the national and regional institutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America that lead the program. Regional facilitators and local institutions identified the assets and the constraints for the development of community forestry. On this basis, national and regional priorities were fixed and planned" (p. 1). The participatory approach was key to local level operations.

Four complementary objectives were: “i) to deepen the knowledge and to develop the strategies, methods and more effective tools concerning rural populations participation, and more specifically of the poor; ii) to increase the human and institutional capacities to better answer problems experienced by local forest communities; iii) to integrate participatory methods in ongoing forestry activities by bringing them technical support; iv) to disseminate information on participatory forestry methods and experiences in this matter, by providing networking, improvement of communications and distribution of publications” (p.1).

FAO, New institutional arrangements for agricultural and rural development in the region, 1994

For a very long time the state played a considerable role in agricultural and rural development in Latin America and the Caribbean. Since the debt crisis and the structural adjustments and stabilization programs that followed, this situation has changed. One can see a wave of democratization and a demand for participation, which implies local strengthening of local administrations. New institutions responsible for agriculture and rural development are now appearing, whose efficiency no more depends on the fact that they own resources but rather on their mechanisms of “governance through democratic exercise of encouragement, self-management and a broader span to social or individual initiatives” (p. 3).

The institutions of the local government appear weak in this context in terms of resource management, which must, however, be reinforced. FAO activities regarding the role of the local government level have been i) structuring of the local governments and participation in the planning of local initiatives, ii) training for the organization and local government administration, iii) study on the necessary institutional conditions to increase the efficiency of the decentralized and participatory structures.

FAO, Municipalidad rural, participación popular e instituciones en servicios de apoyo a pequeños agricultores en Latinoamérica, 1993

(FAO, Rural Municipalities, People’s Participation and Institutions involved in the support to Small Producers in Latin America, 1993)

FAO seeks to identify the real potentialities of initiative of rural municipalities in terms of support services to the production and the social services, but also asks questions on the modalities so that the municipalities can fill these functions. According to this document, the role of municipalities can be multiple: i) promoter of local development, ii) coordinator of initiatives and resource mobilizer iii) control of public works, iv) coordination of inter-institutional actions, v) promoter of enterprises capable of satisfying the needs of the population. In a general manner, the municipality should be assigned to promote an institutional environment favorable to organize, systematic and sustained participation of the local population in the programs of the municipalities, the regions and the State.

While decentralization opens wide possibilities to the municipalities, its success depends on the fact that municipalities can establish mechanisms of coordination with the local levels of the central administration and with higher levels in the government. It is also necessary to recognize that the absence of participation in decision making at the municipality level decreases the legitimacy and the efficiency of the municipal management. Therefore FAO proposes to train the technical staff of the municipalities on their new functions and on the techniques enabling them to formulate their programs in collaboration with rural people.

FAO/SDA, CORUMED, Proposition pour un réseau destiné aux élus et représentants des communautés rurales méditerranéennes, 1996

(FAO/SDA, CORUMED, Proposition for a network destined for elected officials and representatives of the Mediterranean rural communities, 1996)

In the framework of local government development, it appeared interesting to promote an exchange of experiences on participatory approaches. While breaking the isolation of these governments, the exchange of experiences can drive them to improve the quality of decisions and to reduce their costs. FAO therefore proposed “a dialogue with partners potentially interested in the North as well as the South of the Mediterranean Basin on the interest and the feasibility of an electronic exchange of experiences system and of support to decision primarily for the benefit of responsible persons in local jurisdictions and professional groups as well as their close partners” (p. 1).

The sectors covered by the system would reflect tendencies concerning community ownership, the improvement of their management capacities, and the sharing of responsibilities with the State and the other partners. The transfer of experiences and information would be an important activity of the network. The role of FAO would be: a) to collect and organize circulation of information on the activities and initiatives taken by potential partners of the CORUMED network; b) to provide qualitative information on the content of the initiatives undertaken and to disseminate the results of the sharing of experiences; c) to stimulate and organize deliberation on what could become a federative system of different initiatives to come.

