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REPORT ON SHORT-TERM
CONSULTING MISSIONS



**REGIONAL PLANNING AND AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND PROGRAMS**

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I. REGIONAL PLANNING APPROACHES IN HONDURAS

MISSION: Regional Planning Approaches in Honduras (25 February - 15 March 1979)

PURPOSE: Prior to this mission, USAID had been working in cooperation with the Government of Honduras (GOH) in formulating a second Agricultural Sector Program. The first step in this process was the preparation of the Agricultural Sector Assessment. The recommendations of the Agricultural Policy Committee (CPA) and their agreement with the Agriculture Sector Assessment of problems and opportunities set the stage for the joint formulation of Agricultural Sector Program II by USAID and the GOH. It was to play the role of external consultant that this

mission was formed to assist the process of formulating specific activity areas in the program design. Specifically, the team was to concentrate on the following item of the Interim Report of the project:

II.D. Regional Level Agricultural Operational Improvements, Interagency Coordination and Special Programs.

TERMS OF REFERENCE:

- Identification and analysis of alternative approaches and strategies for regional planning and development in Honduras
- Assess decentralization policies and programs and their role in national and subnational planning
- Define scope of regional planning in Honduras
- Assess the capabilities of existing institutions to undertake appropriate regional planning activities
- Development of a framework for appraisal and evaluation of infrastructure and investment packages
- Comparative analysis of multisectoral vs. sectoral approaches to regional development

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

Dr. Rollo L. Ehrich, USAID DS/RAD, Washington, D.C.

Prof. Ved Prakash, Co-Director, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Mr. Miles Toder, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The team conducted meetings with officials of the Ministry of National Resources, the Ministry of Communications, Public Works and Transport, the Agricultural Policy Committee (CPA) and a number of other agencies. The focus was on studying the planning environment for development, particularly in the regional context.

REPORT: April 1979

The final report presented the team's assessment of the planning

environment, in terms of both the recent efforts toward a regional focus for planning and development, and the issues related to problems and opportunities. The report also included a suggested methodology for regional planning in the framework of institutions and human resources.

CONCLUSIONS: In conclusion, the report observed that, while agriculture is the most important sector in Honduras, it is necessary to incorporate and examine the interface between the agricultural sector and other components of the system in a broader development picture. Therefore, it was suggested that the regional planning program proposed for the agricultural sector, and the multisectoral regional planning and development program operating in the Copan Region and proposed for the Aguan Valley, should be linked in design and implementation. Similarly, a great deal could be learned from the PRODERO project in terms of the methodology for regional planning and development.

RECOMMENDATIONS: It was recommended that, in addition to the design of institutions and development of appropriate methodologies, there must be a concurrent effort to train personnel. Work should begin on designing a training program to produce administrators, technicians, extensionists, and decision makers capable of executing this development strategy.

FOLLOW-UP: The report was sent to USAID DS/RAD in April 1979. No follow-up has taken place except that the RPAD Project used the Organization-of-American-States-(OAS)-sponsored regional planning project in the western region as a case study for its conference on planning for integrated rural/area development in which the director of the regional planning section of the Government of Honduras's Ministry of Planning and the OAS resident advisor participated.

II. NORTHEAST RAINFED AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

MISSION: Northeast Rainfed Agricultural Development Project (24-27 June 1979)

PURPOSE: The purpose of this mission from the University of Wisconsin was to assist the Ministry of Agriculture and cooperatives of the Royal Thai Government (RTG) in the preliminary formulation of rainfed agricultural improvement programs for farmers in selected areas of Northeast Thailand.

TERMS OF REFERENCE:

- To become familiar with the potential and problems of farmers relating to resource availability, utilization of land and labor, agricultural production, off-farm employment, prices, and incomes in the selected areas by talking to farmers and examining data
- To appraise features of plans and projects, both ongoing and proposed, of individual departments of the MOAC, intended to increase agricultural production and farm incomes in the selected areas
- To assist in defining a strategy and specific demonstration projects to promote agricultural development in the selected areas, with attention to implementation planning and administrative delivery systems
- To estimate the financial requirements of the proposed project
- To outline a project design schedule and identify the issues to be addressed, data requirements, and technical resources needed to carry out the project design

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

- Dr. William Bateson, Project Associate, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Dr. John H. Ellis, formerly Soil Chemist, University of Kentucky, Agriculture Research Station at Thaphra
- Dr. Ved Prakash, Co-Director, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Dr. Thomas Trout, Water Management Research Project, Colorado State University
- Mr. Edward Fallon, Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The mission team divided various tasks among the members according to their fields of specialization. The members undertook field visits to several villages, Agricultural Extension Offices and Crop Experiment Stations. They also held discussions with officials in the Ministries of Agriculture and Industry.

REPORT: October 1979
A draft report was prepared in Bangkok by the University of

Wisconsin team and their Thai counterparts. A final report was prepared and printed in October 1979. The report addressed the following issues:

- an appropriate strategy for rural and agricultural development in the rainfed environment of Northeast Thailand
- an identification and evaluation of the potential of specific agricultural interventions
- institutional, organizational, and administrative aspects of a project to implement production, and income-enhancing agricultural and rural development interventions

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The team's analyses led to the following conclusions and recommendations:

- (1) New sources of income and productivity growth must be found for the rainfed Northeastern farmer. Use of azolla as a technique of biological nitrogen fixation, and the use of direct seeding of photo-period-insensitive varieties of paddy are innovations of promise. Before packages of improved practices for paddy and groundnut are recommended, they need to be subjected to an intensive round of on-farm testing.
- (2) Introduction of technological innovations must be accompanied by provision of necessary institutional change and support.
- (3) An area-based approach to a rainfed agricultural development project is essential.
- (4) Adoptable packages of practices and institutions are free to spread beyond the districts and provinces in which they are introduced, as rapidly as their suitability and the availability of supporting inputs permit.
- (5) Sustained growth in incomes and productivity will require an enhanced level of input and commitment for agricultural research in Northeast Thailand by both the Royal Thai Government (RTG) and international donors.

FOLLOW-UP: The Northeast Rainfed Agricultural Development Project was approved by USAID for a funding level of 8.5 million dollars; a contractor has not yet been selected.

III. RURAL MARKETING AND INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN WESTERN KENYA

MISSION: Rural Marketing and Infrastructure Development in Western Kenya (November 1979)

PURPOSE: The purpose of this mission was to assist the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) Kenya Mission in the revision of their Project Identification Document (PID) for a Rural Market Centers Project and to draft a Scope of Work for a Project Paper (PP) design team. Both tasks were to be pursued taking into account a last-minute change in project design by the USAID Kenya Mission, which then sought to combine the Rural Market Centers Project with a Food Crops Storage Project that was being designed by Development Planning and Research

Associates, Inc. (DPRA), a consulting firm headquartered in Manhattan, Kansas.

TERMS OF REFERENCE: After the restructuring of USAID's previously proposed projects into the Rural Crop Storage and Marketing Project (615-0182) and Rural Planning Project II (615-0189), the terms of reference for the University of Wisconsin mission were:

- Development of a PID for the Rural Markets and Storage Project
- Drafting of a Scope of Work for the PP design team together with revision of the Scope of Work for the DPRA team so that that team will generate material which can quickly be assembled into the PP for the project
- Advising USAID and the Government of Kenya about government spatial planning needs and how they can best be met under the Rural Planning Project II

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

Dr. Caj Falcke, Senior Associate, Dornbush and Co., Economic Consultant, San Francisco, California (economics and marketing)

Dr. Rodney Erickson, Associate Professor, Pennsylvania State University (spatial systems and economic geography)

Dr. Concepción del Castillo, Project Specialist, The University of Wisconsin-Madison (social anthropology)

