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DECENTRALIZATION, RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND
MID-LEVEL DEVELOPMENT AGENTS IN SENEGAL:
A REPORT ON TRAINING NEEDS

A BASELINE DATA REPORT

Prepared under U.S.A.I.D. Project 685-0256, Senegal
ENEA Rural Management Project

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Richard Vengroff and Alan Johnston

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1. Introduction

The basic aims of this applied research effort are to assist the National School of Applied Economics (ENEA), one of Senegal's oldest national training institutions, to increase its capacity to offer appropriate and timely in-service training courses to its graduates and to improve ENEA's curriculum in light of the problems former students have experienced in the field. This survey was undertaken as part of the ENEA Rural Management Project for the purpose of assessing the training needs of ENEA graduates working in all of the regions of Senegal. In order to determine what the real needs and problems of these agents working in the field are, it was felt that systematic input directly from them was necessary.

ENEA's experience in the training of lower- and middle-level Senegalese government officials dates back more than twenty years to the founding of the Dakar Cooperative College. The government established that institution in 1962 to train agents for newly independent Senegal's ambitious, "socialist" oriented cooperative movement. It took less than a year for other government agencies to see the advantages of a school established with the sole purpose of training agents for a particular service. As a result the government expanded the Cooperative College in 1963 by establishing separate "colleges" of cooperatives (Cooperation), planning (Planification), Community Organization (Animation), and land use planning (Aménagement du Territoire), renaming the institution "L'Ecole Nationale d'Economie Appliquée." The College of Statistics (Statistique) was added in 1966

and the College of Non-Formal Education (Enseignement Moyen Pratique), ENEA's sixth, was inaugurated in 1977.

As one of the principal institutions responsible for training government development agents with "hands-on" experience, ENEA has developed a training system which relies strongly on a combination of classroom work and field training. In keeping with its highly vocal advocacy for a strategy of development from below ("developpement à la base"), ENEA's program includes a high percentage of student time devoted to field work in the rural milieu. This is especially important since a large number of the newly recruited government agents who study at ENEA are from urban centers. Many say that their first introduction to life in Senegal's rural areas (where they will eventually work) has come as a result of their training at ENEA. On the other hand, the student body also includes a significant number of experienced government agents who, through competitive advancement programs in their various agencies, enter the institution to continue their professional training. New recruits and experienced agents study side by side.

ENEA offers two- and three-year courses of study. Students who follow the three-year program enter the government as "B" level functionaries. This program consists of one year of general core courses followed by two years of more specialized training in one of ENEA's six colleges. The two-year program produces technical agents for either the Cooperative, Community Organization, or Statistical Service. Its graduates enter the public service at the "C" level.

ENEA is also active in the field of applied research. Its faculty and staff regularly perform evaluations and studies for Senegalese ministries, PVOs, and international donors such as USAID.

From the time of independence in 1960 until the present, Senegal has undertaken a series of efforts designed to promote rural development. The French colonial legacy continued to have a profound impact on Senegalese administration and administrative practices long after independence. (Gellier, 1980) The need to institute reforms which would reorient local administrators toward development and away from the past emphasis on tax collection, the maintenance of order and export crop, principally peanut, production became more and more apparent to the new government.

Initial efforts were aimed at "rural animation" through the establishment of an "Animation Rurale" Service and the development of rural cooperatives. (Gellar, Charlick and Jones, 1980) These programs gave way in the 1960s to a series of specialized para-statal agencies (regional development societies) which provided little opportunity for local participation and local initiative. The first period of the "malaise paysan," which began in 1968 and lasted through the early 70s, further underlined the need for change. (Schumacher, 1975; Gellar, 1983; Waterbury, 1983; Caswell, 1983)

Since 1972, when the administrative reform law took effect (Fell, 1978), Senegal has been engaged in an effort to decentralize its administrative structures in order to promote rural development and

escape from the burdens of the remnants of an overly centralized colonial system. This new initiative which led to the creation of local elected councils in rural communities (communautés rurales) has thus far achieved only marginal success. There are now some 317 rural communities with elected councils, virtually all of which suffer from under financing. For example, the average annual budget for 71 rural communities in the Sine Saloum Region for 1982-83 was only 9,088,000 FCFA (about \$22,700). The CERs (Centre d'Expansion Rural), consisting of a multi-disciplinary team of agents drawn from a number of different services, are charged with providing technical expertise to the implementation of rural community development efforts. Central government control under this limited program of deconcentration is maintained by the sous-préfets who act on behalf of the Ministry of the Interior. Agents being trained by the state for a role in organizing and educating the population still experience considerable difficulty in working within the context of highly centralized services while trying to respond to local needs and desires.

The big problem raised by this potentially laudible effort at decentralized development is that of developing and maintaining effective local management capabilities. How should training at ENEA be altered to meet these new management trends? What kinds of research and information systems are necessary in order to identify needs and develop materials appropriate for the new trainees? What kinds of re-tooling on the part of ENEA staff will be most useful in assisting the organization to more effectively serve the needs of its client agencies? In order to better prepare new agents for the

difficult tasks ahead it is necessary to clearly and systematically identify the problems they are actually experiencing in their day to day work.

In this context this survey has several important purposes: (1) to provide baseline data against which the success, or lack thereof, of project interventions and changes in the training program and format of ENEA can be assessed; (2) to provide a description of existing problems, role perceptions, work practices and attitudes of ENEA graduates involved in rural development; (3) to provide the basis for designing new and revising existing training courses and materials at ENEA; (4) to, in accord with the basic mandate of the Rural Management Project, provide a basis for determining the direction of the training of middle level agents in the field of project management.

An important assumption underlying the implementation of this project as well as the basic mission of ENEA as an applied research and training institution is that the problems experienced in the implementation of rural development can in fact be ameliorated in the context of a training effort. To the extent that many of these problems result from ineffective and inefficient national administrative structures, training will be of little use. In this case the main function which ENEA and this project can perform is to bring these problems to the attention of appropriate government officials and await action on their part. On the other hand,

training may be the appropriate response to problems which are associated with misinformation, lack of expertise in certain areas such as project management, misconceptions of role demands, local organizational inconsistencies and employee motivation. Hopefully the analysis of these data will provide some indication of the relative importance of each of these types of problems. Only from a vantage point enlightened by the systematic gathering of data at the appropriate level can we hope to effectively address these questions.

Data and Methods

The data upon which this analysis is based were gathered by means of survey research conducted in Senegal between March and May 1984. The survey was designed to deal specifically with the problems of mid-level (levels B and C in the public service hierarchy, Mamadou Diarra, 1982) government development agents charged with the implementation of rural development throughout the country. It is at this crucial level that the success or failure of government sponsored development efforts will be determined. In addition, the role played by these agents in directing or supporting locally initiated development activities will have a major impact on the whole process of decentralization and the so-called strategy of development from below ("developpement à la base").

The survey instrument is based on a similar instrument employed by one of the authors for similar purposes in Zaire (see Richard Vengroff, 1983). The instrument was, with the help of a number of Senegalese staff members at ENEA, revised so as to make it more directly relevant to the needs and problems of local level agents in Senegal.

The survey is based on the conceptual model outlined in Diagram One. The dependent variable we are trying to identify in this study is the actual training needs of ENEA graduates (8). That is, what are those areas, skills or subjects in which ENEA graduates

could use additional training in order to more effectively perform their jobs and thus contribute to the development of Senegal.

Diagram 1 About Here

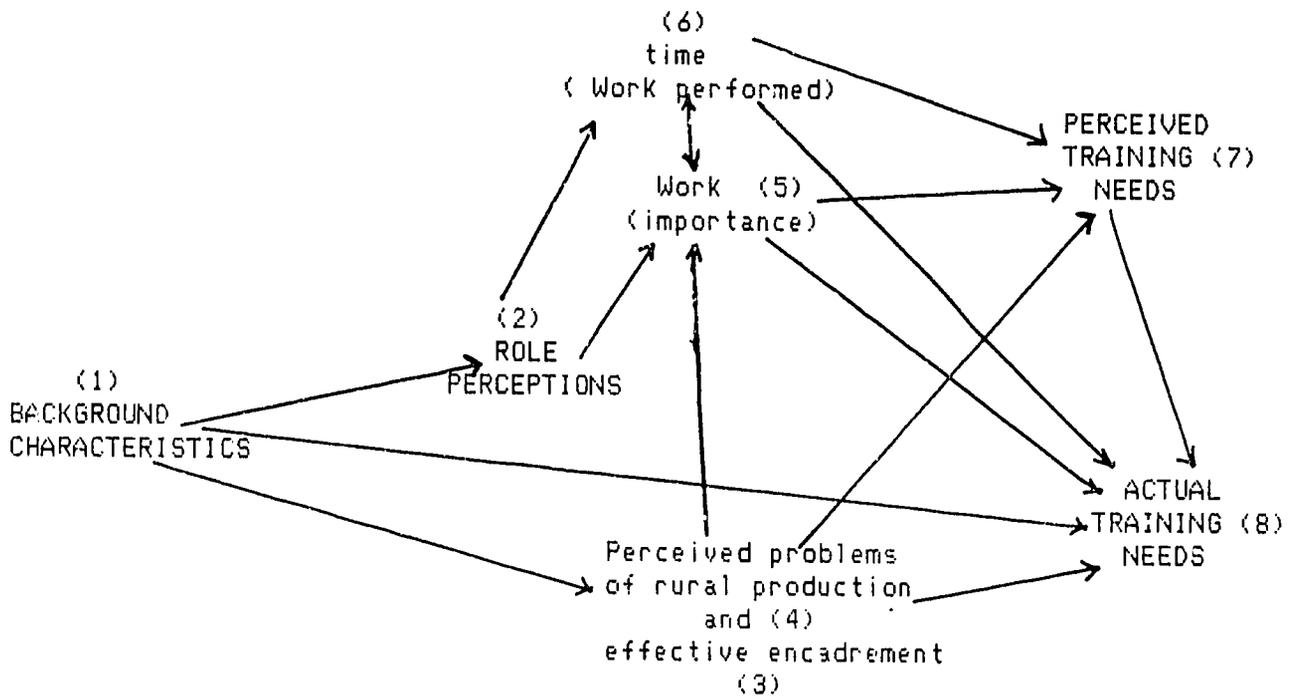
A number of important factors are hypothesized to have an impact on their actual training needs. Very important among them are their perceived training needs (7). That is, those areas in which the ENEA graduates themselves feel that they could use additional training. It should be reemphasized here that not all problems experienced by these officials can be rectified by training. Some involve structural roadblocks which can only be ameliorated by basic administrative reforms which are clearly beyond the scope of a training program. In the course of the analysis stage of this research these different types of problems will be sorted out. Those involving structural reforms will be brought to the attention of appropriate government authorities. Those involving training will be input into ENEA's program of in-service training.

Directly related to the training needs, both actual and perceived, are the various work activities (5) and time commitments (6) of ENEA graduates in the field. How do ENEA graduates occupying various posts actually spend their work time (6)? What are their most and least time consuming tasks and how are these related to actual work performance? In the questions included in factor 5 the

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DIAGRAM 1

Hypothesized Relationships



interviewees assess the relative importance of various kinds of work activities to their roles. This provides us with a picture of the concordance-discordance between various work activities and the time devoted to them.

The factors labeled perceived problems of rural production (4) and extension work ("encadrement") (3) identify, from the point of view of the field agents, the major administrative difficulties of rural development. These in turn influence the work and time commitments of these agents and their real and perceived training needs. These data will provide a clarification of some of the problems they experience personally and/or observe in the field.

The role perceptions of the field agents, including such factors as flexibility, have a direct impact on how they spend their time and the kind of work they value. Hence the individual's role perceptions directly effect his comportment and indirectly effect the importance of different types of training for improving work performance.

The last set of factors, background characteristics (1), such as age, education, length of service, etc., have a direct impact on the bureaucrat's role perceptions, on his actual training needs and on his perceptions of problems which effect rural development. Hence these background characteristics either directly or indirectly effect every other variable in our model.

The interview schedule (see Appendix 1) consisting of forty-four

questions (some with several parts) took, on the average, forty-five minutes to administer. Some interviews took as little as twenty-five minutes to complete while the longest lasted just over two hours. All interviews were conducted in French by the members of the Texas Tech team, Richard Vengroff and Alan Johnston. The questionnaire is conveniently divided into sections which correspond to each of the seven factors. The object is to get each interviewee to think and respond carefully in each subject area.

1. Background Characteristics - questions 1-10.
2. Role Perceptions - questions 12-16.
3. Obstacles to Production in the Rural Areas - questions 17-28.
4. Importance of Work Activities - questions 29a-29s.
5. Time Commitments - questions 29aa-29ss.
6. Problems of Extension Work - questions 30-42.
7. Perceived Training Needs - questions 44a-44s.