Summary of the Documents on Decentralization and Rural Development Produced by SDAR in 1997

1. FAO experiences in Decentralized Rural Development

This document presents an analysis on the risks of the decentralization processes and the FAO’s advantages concerning the creation of conditions favorable to decentralization. Identification of decentralization risks and the consideration of FAO assets allow the suggestion of a model of decentralization (RED-IFO) based, on the one hand, on a methodology of regionalization of demands and differentiation of policies, and on the other hand, on three complementary policies related to the access to information, training and organization. The experiences of FAO are classified according to three perspectives:

- the public perspective whose lines of action are the approach of agricultural systems of production, the role of training, and the restructuring of institutions;
- the civil society perspective with three lines of action consist in the promotion of ‘Gestion de Terroirs’ projects, participatory extension, and the people’s participation programs as well as the structuring of producer organizations;
- the local government perspective whose two main lines of action are local government levels as poles for rural development, and the building of the interface between national and local government levels.

2. Analysis of documents concerning Decentralized Rural Development

This publication is the result of a review of documents produced by FAO in the framework of its activities that directly or indirectly touches the theme of decentralization in rural development. This review also incorporates other institutions’ publications (World Bank, IFAD, CFDE) chosen because they enlighten well the analysis of decentralization. The document consists of a set of analytical and summary cards on each of the 59 retained texts.

The texts have been classified according to the more precise areas they cover and that are presented under seven large categories: 1. Training, extension and research (five cards), 2. 'Gestion de Terroirs' (six cards), 3. Municipalities and rural development (two cards), 4. Decentralized planning, restructuring of institutions and management of support services to agriculture (ten cards), 5. Special program, poverty, employment and food security (eight cards), 6. People's participation (18 cards), and 7. Role of the region, local programs of rural development and communities (ten cards).

3. RED-IFO a model for the analysis of Decentralization

This document proposes a systematization of experiences of FAO in a model of participatory decentralization, namely the RED-IFO model. This model recognizes the influence of the inheritance of centralized policies on rural development. This must be taken into account to identify the risks involved in decentralization. Five main risks are presented: a) the replacement of a logic of "supply" by a logic of "demand", b) poor information sharing is not conducive to good coordination, c) persisting paternalism can reduce the offer of support services, d) traditions of "Clientélisme" (enlarged nepotism) create the risk of misappropriation by more powerful actors, and e) institutional rigidity and the pace of decentralization.

The consideration of these risks enables the model to propose a methodology of decentralization (Regionalization of demands and Differentiation of policies) and a pack of complementary measures (Information, Training and Organization). The methodology puts forward the necessity for an effort of creation and strengthening of representative intermediate associations of the whole of the rural population, whose mandate would be to be the key link of dialogue between the State and the other actors in rural development. The model advocates the need for the creation of institutions by rural populations themselves.

4. PANIAGUA, The Institutional System Analysis (ISA) Methodological Propositions

The working group of IG1, in the Rural Development Division of FAO (SDA), develops analysis and proposal instruments on rural development institutions, by reinforcing its activities related to exchange and stock taking of information on this theme, as well as its' comparative analysis capacities on ongoing experiences in the different regions of the world. The main aspects of this work on the development of instruments concern the restructuring of institutions, decentralization and the role of the regional interfaces and local governments. To happen, IG1 proposed to place an analysis tool on the institutional systems namely ISA, that would simultaneously be a management system for internal information in FAO, an entrance door to other information networks, and a strategic surveillance system on information pertaining to the work of IG1.

This document presents a summarized manner the desirable features of ISA and poses a certain number of strategic decisions required for the launching and to the start up of this analysis tool. This being done, the document takes a closer look at the problematic of institutional systems analysis and the lines of research on decentralization that result.