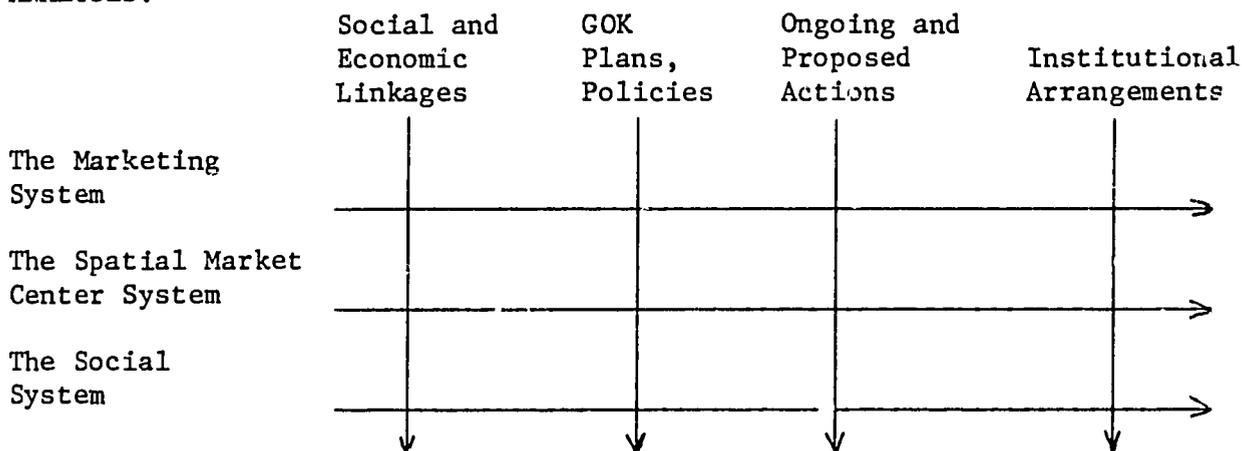
Ms. Laurie Cohen, Project Specialist, The University of Wisconsin-Madison (agricultural economics)

Prof. Leo Jakobson, Co-Director, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, The University of Wisconsin-Madison

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The mission carried out extensive discussion meetings with experts and other individuals in several organizations. These included a number of ministries in the Government of Kenya, some international organizations, the University of Nairobi, Peace Corps officers, consultants from DPRA, Inc., and some USAID personnel. To structure its work the mission established the following framework:

SUBSTANTIVE ANALYSES:

STRUCTURAL ANALYSES:



According to this framework, the following work assignments were made:

- Dr. Erickson: The spatial market center system
- Dr. Falcke: The vertical dimensions of the marketing system
- Ms. Cohen: The horizontal dimension of the marketing system
- Dr. Lee: The social system
- Mr. Little: The ongoing and proposed interventions
- Prof. Jakobson: The institutional arrangements

Dr. Erickson interacted with Drs. Falcke and Lee on the linkages between the spatial, marketing, and social systems. Similarly, Dr. Lee and Ms. Cohen looked at the linkages between the social and marketing systems. Mr. Little and Prof. Jakobson paid particular attention to the opportunities for coordinating and integrating various interventions in the western region and the institutional issues involved in such coordination. Needless to say, all members kept GOK plans and policies as a constant frame of reference in their respective analyses.

The team suggested that the project be identified as the Rural Marketing and Infrastructure Project (RMIP) so as to make it clear that in its spatial dimension the project is not tied to a specific level in the established hierarchy.

REPORT: December 1979

In its report, the mission team provided detailed discussion on all facets of the project. These included a project description of all components, policy issues, implementation constraints, project component costs, scope of work for project design, and environmental issues.

CONCLUSIONS: The following is a summary of the proposed project:

The purpose of the Rural Marketing and Infrastructure Project (RMIP) is to increase the per capita income of smallholders by enhancing their access to basic services through the production of financially and socially viable marketing facilities and related services at appropriate strategic locations and by improving on- and off-farm storage. This will be accomplished by:

- (1) Utilizing a spatial framework to identify appropriate locations in Western Kenya (i.e., Nyanza and Western provinces) where investments will be made to improve smallholder access to markets and marketing, storage, water, and sanitary facilities; and, where feasible, other social service facilities (health, etc.)
- (2) Strengthening extension services in the area of marketing
- (3) Increasing and improving the planning, programming, and evaluation capabilities of provincial and district level officials

As a result of our analyses and in line with our concept to provide for flexibility in the selection and combination of project components, we identified a general project framework, consisting of seven possible components:

- (1) A spatial planning training component to provide for training at three levels:
 - (a) district level on-the-job training in project planning;
 - (b) regional (or provincial) level on-the-job policy planning; and
 - (c) academic training at the Urban and Regional Planning Department of the University of Nairobi
- (2) An extension delivery component focusing on services to retailers and members of the rural market committees
- (3) A mobile farm products collection systems component
- (4) A marketing infrastructure construction component
- (5) A crop storage component

The diagrammatic illustration on the next page indicates how these components interrelate and the possible range of combinations. Components 1A, 1B, 2, and 4 are considered one

basic project module (A). Similarly, component 5 is a basic module (B). Components 1C and 3 are considered supplemental modules (C,D)⁴. Thus, the options are as follows:

- (1) A + B + C + D
- (2) A + B + C
- (3) A + B + D
- (4) A + B
- (5) A and/or B as separate projects with or without supplemental modules

RECOMMENDATIONS: The mission also developed the Scope of Work for project design. This was done in a comprehensive manner for a project which included all of the proposed components in spatial planning, extension, marketing, and infrastructure development. Guidelines were provided for the inclusion of the storage component to be developed by the DPRA. Required skills were specified and it was suggested that personnel from the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi be included on the design team. The specific analyses recommended for project paper design were:

- (1) Target Population Benefit Analysis
- (2) Extension Services Analysis
- (3) Market and Harambee Committee Analysis
- (4) Farm Products Collection Analysis
- (5) Social Soundness Analysis
- (6) Spatial Analysis
- (7) Physical Design and Construction Analysis
- (8) Training Analysis
- (9) Institutional Analysis
- (10) Evaluation Analysis

FOLLOW-UP: Professor Leo Jakobson presented the report to the members of the Africa Bureau of USAID in Washington, D.C., December 1979. A suggestion was made that he and some members of AID-Washington visit Nairobi for further discussions of the report's recommendations. There was no follow-up on this suggestion nor was there any follow-up on any of the recommendations in the report.

IV. REGIONAL PLANNING FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

MISSION: Regional Planning for Integrated Development in the Dominican Republic (27 May - 8 June 1980)

PURPOSE: This mission was formed in response to a request for technical assistance from the Oficina Nacional de Planificación (ONAPLAN) to the USAID/Dominican Republic Mission. Among its other activities, ONAPLAN is responsible for formulating regional development plans and annual capital improvement programs for the country. It was to be an exploratory mission, the purpose of which was to make a general assessment of the situation and lay the groundwork for follow-up assistance. The consideration of the institutional context within which development assistance would be provided was to be included.

TERMS OF REFERENCE: Discussion between USAID/DR and ONAPLAN determined that the University of Wisconsin team would devote its attention to problems in the southwest and southcentral areas of the country. The mission's terms of reference included a preliminary analysis of the following subjects:

- The prospects for the development of agriculture and agro-industry in southwestern Dominican Republic
- An evaluation of manufacturing and marketing possibilities in the southwestern Dominican Republic
- An assessment of infrastructure needs and planning in southcentral and southwestern Dominican Republic
- An assessment of the opportunities for regional planning for integrated rural development in the Dominican Republic

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

Prof. Warren Bilkey, School of Business, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Prof. Hugh Cook, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Mr. Michael Hoffman, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Prof. Leo Jakobson, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Co-Director, Regional Planning and Area Development Project

Prof. Robert Smith, Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering, University of Wisconsin-Madison

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The activities of the team while visiting the Dominican Republic on this mission basically consisted of an extensive schedule of meetings together with some field trips to the study region. A number of meetings with ONAPLAN staff and senior officials in the Secretariats of Agriculture, Infrastructure and Energy, Industry and Commerce, Education, and Public Health were conducted to prepare the preliminary analysis of the region's resources, infrastructure, production, and institutional systems. An attempt was then made to tie the findings of the preliminary analysis to possible approaches to integrated regional development, and to provide guidelines

for USAID/DR projects in the framework of their Regional Rural Development Project.

REPORT: January 1981

The report prepared by the team at the completion of this mission included the preliminary analysis in two parts: one part dealing with resources, infrastructure, and production, and the other with the institutional issues. The first part specifically dealt with water resources, soil resources, transportation, prospects for agricultural development, manufacturing, and energy. The second part explored the institutional issues related to (a) an integrated approach to area development; (b) an action-oriented approach to development planning; (c) the administration of development; and (d) regionalization and integrated area development.