The appropriate administrative authorities in each region were contacted and informed of the purpose and timing of the survey beforehand. In every region these administrative authorities proved to be most cooperative and helpful. Every effort was made to interview those selected in the sample in the privacy of their own offices. Although appointments were made with some of these officials one or two days in advance, most were presented with letters of introduction and interviewed on the spot. This minimized the possibility of contagion, that is the problem of previously interviewed agents discussing the questionnaire with other individuals

included in the sample.

Sample

In order to draw an appropriate sample, a complete list of ENEA graduates and their current field assignments was required. Since no such comprehensive list existed, the registers of ENEA's six colleges were used to gather the names of all past graduates. The personnel offices of the various services which employ ENEA graduates were then able to furnish job and post information for the majority of the names on the list. This information was checked further by telephone calls to the services regional offices. Since the emphasis of this project is on problems of rural management and rural development, the sampling frame was narrowed to include only those stationed outside of Dakar. From these lists stratified random samples were drawn from the graduates of four of ENEA's colleges, Planning (Planification), Cooperatives (Cooperation), Land Use Planning (Aménagement du Territoire) and Community Organization (Animation). In addition an effort was made to insure that in those colleges in which both two year and three year programs exist (Cooperatives and Community Organization), both groups were represented in the sample.

The College of Non-formal Education (Enseignement Moyen Pratique) has had only two graduating classes, one of which had not yet been assigned to their posts at the time of the survey. Since the group was so small and the number of its members assigned outside of Dakar even smaller, a stratified sample was not possible. A random

selection was made of those in the first graduating class who are stationed outside Dakar. Since plans exist for a merger of the college of Non-formal Education and the college of Community Organization, the two were grouped together for purposes of analysis.

The number of graduates of the college of Statistics who are posted posts outside of Dakar was so small that, although nearly half of them were interviewed, the sample is too small from which to generalize. As these agents are rarely involved in activities directly associated with rural development this is not regarded as a major problem for the analysis.

It should be pointed out that in spite of the fact that the government of Senegal theoretically has launched a program of decentralization, most of the ministries involved in rural development retain a highly centralized organizational structure. Vertical communication and support within the service is emphasized. Instructions initiated at the center are expected to be uniformly implemented throughout the country. Of the organizations in which these mid-level agents work, only the Decentralization Secretariat and some of the P.V.O. sponsored projects have any serious involvement in decentralized rural development. These organizations often find their hands tied by the rigid hierarchy of the other services with which they work.

All regions except Dakar are represented in the sample. As can be seen from Table 1-1 the distribution of interviewees is roughly

proportional to the distribution of ENEA graduates by region. As should be clear from Table 1-3, even when broken down by college, the sample is very close to the total distribution of ENEA graduates working outside of Dakar. In addition, 6.4% of those interviewed were female a figure very close to the 7.6% of all ENEA graduates who are female (a follow up study of the special needs and problems of these female government agents is in the design stage). It is therefore possible to have a high degree of confidence in the general representativeness of the sample.

Table 1-1 About Here

The various roles included in the sample are shown in Table 1-2, the distribution of the sample by the colleges from which they graduated is presented in Table 1-3 and the ministries and services with which they are currently serving are shown in Table 1-4. As can be seen from Table 1-4, most of the services implicated in rural development organization and planning efforts at the regional or local levels are included.

Tables 1-2, 1-3 and 1-4 About Here

A total of 110 interviews were conducted with ENEA graduates working

T A B L E 1-1

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE

| Region* | Number | % | % of ENEA grads posted outside Dakar by region |
|--------------------------------|--------|-------|--|
| Diourbel | 11 | 10 | 10.0 |
| Sine Saloum (Kaolack+Fatick) | 19 | 17.3 | 19.4 |
| Thiès | 19 | 17.3 | 18.8 |
| Fleuve (Saint Louis) | 13 | 11.8 | 9.4 |
| Louga | 17 | 15.5 | 9.7 |
| Casamance (Ziguinchor+Kolda) | 19 | 17.3 | 23.3 |
| Sénégal Oriental (Tambacounda) | 12 | 10.9 | 9.4 |
| Cap-Vert (Dakar) | 0 | 0 | - |
| T O T A L | 110 | 100.1 | 100.0 |

* The administrative reorganization which went into effect on July, 1984, after the completion of this study changed the names of all the regions to that of the principal town, the regional capital. In addition, the Casamance was divided into two regions, Ziguinchor and Kolda, and Sine Saloum was divided into Kaolack and Fatick.

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T A B L E 1-2

ROLES INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE

| | * Role ----- | N --- | % --- |
|----|--|--------------|----------------|
| 1 | Contrôleur de la Coopération | 25 | 22.94 |
| 2 | Agent Technique de la Coopération | 7 | 6.42 |
| 3 | Inspecteur de l'Animation | 14 | 12.84 |
| 4 | Agent Technique de l'Animation | 11 | 10.09 |
| 5 | Ingénieur de Travaux de la Planification | 12 | 11.01 |
| 6 | Inspecteur de l'Aménagement du Territoire | 13 | 11.01 |
| 7 | Sous-préfet | 6 | 5.5 |
| 8 | Chef de CER | 10 | 9.17 |
| 9 | Agent Technique des Travaux de la Statistique | 2 | 1.83 |
| 10 | Ingénieur des Travaux de la Statistique | 3 | 2.75 |
| 11 | Médiateur Pédagogique | 4 | 3.67 |
| 12 | Préfet | 3 | 2.75 |
| | | ----- 110 | ----- 99.98 |

* Job titles have been left in French since for many no English equivalent exists. Translations could be misleading.

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T A B L E 1-3

THE SAMPLE BY ENEA COLLEGE

| College | N | % | % of all ENEA grads posted outside Dakar by college |
|--|-----|-------|---|
| 1 Planning (Planification) | 26 | 23.6 | 23.3 |
| 2 Cooperatives (Coopération) | 32 | 29.1 | 36.4 |
| 3 Land Use Planning (Aménagement du Territoire) | 16 | 14.6 | 10.9 |
| 4 Community Development and Non-Formal Education (Animation + EMP) | 31 | 28.2 | 26.4 |
| 5 Statistics (Statistique) | 5 | 4.6 | 3.0 |
| T O T A L | 110 | 100.1 | 100 |

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T A B L E 1-4

Distribution of the Sample by Ministry and Service

Ministry or Service

| | | N | % |
|---|--|-------------|-------------------|
| | | --- | --- |
| 1 | Secretariat of Decentralization | | |
| | CERS | 18 | 16.4 |
| | Land use Planning Directorate | 4 | 3.6 |
| 2 | Ministry of Planning (regional antennas) | 5 | 4.5 |
| 3 | Ministry of the interior (préfet, sous-préfet, commune administrator) | 12 | 10.9 |
| 4 | Ministry of Rural Development Cooperative Service | 24 | 21.8 |
| 5 | Ministry of Social Development Community Organization (Animation) Non-Formal Education | 17 3 | 15.5 2.7 |
| 6 | Ministry of Finance Statistical Service Cadastre Finance | 4 1 1 | 3.6 0.9 0.9 |
| 7 | Regional Development Societies and Projects | 21 | 19.1 |
| | TOTAL | 110 | 99.9 |

in the rural milieu. It is believed that those interviewed are generally representative of ENEA graduates working outside of Dakar in almost every respect.

2. Background Characteristics of Local Level Agents

The background characteristics of ENEA graduates have been included in the study for two important purposes: 1) to provide a description of these individuals and to determine their relation to Senegalese society and to the public agencies with which they work; and 2) as independent variables whose influence on other responses, such as role perceptions, can be examined. This background information includes personal characteristics (age, education, place of birth), and work-related characteristics (tenure in administration, in their current service and current post, interaction with superiors and subordinates and work location in relation to home region).

The average age of agents working in the field is 42.7 years (median = 42) with a range from 25 for the youngest to 57 for the oldest (normal retirement age is 55). While all of these agents received their ENEA training after independence (ENEA was founded in 1963), more than half (54.5%) received virtually all the rest of their formal education under the colonial education system. The remainder received most, if not all, of their formal education after independence. For the former group the centralized organizational structures of the French are likely to dominate their thinking. In addition, those trained during the first decade of independence are likely to share this perspective.

Table 2-1 About Here

The distribution of agents by region of birth and by the region in which they grew up does not show any great distortions in terms of the distribution of the population as a whole.

Table 2-2 About Here

Sine Saloum provides the largest number followed by the Fleuve (St. Louis), Casamance and Thies. The relatively small percentage of agents born in Dakar (Cap Vert) is quite surprising. However, that appears to be changing over time, with more and more of the younger agents coming from the Dakar Region. This is especially so since most of the recent students at ENEA enter the school directly after obtaining the BAC. In the past, most of those who entered ENEA were sent by a government service after a number of years of experience in the field.

On the average these agents have served for 18.6 years in the government service, with the minimum being two years and the maximum being thirty-five years. The largest group (30%) entered the administration just after independence, between 1960 and 1963. Nearly one in five, 19.1%, actually began their service under the colonial

T A B L E 2-1

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

| <u>Age category</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> |
|---------------------|------------|------------|
| 25 - 30 | 8 | 7.3 |
| 31 - 35 | 20 | 18.2 |
| 36 - 40 | 22 | 20.0 |
| 41 - 45 | 27 | 24.5 |
| 46 - 50 | 20 | 18.2 |
| ≥ 51 | 13 | 11.8 |
| | <u>110</u> | <u>100</u> |
| $\bar{x} = 42,7$ | Median | 42 |
| Minimum 25 | Maximum | 57 |

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T A B L E 2-2

Home Region

| | REGION OF BIRTH | | REGION IN WHICH GREW UP | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Cap-Vert | 9 | 8.18 | 12 | 10.91 |
| Diourbel | 7 | 6.36 | 6 | 5.45 |
| Sine Saloum | 26 | 23.64 | 26 | 23.64 |
| Thiès | 14 | 12.73 | 15 | 13.64 |
| Fleuve | 23 | 20.91 | 23 | 20.91 |
| Louga | 11 | 10.0 | 11 | 10.0 |
| Casamance | 17 | 15.45 | 16 | 14.55 |
| Sénégal Oriental | 1 | 0.91 | 1 | 0.91 |
| Other country | 2 | 1.82 | 0 | 0.0 |
| TOTAL | 110 | 100.0 | 110 | 100.0 |

administration. Once again we can see the direct imprint of colonial administrative practices on current attitudes and behavior.

Table 2-3 About Here

There is a considerable difference in educational background between the younger and older agents. Although they have all studied at ENEA, the younger agents have considerable academic training at the level of the BAC while their older colleagues have much more on-the-job type training.

With the creation of new and the modification of existing services there has been some degree of transfer from one service to another over time. The mean years spent in the service for which they are currently working is 12 (range 1-27). The modal category is five years or less (26.4%), followed by the 6-10 year category.

Table 2-4 About Here

The frequent rotations in the service from one post to another are reflected in the fact that more than half (54.6%) of those interviewed had been at their current post for less than three years. Only 17.3% had served for five or more years at their current job.

T A B L E 2-3

YEARS IN ADMINISTRATION

| Years | N | % |
|-----------|-----|------|
| ≤5 | 8 | 7.3 |
| 6-10 | 19 | 17.3 |
| 11-15 | 16 | 14.5 |
| 16-20 | 13 | 11.8 |
| 21-25 | 33 | 30.0 |
| 26-30 | 10 | 9.1 |
| 31-35 | 11 | 10.0 |
| T O T A L | 110 | 100 |

\bar{x} = 18.61 years

min = 2

max = 35

27-

T A B L E 2-4

YEARS IN CURRENT SERVICE

| Years | N | % |
|-----------|-----|------|
| <5 | 29 | 26.4 |
| 6-10 | 27 | 24.5 |
| 11-15 | 23 | 20.9 |
| 16-20 | 10 | 9.1 |
| 21-25 | 19 | 17.3 |
| >26 | 2 | 1.8 |
| T O T A L | 110 | 100 |

\bar{x} = 12 years min = 1 max = 27

This raises an important problem, especially

Table 2-5 About Here

when we consider that a large number of those interviewed stated that they felt that local development agents are not generally very effective in their posts until after they have served for one or two years. It may easily take that long to gain adequate knowledge of the milieu and the confidence of the local people.