5. The role of the Region, Proceedings from the Regional Workshop on Local Interface Development / Strategic Frameworks, the Role of the Regional Level, Praia, 10th – 18th May 1996

FAO organized a workshop entitled Local Interface Development / Strategic Frameworks, the role of the regional level. It appeared interesting to review the knowledge and present practices that contribute to the preparation at the national and even international level, of big programs of development notably in favor of the protection of the environment for

the fight against desertification or eradication of poverty. The document compares the modalities of their global formulation with the other means of intervention in rural environment that privilege the participatory approaches at the local level, for example village development, the 'Gestion de Terroirs' approach, etc.

This document is a detailed and interesting account of the discussions of this workshop that gathered about thirty people coming from countries in Sahelian and Maghreb Africa (Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Togo, Chad and Senegal). The analysis of the experiences was followed by the presentation of the RED-IFO model of decentralization and the EC-LEADER program. The main discussions presented in this document are about the institutions, participation and the role of the region.

6. NADIR M. T., Restructuring of Rural Institutions: principles and methods, lessons of FAO's experiences

This text analyzes recent experiences on the restructuring of rural institutions to which FAO brought its expertise. It also includes new orientations that go in the sense of a political democratization and economic liberalization reducing the field of intervention of the state to the profit of the one of the civil society. The document aims to clarify the type of supports that FAO brought to public institutions in the rural sector in their adaptation effort to the new economic context. The author shows how FAO managed in the institutional sector, to define and improve its methodologies and analytical tools on types of organizations, after these being tested in real contexts,

The report details the objectives, the basic principles and the stages of the restructuring of public institutions, the methodology followed by the governments to move forward this restructuring as well as the impacts of the process on human resources and the recommended accompanying measures. The document ends by presenting some examples of restructuring in Benin, Ivory Coast, and Togo, and extracting the main lessons of these efforts.

7. Municipalización del desarrollo rural in America latina: situación actual y perspectivas

(The municipalization of rural development in Latin America: Present situation and perspectives.)

This document confirms that the challenge faced by the process on economic and political reform in Latin America essentially concerns the necessity for restructuring the institutions and the modalities of policy formulation, in order to ensure a broader representation, participation and ownership. The municipalization of development is thus analyzed as one of the most promising ways in the region to ensure the objective of an equitable and sustainable rural development. The document shows the main results of the reflection organized by FAO and CLACSO on the municipal spaces, their structures, the range and the limits of their interventions. It also presents the future tasks to achieve a real municipalization of rural development.

The document particularly analyzes the experience of the social investment funds and the modalities of participation that were associated to them, and presents three case studies: a) the municipal development space in Nicaragua, b) people's participation as axis of the change in Bolivia and c) the difficulties of municipalization in Colombia. The conclusion of these analyses is that the relations between municipalization and decentralization have not clearly been established, which limits the impact of these processes.

8. NADIR Mr. T., Chambers of Agriculture: models of representation and tool of farmer participation

This document synthesizes different experiences of FAO concerning the creation and strengthening of the bodies representing farmers. The objective of these experiences was to give to the farmers their right place in the civil society, by facilitating their access to the economic channels and the integration of their activities to the whole of the economy. The components of this experience are: a) the conversion of agricultural organization of economic character into professional units, managed by the farmers and answering to the criteria of efficiency and profitability; b) putting in place professional organizations whose mission is to represent the farmers and to participate on their behalf in the development and implementation of rural development policies and programs.

After having presented the problems created by the absence of farmer representation, the author suggests an institutional model to ensure this. The principles, functions and organization of the Chambers of Agriculture are discussed. In the last part of the text, the author gives some examples of restructuring or creation of Chambers of Agriculture in Mali, Togo and Maghreb countries.

9. GAIHA R., DECENTRALIZATION: the Indian experience

The analyses of this document are about the different phases of decentralization in planning in India, based on the constitutional principle of strengthening the Panchayats as autonomous local institutions. The document particularly shows the difficulties encountered by this process to reinforce the ties between the national public institutions, the Panchayats and the rural organizations, in the context of programs to fight against poverty. The document consists of a presentation of the structure and the organization of the Panchayats, an analysis of the difficulties in the implementation of the decentralized planning process.