CONCLUSIONS: In conclusion, the mission noted that the needs of the southcentral area were so basic and immediate that the area did not present an appropriate environment for starting a regional development program. The southwest, on the other hand, seemed to provide a unique opportunity for the introduction of an integrated area development project. To this end, the mission concluded that integrated regional development should be focused on:

- (1) Greater coordination and integration of functional activities
- (2) Establishment of a development planning, programming, and management capacity at the regional level
- (3) Delegation of an appropriate development decision-making authority to the regional level

RECOMMENDATIONS: The mission recommended that USAID/DR, with the concurrence of ONAPLAN and the Dominican Government, use the resources of the University of Wisconsin Regional Planning and Area Development Project to establish a technical assistance and training project to assist ONAPLAN and other Dominican agencies. This project would focus on:

- (1) Linking USAID/DR's regional development project to INDESEUR, an agency created by the government to promote the integrated development of the southwest
- (2) Providing technical assistance in specific functional areas such as irrigation, transportation, energy, and agriculture under the umbrella of a regional planning and development program

- (3) Focusing (1) and (2) on institution building and on-the-job training so as to increase the capacity for regional planning, development, and meaningful decentralization in the Dominican Republic

FOLLOW-UP: It was agreed between Mr. Aaron Benjamin of the USAID/DR Mission and Professor Leo Jakobson that the Mission would comment on the team's draft report before its finalization. A copy of the draft report was sent to him August 1980. However, no written comments were received from the USAID Mission. The report was subsequently printed and distributed in January 1981 as originally drafted. There has been no follow-up from the USAID/DR Mission.

V. POTENTIAL FOR AN AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
IN NORTH WEST PROVINCE, CAMEROON

MISSION: Potential for an Area Development Project in North West
Province, Cameroon (5-26 July 1980)

PURPOSE: The purpose of this mission was to conduct a reconnaissance
and prepare a report on the potential for an area development
project in the North West Province (NWP) in the United
Republic of Cameroon.

TERMS OF REFERENCE:

- To conduct a reconnaissance of the broad parameters
of the region, including ongoing development projects

- To interview local officials and residents to gain a fuller appreciation of the region and its problems as felt by the local population, focusing on the agriculture sector, human services, administrative structure and procedures, and the region's urban centers
- To outline a potential project in regional planning and area development

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

Dr. William Bateson, Project Associate, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Paul Beckett, Associate Director, African Language and Literature, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Robert Simko, USAID DS/RAD

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: After reviewing AID's country strategy statement and other materials on NWP, the team proceeded to meet with the AID/Yasunde mission officials and the officials at the Ministry of Economy and Planning (MINEP). This was followed by a meeting with the Vice-Minister for Agriculture. The team then proceeded to NWP, where it met with the Governor and the Provincial Delegate of the province for briefing purposes. The members then conducted a seven-day, 380 km, circuit trip of the Ring Road for reconnaissance. The trip included a visit to the North West Cooperative Authority (NWCA), a farm inspection tour with a Senior Divisional Officer, and visits to a tea estate and a bridge project, in the course of visiting a number of villages in divisions of the province. The process of this reconnaissance involved discussions with experts, officials, and other individuals both in government and nongovernment organizations and with farmers in the villages.

REPORT: August 1980

The report prepared at the completion of the mission--and left in draft form with AID in Yasunde--included an examination of economic and developmental perspectives, potentials, and problems of NWP. Specific potential interventions were identified and discussed. It also outlined government structure and processes in the province as they affected rural development and planning there. Appended to the report was a statement of the theoretical perspectives underlying the mission's interpretations and recommendations and an illustrative list of data on potential road projects.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: A summary of the mission's conclusions and recommendations is quoted here in full from the report:

- (1) The development of roads connecting remote areas with the Ring Road is essential to the extension of public and urban services to rural populations.
- (2) The development of "farm-to-market" roads are of critical importance to areas with a strong potential for generating a substantial volume of marketed surplus.
- (3) Although roads are a necessary input for agricultural development and access to urban services, they will be inefficient interventions unless:
 - (a) Complementary efforts are made to develop markets, production inputs, credit, and new technologies which are appropriate to local resource endowments.
 - (b) Government services such as education and health facilities are coordinated and integrated with the development of the road network.
 - (c) The need for improvements in small urban centers is anticipated and met.
- (4) The economic, environmental, and administrative linkages which exist in NWP suggest strongly that development activities in any area of the province should be planned and managed in an integrated fashion with activities in all areas of the province. Given the likely presence of multiple donor agencies providing assistance in NWP, we strongly recommend that a Provincial Planning, Management, and Monitoring Unit (PPMMU) be established at Bamenda. That unit should be chaired by the Governor, include among its membership the provincial delegates of relevant ministries, and be assisted by an appropriately skilled secretariat.
- (5) We recommend that AID/Yaounde open discussions with the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon on the possibility of funding an area development project in parts of Bui, Donga-Mantung, and Menchum Divisions. We recommend that USAID and the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon come to an early agreement that such a project will involve interventions in the form of roads, health, education, agricultural development, agricultural marketing, credit, input supply, and support to a PPMMU.

- (6) We believe that a PPMMU will significantly enhance the productivity of all AID and other donor-sponsored development activities in NWP. Further, we believe that AID/Yaounde should explore all opportunities to initiate support to a PPMMU (and its secretariat) as early as January, 1981, if possible.
- (7) We further recommend that, if established, the PPMMU participate with AID/Yaounde in the design of an area development project in NWP.
- (8) If the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon and AID/Yaounde concur in the recommendation for an AID-assisted area development project and the establishment of a PPMMU in NWP, the Regional Planning and Area Development Project would welcome an invitation to provide continuing technical assistance and other services, including project design and appropriate training, in accord with our mission and capabilities.

FOLLOW-UP: First, the report was received and favorably reviewed by USAID/Yaounde, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Economy and Plan and other units of the Government. Then USAID/Yaounde reportedly lost interest in providing assistance for an area-based development project in the Western Highlands following the concluding of an agreement between the Government of Cameroon and other donors to fund a similar activity in part of the North West Province. This re-scheduling of priorities by USAID/Yaounde also coincided with a change in Mission Directors.

VI. INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PANAMA

MISSION: Integrated Rural Development in Panama (Mission I: 5-10 May 1980; Mission II: 22 June - 8 August 1980)

PURPOSE: Two successive short term missions were sent to Panama. The main purpose of these missions was to assist the USAID Mission in Panama in the preparation of the Scope of Work and identification of other inputs (composition of the Project Paper design team) for designing the proposed integrated Rural Development Project.

TERMS OF REFERENCE: The first of the two missions was to make general recommendations on issues and strategies that could be pursued in designing the new project. As it happened, the preliminary recommendations of this mission, while well-received by AID/Panama, were not followed, largely because AID was facing a December 1980 deadline for the design of the IRD Project Paper and it decided to beat this deadline for fund de-obligation. It was under these circumstances that the second mission was sent to assist in project design.

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

First Mission:

Prof. Ved Prakash, Co-Director, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Concepcion del Castillo, Project Specialist, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Second Mission:

Dr. Concepcion del Castillo, Project Specialist, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Mr. Michael Hoffman, Project Specialist, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The missions sought information and other inputs for its task from the Ministry of Agriculture (MIDA) and the Ministry of Planning and Political Economy (MIPPE), since the IRD Project was to be conceived in the overlap of their domains. In addition, the process involved a critical analysis of a previous IRD project designed for the Tonosi area which had run into extreme difficulties at the outset and was subsequently dropped altogether.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The first mission noted a substantial difference in outlook and conceptualization of integrated rural development between the two key ministries, MIDA and MIPPE. At that time, it was already very clear to AID that each ministry had established its position in respect to the IRDP and was not willing to change this orientation. The recommendation given to AID at that time by this mission was that before a PP team arrived in Panama there would have to be a thorough investigation of the institutional blockages and the manner in

which the problems could be resolved. The mission emphasized that differences in goal formulation place emphasis on different mechanisms and procedures for project implementation. This in turn involves questions about the type and level of participation, both administratively and on the part of the target group. As an alternative to achieving a complete solution of the interministerial problems, the mission suggested that there be a transfer of funds from the original IRDP to provide technical assistance to both MIDA and MIPPE aimed at strengthening their planning capacities and their activities at a regional level. This assistance would provide the planning cells in these ministries with more appropriate conceptual and methodological approaches to planning and project development activities and would be aimed at insuring better intra- and intersectoral coordination in planning and implementing projects. The best alternative, in the RPADP's opinion, would be to shift the focus of the IRDP and make it a regional planning or area development project. This approach would allow for selected project intervention in one or more subareas which would allow more flexibility in adopting MIDA's and MIPPE's preferences for project packages as well as specific sites. This expanded approach would ultimately yield a more balanced development of the selected region of Veraguas Province and would present a better opportunity for coordinating and integrating other AID projects operating in the area.