The policies of most ministries seem to emphasize the regular circulation of agents throughout the country. Apparently, assignments are made with little consideration given to the home region of the functionary being posted. Nearly three out of five (57.3%) of those interviewed are currently working outside of the regions in which they were born and nearly two-thirds (65.5%) are outside the regions in which they grew up. While the posting of individuals in relation to their home regions

Table 2-6 About Here

and the attendant ethnic, cultural and family links is a highly controversial issue in many African countries, it does not appear to

TABLE 2-5

TIME AT CURRENT POST

| Time | N | % |
|-----------|-----|------|
| <1 year | 11 | 10.0 |
| 1-2 years | 21 | 19.1 |
| 2-3 years | 28 | 25.5 |
| 3-4 years | 23 | 20.9 |
| 4-5 years | 8 | 7.3 |
| >5 years | 19 | 17.3 |
| TOTAL | 110 | 100 |

T A B L E 2-6

WORK IN RELATION TO HOME REGION

| <u>Work</u> | N | % |
|-------------------------|-----|------|
| Inside region of birth | 47 | 42.7 |
| Outside region of birth | 63 | 57.3 |
| Total | 110 | 100 |

| <u>Work</u> | N | % |
|---------------------------------|-----|------|
| Inside region in which grew up | 38 | 34.5 |
| Outside region in which grew up | 72 | 65.5 |
| Total | 110 | 100 |

be a major problem in Senegal. The only exception appears to be the former Casamance Region (now divided into the Ziguinchor and Kolda Regions) where many people feel that the posting of agents in the south from the northern part of the country, who do not speak the local languages, puts them at a disadvantage.

The hierarchical relations in the service seem to be well maintained by fairly frequent contact between most of these middle level agents and their immediate superiors. In general, most agents seemed to be well aware of the structure of their organizations and where they fit into them. Furthermore, over 60% are posted in the same locale as their superiors. More than half (52%) see their superior every day and almost three fourths (73%) have such contact at least once a week. There remains, however, a significant minority, 26.6% who have contact with their superiors only once a month or less. In some services this has rather grave consequences. For example, several regional representatives of the Land Use Planning Directorate (Direction Aménagement du Territoire) complained of having "no instructions from Dakar, no resources (in one region not even an office) and no one to work with. The same problem applies to a number of workers in the Ministry of Social Development, most notably those assigned to the now defunct non-formal education directorate (Enseignement Moyen Pratique). This creates obvious morale problems as well as decreasing productivity through the under utilization of skilled workers.

Tables 2-7 and 2-8 About Here

These same agents also play an important role as supervisors. This varies from a number of "agents technique" who have no one working under them, to several prefets who have a hundred or more agents who are responsible to them. The median number of subordinates, seven, is relatively small.

Table 2-9 About Here

The nature of these relationships is also highly variable, ranging from the direct hierarchical links found in most traditional services to the matrix type relationship which characterizes the team of agents assigned to the CER (Centre d'Expansion Rural). In the latter case agents are seconded to the CER but remain attached to and generally dependent on their own traditional service. This of course poses considerable problems for the coordination and implementation of rural development efforts at the level of the rural community (Communauté Rurale). Many "Chefs de CER" and other local agents pointed to the "dual" loyalty of agents attached to the CERs as a major weakness of the system. This issue will be discussed in more detail in a later section of this report.

T A B L E 2-7

LOCATION OF IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR

| | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| In same locale | 66 | 61 |
| In another locale | 43 | 39 |
| | <u>109</u> | <u>100</u> |

T A B L E 2-8

HOW OFTEN DO YOU SEE YOUR SUPERIOR ?

| FREQUENCY | N | % |
|------------------------|-----|-------|
| Every day | 57 | 52.29 |
| Every other day | 10 | 9.17 |
| Once a week | 13 | 11.93 |
| Once a month | 17 | 15.60 |
| Less than once a month | 12 | 11.01 |
| | 109 | 100 |

T A B L E 2-9

HOW MANY AGENTS UNDER YOUR ORDERS ?

| Number | N | % |
|---------|-------|-------|
| ----- | - | - |
| 0 - 4 | 32 | 29.1 |
| 5 - 9 | 38 | 34.6 |
| 10 - 14 | 15 | 13.6 |
| 15 - 19 | 6 | 5.5 |
| 20 - 24 | 4 | 3.6 |
| 25 - 29 | 6 | 5.5 |
| > 30 | 9 | 8.2 |
| | ----- | ----- |
| Total | 110 | 100.1 |

x = 12.13

Min = 0

Max = 143

3. Role Perceptions

How a development agent views his role may have an important impact on how he performs his job. Hence several questions aimed at measuring role perceptions were included in the survey. A number of different aspects of the local agents' role models are examined: (1) their perceptions of how much personal initiative they can exercise in their work as opposed to how constrained they are by a rigid set of work rules, in other words, the flexibility of their roles; (2) the value associated with hard work; (3) the importance attached to bureaucratic neutrality in dealing with clients; and (4) the degree to which agents consider merit to be an important criterion for promotion in the government service. The question of flexibility is associated with the model of the rural development agent current in the literature on integrated rural development. (Korten, 1980) The last three aspects identify portions of the classic Weberian notion of the ideal type bureaucracy and their relationship to an environment characterized by change.

Two questions were used to examine the question of role flexibility. The first is as follows:

Suppose that there are two government agents in a service like yours. The first conforms exactly to the rules and regulations specified for each situation. The second bends the rules in those situations in which he thinks that so doing will better achieve the goals of his service. In your

opinion, which one is the better functionary? (Price, 1975)

All those individuals interviewed were also asked which one of the two they thought would be more likely to be promoted. Since the same questions were posed during a survey conducted earlier in Zaire (Vengroff, 1983) a number of interesting comparisons are possible.

Surprisingly, just over three fourths (76.1%) of those interviewed in Senegal identified the more flexible agent as the better of the two. This contrasts with a figure of only about 36% for agents at a comparable level in Zaire. (Vengroff, 1983: 23) In overwhelming numbers mid-level Senegalese officials, at least

Table 3-1 About Here

those trained at ENEA, feel that the government texts are too rigid for application in all cases, especially when considering the issue of rural development. Most felt that the texts should be used as a guideline rather than a directive for specific action in every case. Many of the interviewees volunteered detailed examples of concrete situations in which application of the texts would have had negative rather than positive effects. On the other hand, those who prefer the less flexible role model (23.9%) generally either suggested that their role was strictly that of execution, not of interpretation, and/or cited potential problems with superiors for the more flexible agents.

T A B L E 3-1

ROLE FLEXIBILITY

| | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> |
|----------------------|----------|----------|
| | - | - |
| Prefer less flexible | 23.9 | 26 |
| Prefer more flexible | 76.1 | 83 |

PROMOTION

(Which more likely to be promoted ?)

| | | |
|---------------|------|----|
| Less flexible | 44.7 | 46 |
| More flexible | 55.3 | 57 |

When the question was posed as to which one of these hypothetical agents would be more likely to obtain a promotion, there was a major shift in responses (see Table 3-1). About a third (25 of 77) of those who said that they prefer the flexible role model also felt that the more flexible agent was less likely to be promoted. The most frequently cited explanation was that the superior of the flexible agent was more likely to view him as an upstart and a threat to his own position. Interestingly enough, many of those who felt that the flexible agent would be more likely to be promoted suggested that he would be more likely to resolve problems at the local level and thus not bring too many issues before his superior. Smooth running administration would lead to favor and thus increase the likelihood of being rewarded.

An effort was made to see if there are significant differences in the backgrounds of those preferring the more flexible as opposed to the less flexible role model. Although most differences ran in the expected direction only one of these differences was found to be statistically significant. Those with fewer years of government service tend to adopt the flexible role model to a greater extent than do their more experienced colleagues ($T=1.73$, $df=42$, $p<.05$). This tends to support the rather obvious conclusion that the younger agents who enter the services with high expectations, much initiative and some measure of idealism are likely to modify their views in the face of experience. Alternatively, those trained more recently could have been presented with a more flexible role model which many internalized.

The responses to the remaining three questions which deal with role perceptions are surprising only in the sense that the distribution of responses is so close to those obtained in the Zaire survey. (Vengroff, 1983: 27) Perhaps the contradictions that these responses obviate are widely perceived by local level officials in the third world. Just over ninety per cent of the Senegalese functionaries interviewed feel that the harder a bureaucrat works the more he will be respected by his colleagues. However, two thirds of the respondents agree with the statement that the real value of the individual agent is of little importance in obtaining a promotion or an important post. Although these officials place a high value on achievement, they realize that ascriptive criteria and personal connections are what really count for advancement.

Table 3-2 About Here

The final role perception item raises the questions of universality and affective neutrality which figure so prominently in Weber's ideal type bureaucracy. Do rural development agents in Senegal feel that they can deal with all clients in the same fashion or must they, for example, handle the "marabout" differently from the average farmer? The answer is quite clear. Most of the interviewees agreed that they must cater to powerful figures, the "marabouts" being the most commonly cited example. Many respondents indicated that they do not necessarily follow the dictates of the local religious elite

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T A B L E 3-2

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES

Bureaucratic Role

The real value of the individual is of little importance in obtaining a promotion or an important post in the government of Senegal.

| <u>Completely disagree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Completely agree</u> | <u>N</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------|
| 12 (11.0) | 24 (22.0) | 48 (44.0) | 25 (22.9) | 109 |

The harder a functionary works, the more he is respected by his colleagues.

| <u>Completely disagree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Completely agree</u> | <u>N</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------|
| 2(1.8) | 7(6.4) | 50(46.3) | 49(45.3) | 108 |

In order to perform his job, a functionary must pay special attention to the requests of important people.

| <u>Completely disagree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Completely agree</u> | <u>N</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------|
| 19(17.6) | 22(20.4) | 49(45.3) | 18(16.7) | 108 |

but instead listen patiently and then try to coopt these notables rather than engage them in open conflict. As expected national political leaders and high government functionaries were also cited as being singled out for special attention.

In sum, although Senegalese development agents prefer a flexible role model, an orientation very consistent with the notions of rural development, they also adhere to a number of other perceptions which work at cross purposes with development efforts. Although these agents respect achievement, they see little evidence that the system will reward it. In addition they recognize the demands placed on them by the political environment and feel that they must at least give the appearance of providing differential treatment. Connections and special services are still viewed as the keys to advancement. Thus it is not the role model itself which is problematic, but the structures and the society in which that role model must try to function. The impact of these various environments on local bureaucrats tends to impinge on their ability and their will to effectively perform their functions.

4. Obstacles to Increased Production in the Rural Areas

The dire financial straits in which Senegal currently finds itself (only 25.4% of the 6th Development Plan could be financed internally - Le Senegal en Chiffres, 1982-83: 295) necessitate an increase in production, especially in the rural areas on which the country depends for both food and foreign exchange. Senegal, perhaps more than any other Francophone country has put an enormous number of personnel into the rural areas to help stimulate and support production efforts. Most of the agents interviewed in this study are at or near the base of the system and many are charged directly with helping to organize the peasantry and increase production in a variety of ways. It was felt that their perceptions of the problems associated with low production would be closer to the mark than those held by agents in the capital. Furthermore, in terms of ameliorating the problems associated with production, it will be useful to see if the investment in personnel is in itself economically productive (nearly half of the national budget is spent on personnel - Le Senegal en Chiffres, 1982-83: 61). This is especially important because the current freeze on the hiring of new government personnel has temporarily eliminated or at least greatly decreased the political advantages to be obtained by using the public service as a source of patronage.

The eleven questions designed to examine this issue include problems which can be said to be internal to the functioning of the local services as well as to those originating with the central

government. For example, external factors include the lack of provision of adequate logistical support (gas, equipment, etc.) for local development agents, prices fixed too low by the administration and the lack of agricultural credit. Internal factors include such problems as the lack of coordination and collaboration between local agencies, projects and services. Linking the two are the motivation of the agents themselves.

The items were ranked in importance based on the responses of all of the interviewees. In addition, rankings were computed for groups of interviewees based on the ENEA college from which they graduated and hence the services with which they work. Although college is not a perfect proxy for service, it is at least a very good indicator because the colleges are each associated with particular user services. The College of Planning, however, provides agents for both the Secretariat of Decentralization and the Ministry of Plan.

The rural production problem identified as most important, both by the group as a whole and by each of the college sub-groups, is the lack of resources for local level agents. Over eighty percent of the sample identified this problem as being very important and ninety-seven percent said that it was at least an important problem. It is quite clear, given the situation, that the government has undertaken a policy of engaging and posting as many agents as possible in the milieu without taking account of the necessary operating budget for these agents.

It would be possible to write an entire book just documenting the cases where even the most rudimentary necessities required by local agents to execute their work are totally lacking. Examples can be drawn from practically every service. Under Decentralization the "Chef de CER" is charged with coordination of a team of 7-9 agents whose function is to provide technical support to the rural communities in their "arrondissement." We found many "Chefs de CER" with at most one operating vehicle. In zones which sometimes include over a hundred villages they receive a fuel allocation which amounts to about one liter of gasoline per working day. This is not even enough to allow them to visit the villages they are supposed to serve, much less to engage in effective implementation efforts. In one local bureau of the cooperative service the head of the office personally pays the electric bill so that there is some light in their windowless offices. In the regional offices of the Ministry of Planning there are no means available for the planners to go out and evaluate projects or verify the status of local development efforts.