The author proposes some orientations on the desirable reforms in order to give a wider efficiency to decentralization. The first thing is the selection of activities. Any organization that does not answer to the need of the communities will not be attractive to them. Experience shows that the people's participation will be better if it is accompanied by financial incentives. People's management capacities grow gradually. When an organization is sustainable, it then varies its activities.

10. GORDILLO G., The Reconstruction of Rural Institutions

This text presents the basic concepts to understand the processes of rebuilding rural institutions, from the point of view of the reform of the State as well as that of the dynamics of rural governments and producer organizations. The general context is one of building of a new development model that is more productive, equitable and sustainable, and whose central objective consists in the establishment of a growth path that results from the building of consensus and that gives stability, certainty and orientation to agricultural policies.

The author's essential contribution comes because he does not only see in the rebuilding of the institutions a change in the organization and the functions of the state, but more globally the reform of the set of rules and conventions through consultation and social interactions. The text analyzes the new tendencies in the formulation and the implementation of the rural policies, the structural changes in the link between urban and rural areas, and the reform of the policies and the intervention modalities of the State. This approach enables him to demonstrate the links between strengthening of democracy, notably at decentralized levels, and the economic efficiency, and to stress the crucial role that the local level will have to play in the new strategies of development.

11. BAAS S., News Trends in Rural Development and Poverty alleviation: the concept of participatory institutional development

This document starts from a historic viewpoint that tries to summarize previous experiences of rural development. Underlying the results of this historic exploration, stress is then placed on the specific challenges that present themselves in rural development in arid and marginalized areas which also have a weak production potential. More particularly, the text moves towards the analysis of some of the essential components in rural development and the struggle against poverty that took an increasing importance during recent years, such as community ownership at local level, the participation and institutional strengthening.

In a first section the author underlines the lessons from past experiences in development whose failures would be linked to the lack of people's participation, the weakness of local governments in a very centralized context and decision to encourage large commercial agriculture, let alone the little consideration that has been given to the woman's role in these strategies. This statement enables the author to propose a certain number of ways to improve the approaches to rural development and fight against poverty, with a special consideration for arid zones.

12. MUJERI Mr. K. /SINGH L. S., Case Studies one the impact of decentralization: Bangladesh

This text analyzes the long history of the decentralization process in Bangladesh and its impact on rural development. Decentralization came from the request for autonomy by local level governments, which were given an increasing number of functions. A key moment of this process was the Constitution of 1971 following independence, which indicates that "the local government responsibilities in each administrative unit of the Republic must be given to local entities comprising of elected people according to the law" (p. 4). The author analyzes the reasons that explain that, in spite of a favorable enough legal environments, the implementation of decentralization has been rather dissatisfactory.

Strengthening of government's local institutions is the most recent way for local governments to trying to go ahead with decentralization. The document analyzes the modalities of this strengthening and the functions assigned to every type of local institution. A special chapter is dedicated to the development of the role of municipalities and urban corporations, based on a devolution process. In this context, the relations between the local and central levels and the impacts on rural development appear quite problematic, and deserve a special chapter with conclusions and recommendations.

13. GONZALEZ R. P., Case Studies on the Impact of Decentralization: Philippines

This document aims to demonstrate that the decentralization process in the Philippines, in spite of a history of strongly centralized governments, succeeded in putting in place a Local Government Code, whose main features are drawn with a lot of detail. The strengthening of Local Governments came with a more global process of economic liberalization, withdrawal of the State, and participation of the population in the mechanisms of decision making: "devolution and decentralization have marked Philippine government policies over the past ten years. The emergent thinking is that while central government provides the broad policy framework and social environment, it is the Local Government Units (LGUs), private sector and civil society entities who shall act as the prime engines for growth, equity and sustainability", (p. 5).

The responsibility of the LGUs is especially strong regarding anti-poverty policies. The author therefore dedicates part of his text to analyze poverty in Philippines. Following this

analysis, he presents the main features of the 1991 Local Government Code, and the performances and obstacles encountered during its implementation.