AID/Panama then tried to mount a PP team which would work during part of July and August to design the project and beat the deadline for fund de-obligation. Later in July, Dr. Castillo and Mr. Hoffman, selected to work on the PP team, began to work on the design of the project. But it became apparent to both of them that there were severe problems in trying to begin the design for an area for which there is little current information; where the suggested components, even those of little controversy, would have to be carefully designed to fit the particular characteristics of the target group, which was still being contested by the ministries; and where having to rely on ministerial approval for field visits and field work to gather the necessary information was an additional impediment to conducting the mission's work. In visits to the headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Rural Development Officer, Dr. L. Harlan Davis, emphasized the need for information and the time constraints facing the two PP team members already in Panama. The response from both MIPPE and MIDA was that they were in the process of sorting out their differences and that once these were solved there would be no impediment to the PP team's efforts.

Unfortunately, while the mission was in Panama, still awaiting clearance for the other consultants of the PP team, there was

a public confrontation between the two ministries in full view of the local representatives of Veraguas Province, the Governor of the Province, and a representative from the President's office. The confrontation, which was reported to AID, emphasized the severe differences in outlook between the ministries, but also and more importantly, made the representatives realize that once again, as in the case of Tonosi, MIDA was pursuing a policy which would not favor all the people of the region selected and where the interests of the medium and large landholders could be jeopardized. After this meeting, it was reported to a sociologist working for MIPPE that there was already opposition to the project. Despite the report of this public outburst, MIDA's invitation to have AID visit the project area the following week was not withdrawn. Thus two members of RPADP went to MIDA to review available data and analyses. It was clear from the visit that MIDA was most reluctant to make public their information, that what data they had was outdated (despite intentions to remedy this by some field studies), and that their focus was still practically unilaterally concentrated on the asentamientos (communal land holdings). The Mission made a verbal report of its assessment to the Sub-Director of Sectorial Planning of MIDA after it had seen the data, and suggested other lines necessary to follow for gathering additional data on the area. After giving this report to AID the following day, the team decided that there was no further work which could be done. The clearance for the other consultants had not been given, the political situation in the area was so strongly set against the project that field visits were impossible, and the available documentary data had been examined and utilized as far as it could be. The PP team disbanded. It is unlikely that there can be another team mounted at this date which could finish the technical studies and design of the IRDP before the AID deadline.

FOLLOW-UP: Due to the extremely uncertain political situation surrounding the project, and a number of changes at high level positions in both MIDA and MIPPE, it is difficult to guess the prospects of the IRD Project's ever getting underway. What confuses the situation further is the uncertainty within the AID/Panama Mission following the resignation submitted by the Director. Based on available information, the chances of getting any longer term involvement there are really minimal. Even a short term consultancy might not be terribly successful, given the political situation within the mission, the institutional blockages which have not been removed between MIDA and MIPPE, and most of all, the problem of having Sona and the asentamientos as the target zone and primary beneficiaries of the project. The only possibility for improving this situation would be if the components of the project (which include roads, health, housing,

agricultural extension, and agro-industry) could be dissipated enough in the region to be of benefit to a wider spectrum of the population rather than just the people on the asentamientos.

VII. POTABLE WATER FOR DISPERSED
POPULATIONS IN CENTRAL TUNISIA

MISSION: Potable Water for Dispersed Populations in Central Tunisia
(17 February - 13 March 1980)

PURPOSE: The purpose of this mission was to develop criteria and guidelines for the development of rural potable water supplies in the central Tunisia target area consisting of nine delegations. The team was to work in cooperation with the Office de Développement de la Tunisie Centrale (ODTC).

TERMS OF REFERENCE: In establishing the potable water strategy, the mission was to examine a range of specific areas relating to demography, water supply services, appropriate alternative technologies, institution building, goal setting, and program monitoring and evaluation. Further, the mission was to develop overall decision criteria for a potable water intervention project and criteria for each particular potable water intervention. The aim was to make it possible to select, for each area of potable water need, the delivery system which would meet four basic criteria of potable water accessibility: quantity, quality, and reliability of supply at the least cost.

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

Mr. Bonneau H. Dickson, Jr., Consultant, Harris & Associates, Lafayette, California

Dr. Martin Mifflin, Associate Director and Research Professor, Desert Research Institute, Las Vegas, Nevada

Ms. Mary Ellen Vollbrecht, Consultant, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The logistics of the mission's work in Tunisia combined discussions with numerous persons in their respective agencies, review of available documents, limited field reconnaissance, and the previous experience of the team members in related areas. At the outset, the mission recognized the magnitude and complexity of the problem as reflected by the limited success of several international and indigenous Tunisian agencies which had been developing potable water supplies in the region for a number of years. In the first phase, the mission carried out an in-depth review and analysis of the water resources of the region, the available water technologies, the institutional framework, and existing or proposed criteria for potable water supply projects. These findings were then used to design a set of recommended criteria and procedures.

REPORT: April 1980

The report prepared by the team on completion of the mission presented the details of the review and analysis carried out in the process of designing recommended criteria and procedures. The analysis in each section was accompanied by general evaluative observations as well as specific recommendations. The report included a set of recommended criteria and procedures dealing with the following aspects of a potable water supply project:

- Population served
- Maximum access distance

- Developable source
- Quality
- Expected yield from a source
- Social and/or political criteria
- Costs and cost per beneficiary
- Other criteria for project selection
- Water supply development in problem areas
- Overview maps of water points and water quality
- Project evaluation process
- Goal setting and program monitoring

Criteria application was illustrated with a case study of twenty-four existing project proposals. Use of procedures was also illustrated through proforma designs.

CONCLUSIONS: (1) The existing water supply facilities are reasonably well known. Maps and inventories of water points exist for much of the area.

(2) A water needs inventory does not exist, but this does not prevent water projects from being undertaken immediately. ODTC should coordinate needs studies and insure their realization. Potable water projects should not be located where irrigation systems exist or will be built.

(3) It is desirable that potable water projects be constructed as soon as possible to maintain the momentum of the central Tunisia planning and development effort.

(4) Population estimates for areas smaller than a secteur will be difficult to obtain. Field evaluations must be made of beneficiaries of proposed projects, and existing water points and service areas must be established.

(5) The hydrogeology is well known in 50% of the region. ODTC and DRES must coordinate to develop the required information in the other 50%.

(6) More attention should be given to cost control and to a wider range of alternatives in potable water supply projects. The problem of project selection in the past has been as much one of evaluation and selection procedures as a problem of criteria.

(7) The capacity for drilling high-yield wells exists, but the capacity to drill small-diameter shallow wells at a low price per well is not well developed in Tunisia.

(8) High technology is understood and used well.

(9) Low technology, especially the hand pump, has not been particularly successful for public water supply in Tunisia. The existing water supply organizations do not support low technology.

(10) Rural people do not adequately understand facts about waterborne disease. ODTC should design, coordinate, and ensure implementation of separate health education programs.

(11) The existing government water organizations, Génie Rural and SONEDE, appear well-qualified to design and construct potable water projects. ODTC should coordinate this effort and evaluate the projects that are proposed. It appears unwise to set up a different organization to design and construct potable water projects.

(12) Guidelines and criteria for project evaluation and selection are stated in Chapter VII. Application of these criteria will be difficult and will require considerable judgment. It is not possible to predict the full range of difficulties that will be encountered until the proposed projects are actually implemented.