These problems have further implications in terms of the motivation of local development workers. The lack of resources available to them to do their jobs has created severe morale problems and a very low sense of efficacy. This effects all aspects of their work. It also gives many agents a rationale for sitting around and doing nothing. Given the immensity of the task and the paucity of resources, inaction easily becomes the norm.

Table 4-1 About Here

Ranked second in importance by the interviewees as an obstacle to production is the lack of credit for producers. Once again we have the lack of resources, in this case those necessary for farmers and other local producers to purchase inputs, as a priority problem. Senegalese farmers have become accustomed to the provision of agricultural loans, loans which rarely had to be repaid. (Waterbury, 1983: 22) When, for obvious reasons, the credit system had to be suspended, farmers were left without an alternative source of finance. This problem will presumably be eased with the provision of the new agricultural credit program to be initiated shortly. Under this program collective responsibility at the level of the new "section villageoise" of the cooperatives will guarantee these loans. However, the myth of group solidarity upon which much of Senegal's rural development policy is based will probably mean that this program will meet the same fate as its predecessors.

The next most important problems seem to be those associated with the lack of coordination both between the activities of different services and of different projects. Each service is tied into a highly centralized set of administrative structures which demand vertical communications but provide little or no incentive for horizontal interaction. We witnessed a case in which two different projects were competing to get the same farmers to plant two different crops. The

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T A B L E 4-1

OBSTACLES TO INCREASED PRODUCTION IN THE RURAL AREAS.
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSE (%)

| RANK | QUESTION (shortened) | UNIMPORTANT | OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE | IMPORTANT | VERY IMPORTANT | N | Rank by college | | | |
|------|--|-------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------|-----|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | | | | | | | PLANNIFICATION | COOPERATION | AMENAGEMENT | ANIMATION + EMP |
| 1 | 21 Lack of resources for local level agents | 1.8 | 0.9 | 16.4 | 80.9 | 110 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 28 Lack of credit for producers | 7.4 | 1.9 | 28.7 | 62.0 | 108 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 25 Lack of coordination in the interventions of different technical services | 19.3 | 6.4 | 24.8 | 49.5 | 109 | 3.5 | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| 4 | 26 Lack of coordination between development projects | 15.9 | 11.2 | 29.0 | 43.9 | 107 | 3.5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 22 Administrative personnel working in rural areas lack motivation | 32.4 | 11.1 | 19.4 | 37.0 | 108 | 7 | 7.5 | 3 | 5 |
| 6 | 18 Failure of the administration to consider the needs of the local population | 34.9 | 18.3 | 14.7 | 32.1 | 109 | 5 | 5.5 | 11 | 7.5 |
| 7 | 19 Insufficient number of personnel (encadreurs à la base) | 41.8 | 8.2 | 15.5 | 34.6 | 110 | 6 | 7.5 | 6 | 9 |
| 8 | 27 Producers don't produce because prices are fixed too low by Adm. | 35.5 | 15.9 | 19.6 | 29.0 | 107 | 8 | 5.5 | 7 | 6 |
| 9 | 20 Lack of professional qualifications for local agents | 47.2 | 13.9 | 17.6 | 21.3 | 108 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 11 |
| 10 | 17 Lack of collaboration between GVT agents and traditional authorities | 44.3 | 24.5 | 14.2 | 17.0 | 106 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 7.5 |
| 11 | 23 Lack of collaboration between territorial administration and technical services | 52.3 | 15.6 | 12.8 | 19.3 | 109 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 10 |

resulting confusion in the villages affected had a damaging effect on both efforts. The numerous programs of alphabetisation provide yet another excellent example. Different services at the regional and local level are involved in alphabetisation programs but there is rarely even an exchange of materials and discussion of methods, much less an effort at coordination.

It is important to note that the identification and ranking of these problems are not idiosyncratic. The correlations between the rankings of these problems by the graduates of the different colleges of ENEA are positive and very high. Thus there is a high degree of consistency in these findings.

Table 4-2 About Here

In addition there is little variation in problems identified between the various regions. The only major difference noted at the regional level is that in the Fleuve (St. Louis) and Senegal Oriental (Tambacounda) Regions there is a greater propensity to identify the lack of an adequate number of personnel as a problem. In the other regions a majority of agents considered the number of staff members in their respective services to be adequate. Our observations support this finding. Outside of St. Louis in the Fleuve and throughout the Tambacounda Region there are a significant number of posts which are either vacant or staffed by unqualified personnel. On the other hand,

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T A B L E 4 -2

RANK CORRELATIONS OF PRODUCTION QUESTIONS BY COLLEGE AND OVERALL

(Spearman's rho)

| | Planning (1) | Coopératives (2) | Land use Planning (3) | Comm. Org. Non formal Ed. (4) | Entire sample (5) |
|---|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 1 | X | | | | |
| 2 | .96 | X | | | |
| 3 | .72 | .71 | X | | |
| 4 | .80 | .86 | .77 | X | |
| 5 | .96 | .93 | .80 | .89 | X |

in many other regions the offices of some services appeared to be overstaffed and the personnel assigned to them have little if any work to do. In spite of the abundance of personnel in many other regions it is difficult to find staff who are either willing to go to or stay in the relatively remote areas.

In order to facilitate the analysis of these data a factor analysis was performed on the responses to these eleven questions. This makes it possible to identify groups of problems which are closely associated with each other. The factor analysis, using a varimax rotation, produced a three factor solution.

Table 4-3 About Here

The factors identified are (1) the lack of means and coordination, (2) the lack of consideration of the needs of local people and (3) ineffective personnel. Based on the factor loadings factor scores were calculated for each factor for each interviewee. The factor most universally identified as important is factor 1, the lack of resources and coordination. Since the items associated with (which load on) this factor have already been discussed above we will not examine them further in this section. Factors 2 and 3, however, deserve some further consideration.

Factor 2 groups together several items, the most prominent of

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TABLE 4-3

Obstacles to Increased Production in the Rural Areas

VARIMAX Rotated Factor Matrix

| QUESTION # | Factor 1 Lack of Means and coordina- tion | Factor 2 Lack of consideration of needs of local people | Factor 3 Ineffective personnel |
|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| 21 Lack of resources for local agents | . 7807 | -. 1410 | -. 0537 |
| 22 Lack of motivation by agents | . 4821 | . 4814 | . 2928 |
| 25 Lack of coordination in interventions of different technical services | . 6834 | . 3260 | . 0265 |
| 26 Lack of coordination between development projects | . 5211 | . 3822 | . 2999 |
| 28 Lack of credit for producers | . 5672 | . 1133 | . 0380 |
| 18 Failure of Administration to consider needs of local people | . 2164 | . 4884 | . 3684 |
| 19 Insufficient number of agents at the base | . 3692 | -. 5738 | -. 4871 |
| 23 Lack of collaboration between administration and technical services | . 2618 | . 4830 | . 2755 |
| 27 Producer prices fixed too low by administration | . 0730 | . 7117 | . 0136 |
| 17 Lack of collaboration between government agents and traditional authorities | . 0610 | . 1985 | . 6506 |
| 20 Lack of professional qualifications of local agents | -. 0664 | . 0182 | . 8257 |

which is the low level at which prices are fixed by the administration. This was identified as a problem by about half of the local agents. Numerous instances were cited in which farmers who produced surpluses of crops such as rice would lose money if they sold it at government prices. For many commodities farmers prefer to produce for their own consumption needs or for sale in the "marché parallel" where prices are better and/or credit is available. The failure of the government to take account of the needs of the peasants was identified by nearly half of the interviewees but they tended to identify this as being subject to change. Many of those who said that it is not an important problem indicated that this had not always been the case. They credited the government with having altered the situation so that local people are now much more likely to be included in local development efforts from the beginning. Often this amounts to little more than keeping them informed and holding occasional meetings during which the peasants can voice their objections. More positive inputs from those at the base of the system, which would be more consistent with the development from below philosophy, are still relatively rare. Given the continuing high level of government centralization this is hardly surprising.

Factor 3 represents a dissatisfaction with the quality and comportment of local level officials. The items loading on this factor were ranked high in terms of importance by between 31 and 39 percent of the sample. Many interviewees indicated that while problems associated with the poor behavior of local agents exist, their relative frequency is low enough so that it does not constitute

an important problem.

There is a regional difference in the response to the question regarding qualified agents. The Fleuve and Senegal Oriental respondents identified the lack of qualifications as a problem to a much greater extent than did their colleagues in the other regions. For example in all of Senegal Oriental there is only one "Chef de CER" who has the training normally required for the post. The situation in these large, somewhat remote regions is further complicated by the fact that they are the last two regions in which the administrative reform establishing elected councils for the rural communities was applied.

In sum, in discussing problems of rural production, the interviewees placed considerable emphasis on the lack of resources and equipment available to local agents and to the lack of coordination and collaboration between services and even between development projects in the same locale. The former is clearly attributable to central government policies which place a priority on hiring personnel as opposed to providing operating funds. The latter issue is a remnant of the highly centralized administrative structures put in place by the French but maintained for over twenty-five years by the Senegalese themselves. At the regional, departmental and "arrondissement" levels the coordination problems can be effectively addressed where the will and the interpersonal skills exist. Unfortunately, the record thus far remains quite mixed.

5. The Delivery of Local Services

The delivery of government services at the local level constitutes one of the major problems of the implementation of development efforts in the third world in general and in Senegal in particular. Two important problems are raised by this question : (1) how can complex development policies, generally initiated at the center, be translated into actions at the base of the system if the agents charged with their implementation and support are not prepared to effectively communicate them to the peasantry; and (2) how can development efforts initiated from below be provided with adequate technical and organizational support unless an effective means of communication and cooperation with local level government agents exists.

The case of agricultural extension agents and the attendant problems of service delivery have been widely documented in the African milieu. The problems associated with agents charged with such activities as cooperative education, community organization and local level development project implementation have been dealt with in a less systematic fashion. It is these groups which are the subject of this study. However, a number of important lessons can be drawn from the literature on agricultural extension agents.

Five types of problems seen to interfere with the successful performance of extension work : (1) technical issues---the lack of successful technical packages to transmit to clients ; (2) manpower---the lack of sufficient numbers of trained agents ; (3) resources---the

lack of funds and/or logistical support necessary to perform the extension function ; (4) organizational support, including inadequate supervision, communications and evaluation of job performance ; and (5) societal relations---the ability of the agent to adapt to local conditions and to effectively interact on a personal level with his client population (broadly defined). (Vengroff, 1983, p.36). The same problems identified for agricultural extension services seem to apply equally well to most other local level services such as programs of community organization (animation) for example.

Let us turn first to an identification of the problems of service delivery at the local level from the perspective of the local level agents themselves. Thirteen questions included in the research instrument were designed to elicit responses regarding this issue.

Table 5-1 About Here

Based on the distribution of responses to each question the items were ranked in order of importance from 1 to 13 with 1 being the most important. In addition, the sample was disaggregated and the problems identified by each college were also ranked. As can be seen from both Tables 5-1 and 5-2, the ranking of the problems by graduates of the different colleges are fairly consistent. There are, however, a few notable exceptions which will be explored below.