14. FAO/CERFE, Italian Lessons on the Relations between Civil Society and Public Administration in the Context of Decentralization

In its first part, the document identifies the recent tendencies concerning decentralization and the main challenges which it must face. The relevance of the Italian case is justified by the importance that Italy gave to the municipal dimension on decentralization and by the capacity that the country showed in terms of institutional innovation. These two features seem, according to the authors, quite relevant for developing countries.

A characteristic, which the document stresses, concerns the relations between decentralization and reform of public administration. These relationships enable us to understand the opportunities, the potential, the risks and the implicit obstacles in decentralization. Of equal importance are the relationships between the public administration and the civil society. Their account of the accumulation of social capital and the public spirit for which the efficiency of the institutions largely depends: “studies on the subject have shown that Italy’ efficiency of its public institutions at local and regional levels is at present much higher where there are well established civic traditions and a wealth of social capital” (p. 8). The training, information and implementation of decentralization also receive closer attention.

15. BAKO-ARIFARI N., Decentralization Processes and Traditional Powers: Classification of policies encountered

The document explains the role that traditional institutions can play in favoring or slowing-down decentralization. According to the author these institutions are today witnesses and actors in decentralization policies. They are a vehicle for local projects and the values of local democracy, development, promotion of civil society, citizen participation and good governance. They especially stress the merit, acquired position and the structures of adherence. This can imply traditional values at that can apparently contradict state law and modern values. However, the values of solidarity and proximity often inherent to traditional values should be appreciated.

The positioning in relation to these institutions in the framework of a decentralization policy can be different but it has an impact on the performances of decentralization itself. This is why the text tries to classify various governmental policies: the policies of integration, association, strategies of adaptation and policies of against exclusion.

16. BONNAL J. / MUHEIM P., Preliminary analysis of a questionnaire on decentralization: Outline of a Typology

In order to better understand the process of decentralization, the SDAR Division of FAO formulated a questionnaire on the main characteristics and modalities of decentralization in the agricultural sector and rural development. This questionnaire has been sent to about twenty countries that have undertaken a process of decentralization in the near past. The text of BONNAL and MUHEIM constitutes a first approximation the results that emanate from these questionnaires. The authors aim to formulate a typology of decentralization on the basis of a sample of 20 countries and 7 variables considered most applicable.

The typology straightaway distinguishes two main groups: the centralized countries (8) and the decentralized countries (12). This last group can be divided into two subgroups: the countries characterized by a strong degree of autonomy in the local and regional levels (6) and the countries where the central government drives in last analysis the process by strongly codifying the policies and procedures (6).

17. BONNAL J. and other contributors: Training Manual: ‘Understand, Analyze and Manage a Decentralization Process’ FAO, Rome 1997, revised 2004

18. FRANCIOSI P. Vers une typologie des processus de décentralisation FAO, Rome 2001 (Towards a Typology of Decentralization Processes)

The Rural Development Division of FAO (SDAR) launched an investigation to identify a limited number of decentralization processes, to analyze the strengths and constraints of each type of process, and to improve FAO and other partners’ support as well as the performance of decentralization processes in rural development. The first phase of the investigation saw the preparation of a questionnaire using the RED-IFO analytical model that aims to classify decentralization processes according to the extent to which local demands are considered and the extent to which national policies are modified accordingly. The questionnaire was sent to approximately twenty people in different Asian, African and Latin American countries. Analysis of the questionnaires led to the production of a series of Country Profiles in different countries. It also allowed for the identification of relevant information to put together a typology of situations met. Indeed, the term decentralization covers such different countries and situations that the design of a typology appeared important in as a tool to help understand decentralization.