(13) Negative responses to questions about self-help, community-built-and-operated projects indicate probable failure of or difficulties with such programs. Further study is needed if the self-help approach is to be attempted for water supply development.

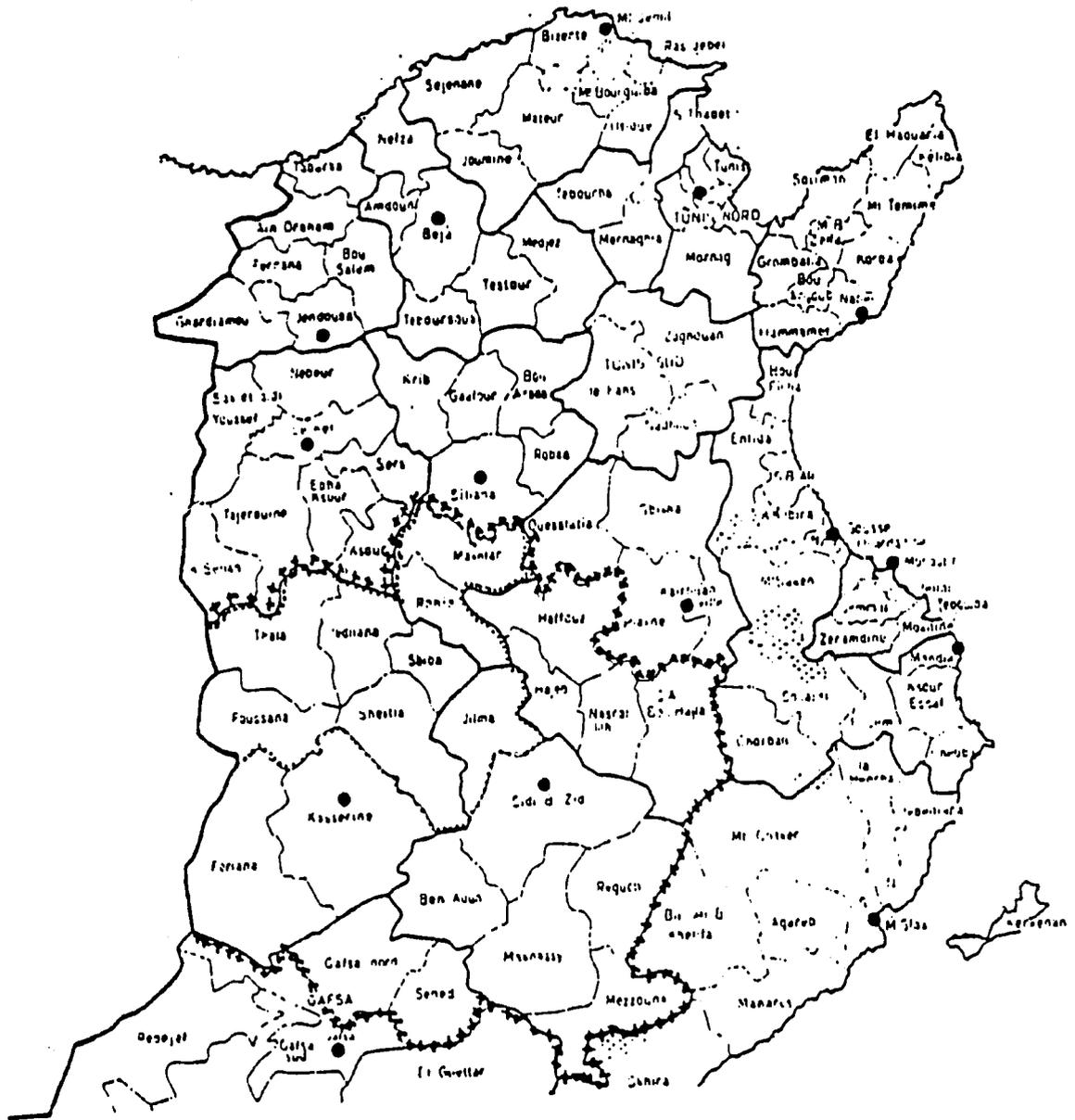
RECOMMENDATIONS: (1) Set up a Potable Water Section within ODTC to oversee the potable water subproject. Two additional staff members are recommended--a hydrogeologist and a water system design engineer. Foreign consultants should assist the Tunisian hydrogeologist and water system design engineer at least during the evaluation and selection of the initial set of proposed projects.

(2) Projects would be proposed by Génie Rural, SONEDE, and CARE for evaluation and approval by the ODTC Potable Water Section. Actual construction would be carried out by proposing organizations.

(3) USAID would fund an experimental program to introduce alternative technologies for drilling small-diameter shallow wells.

(4) CARE or others would be asked to propose a program in order to continue experimentation with alternative and low technologies.

FOLLOW-UP: The guidelines and recommendations proposed by this team for a potable water delivery system were used in the design of a Potable Water Project for the ODTC. Mr. Joseph Haratani, a sanitation engineer with USAID/Washington, followed up on the UW mission report and worked with the ODTC and USAID/Tunis in developing a Potable Water Project paper. The project paper was finalized in June 1980 and received USAID-GOT approval shortly thereafter. Project implementation will begin as soon as the conditions precedent specified in the project paper have been satisfied. These relate to a health-education plan for the region, water site selection, and determination of demographic settlements.



TUNISIA
Study Area

key:

- gouvernorat
- délégation
- chef-lieu du gouvernorat
- zone clef
- ♦♦♦♦ région opérationnelle

50 km

Delegations in Target Area: Makthar, Kesra, Rohia, Thala, Djilma, Djedlianne, Sbiba, Foussana, Sbeitla

Additional Delegations in ODTA Area: Maknassey, Sidi Bouzid, Ben Aoun, Mezzouna, Ouled, Haffouz, Regueb, Feriana, Kasserine, Nasrallah, Bouhjala, El Alam, Hadjeb El Aoun, Sned, Gafsa Nord

VIII. RURAL EXTENSION AND OUTREACH
PROJECT FOR CENTRAL TUNISIA

MISSION: Rural Extension and Outreach Project for Central Tunisia
(1 - 31 March 1980)

PURPOSE: The purpose of this mission was to prepare a background document for incorporation into the project paper of the Rural Extension and Outreach Project in the central Tunisia target area. To design the project, the University of Wisconsin collaborated with the Central Tunisia Development Authority (CTDA). This mission's primary objective was to use the Project Identification Document, prepared earlier, in identifying the detailed components, specifying the beneficiaries, and establishing a plan for implementing the project.

TERMS OF REFERENCE: In preparing the background document the mission was to develop in detail the specific activities of the project, specify responsibilities of various agencies involved in its implementation, and propose a financial budget plan for the project's lifetime.

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

Dr. Bassam Abed, Anthropologist, Pennsylvania State University
Ms. Laurie Cohen, Agricultural Economist, University of Wisconsin
Dr. Jacques Denis, Agronomist, Mississippi State University
Dr. John Fett, Agricultural Journalist, University of Wisconsin
Mr. Naceur Hanzouli, Agronomist, Central Tunisia Development Authority
Dr. Raymond Penn, Agricultural Economist, University of Wisconsin
Dr. David Stanfield, Communications Extension Specialist, University of Wisconsin

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The mission team undertook field visits to agricultural institutes training extension personnel, research institutes, and other ongoing agricultural projects. Field visits were also undertaken to governmental service organizations working within and outside of the region, and a variety of extension programs in the region were studied. The process followed by the mission involved careful exploration through discussions with a variety of extension and research specialists throughout central Tunisia, in which primary emphasis was on the following five questions:

1. How to develop an effective extension service in central Tunisia which complements existing extension activities
2. How to institute a method for adapting research findings to field application
3. How to improve communication between extension agents and rural residents in order to establish a strong bond of confidence
4. How to establish a coordinating mechanism for all activities in central Tunisia which entail extension components
5. How to improve technical competency of extension personnel

The team was assisted in its efforts by CTDA agricultural technicians and economists who coordinated field visits, furnished baseline data, and provided invaluable insights into current extension limitations and future needs in the region.