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T A B L E 5-1-

PROBLEMS IN THE DELIVERY OF LOCAL SERVICES
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSE (%)

| RANK ove- rall | QUESTION (shortened) | UNIMPORTANT | OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE | IMPORTANT | VERY IMPORTANT | N | Rank by college | | | |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| | | | | | | | PLANNING | COOPERATIVES | LAND USE PLANNING | COMM. ORG.+NON FORMAL ED. |
| 1 | 42 Unsatisfactory working conditions in the rural areas | 13.6 | 6.4 | 37.3 | 42.7 | 110 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 41 Lack of promotions and other rewards for good service | 16.7 | 7.4 | 29.6 | 46.3 | 108 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3.5 |
| 3 | 38 Insufficient salaries | 17.9 | 6.6 | 28.3 | 47.2 | 106 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 4 | 32 Lack of on the job training | 16.5 | 5.5 | 39.4 | 38.5 | 109 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3.5 |
| 5 | 33 Training too specialized lack of General knowledge | 25.5 | 14.2 | 34.9 | 25.5 | 106 | 2 | 6* | 8 | 5 |
| 6 | 30 Too low a level of Edu. | 32.1 | 17.4 | 23.9 | 26.7 | 109 | 7 | 6* | 5 | 6 |
| 7 | 31 Their training did not prepare them for the job | 40.4 | 12.8 | 17.4 | 29.4 | 109 | 6 | 6* | 11 | 9 |
| 8 | 34 Lack of experience at current type job | 42.2 | 18.3 | 23.8 | 15.6 | 109 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 12 |
| 9 | 36 Inability to adapt to changes | 43.0 | 18.7 | 22.4 | 15.9 | 107 | 10* | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| 10 | 40 Insufficient knowledge of local resources | 49.5 | 15.9 | 18.7 | 15.9 | 107 | 10* | 12.5 | 7 | 10.5 |
| 11 | 35 Lack of time at current post | 51.9 | 12.0 | 21.3 | 14.8 | 108 | 10* | 12.5 | 6 | 13 |
| 12 | 39 Insufficient knowledge of the local language | 49.5 | 15.9 | 18.7 | 15.9 | 107 | 12 | 10.5 | 12 | 8 |
| 13 | 37 Poor comportment vis à vis the local population | 53.7 | 15.7 | 17.6 | 13.0 | 108 | 13 | 10.5 | 13 | 10.5 |

Table 5-2 About Here

To facilitate the analysis of these seemingly diverse items these data were factor analyzed using a varimax rotation, thus allowing us to group the responses to the various questions into more manageable categories. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3 About Here

Four factors, Behavior of Agents (Factor 1), Training and Experience (Factor 2), Lack of Knowledge about Current Post (Factor 3) and Poor Working Conditions (Factor 4) were extracted.

The items most universally identified as problems all load on Factor 4. These items, which were identified as important by 80, 76 and 75 percent of the respondents respectively, include unsatisfactory working conditions in the rural areas, lack of promotions and other rewards for good service and in third place insufficient salaries. Most of the interviewees said that by unsatisfactory working conditions they meant that they lacked the tools and resources necessary to do their jobs. This is directly related to the question of the lack of resource for local level agents which was identified as the most important obstacle to increasing production in the rural

T A B L E 5 -2

RANK CORRELATIONS OF PROBLEMS IN THE DELIVERY OF LOCAL SERVICES BY COLLEGE AND OVERALL

(Spearman's Rho)

| | Planning (1) | Cooperatives (2) | Land use Planning (3) | Comm. Org. Non formal Ed. (4) | Overall (5) |
|---|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | X | | | | |
| 2 | .82 | X | | | |
| 3 | .71 | .65 | X | | |
| 4 | .76 | .85 | .71 | X | |
| 5 | .95 | .91 | .82 | .85 | X |

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T A B L E 5-3

Reasons for the Poor Performance of Extension Agents
Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix

| QUESTION SHORTENED | Factor 1 Behavior of agents | Factor 2 Training and experience | Factor 3 Lack of Knowledge about cur- rent post | Factor 4 Poor working conditions |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|---|--|
| 36 Inability to adapt to changes | . 8054 | . 0567 | . 0870 | . 0234 |
| 37 Poor comportment vis à vis the local population | . 7433 | . 2811 | . 0372 | . 0108 |
| 40 Insufficient knowledge of local resources | . 6547 | . 0395 | . 2916 | . 2377 |
| 30 Insufficient Education | . 0636 | . 7568 | -. 0452 | . 2021 |
| 31 Training did not prepare them for the job | . 3124 | . 5838 | -. 0587 | . 2025 |
| 33 Training too specialized | -. 0210 | . 5111 | . 2688 | . 3624 |
| 34 Lack of experience at current type job | . 1350 | . 7285 | . 2564 | -. 2001 |
| 32 Lack of on the job training | . 1113 | . 1055 | . 6192 | . 1696 |
| 35 Lack of time at current post | . 2784 | . 1307 | . 6620 | -. 0165 |
| 39 Insufficient knowledge of the local language | . 0346 | -. 0281 | . 7108 | . 0891 |
| 38 Insufficient salaries | . 0966 | . 0649 | . 0494 | . 7540 |
| 41 Lack of promotions and other rewards for good services | . 1860 | . 1661 | . 1049 | . 6682 |
| 42 Unsatisfactory working conditions in the rural areas | -. 1847 | . 0687 | . 4933 | . 5599 |

areas. While insufficient salaries is a universal complaint, it is important to note that it is not the dominant factor one might expect. Many who said that their salaries were too low were quick to add that they could live with them if only working conditions were better.

The lack of promotions and other rewards for good service imposes itself in two ways : first of all it is an empirical observation based on long experience by local officials ; and second it is associated with the belief held by more than two thirds of those interviewed that the value of the individual is of little importance in obtaining a promotion in the public service in Senegal (see Table 3-2).

These problems identified as the three most important are all outside of the control of the agents themselves and the local branches of their services. This has a very negative effect on both their morale and their sense of efficacy. It should be noted that this also provides an easy rationalization for at least some local functionaries to do little if any development related work. For example, some agents who said that they lacked the gasoline to visit neighboring villages were asked what actions they were undertaking in the villages in which they actually resided. Although gasoline was obviously not the problem in these villages, very few were able to name any activities they were currently undertaking there.

The second most important factor in terms of the number of agents who indicated that the items loading on it pose major problems is Factor 3, Training and Experience. More than sixty percent feel that

the training received by local agents is too specialized and just over half feel that they do not receive enough education, specialized or otherwise. Nearly half (46.8%) said that the training of local agents did not prepare them for their jobs. For the final item loading on this factor, the lack of experience at their current job, 39.4 per cent said it was at least important as a problem. An interesting difference in responses is noted between the graduates of the different colleges. Those trained in the colleges of planning and cooperatives were significantly more likely (Chi Square = 4.29, d.f = 1, $p < .05$) than their colleagues in animation and land use planning to say that the training of local agents did not prepare them for their jobs.

The second factor identifies an area in which improvements in training could have some impact. The continued dominance of traditional lectures as opposed to the utilization of "action training" remains one of the major weaknesses. The adoption of more appropriate training methods and development of new training materials would be a very cost effective way to ameliorate this problem. This has been demonstrated in a number of African countries in courses in project management designed and implemented by the Texas Tech team.

Factor 3, lack of knowledge about current post, includes one item which was ranked very high in importance, the lack of on-the-job training (with 77.9% saying it is important),. The other two items, lack of time at the current post and insufficient knowledge of the local language were considered important problems by only 39.4 and

34.6 per cent respectively. The local language problem was, as expected, most noted in the non Wolof speaking areas, such as the Casamance, Senegal Oriental and the pastoral zones of the other regions. The lack of on-the-job training can be rectified by the establishment of a regular in-service training program at ENEA. The lack of time at the current post is of course a function of the frequent transfer of agents. As pointed out in an earlier section, more than half of those interviewed have been at their current posts for less than three years. Given the time necessary to familiarize oneself with the local environment and to gain the confidence of the local people, a more rational system for the rotation of agents would undoubtedly be useful.

The remaining factor, Factor 1, is concerned with questions dealing directly with the behavior of local agents. Poor comportment on the part of local agents ranked right at the bottom of the list of problems. While examples of problems along these lines were noted from time to time, they were cited far less often than expected. The behavior of local agents was cited as an important problem by over 89 per cent of those interviewed in Zaire (Vengroff, 1983: 39), as opposed to only 31 per cent of the interviewees in Senegal. The greater experience, better training, less prevalent corruption and relative ease of communication in Senegal may help to account for some of this difference.

The most common complaints about the behaviour of local agents were raised against female monitors charged with the task of

organizing and training women at the village level. It was charged (strictly by males) that these women were often very young, inexperienced and had great difficulty relating to and interacting with village women. They frequently sought and received transfers before ever establishing a viable program. On the other hand, several female agents indicated that at least part of their problems arose from the fact that the male agents with whom they have to work tend to regard them as potential sexual partners rather than as colleagues.

By way of summary it seems that the major constraints on the effective provision of local services in Senegal is the lack of resources and equipment needed by local agents to carry out their function. In addition, there is virtually no system of incentives to reward the hardworking, the innovative or the successful. In terms of backup support there are few in-service training courses and those that exist tend to employ traditional lectures rather than more effective training techniques. Given their general inability to effectively perform their jobs, many local agents become discouraged and adopt a series of non-productive behaviors. Thus, the major problems appear to be in the areas of basic resources and organizational support, a finding not inconsistent with those for agricultural extension agents.

6. The Work and Time Commitments of Local Agents

In order to identify training needs and administrative problems associated with the provision of local development-oriented services it is necessary to have a picture of the work and time commitments of local level agents. From this perspective the interviewees were asked to state the importance for their function of each of seventeen different activities and, in addition, the relative amount of time they devote to each of these activities on a day-to-day basis. With a profile of these work and time commitments we can attempt to assess the contribution, real and potential, made by these functionaries to rural development

In fact the most important activities for the jobs of most of the agents seem to be directly or indirectly related to development. The first four activities in terms of importance are data collection, collaboration with technical personnel (for example agricultural or livestock service staff), organizing and training the population ("encadrement") and planning. Between 86 and 95 per cent of those interviewed identified these as important activities for their jobs.

Table 6-1 About Here

When we look at the breakdown by college and hence service, a few disparities can be seen. Organizing the population is ranked first or second in importance by three of the four groups but between tenth and

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T A B L E 6-1

IMPORTANCE OF WORK ACTIVITIES (%)

| QUESTION 29 | RANK ove- rall | WORK ACTIVITY | UNIMPORTANT | OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE | IMPORTANT | VERY IMPORTANT | N | Rank by college | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| | | | | | | | | PLANNIFICATION | COOPERATION | AMENAGEMENT | ANIMATION + EMP |
| E | 1 | Data gathering | 2.8 | 3.7 | 28.4 | 65.1 | 109 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 1 | 4.5 |
| I | 2 | collaboration with technical personnel | 1.8 | 2.8 | 34.9 | 60.6 | 109 | 7 | 3.5 | 2 | 2 |
| F | 3 | Organizing the population | 9.2 | 3.7 | 18.4 | 68.8 | 109 | 2 | 1 | 10.5 | 1 |
| D | 4 | Planning | 3.7 | 7.3 | 34.9 | 54.1 | 109 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 4.5 |
| C | 5.5 | Supervise the work of subordinates | 11.9 | 3.7 | 31.2 | 53.2 | 109 | 3.5 | 8 | 7 | 8 |
| G | 5.5 | Preparation of reports | 3.7 | 8.3 | 46.8 | 41.3 | 109 | 10 | 6 | 3.5 | 9 |
| Q | 7 | Communications with subordinates | 12.8 | 2.8 | 33.9 | 50.5 | 109 | 8.5 | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| K | 8 | Monitoring of projects | 14.8 | 4.6 | 26.9 | 53.7 | 108 | 8.5 | 11 | 3.5 | 3 |
| B | 9 | Accounting and book keeping | 11.1 | 11.1 | 29.6 | 48.2 | 108 | 12 | 2 | 12 | 13 |
| A | 10 | Extension work | 17.4 | 2.8 | 29.4 | 50.5 | 109 | 5.5 | 9 | 10.5 | 10 |
| R | 11 | Evaluation of projects | 17.4 | 6.4 | 24.8 | 51.4 | 109 | 1 | 10 | 8.5 | 6.5 |
| J | 12 | Initiation of local projects | 16.5 | 7.6 | 30.3 | 46.8 | 109 | 5.5 | 13 | 8.5 | 6.5 |
| M | 13 | Coordination with the National plan | 27.5 | 6.4 | 35.8 | 30.3 | 109 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 |
| L | 14 | Finance of local projects | 31.1 | 12.3 | 23.6 | 33.0 | 106 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 14 |
| O | 15 | Land use planning (integrated) in rural areas | 43.1 | 9.2 | 20.2 | 27.5 | 109 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| P | 16 | Maintain public order | 79.8 | 1.8 | 2.8 | 15.6 | 109 | 16 | 17 | 16 | 17 |
| H | 17 | Collecting taxes and fees | 78.0 | 2.8 | 7.3 | 11.9 | 109 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 16 |

eleventh by those from the land use planning college. Unlike those in some of the other services considered, a number of land use planners tend to define their jobs as having little direct connection with the peasantry. This is further indicated by the fact that they rated land use planning activities in conjunction with integrated rural development efforts as relatively unimportant to the execution of their function. However, it should be pointed out that the land use planners were not uniform in their responses but widely divided on these issues.

The other disparity among these top four questions is found in the area of collaboration with technical personnel. Curiously the planners tend to rank this activity as somewhat less important than do other ENEA graduates. Given the fact that many of the planning graduates are "Chefs de CER" and their work teams include technical agents the overall low rating is especially notable. This could also help account for the problems experienced by regional representatives of the Ministry of Planning in gathering appropriate data for effective regional planning.