19. FONGS/FAO (with the contribution of M’baye Sarr), Renforcement des capacités techniques et d’analyse des organisations paysannes: le cas du Sénégal, (Strengthening of the Technical and Analytical capacities of Producer’s Organizations, the case of Senegal) Rome 2000 (Volume 1 and Volume 2)

Senegal launched a strong decentralization policy and opted for the promotion of producer’s organizations, largely the establishment of umbrella organizations (Union, Federation) capable of creating a support structure for its members, which are grass roots groups and NGOs. To improve the capacities of these grass roots organizations during the negotiations they have with national public institutions or development partners, FAO was asked to train support teams and members of these organizations. These training sessions focused on the decentralization process and a preliminary analysis was carried out. Most of the elements were used in the pedagogical material (Number 17 above). Here they review the decentralization situation in Senegal using the RED-IFO model (volume 1) then they examine the behavior of producers organizations faced with the process (volume 2).

20. DGF (Maroc)/FAO, Les implications institutionnelles de l’approche participative, le cas de l’aménagement des bassins versants au Maroc, (Institutional Implications of the Participatory Approach to Watershed Management in Morocco) Rome 2000 (Volume 1 and Volume 2)

The project MOR/93/010 developed a participatory approach in two pilot zones (Tassaout and M’Soun), identified as priority in the National Watershed Management Plan (PNABV). It planned to carry out an analysis of institutional aspects of this consultation approach, in order to allow local actors to better carry out their actions. It also planned to help different levels of the project (local team, regional services, and central services) to identify established partners for the accomplishment of different project tasks, with the help of an analytical matrix of experiences of the local teams in their daily work. A deeper analysis was then carried out to examine the position of different identified actors, with regard to problems foreseen or tested solutions. This provides a review of different project activities in their intrinsic development and in view of the partners involved in each one of them. This work underlines the diversity and the complexity of the situations met. Partners have been classified according to their degree of involvement, the strategies they develop in activity

implementation, participatory approaches and the decentralization process. Three categories of actors can be distinguished according to their proximity, nature and degree on influence in their partnership.

21. FAO (with Sylvie Videnya's contribution), Analyse de documents en matière de développement décentralisé et participatifs (Analysis of documents in decentralized and participatory development) (2nd edition) Rome 2002

The first publication, edited in 1997 was the result of a text review produced by the FAO as part of its work in decentralization and rural development. It incorporates chosen publications of other institutions (World Bank, IFAD, CFDE). This second publication aims to update the 1997 document. As is the case of the first edition, the publication is the result of a collection of documents produced by FAO. The updating of this document was done through interviews with different FAO units (TCAS, AGSH, TCIR, FONP, FORC, AGPC), which present their most relevant documents and provide a search (by key word) on the web site of the organization. The result is the collection of 89 texts, each with Internet links that allow the texts in question to be opened for consultation.

22. FAO/SDAR (with contributions from Vivien Knips), Country Profiles on Decentralization and Rural Development: Overview of on-going processes in 21 countries, FAO 2002

The aim of this document is to provide a review of the specific modalities of decentralization processes in different countries. Country Outlooks were produced using an identical template. Some have been included on a pilot internet site created by FAO and the World Bank with the support of the online Columbia:University Source book on Decentralization and Local Development. It can be found at http://www.ciesin.org/decentralization/SB_entry.html. An update of the Country Outlooks has been carried out using a revised template and there are links with other documents on decentralization and concerning each of the examined countries.

2. Self-training exercises

Exercise 1 Definition of the concepts concerning decentralization

1. After having chosen a definition of your choice, give explanations, illustrations or corrections of the text proposed by the authors of the Training Manual (Part 1, Chapter 2).
2. Add a new term in the existing list and write an explanatory text.
3. Based on the first box on Senegal (Part 1, Chapter 2); draw-up an example for the country of your choice

Exercise 2 The History of Decentralization

1. Identify the main stages (political events, legislative or administrative decisions) that marked the recent years of the institutional development of a country of your choice. Indicate the dates of each of them.
2. For each of the stages identified, give the constraints that affected the previous situation and explain the change that occurred.
3. By placing the relevant phases along a time line, trace the historical trajectory of the decentralization process in the chosen country as illustrated in the manual by Senegal (Part One, Chapter 3, Box 2).

