

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.

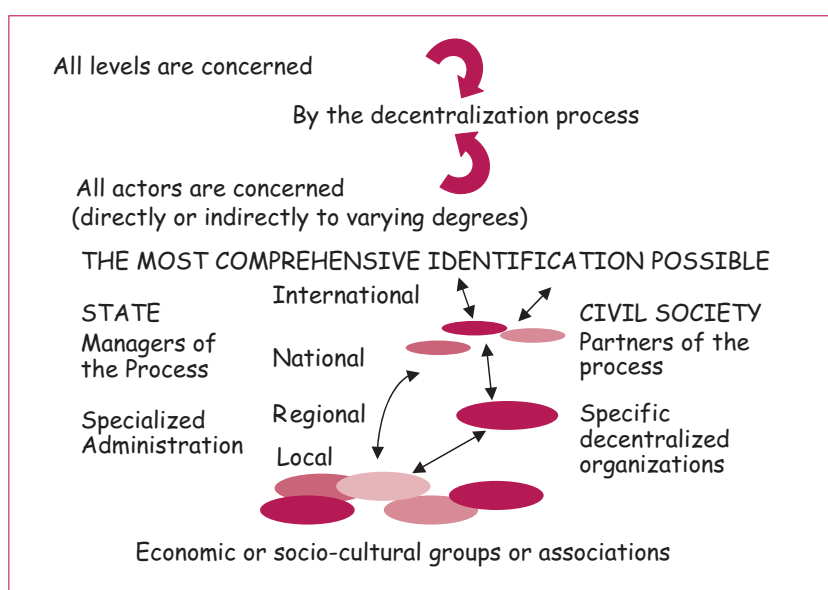
Decentralization means giving autonomy to decentralized administrations in managing local affairs. It is quite legitimate that the central powers verify that local responsible persons do this with diligence and as a mission of public service. To carry out such control, two institutional entities exist 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.

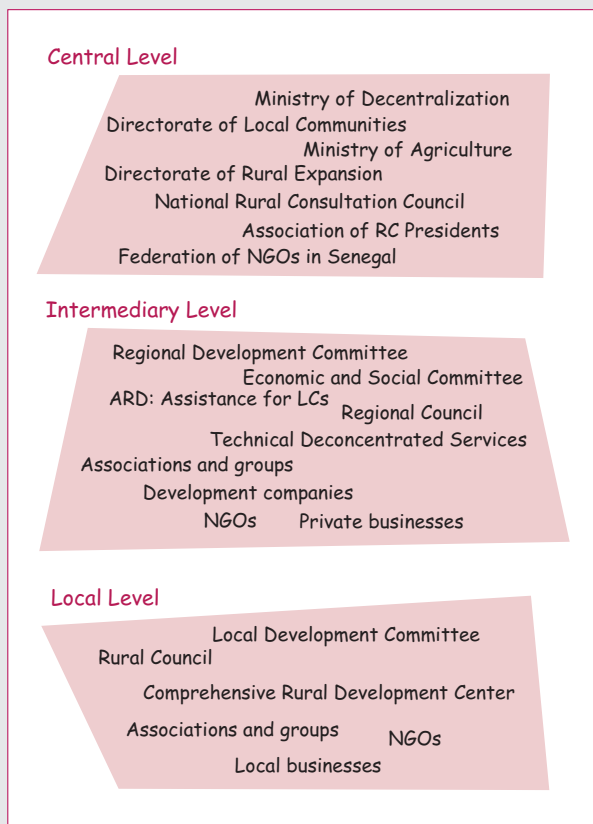
The Rural Council:

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

- biological environment
- cultural environment
- socio-economic environment

Their leeway

- 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

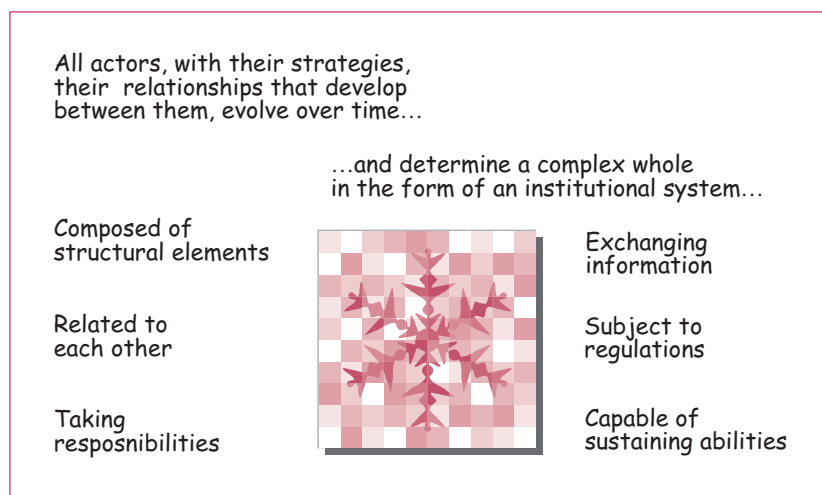


Functioning and Malfunctioning of Institutional Systems

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 complementary 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.