Other activities regarded as extremely important by a majority of those interviewed include personnel administration (supervising the work of and communication with subordinates), project activities (project monitoring and evaluation) and extension work. Animation agents were more likely than their colleagues to rate project activities, particularly monitoring, as important to their work. This may be associated with their "front line" role in a variety of small

scale local projects.

Among the lower ranking work activities two important points need to be clarified. The accounting and bookkeeping activity was in general ranked quite low, except among the cooperative agents for whom it is second in importance only to organizing the population. The importance of this activity for cooperative service agents is quite clear, given the fact that the vast majority of the cooperative presidents and members with whom they work are illiterate and unfamiliar with the required accounting procedures. This is also largely in keeping with their role as agents of the state rather than employees of independent, locally run cooperatives.

For other activities at the bottom of the rankings (ranks 13-17) there is a high degree of consistency between groups. Coordination of their efforts with either national or regional plans is uniformly regarded as not very important, surprisingly even by planners. This is consistent with the feeling expressed by a number of interviewees that the relationship between the planning process and reality in the rural areas is very tenuous. A related issue, the financing of local projects, is generally regarded as something which is outside the hands of local agents and strictly for the national government to worry about. In both of these instances the failure of the government to seriously allow for decentralized control over resources or at least the perception that that is the case has an important impact on the actions of local level officials. Also at the bottom of the list, the maintenance of public order and the collection of fees and taxes

are not viewed as linked to the actions of development agents.

Of equal importance to the rating of work activities is the relative amount of time actually devoted to each of these actions. For example, an activity that is considered to be relatively unimportant from the standpoint of the functionary, may prove to be very time consuming. On the other hand, some activities which are considered to be of high importance may because of a lack of adequate means, training, motivation or structural impediments end up being allocated only a little or no time.

Table 6-2 About Here

In general the correlation between the overall ranking of work activities and the overall ranking of time allocated to those activities is quite high (Spearman's $\rho = .95$). The rankings within each of the separate sub groups are also quite consistent between time and work.

Table 6-3 About Here

However when we look at the individual correlations between each work activity and the corresponding time associated with it we find the

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TABLE 6-2

TIME ALLOCATED TO WORK ACTIVITIES %

| QUESTION 29 | RANK | TIME COMMITMENTS | NO TIME | LITTLE TIME | A FAIR AMOUNT OF TIME | A LOT OF TIME | N | Rank by college | | | |
|-------------|------|---|---------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | | | | | | | | PLANNIFICATION | COOPERATION | AMENAGEMENT | ANIMATION + EMP |
| FF | 1 | Organizing the population | 11.9 | 17.4 | 8.3 | 62.4 | 109 | 2.5 | 1 | 9 | 1 |
| EE | 2 | Data gathering | 4.6 | 26.6 | 22.9 | 45.9 | 109 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 5.5 |
| II | 3 | Collaboration with technical personnel | 7.3 | 22.9 | 28.4 | 41.3 | 109 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| CC | 4 | Supervise the work of subordinates | 16.5 | 15.6 | 20.2 | 47.7 | 109 | 1 | 7 | 7.5 | 4 |
| DD | 5 | Planning | 8.3 | 33.0 | 16.5 | 42.2 | 109 | 7.5 | 8 | 3 | 2 |
| GG | 6 | Preparation of reports | 5.5 | 38.5 | 27.5 | 28.4 | 109 | 10 | 5 | 3 | 10 |
| QQ | 7 | Communications with subordinates | 17.8 | 22.4 | 24.3 | 35.5 | 107 | 2.5 | 6 | 11.5 | 12 |
| JJ | 8 | Initiation of local projects | 18.4 | 28.4 | 18.4 | 34.9 | 109 | 4 | 12 | 6 | 5.5 |
| KK | 9 | Monitoring of local projects | 21.3 | 28.7 | 13.0 | 37.0 | 108 | 7.5 | 11 | 5 | 7.5 |
| RR | 10 | Evaluation of projects | 23.8 | 25.7 | 15.6 | 34.9 | 109 | 11 | 9 | 7.5 | 9 |
| AA | 11 | Extension work | 19.3 | 33.9 | 14.7 | 32.1 | 109 | 9 | 10 | 13 | 7.5 |
| BB | 12 | Accounting + book keeping | 46.2 | 19.8 | 18.9 | 15.1 | 106 | 12 | 3 | 11.5 | 11 |
| MM | 13 | Coordination with the National plan | 33.9 | 29.4 | 21.1 | 15.6 | 109 | 14.5 | 13 | 10 | 13 |
| LL | 14 | Finance of local projects | 46.2 | 19.8 | 18.9 | 15.1 | 106 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 14 |
| OO | 15 | Land use planning (integrated) in rural areas | 57.8 | 19.3 | 6.4 | 16.5 | 109 | 14.5 | 17 | 17 | 15 |
| PP | 16 | Maintain public order | 82.4 | 3.7 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 108 | 16 | 16 | 14 | 16 |
| HH | 17 | Collecting taxes and fees | 80.7 | 6.4 | 5.5 | 7.3 | 109 | 17 | 15 | 16 | 17 |

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T A B L E 6-3

RANK CORRELATIONS BETWEEN RANKING OF WORK
AND TIME ACTIVITIES WITHIN EACH COLLEGE

(Spearman's Rho)

| | Rho --- | T - |
|-------------------------------------|------------|--------|
| OVERALL | .95 | 12.3 |
| PLANNING | .87 | 6.9 |
| COOPERATIVES | .97 | 16.5 |
| LAND USE PLANNING | .91 | 8.5 |
| ANIMATION + NON FORMAL EDUCATION | .92 | 9.0 |

relationships to be somewhat weaker. This results from the apparent disparity between the importance attributed to an activity and the relatively lower amount of time devoted to it. For example, for the four most important work activities disparities between the per cent saying an activity is important or very important and the per cent saying that they devote a fair amount or a lot of their time to that activity range from 16.5 to 30 per cent. That is, less time is devoted to these activities by many agents than would seem to be justified by the importance attributed to these same activities.

Table 6-4 About Here

The correlations are strongest for those activities which are generally rated as being less important, such as the collection of taxes and the maintenance of public order.

An additional difference noted within the context of a specific group is worth expanding on. Those trained in the college of planning identified planning as their most important job related activity. In terms of the time they devote to planning it ranked between seventh and eighth. In first and second rank in terms of time they rated the two activities generally identified as personnel administration, supervising and communicating with subordinates. This is logical in the case of the "Chefs de CER" who are involved as heads of teams which require a matrix type management. It is less so in the case of

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T A B L E 6-4

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TIME ALLOCATED TO AN ACTIVITY AND
THE IMPORANCE ATTRIBUTED TO THAT ACTIVITY**

| QUESTIONS | ACTIVITY | CORRELATION (pearson's r) |
|-----------|--|------------------------------|
| 29 A - AA | Extension work | .493 |
| 29 B - BB | Accounting - bookkeeping | .539 |
| 29 C - CC | Supervising the work of subordinates | .760 |
| 29 D - DD | Planning | .399 |
| 29 E - EE | Data gathering | .429 |
| 29 F - FF | Organization of the population | .551 |
| 29 G - GG | Preparation of reports | .367 |
| 29 H - HH | Collection of taxes and fees | .795 |
| 29 I - II | Collaboration with technical personnel | .337 |
| 29 J - JJ | Initiation of local projects | .562 |
| 29 K - KK | Monitoring of projects | .634 |
| 29 L - LL | Finance of projects | .609 |
| 29 M - MM | Coordination with the National Plan | .706 |
| 29 O - OO | Land use planning in rural areas | .691 |
| 29 P - PP | Maintenance of public order | .777 |
| 29 Q - QQ | Communications with subordinates | .536 |
| 29 R - RR | Evaluation of projects | .530 |

those serving as regional antennas for the Ministry of Plan.

As was suggested earlier, communication with those in other services, including the technical services, tends to be somewhat less than optimal. Many planners complained of the difficulty they had in gathering appropriate data, both because of the lack of logistical support and reticence on the part of other services. Representatives of some of the other services, on the other hand, indicated that the planners often seemed to do their planning without ever consulting them. Once again the classic problem of horizontal relations in a highly centralized bureaucracy dominated by vertical communications imposes itself.

Based on our observations these data may tend to give a slightly distorted picture of actual work activities. That is they make it seem that these agents are doing more than they actually are. In a significant portion of the offices visited by these authors, agents seemed to have little if anything to do. Common activities observed included such things as reading comic books, reading the newspaper and sleeping. More serious problems included agents out of the office for extended periods on purely personal business, an agent who was supposed to be on a mission in the rural areas but who was found at home with his wife, the service vehicle parked out front, and one office head at the departmental level (chef départemental) who was obviously drunk during his interview in his office. In addition regular working hours did not seem to be universally respected. However, while these abuses exist, it should be pointed out that the

majority of agents were in their offices and appeared to be both well motivated and hard working, even though somewhat discouraged.

A related phenomenon worthy of note, the under-utilization of local officials in many services is fairly widespread. This also helps account for the relatively low correlations between work and time allocations found in Table 6-4. There is even a small group of agents who openly admitted that they do virtually nothing. Although they identified a number of activities as important for their jobs, they were quick to say that they personally devote little or no time to any of those activities. Some interviewees actually broke down and cried during the course of the interview. Although they want to do the jobs for which they were trained, they feel that there is no way that they can. The most common explanation offered was the lack of means, especially logistical support. This under-utilization of government agents constitutes a tragic waste of manpower which Senegal can ill afford. Obviously this problem should be rectified before additional agents are trained. Curiously, the services which are implicated most in this under-utilization continue to make requests for the recruitment and training of new agents.

In sum, it seems that most mid-level Senegalese development agents rate development related activities as most important to their jobs. The same generally holds true for the amount of time they devote to these activities. The correlations between the ranking of work and time devoted to various activities are quite strong (Table 6-3) but the correlations between each work activity and the

corresponding time commitments taken individually are much weaker. These disparities can be explained by two basic factors, the lack of resources available for agents to do their jobs and the under-utilization of agents in the context of poorly planned and poorly administered bureaucratic organizations. This obviously causes problems in terms of the morale and sense of efficacy on the part of the local agents. Rectifying these problems requires structural change, which, given the nature of the current system, necessitates action at the center. In light of the past record of the implementation of reform initiated at the center it is difficult to be optimistic.

7. Training Needs

One of the major objectives of this survey was to identify and prioritize the training needs of ENEA graduates and other agents working in similar capacities, and to use those findings to design and put into operation an effective in-service training program to meet those needs. Referring back to the basic model in Diagram 1, agents' role perceptions, time and activity commitments, the structural problems in Senegal's rural development delivery system, as well as agents' perceived training needs all have an impact on our dependent variable -- the real training needs of mid-level Senegalese development cadres. This section will build upon the preceding discussion in exploring the range of possibilities that exist in designing in-service training for ENEA graduates and other Senegalese development agents in similar jobs.

The final section of the questionnaire employed in this survey (see Annex 1) was designed to obtain responses which would enable the authors to make some general observations about respondents' perceived training needs and the relationship of those needs to the activities and responsibilities of their current jobs. The interviewees were read a list of possible training topics that correspond closely with the work activities and time commitments covered in an earlier section of the questionnaire. The interviewers asked the respondents to indicate whether they or someone in a position like theirs might profit from training in that area. So as not to limit responses only to those possibilities listed on the questionnaire, respondents were also asked to complete the list by offering their own ideas and

suggestions for possible future in-service training. The distribution of their responses to the closed questions, both overall and broken down by individual college, are seen in Table 7-1.

Table 7-1 About Here

Referring back to Tables 6-1 and 6-2, it is interesting to note the low correlation between the ranking of training priorities and the ranking of the corresponding activities in the section on work activities and time allocation. In other words, respondents tended to rank as high training priorities those areas that they said were at best marginally important to their jobs and on which they spent relatively little time. Respondents from the College of Planning provided the one exception by ranking planning as both their most important work activity and as one of their highest training priorities. The rank correlations (Spearman's rho) between training needs and the importance of work activities and between training needs and time allocated to work activities are positive but weak -- $p = .255$ and $p = .248$ respectively. Several possible explanations exist for these seemingly puzzling findings.