REPORT: April 1980

The mission report provided details for major components of the Rural Extension and Outreach Project which consists of the development of two basic bodies within the CTDA -- the Extension Support Services Unit (ESSU) and the Agricultural Extension Service (AES). The report also presented a detailed implementation plan for the project extending through two phases over five years.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The subproject's purposes were defined as:

- 1) The establishment of a communication system which facilitates information flow between research institutes, credit programs, agricultural input suppliers, and all field extension agents of the Ministry of Agriculture
- 2) The development of a firm technical foundation among the ESSU specialists and the AES field agents

To this end, the report provided detailed discussion of various components of the project including specification of programs, participants, and beneficiaries. Such details were provided on the following aspects:

- Technical interventions
- Structure of the CTDA extension service
- Foreign technical assistance
- Training
- Technical feasibility
- Administrative feasibility
- Budget
- Implementation Plan
- Evaluation Plan

FOLLOW-UP: The components detailed in this extension project document became the basic framework for the Rural Extension and Outreach Project Paper, which was finalized August 1980 with the approval of USAID and the Government of Tunisia. USAID/Tunis designated a short list of six universities and/or consortiums to submit technical proposals for project implementation. The contract for project implementation is near finalization, thereby allowing project execution to begin in mid-to-late 1981.

IX. EXPERIMENTAL PROJECTS PROGRAM
FOR CENTRAL TUNISIA

MISSION: Experimental Projects Program for Central Tunisia
(14 April - May 1980)

PURPOSE: The Experimental Projects Program is a separately funded program in the context of the greater Central Tunisia Rural Development Project, which has been established to finance pilot projects for the development of rural areas in the central Tunisia region. Final criteria for the use of the program fund and for project identification and design will be developed by the Planning and Evaluation Unit in the Office de Développement de la Tunisie Centrale (ODTC) in consultation

with the University of Wisconsin senior resident advisor. All pilot projects finally proposed for financing under this program would have to meet these criteria. The purpose of this mission from the University of Wisconsin was to make observations and preliminary proposals for criteria that the team members considered necessary for the efficient use of the Experimental Projects Program funds and to identify potential areas for government intervention.

TERMS OF REFERENCE: The mission was to focus on innovative and experimental projects to be undertaken on a small scale but having a high potential for replication, a high probability of success, a favorable cost/benefit ratio, and potential for benefitting low income families. In the context of the objectives of the program these projects were to focus on the following considerations:

- Increasing the efficiency of and access to basic infrastructure and public services within the region
- Improving utilization and management of natural resources of the region
- Stimulating private investment and off-farm employment in the central Tunisia region
- Installing within the ODTG the institutional and technical capacities to effectively plan, program, and evaluate government-sponsored development activities in the region

COMPOSITION OF TEAM:

Dr. Bassam Abed, Consultant, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Mr. George Deikun, Tunisia Project Manager, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Joseph Mullen, ODTG Senior Resident Advisor in Kasserine, Regional Planning and Area Development Project

Dr. André Sapir, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Keshav Sen, Consultant, Regional Planning and Area Development Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: To develop the preliminary criteria for pilot projects and interventions the mission undertook the following activities:

- (1) Examination of the physical and social characteristics of the central region in order to identify potential areas for experimental projects
- (2) Investigation of administrative and budgetary mechanisms which influence project implementation
- (3) Consideration of Tunisia's general development goals, programs, and strategies
- (4) Collaboration at all levels of work and discussion with concerned parties of the ODTIC

The mission's work involved visits to the completed and ongoing projects of several agencies and field trips to a demonstration farm, a tourism park, a mill, a quarry, and a mine.

The basic strategy of the mission's work in the field was to attempt to coordinate potential project areas with the evolving criteria in an iterative and interactive process, recognizing that criteria are required for selecting projects just as establishing criteria requires identifying project areas. Thus, the process assured that criteria proposals were well-founded in the reality of the situation in central Tunisia and rendered appropriate to the program's objectives.

REPORT: May 1980

The report prepared at the completion of the mission outlined a total of ten criteria drawn up in relation to a list of fourteen potential project areas. It also included an illustrative discussion on criteria application to the list of potential project areas.

CONCLUSIONS: The criteria proposed by the mission were categorized on the following basis:

- (a) Experimental nature
- (b) Definition of beneficiary groups
- (c) Sectoral spread
- (d) Spatial distribution
- (e) Employment generation
- (f) Funding

- (g) Implementation
 - community participation
 - interagency coordination
 - project proposals
- (h) Monitoring and evaluation

RECOMMENDATIONS: In its recommendations, the mission emphasized that these criteria should be looked at as a whole, with each aspect in relation to the others, while a flexible approach and considerable judgment on a case-by-case basis is maintained.

FOLLOW-UP: The ODTIC revised the initial set of criteria proposed and then submitted this final set of criteria to the Ministry of Agriculture and USAID for approval. After a long period of deliberation, MOA and USAID decided to withdraw the funds allocated for the Experimental Program and redirect these funds for use in a transfer-of-technology project. The transfer-of-technology project will operate in central Tunisia, but project implementation will be carried out by a government agency other than the ODTIC.

X. ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION AND AREA
DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN EAST AFRICA:
IMPLICATIONS FOR UNITED STATES AID POLICY

MISSION: Administrative Decentralization and Area Development Planning
in East Africa: Implications for United States Aid Policy

PURPOSE: This study evolved from a growing concern among many in the
United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
that the agency's traditional methods of delivering finan-
cial and technical assistance--primarily on a sectoral basis--
be assessed and redesigned in light of the strong emphasis
that many less-developed countries are placing on decentralized
administration and regional and area development planning.

TERMS OF REFERENCE: In its terms of reference the study's task was two-fold:

- Assess current government plans for organizing development activities; critically evaluate these plans in light of current theoretical and practical experience in regional development; and identify problems that USAID could potentially address
- Present a brief critical overview of East African decentralization policies and programs; recommend preliminary actions for donors to take in assisting the decentralization process; and identify adjustment that may be required in sectoral programs

COMPOSITION: The study was carried out by Professor Dennis P. Rondinelli Director, Graduate Planning Program, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.

LOGISTICS AND PROCESS: The study involved an extensive review of policy and evaluation documents of donor agencies and governments of the Sudan, Tanzania, and Kenya; a review of the literature of development planning and administration in these three countries; and a field visit to the Sudan in August 1979.

REPORT: At the conclusion of the study, an Occasional Paper was prepared which discussed:

- the concept of Decentralization
- Administrative Decentralization in East Africa
- Implementing Decentralization and Area Development Planning: Conditions and Obstacles
- Implications for U.S. AID Policy

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The following is an executive summary of the paper:

This study evolved from a growing concern among many in the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) that the agency's traditional methods of delivering financial and technical assistance--primarily on a sectoral basis--must be assessed and redesigned in light of the strong emphasis that many less developed countries are placing on decentralized administration and regional and area development planning.

Recent plans for, and experience with, administrative decentralization and area development planning in East Africa are

reviewed in the study, focusing on three countries where the policies have been pursued most vigorously: the Sudan, Kenya, and Tanzania. Although the trends toward decentralization have been noted in the Country Development Strategy Statements (CDSS) of the East African missions, the implications for United States aid strategy have not always been clear. Neither USAID in Washington nor many missions have explored the needs of host country governments in implementing decentralization policies or the implications decentralization has for programming and delivering assistance to them.

Two themes dominate the recent development policies of governments in East Africa. One theme asserts that if the national government is to accelerate the pace and spread the benefits of economic growth, integrate diverse regions in heterogeneous countries, and use scarce resources more efficiently to promote the development of economically lagging areas, the structure of national development planning and administration must be decentralized. The other theme contends that if the poorest groups, especially those in rural areas, are to benefit from development and obtain a larger share of government services and investments, the means must be found to decentralize public service delivery systems and to elicit participation from beneficiaries at the local level in planning and decision making.

These two themes, decentralization and participation, are especially strong in the development policies of the Sudan, Tanzania, and Kenya. In these countries, extension of services to the rural population is a precondition of equitable growth. The practical necessities of increasing the access of the rural poor to productive resources are reinforced by strong ideological and political motivations. Since the early 1970s, all governments in East Africa have emphasized the importance of administrative decentralization, in one form or another, for political integration and economic development. The extent of and pace set for policy implementation, however, have differed among countries.