Exercise 3 Assessment of the situation in a given country: paying particular attention to the risks that a badly managed decentralization process can entail.

1. Among the 5 risks proposed in the Training Manual (Part 1, Chapter 4); indicate which one appears to be present in the country of your choice. Justify your answer.
2. Referring to the process of decentralization as a whole in a given country or a sector use the filter of the analytical model RED-IFO (Part 1, Chapter 5), to assess the situation.
3. Apply one of the components of the analytical model RED-IFO on a process of decentralization of your choice, outline the present situation and propose new measures aiming to improve the process.

Exercise 4 The Institutional Environment, the Identification of Actors and their Strategies

1. Draw up the list of actors that compose the institutional environment of a decentralized system. Start from the directly involved local actors and move on to the identification to the indirect actors, and then to the other levels of decentralization.
2. For the actors of your choice, indicate in a few lines, their main characteristics as well as the strategies that they develop faced with the process of decentralization.
3. Based on the diagram on Senegal (Part Two, Chapter 1, Box 5), insert actors present and indicate through symbols the position they occupy at different levels of decentralization.

Exercise 5 Development of a Country Overview

1. Using the finalization sheet proposed in the Training Manual, (Part 2, Chapter 2) establish the situation of decentralization in a country of your choice.
2. Fill-in the questionnaire on the situation of decentralization in a given country.

Exercise 6 Typology of Decentralization Processes

1. Using the 4 retained criteria to assess decentralization (State Participation/Management; Centralization/Decentralization – Part 2, Chapter 3), write down the country of your choice in one of the 5 groups of the formulated typology and on the corresponding graph. Justify your proposal.

Exercise 7 The Role of the Region

1. Using the finalization sheet proposed in the handbook, (Part 2, Chapter 1) draw up an overview of the decentralization process in a country of your choice and highlight the role of the region.

Exercise 8 The Restructuring of Rural Institutions

1. Using the three case studies (Part 3, Chapter 1), describe the main features of the restructuring process of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development in your own country.

Exercise 9: The Place of Civil Society

1. Using the example of Senegal in Box 8 (Part 3, Chapter 3), describe the processes of strengthening civil society organizations in your country.

Understand, analyse and manage a decentralization process

The RED-IFO Model and its use

This publication has been written with a view to providing material for strengthening rural institutions. It provides a thorough overview of the decentralization process in rural development from the issue of state withdrawal and higher efficiency to the rise of civil society and its enhanced role in sustainable development.

This balance between the state and civil society is explored in all dimensions (historical, conceptual and operational) in such a way as to avoid the risks of a badly managed decentralization process. Experience demonstrates that institutional voids and blocked support can have serious implications for the most vulnerable rural producers. The text also analyses the temptations of clientelism (or enlarged nepotism) and paternalism that have been known to accompany the decentralization process when they are applied too quickly.

Based on FAO's experience in various countries, the text proposes an analytical model of decentralization (RED-IFO) and describes management modalities and ongoing processes. These proposals are not only concerned with better analysis of local demands by decentralized entities (the commune, district, irrigation plots or forest zones, etc.) but also better consideration of the diversity of agro-ecological and social situations in the definition of national policies. However, this approach must also include accompanying measures without which decentralization is unlikely to function. These are notably information sharing, the training of all stakeholders, stronger organizations and mediation mechanisms. On this basis, questionnaires, surveys and analytical tools are proposed to allow readers to follow and work on the process in their own countries. They may also choose to focus on a particular aspect of rural development such as agronomical research or extension services. It is even possible for the reader to compare evolutions in various countries and select a typology of situations met.

Finally, the document offers practical tools to take the lead in facing up to various dimensions of the problems of decentralization in rural development. It also proposes ways in which the RED-IFO model can be applied. These explications concern: i) the restructuring of public institutions in their new tasks and responsibilities; ii) the strengthening of civil society to enhance its role and function; and iii) the primordial role of institutions and intermediate bodies in a participatory territorial and negotiated approach.

This document is also available as a distance learning text on the FAO Web site.