First, it is possible that agents feel they do not need additional training in the activities they do most often. This may or may not be true, but certainly if an attitude of "practice makes

B

T A B L E 7-1

| SUBJECT | TRAINING NEEDS - % YES (RANK) | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--------|----------|--------|-------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| | Overall | | Planning | | Coope- ratives | | Land Use Planning | | Comm. Org Non-Formal Education | |
| | % | Rank | % | Rank | % | Rank | % | Rank | % | Rank |
| Project evaluation | 94 | (1) | 92 | (1.5) | 88 | (3) | 100 | (1.5) | 100 | (1) |
| Planning | 92 | (2) | 92 | (1.5) | 84 | (5.5) | 100 | (1.5) | 97 | (2) |
| Initiation of local projects | 88 | (3.5) | 85 | (5) | 88 | (3) | 88 | (4.5) | 94 | (3.5) |
| Monitoring of local projects | 88 | (3.5) | 85 | (5) | 88 | (3) | 88 | (4.5) | 94 | (3.5) |
| Accounting bookkeeping | 83 | (5) | 85 | (5) | 97 | (1) | 63 | (11) | 84 | (5) |
| Financing of local projects | 82 | (6) | 88 | (3) | 83 | (7) | 73 | (9) | 77 | (9) |
| Data collection | 80 | (7) | 81 | (8) | 78 | (9) | 81 | (7) | 77 | (9) |
| Coordination with the national plan | 77 | (8) | 77 | (10.5) | 63 | (12) | 94 | (3) | 81 | (6.5) |
| Personnel administration | 75 | (9) | 81 | (8) | 75 | (10) | 63 | (11) | 77 | (9) |
| Organizing the population | 74 | (10) | 77 | (10.5) | 84 | (5.5) | 44 | (14.5) | 81 | (6.5) |
| Collaboration with technical personnel | 72 | (11) | 58 | (13.5) | 72 | (11) | 81 | (7) | 74 | (10.5) |
| Extension work | 66 | (12.5) | 58 | (13.5) | 81 | (8) | 38 | (16) | 74 | (10.5) |
| Land use planning in rural areas | 66 | (12.5) | 81 | (8) | 47 | (15) | 81 | (7) | 71 | (12) |
| Communication with subordinates | 58 | (14) | 65 | (12) | 59 | (13.5) | 44 | (14.5) | 55 | (14) |
| Report preparation | 57 | (15) | 46 | (15) | 59 | (13.5) | 50 | (13) | 65 | (13) |
| Drawing the boundaries for rural communities | 40 | (16) | 42 | (16) | 32 | (17) | 63 | (11) | 29 | (15) |
| Collection of taxes and fees | 20 | (17) | 15 | (17.5) | 34 | (16) | 13 | (18) | 13 | (16) |
| Maintaining public order | 14 | (18) | 15 | (17.5) | 13 | (18) | 25 | (17) | 6 | (17) |

perfect" prevails, agents may fail to perceive the need for additional training in tasks which they perform frequently. This could be especially serious if agents have not kept up-to-date on new methods or practices related to their jobs.

A second possible explanation is that agents may rank as less important and spend less time performing certain tasks simply because they don't know how. Nevertheless, the respondent then tends to rate the same activity high as a training priority. If this hypothesis is indeed on the mark and if the activities in question really are important to good job performance and productivity, in-service training would be especially useful in these areas.

Third, and in a similar vein, the apparent weak relationship between the importance of work activities and training needs may also be an expression of feelings about what agents wish they were doing as opposed to what they are doing. In other words, maybe agents are saying "I spend a lot of time doing activities 'A' and 'B' (current work activities), but if things were as they should be and if I were better trained, I would spend more time doing 'C' and 'D' (expressed training needs)."

For example, planning graduates, many of whom are "Chefs de CER", ranked planning as their most important work activity (Table 6-1), while Table 6-2 shows that these same respondents ranked supervision of subordinates as the activity on which they spend the most time. But planners named project evaluation (along with planning) as their

highest training priority (Table 7-1) while that activity ranked only 11th in both job importance and in time allocated to it. Following the logic of the above hypothesis, one might conclude that planning graduates spend more time as administrators and supervisors than they think they should. Further, since project evaluation is a task that they feel should be of more importance in their jobs, they rank it high as a training priority (though it is currently a relatively low work priority).

In reality, the low correlation observed is probably best explained by a combination of the above hypotheses. But no matter which is most accurate, they all become more interesting in light of the actual rankings of the training needs in question.

Considering the goals of the ENEA Rural Management Project, it is interesting to note that, overall, four of the top five expressed training needs are either directly or indirectly related to the field of development project management. Again referring to Table 7-1, respondents ranked project evaluation first overall and either first or tied for first in every college except Cooperatives (an agency in which, until recently, projects per se have been a lower priority). The more general category of planning ranked second overall and either first or second in every college except, again, Cooperatives. These are followed by initiation and monitoring of local projects, which tied for third. It is probably worth mentioning again that none of these activities except planning, which ranked 4th in importance, ranked any higher than eighth overall in importance as a work

activity. Planning reached that position only because respondents from the College of Planning ranked it first in importance.

But why such a groundswell of support for the suggestion of additional training in the field of project management? This result could be linked to a fourth explanation of the low correlation between the rankings of expressed training needs and work activities. Because the interviewers were obliged before the interview to identify themselves and briefly discuss project activities, goals, and the objectives of the survey itself, respondents were aware that they were dealing with interviewers who were interested in project management. Thus, the respondents may have answered as they did because of that fact alone. This is not very likely, however, for a number of reasons.

The need for improved project management skills in developing countries is well known, and the agents involved (in this case, ENEA graduates) are most certainly in a good position to identify those needs. Further, when agents are grouped by college or service, the need for more project management skills is not hard to demonstrate. As can be seen in Table 1-4, nearly one in five ENEA graduates (19.1%) work full time on projects. For example, Community Development graduates work almost exclusively in the Ministry of Social Development, an agency that is often called upon to take an active role in the administration and execution of various local level, often FVO-funded, projects. Even the Cooperative Service, though suffering from a dire lack of resources, has plans to involve itself more and

more in project-related activities at the level of its "Sections Villageoises". The "Projet Bananier" in Ziguinchor is an example of how that service is already active in local development projects. A USAID-funded alphabetization project is also on the drawing board for the Cooperative Service. Finally, there is no need to repeat the importance of project management skills to graduates of the College of Planning, especially Chefs de CER, who, as mentioned earlier, are truly involved in development at the base of the system.

Furthermore, the analysis of these data confirms the need for project management training already identified at ENEA before the Rural Management Project came into existence. The project itself, and with it this report, exist because of the perceived need for better adapted and more timely project management training. It is, therefore, reassuring to find, during execution, confirmation of the project's objectives as identified during its design stage.

In light of this apparently marked preference for project management training, it is interesting to note the relative position of project financing among the management topics. As noted in an earlier section, the lack of resources for local level agents was cited overwhelmingly as the most important obstacle to development in rural areas. Yet when given the chance to express the need for additional training in project financing, only agents from the College of Planning ranked this topic any higher than 7th (Cooperation - 7th, Land Use Planning - 9th, and Community Development/Non-Formal Education - 9th). Apparently only graduates of the College of

Planning, who ranked financing third as a training need, perceive the crucial link that exists between the local control of project financing (even if that financing comes from an external source) and the accompanying increase in the chances for successful implementation.

As with other observations made earlier in this report, project financing's relatively low rank provides another indication of how local government agents perceive Senegal's decentralization program. In responses to questions on work activities, these agents don't see project financing as their problem. Most are simply content with or resigned to working with what trickles down through official channels from Dakar -- though in most cases that turns out to be grossly inadequate. Respondents were encouraged to comment freely on their answers in all sections of the questionnaire and one of the most frequent comments heard on the question of project financing was "that's not our job. That's what people in Dakar do." The possibility of financing projects locally through the rural communities did not even occur to most agents. It is uncertain whether agents responded as they did because they feel powerless to change a system that systematically excludes them from the project financing process, or whether, given the lack of resources available to local agents, they simply fail to see the value of training in this area. It is clear, however, that it would be a waste of time and resources to train agents to initiate and execute local projects that have little or no chance of ever being financed.

On a more positive note, planning graduates did rank project financing as a high training priority. Many of these graduates are "Chefs de CER", the CERs without question being one of the few marginally decentralized government structures in the country. Though certainly not independent of control from the Secretariat of Decentralization in Dakar, "Chefs de CER" do operate with at least a degree of autonomy. The authors viewed several examples of locally initiated projects that appeared to be functioning with high degrees of success at the CER level. Their financing sources ranged from Rural Community budget allocations and PVOs to private sector initiatives. Thus, in the end, it was not that surprising that planners, who have had a better chance to see the need for and advantages of the local control of resources, ranked project financing higher as a training need than did the graduates of other colleges. In addition, planners were more likely to respond with enthusiasm to suggestions for in-service training in local project financing made during post-interview discussions.

But in the consideration of perceived training needs, it would be less than optimal to confine oneself to an examination of the overall rankings by the interviewees. Perceived needs differ to varying degrees from college to college and from service to service, as seen in Table 7-2. The Spearman correlations between how interviewees from the different colleges ranked the training needs listed in the

Table 7-2 About Here

questionnaire are all positive and strong. But there are differences to be noted. For example, the rank correlation between the perceived needs of Cooperative graduates and Land Use Planning agents is noticeably lower (.50) than that between, say, the Cooperative Service and Community Development/Non-Formal Education (.91). Given the relative overall strength of the relationships, this difference may not seem too important. But if one refers back to Table 7-1 it becomes clear that training designed according to perceived needs broken down by individual colleges would differ greatly between Cooperative agents and Land Use Planners. For example, Cooperative graduates showed a strong preference for accounting and bookkeeping skills as their highest training priority, while that topic was low on the list of Land Use Planners. Conversely, Land Use Planning agents ranked additional training in coordination with the national plan high (3rd) while Cooperative graduates ranked it only 12th.

In addition to ranking them as high training priorities, cooperative agents were also the only group to rank accounting and bookkeeping as important work activities. Several observations help explain this close link. First, it appears that the Cooperative Service has undertaken several programs that its agents are ill-trained to either manage or, more important, to train others to manage themselves. Consumer cooperative stores ("magasins de consommation");

86'

T A B L E 7-2
COMPARISON OF RANKING OF TRAINING NEEDS BY COLLEGE
(Spearman's Rho)

| | ALL --- | PLANNING ----- | COOPERATIVES ----- | LAND USE PLANNING ----- | COMM. ORG. + NON FORMAL EDUCATION ----- |
|--|------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| ALL | 1.00 | | | | |
| PLANNING | .943 | 1.00 | | | |
| COOPERATIVES | .890 | .808 | 1.00 | | |
| LAND USE PLANNING | .806 | .749 | .500 | 1.00 | |
| COMM. ORG.+ NON FORMAL EDUCATION | .968 | .877 | .906 | .763 | 1.00 |

"responsibilisation" of cooperatives (i.e., the turning over to members of all aspects of cooperative management); and the Cooperative Service's future responsibility for the implementation of Senegal's new agricultural credit program ("Caisse de Credit Agricole") through the "Sections Villageoises" are all examples of areas in which Cooperative agents are in dire need of simple bookkeeping and inventory management skills which they themselves realize they do not have. Therefore, in light of the Cooperative graduates' high ranking of this activity both as a work activity and a perceived training need, and the new demands being placed on the service, it is clearly a "real" training need for them.

Up to this point the discussion of training needs has been limited to how respondents prioritized the possible training topics read to them from the questionnaire. The list provided covered a broad range of training issues, but since it was not all inclusive, the interviewers asked respondents to suggest other training priorities. Table 7-3 shows the range of general fields into which those open responses fell. A note of caution about the interpretation of these results is in order. Respondents were not obliged to provide additional comments, though nearly two thirds of those interviewed did give at least one additional training suggestion. The results, therefore, are drawn from a self-selected sub-group of our sample rather than from the sample as a whole. Based on the relatively large response rate (65%) and the fact that the distribution by college of those who gave additional training suggestions closely resembles the distribution by college of the sample as a whole, the authors feel

that inferences can be drawn from these additional data with some degree of confidence.

Table 7-3 About Here

Table 7-3 shows that no clear majorities emerge in support of any one training need among the open responses. Nonetheless, these additional ideas broaden the observations which can be made about training needs, especially the differences in needs between individual services. Note should be taken that while 55 per cent of Land Use Planning graduates' suggestions fell either into various technical fields or the survey research category, less than 3 per cent of the ideas given by Cooperative graduates fell into those categories. Conversely, Cooperative graduates cited management/administrative and communications topics much more often than did Land Use Planning graduates (59% to 22%). This confirms a similar observation made on the basis of the closed questions.

Except in the case of Land Use Planning graduates, management topics again emerge in responses to the open-ended questions as the most often cited training needs. This again appears to reinforce the observation made from the distributions of answers to the closed questions; i.e., when given the freedom to suggest their own training priorities, respondents tended to cite other or reiterate the same management related needs.