At the same time, recent changes in U.S. foreign assistance policy, which strongly emphasizes the use of financial aid to help the poorest groups in developing societies, require more decentralized procedures for project planning and implementation and greater participation by the urban and rural poor in designing and organizing development activities. U.S. aid policy has given a great deal of attention to including beneficiaries in the development process. The concept of participation, although not always clearly defined, has been operationalized in numerous ways in attempting to reach the poorest groups specified by new congressional mandates.

The role of decentralization, however, is less explicitly addressed in U.S. aid policy. It has been recognized that

efforts must be intensified to improve the administrative capacity of government and development institutions. Yet USAID and other donor agencies only recently have become concerned with responding to and supporting decentralization efforts of governments in developing countries. Particular interest has been shown in countries where decentralization has taken the form of regional or area development planning. USAID's Office of Rural Development recently noted that as a growing number of small-scale projects become more popular--particularly those of an area-wide, multisectoral, or integrated nature--overly centralized management becomes a greater problem. The goal of greater participation by beneficiaries in development programs requires more efficient and decentralized administrative procedures.

Advocates of decentralization make a number of arguments for transferring greater responsibilities for planning and administration to field agencies of national ministries, regional authorities, development corporations, and local levels of government. The advantages claimed for functional and areal decentralization are many.

But these advantages of decentralization are cited as potential benefits rather than as results of past attempts at deconcentrating or devolving administrative authority. In reality, the results of decentralization policy in many developing countries have been mixed or disappointing. There is a need for continuing analysis and evaluation of government decentralization activities in developing nations. The findings can be useful in revising development assistance policy and designing country-specific programs and projects. This analysis is particularly timely in light of the host of problems, in East Africa and in other countries, that governments are facing in decentralizing development planning and management.

Recent evaluations raise profound questions about the overall commitment of national bureaucracies to decentralization; about the political motivations for decentralization in some countries and their implications for achieving socially equitable economic development; about the apparent conflicts that have arisen between the desire for central government control of the economy and policies encouraging widespread participation in development activities. Decentralization in some developing nations has proven to be more costly of manpower, equipment, and scarce professionals, as well as financially. New sources of money and manpower must be found for implementing decentralization schemes. Evidence also suggests that decentralization requires certain preconditions and supporting policies that some governments cannot or will not provide. Nor have the roles of central and local officials or citizens always been clearly delineated.

In many decentralization policies, intergovernmental relationships are poorly defined and little serious analysis has been done to identify which functions can be most appropriately decentralized. Means of eliciting and ensuring citizen participation and of obtaining the support and cooperation of local elites remain unresolved problems in nearly all countries that have attempted to decentralize.

Preliminary evidence suggests that governments in East Africa--where the commitment of national political leaders is especially strong--have had mixed results with decentralized planning and administration. Serious obstacles continue to prevent, or delay, full-scale implementation. Many of the advantages and benefits attributed to decentralization have not yet materialized. Ironically, many of the weaknesses of highly centralized government that decentralization policies are designed to overcome often are the strongest obstacles to making decentralization work.

Administrative decentralization is often discussed by government officials in developing nations and by international assistance organization staffs without having a concise definition, a clear conception of its dimensions, or an understanding of the alternative forms it can take. As a result, various forms of decentralization often are confused with each other and various advantages and weaknesses are inappropriately attributed to them. Before a strategy can be developed for dealing with decentralization the concept must be clarified and refined.

Decentralization means the transfer or delegation of planning, decision making, or management authority from the central government and its agencies to field organizations, subordinate units of government, semiautonomous public corporations, area-wide or regional authorities, functional authorities, or non-governmental organizations. The degree of political and legal power that is transferred depends on the form of decentralization adopted and the amount of support that the central government provides to decentralized units.

The first distinction that can be made is between functional and areal decentralization. Functional decentralization is most often concerned with increasing a central ministry's efficiency by organizing its field offices to serve a target population. Areal decentralization usually is designed to provide administrative units or government organizations within a specific area with the authority to plan and carry out public activities.

A second distinction can be made among deconcentration, delegation, and devolution as three forms of administrative decentralization. These forms of decentralization differ in the amount of power or control over functions that central government agencies transfer to other organizations. At one extreme,

deconcentration may involve redistributing responsibilities through a shifting of workload from central headquarters to an agency's or ministry's own field offices. More extensive decentralization can be achieved by delegating responsibility to perform certain specified public functions to organizations not wholly controlled by central government. Finally, the most extreme form is devolution of authority from the center in such a way that a ministry or central agency entirely divests itself of responsibility for performing certain functions and makes them the obligation of local units of government.

Many problems as well as benefits are associated with each form of decentralization. Each has different implications for institutional arrangements, the degree of authority and power transferred, local citizen participation, preconditions for successful implementation, and advantages or benefits for the political system. In reality, although there are differences between these various forms of decentralization, they are not mutually exclusive. All government structures consist of some combination of these forms of decentralized administration. Nonetheless, this typology provides a useful guide in comparing systems in different countries.

The forms of decentralization most commonly used in Kenya and Tanzania are deconcentration and delegation, while the Sudan has moved substantially further toward devolution. While the Sudan is in the process of moving to devolution more rapidly than the other two countries, however, there is evidence of a wide discrepancy between the intent of decentralization laws and their results.

The Sudan has gone through a period in which a system of local administration was created--effectively allowing for a deconcentration of government functions--followed by a mostly disappointing yet persistent attempt at devolution, and now moving toward a system of regional government. Devolution and regionalization are only in their initial stages but are regarded by President Nimeiry as a political necessity for maintaining national unity as well as a practical means of achieving more responsive and efficient administration.

But decentralization is still an article of faith in the Sudan. The tangible benefits have not yet appeared and there are numerous obstacles to overcome, including the central government's ability to control serious economic problems, maintain political stability, and obtain the cooperation and support of the national bureaucracy, local officials and elites, and tribal and religious leaders. Moreover, Nimeiry must be able to institutionalize decentralization programs and procedures that have been created largely as a result of his own political leadership and persuasion. Finally, he must find the substantial

financial resources and skilled manpower needed to give life to what essentially remain "paper plans."

Deconcentration in Kenya was prompted in part by dissatisfaction with the procedures for formulating and implementing previous national development plans and in part by criticism of the lack of participation by local authorities and field administrators in identifying and executing development projects. Plans were found to have little project content and coordination between planning and budgeting has been weak. The response was an extensive reorganization that would place provinces and districts at the center of rural development and give them increased participation in planning and administration. Like in the early stages of decentralization in the Sudan, Kenya's policy primarily was one of deconcentration through local administration, but the Kenyan program was not intended to move as far toward devolution as in the Sudan. The central government saw the decentralization of rural development planning not only as a way of obtaining better information about local development needs and priorities than was available to central planners in Nairobi, but as a mechanism for satisfying political demands from members of Parliament for more participation by local officials and private organizations in the planning process. Given these comparatively modest objectives, results have been more in line with expectations.

Deconcentration and delegation of development planning in Tanzania cannot be fully understood without considering the political and ideological framework within which development policies were formulated. A strategy of socialist self-reliance with an emphasis on agriculture and socially equitable growth has significantly influenced the reforms that have been instituted. Administrative decentralization and area development were seen as mutually reinforcing programs for attaining the nation's goals.

As in Kenya and the Sudan, organizational reforms in Tanzania were responses to external criticism and internal dissatisfaction with previous planning and administrative arrangements. Arrangements for bottom-up planning were first made by adding a regional component to the centralized planning process. Not until President Nyerere reorganized the structure of development planning and administration was there any significant delegation of authority to the regions and districts. The decentralization scheme was less radical in devolving functions than the Sudan's, but more extensive in delegating authority to local administrations than arrangements in Kenya. Conceptually, Tanzanian decentralization policy fell somewhere between deconcentration and delegation, but clearly promoted a system of local administration rather than local government.

The "ujaama" village program was intensified in Tanzania as part of a comprehensive strategy for rural area development to ensure that, together with administrative decentralization policies, the new procedures of regional and district planning would be successful in achieving Tanzania's development objectives. Evaluations of decentralization and area development in Tanzania indicate that they have produced mixed results. The government also has run into serious obstacles in achieving self-reliant growth, perhaps exacerbated by the resources demanded by the decentralization program. The problems plaguing decentralization and area development in Tanzania are no greater than those in Kenya and the Sudan. Thus, the obstacles faced by these countries must be identified and explored.