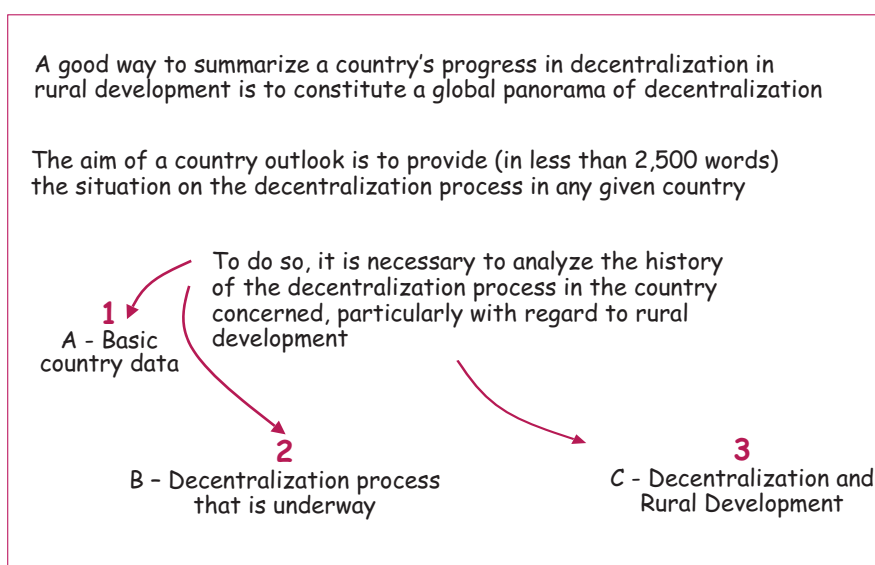
In reference to the UNDP study, the evaluation of previous activities lead to the following conclusions, which reduce the scope of participation:

- 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

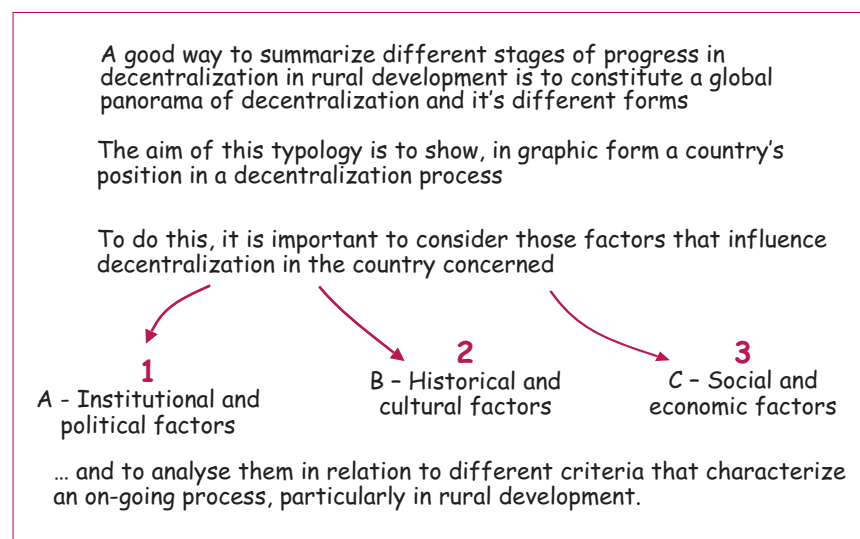
Firstly, we will introduce the issue of decentralization in a historical and conceptual context, taking into account its risks, assets and potentialities. Secondly, existing situational diversity will be analyzed. This will underline the need to view each specific situation as part of this diversity. 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.

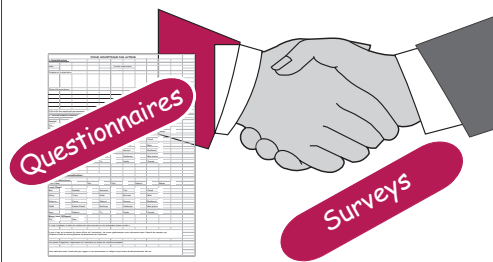
- I. The countries with weak decentralization and participation
- II. The countries with weak decentralization and medium participation
- III. The countries with medium decentralization and weak participation
- IV. The countries with medium decentralization and participation
- V. The countries with strong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



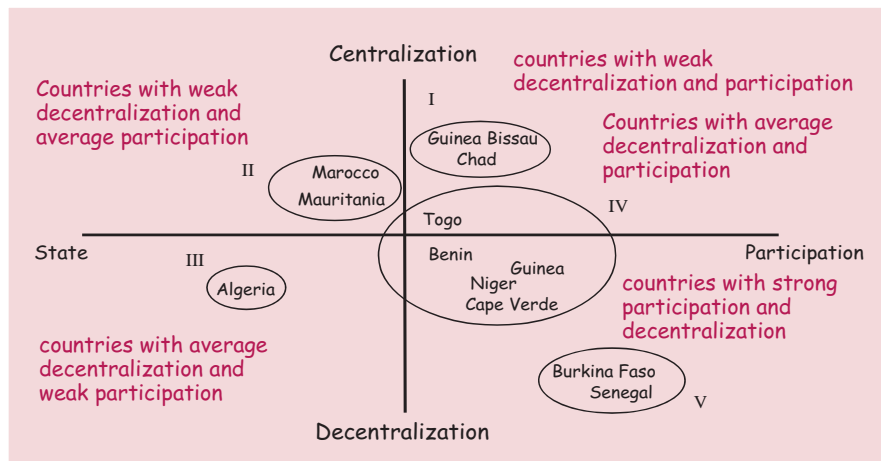
So while taking into account both factors concerning decentralization itself and factors concerning the role of the State or the Civil society, it is possible to draw up country clusters. This exercise was carried out with about ten countries during the Praia seminar in May 1996. Four domains were studied: 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.

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) _____