The difficulties that East African governments have had in implementing decentralization policies should not be surprising given their colonial histories, strong traditions of central control, high levels of poverty, and the severity of their current economic and social problems. Decentralization involves far more than simply declaring a policy of bottom-up decision making, reorganizing the administrative structure, and establishing local or district planning procedures. Evidence suggests that a minimum level of economic development must already have been achieved before local governments can effectively assume development responsibilities. Others insist that decentralization creates, at least partially, the conditions for its own success. In any case, a decade of experience shows that the successful implementation of decentralization policy depends on the existence or creation of a variety of conditions. The following are most often identified as prerequisites to or concomitants of successful implementation:

- (1) Strong political commitment and support from national leaders to transfer planning, decision making, and management authority to field agencies or lower levels of government.
- (2) Acceptance by political leaders of participation in planning and management by organizations that are outside of the direct control of the central government or the dominant political party.
- (3) Support and commitment to decentralization within the national bureaucracy and willingness of central government officials to transfer functions previously performed by them to local units.
- (4) Strong administrative capacity within central agencies and ministries to carry out national development functions

and to support--with adequate planning, programming, logistical, personnel, and budget resources--their field agencies and lower levels of government in performing decentralized functions.

- (5) Changes in attitudes and behavior of central and lower level government officials away from those that are centrist, control-oriented, and paternalistic toward those that support and facilitate decentralized planning and administration and a willingness on their part to share authority with rural people and accept their participation in planning and implementing development activities.
- (6) Effective means of overcoming the resistance or of getting cooperation of local elites and traditional leaders in decentralized planning and administration.
- (7) Effective channels of political participation or representation for rural residents that reinforce and support decentralized planning and administration and that allow rural people, especially the poorest, to express their needs and demands and to press claims for national and local development resources.
- (8) Appropriate allocation of planning and administrative functions among levels of government, with each set of functions suited to the decision-making capabilities, existing or potential resources, and performance capabilities of each level of organization.
- (9) Concise and definitive decentralization laws, regulations, and directives that clearly outline the relationships among different levels of organization, the allocation of functions among organizational units, the roles and duties of officials at each level and their limitations and constraints.
- (10) Flexible arrangements and criteria for reallocating functions as the resources and capabilities of organizations change over time.
- (11) Clearly defined and relatively uncomplicated planning and management procedures for eliciting the participation of local leaders and citizens and for obtaining the cooperation or consent of beneficiaries in the formulation, appraisal, organization, implementation, and evaluation of development projects and programs.
- (12) Creation of a minimum level of trust and respect between citizens and government officials, and a mutual recognition that each is capable of performing assigned functions and participating effectively in development planning and management.

- (13) Authority for local units of administration or government to raise or obtain sufficient financial resources to acquire the equipment, supplies, personnel, and facilities needed to carry out decentralized responsibilities.
- (14) Adequate physical infrastructure and transportation and communication linkages within local administrative units to allow effective mobilization of resources and delivery of public services.
- (15) Organizational and communications linkages among local units of administration or government and between them and higher levels that facilitate reciprocal interaction, exchange, cooperation, and resolution of conflicts.
- (16) Sufficiently articulated and integrated settlement systems within regions to promote economic, social, political, and administrative interaction among rural areas and between rural centers and larger towns and cities.
- (17) The existence of, or ability to create and maintain, strong leadership and administrative capacity within local units of government or administration.
- (18) Multiple and diverse supporting institutions that complement local administrative units or governments in carrying out decentralized development functions.

Although it is possible to identify those conditions that seem to be essential for successful decentralization, the levels of adequacy or measures of effectiveness expressed or implied in each of these conditions cannot be universally determined or prescribed. But it can be asserted with confidence that the fewer conditions that exist, or the greater the obstacles to creating them, the more difficulties policymakers can expect in implementing decentralization policies.

While the decentralization policies of the Sudan, Tanzania, and Kenya differ in form and substance, the problems that have arisen over the past decade in implementation are remarkably similar. Obstacles to implementation fall into four major categories:

- (1) Weaknesses in political commitment to decentralization at both the national and local levels.
- (2) Ambiguous design and weak organization of decentralization policies and procedures.
- (3) Inadequate resources and administrative capacity at both national and local levels to implement decentralized development planning and management.

- (4) Inadequate "environmental conditions" conducive to decentralization.

Underlying all four categories of problems are the adverse attitudes and behavior of many government officials toward the participation of rural people in development planning and administration.

Administrative decentralization and area development planning are crucial for the successful implementation of programs and projects aimed at reaching the poor majority in developing countries, a concern that lies at the core of U.S. foreign assistance policy. If this approach to planning and management is essential to promote more equitable development and to achieve the objective of the "new directions" in U.S. foreign assistance policy, then the question is what can donors do to strengthen decentralization programs in LDCs?

This analysis suggests that USAID should focus its technical and financial resources on assisting developing countries' governments in creating the conditions conducive to decentralized planning and administration identified above. There are general categories of activities that can be suggested. These include:

- (1) Helping to strengthen national political commitment and central government administrative support for decentralization.
- (2) Providing technical and financial assistance in the design and organization of effective decentralization programs and procedures.
- (3) Assisting LDCs to build managerial and financial capacity within local units of government or administration.
- (4) Providing technical and financial aid in creating the physical, spatial, and organizational infrastructure needed for bottom-up development planning.

Attitudes and the behavior of all government officials must be supportive of participation by a wide variety of groups in local development planning and management. This requires a minimum amount of trust, which only can be developed over time. Decentralization should not be sold as a panacea for all of the weaknesses in planning and management in developing countries or as an inevitable stimulant of rural development. Given a match between the conditions of a particular country and a form of decentralization, reorienting the design of technical assistance projects in the fields of nutrition, food production, health, education, population planning, and rural and urban development should follow. Projects should be designed in such

a way as to expand simultaneously the administrative and technical capacities of both central ministries and local governments, to assuage the fears of central ministry officials and their political allies, and to ensure sufficient technical support to local government jurisdictions. There is a need to strengthen both forward and backward organizational linkages and to recognize the need and potential for conflict resolution, as well as cooperation and mutual support.

Similarly, there is a need to identify and use administrative mechanisms that rely less on central control and more on incentives and exchange to achieve development objectives. A wide range of managerial techniques exist to guide and facilitate local decision making that do not depend primarily on hierarchical control and that give local groups more latitude in formulating and implementing development projects. More attention should also be given to assisting host country governments with projects designed to elicit the cooperation of traditional leaders and elites or at least to reduce their opposition to decentralization. Decentralization should be a means of coopting traditional leaders and changing their roles, drawing on their experience at least long enough for local administrative units to become established.

Technical assistance can be provided in designing decentralization policies that allocate functions appropriately among levels of administration, that allow functions to be reallocated as the capabilities and resources of units below the central government level change over time, and that clearly delineate the relationships among different units of organization. Much more attention needs to be given to the problem of designing planning and management procedures that are suited to the capabilities of rural people and to the existing administrative skills of local officials.

Assistance for decentralized development can be most effective by helping build the capacity of local administrative units and in strengthening supporting institutions. Technical and administrative officers and local council members need to be trained in the rudiments of area analysis so that they can better identify and define investment needs. Serious consideration should be given to providing grants instead of loan funds for projects that are aimed primarily at building local administrative capacity. Institutionalization of planning and administrative procedures may require different types of assistance than that required to build minimum capacity. This will require long-term support and will come about over an even longer period of time.

Finally, there is a need for an expanded capacity of local administrative units to interact and communicate with each other. The lack of physical infrastructure, transportation, and communications linkages within rural regions severely inhibits interaction

among local units and between them and higher levels of administration. It also obstructs the mobilization and movement of local resources and the delivery of services. These problems are exacerbated by poorly articulated and largely unintegrated spatial systems within rural regions, the weakness of linkages among rural settlements and between them and larger urban centers, and weaknesses of linkages among organizations within rural areas. The use of a regional planning approach in an area development context, emphasizing regional analysis and planning for integrating urban functions in rural development, offers the greatest promise for fulfilling this particular need.