T A B L E 7-3

 DISTRIBUTION OF ADDITIONAL TRAINING
 TOPICS PROPOSED BY RESPONDENTS

| * SUGGESTED TOPICS | OVERALL | | PLAN. | | COOP. | | LAND USE | | COMM. DEV. / NON FORMAL | | N by row |
|-------------------------------------|---------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------|
| | % | Rank | % | Rank | % | Rank | % | Rank | % | Rank | |
| Management/ Administration | 28.0 | (1) | 32.5 | (1) | 37.1 | (1) | 11.1 | (4) | 21.4 | (2) | 34 |
| Technical fields | 19.0 | (2) | 27.5 | (2) | 0 | (8) | 33.3 | (1) | 21.4 | (2) | 23 |
| Communication techniques | 14.8 | (4) | 10.0 | (4) | 22.8 | (2) | 11.1 | (4) | 14.2 | (4) | 18 |
| Survey research / Data gathering | 7.4 | (5) | 5.0 | (5.5) | 2.8 | (7) | 22.2 | (2) | 7.1 | (5.5) | 9 |
| Credit /Marketing | 4.9 | (7) | 2.5 | (7) | 11.4 | (3.5) | 0 | (8) | 3.5 | (7.5) | 6 |
| Alphabetisation | 4.9 | (7) | 0 | (8) | 8.5 | (5) | 5.5 | (6.5) | 7.1 | (5.5) | 6 |
| Public law / legislation | 4.9 | (7) | 5.0 | (5.5) | 5.7 | (6) | 5.5 | (6.5) | 3.5 | (7.5) | 6 |
| Other topics (divers) | 15.7 | (3) | 17.5 | (3) | 11.4 | (3.5) | 11.1 | (4) | 21.4 | (2) | 19 |
| N by column | 121 | | 40 | | 35 | | 18 | | 28 | | |

* The authors grouped specific suggestions into these general categories.

The second most often suggested areas were topics in various technical fields ranging from hydrology, animal husbandry, and appropriate technology to nutrition, cartography and primary health care. Though Land Use Planning graduates cited technical fields more often than any other category except survey research topics, Cooperative graduates cited no technical fields (again showing fundamental differences between these two sets of agents). Given the scattered and diverse nature of these suggestions and their difference from service to service, and given ENEA's pedagogical objectives, it would be very difficult for this institution to organize an efficient program to respond to those technical needs. It is nonetheless important to note their importance in the overall scheme of expressed training needs and to speculate on whether ENEA training is sufficiently technical to meet the job demands placed on graduates upon leaving the institution. ENEA-trained agents may be finding themselves in more technically oriented positions than the pedagogical plan at ENEA anticipates. If this is in fact the case certain adjustments in the link between the school and user services might be in order. In addition, joint training ventures with other institutions such as the "Ecole des Cadres" in Bambey, which is technically oriented, might be appropriate.

The additional training suggestions also permit a third observation of interest -- that being the frequency with which respondents cited the area of communication skills. In contrast to the category "communication with subordinates" included on the questionnaire list, these suggestions were usually oriented toward

communication with the population, conducting efficient meetings and, in many cases, the application of audio-visual techniques. The need for audio-visual training was most often cited by Cooperative agents, though several Community Development/Non-Formal Education and Planning graduates also mentioned the topic.

Based on subsequent discussions with other development agents, it is fairly clear that frustrations in communicating new concepts and ideas or even simple information to a largely illiterate population is at the base of this expressed need. Given the frequencies in Table 7-3, Cooperative agents apparently feel this need for better communication skills more acutely than do agents in the other services surveyed; nearly 25 per cent of their additional training suggestions fell into this category. However, training in communication skills also was the third highest training priority indentified by both Planning and Community Development/Non-Formal Education respondents in the open question.

Also worthy of mention is Cooperative agents' expression of a need for training in credit and marketing related topics. They ranked this category third in their open responses. Given the Cooperative Service's marketing activities in a broad range of agricultural products plus the important role they will be called upon to play in the implementation of the new agricultural credit program, it is perhaps surprising that the percentage was not even higher.

In summary, the data from the closed questions and the

respondents' additional suggestions permit several observations about training needs among ENEA graduates. First, seemingly marginally important work activities emerged as high training priorities. Second, project management issues were clearly the respondents' highest training priorities in both the closed and open questions. Third, the report examined the differences in training needs among graduates of individual colleges and among the services for which they work. Subsequent analysis showed the importance of either tailoring training programs to meet the needs of individual colleges and services or, probably more realistically, of concentrating on complementary areas. Fourth, the data provoked a discussion of project financing as both a training need and an issue closely tied to decentralization. Financing's important position in the framework of project management training was underlined. Fifth, various technical fields ranked high among the respondents' additional training suggestions. This raised the issue of whether ENEA should respond to this need either by upgrading its technical training or by initiating joint training programs with other more technically oriented institutions. Finally, the interviewees identified the need for more training in various communication skills, including audio-visual techniques.

B. Summary and Conclusions

The main aim of this research effort is to determine the major problems experienced by local level development agents working in the field. Based on the agents backgrounds, role perceptions, work and time commitments and their own perceived training needs, the authors tried to determine which of these problems could best be solved by training interventions and which were broader structural and systemic problems which would require major government reform. An extremely important assumption underlying this effort and the project which funded it is that training can rectify many of these problems. If on the other hand these problems result largely from factors not amenable to improvement on the basis of a training effort, then what other measures seem appropriate and how are these measures related to the training function performed by institutions such as ENEA?

The data on which this analysis is based were gathered by means of survey research. The authors interviewed a representative sample of mid level development agents (n=110) working in the regions outside of Dakar. The universe from which the sample was drawn was the 960 graduates of ENEA's six colleges between 1963 and 1984. These agents, mostly at levels B and C in the public service hierarchy, work in a variety of ministries and services which are charged with organizing and supporting rural development efforts throughout Senegal.

The analysis of these data suggest a variety of problems which impinge on the effective implementation of rural development. The

backgrounds and training of these agents is often in direct contradiction with a development perspective which is supposed to be based on a program of structural decentralization. For example, most of the agents interviewed began their careers and their education under a system which emphasized the rigid hierarchical organization reminiscent of the colonial system. They have very little understanding of the meaning of decentralization in either a conceptual or practical sense. Beyond the attitudes of individual agents, important roadblocks to effective decentralization exist both in terms of the organization of the services and in the lines of authority existing in the local institutions themselves (especially the "communauté rurale"). Rather than allowing for local initiative in the organization and execution of the budgets and hence the programs of the rural communities, the process is largely dominated by agents of the state, notably the sous-préfets. In addition, those organizations charged with execution of local development programs from the technical standpoint, the CERs, are not provided with the means to offer effective assistance to the rural communities.

The role perceptions of local agents also show some important contradictions. On the positive side, a large percentage of those interviewed show a relatively flexible orientation to the execution of their tasks. This is an orientation which is extremely important for the implementation of rural development efforts and for decentralized development. However, several other dominant role perceptions run directly counter to development needs. The system of rewards, especially promotions, is regarded as being to a large extent linked

to factors other than good service, hard work and "success." Hard working dedicated agents become frustrated when they find themselves passed over for promotion by less qualified but better "connected" agents.

In the areas of increasing production in the rural areas and improving the quality of organizational and extension efforts the main problem seems to center around the lack of resources, especially logistical support. The assumption here is of course that an effective government directed program can bring about increases in output. This is an assumption which has yet to be demonstrated to be true in the Senegalese context. In any case it is quite clear that local agents often lack even the most basic necessities to execute their jobs. Not only does this result in immediate problems of implementation, but it has long term implications as well. When concerned development agents become discouraged and morale is extremely low, counter productive work habits often develop. This cycle is an extremely difficult one from which to escape.

The underutilization of government agents charged with implementing rural development has reached epidemic proportions. The work and time commitments of rural development agents indicate that they are, in spite of the difficult circumstances, still trying to involve themselves in development actions. However, there is a notable discordance between what are considered to be important work activities and the time devoted to those activities. In some cases

there is a need for new skills and/or re-training in old skills not often used. In general the more important problem is the under-utilization of adequately trained agents. For a variety of organizational reasons and because of the lack of resources many cadres spend their days behind their desks with no productive work to do.

In the area of training needs identified by the interviewees, the most consistent need seems to be in the area of project management. In recognition of the fact that development projects are, for better or worse, at the heart of Senegal's development efforts, and that many agents are at some point in their careers likely to be involved in projects, the agents themselves demanded training in this area. A number of other subjects of potential use to local agents were also identified and could serve as foci for both training and in-service training programs under the aegis of ENEA. The utility of implementing such a program is, however, closely linked to the resolution of some of the problems noted above.

Recommendations

1. Decentralization - Decentralization is theoretically at the core of Senegal's rural development program. Up to this point it is clear that decentralization in terms of implementation (deconcentration) and initiation, finance, execution and evaluation at the base (devolution) have not been taken seriously by either the central government or its services. Given the almost total failure of past efforts at centrally directed rural development, if the government is either unwilling or unable to cede some of its authority to the local levels, the training or re-training of additional agents can be expected, to have very little in the way of a positive impact.
2. Local Operating Funds - The resources allocated to implementation efforts in the rural areas are grossly inadequate. Past government policy seems to have emphasized maintaining stability through increasing government employment opportunities rather than calculating support costs and providing agents with the means to do their jobs. Even during the current hiring freeze new agents are being recruited and trained. Part of the fault also lies with the donors, who demand decentralization and administrative reform, but continue to finance large, highly centralized projects. It is quite clear that even relatively small investments in support of local institutions such as the rural communities and their implementation arms, the CERs, could produce important advances in both rural standards of living and production. Unfortunately,

providing gasoline, flip chart paper and notebooks to local agents lacks the requisite glamour of the less productive but more marketable large project.

3. Performance-Based Assessment - Within the various services themselves, there is a definite need for the implementation of an objective system of evaluation of the performance of local agents. Motivation is poor when agents feel that their hard work is likely to go both unnoticed and unrewarded. While a perfect system will obviously never be devised, an effort should be undertaken to develop performance based measures for purposes of rewards and promotions. As long as advancement is perceived to be based on longevity and personal connections, especially the latter, a maximal work effort can not be expected on the part of rural development cadres.
4. Underutilization of Agents - Under current conditions there is an apparent gross under-utilization of rural development agents. Part of this is linked to the lack of resources noted above, but part is also associated with the artificial service boundaries at both the national and local levels. Job descriptions and boundaries between the various services need to be re-assessed and made more flexible. Seasonal variations in actions leave some services grossly under-staffed at certain times of the year while agents in other offices complain of having nothing to do. This emphasizes the need for improvements in horizontal communications and perhaps the restructuring of regional and local government

agencies and their staffs into development teams rather than rival organizations. The CER provides a potentially useful model. There has been some discussion in the government of Senegal regarding the possibility of formally seconding the technical agents working under the CER from their current services to the Secretariat for Decentralization. This would create a more effective and better integrated support structure for the rural communities. A similar rationale could also be provided for regrouping all regional agents into tightly knit development teams capable of both effective planning and implementation.

5. Training - In the area of training some clear needs have been identified but their chances for success under the structural and organizational conditions prevailing in the Senegalese bureaucracy are less than optimal. ENEA, as well as other national training institutions should demand that the user services seriously address the problems of underutilization of their agents before requesting the training of additional agents. There are, however, still some important gains which could result from an appropriately organized training program. Given the existing hiring freeze in the public service, the main thrust of training efforts should be directed toward those agents already in the field. In this regard an effective communications link needs to be established between national training institutions like ENEA and their graduates and other rural development agents.

Training courses in project management and other subjects

identified as priority items should be launched in the immediate future. These courses will be much more effective if offered at the regional or departmental level rather than in the national capital. The overwhelming majority of those interviewed expressed the desire for such training to be done in their own locales. In order to identify, organize and provide effective follow up for training efforts, personnel from training institutions need to be placed at the regional level on a permanent basis.

A significant number of interviewees expressed the need for additional training in a variety of technical areas, especially agriculture and livestock production. They are often called upon to assist with or help organize the population for gardening projects, small livestock production and similar efforts. The possibility of establishing a regular program of exchange or interaction with a technical school such as the Ecole des Cadres at Bambey would have a very positive effect on the trainees in both institutions. The opening of a dialogue between the two institutions should be explored in the immediate future.

Finally, training programs should adopt an applied rather than a theoretical approach and should emphasize experience in Senegal and other Sahelian countries. The action training format already successfully tested at ENEA seems to be the most appropriate approach from a pedagogical standpoint. In addition to training in substantive areas and skills an emphasis should be placed on team building actions which can help create the kind of horizontal

interaction so sorely needed in Senegal's development effort.

ANNEX 1 - SURVEY INSTRUMENT

PROJET ENEA RURAL MANAGEMENT
 ECOLE NATIONALE D'ECONOMIE APPLIQUEE - TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY
 TRAINING NEEDS

Name of Interviewer _____ Date of interview _____

Number assigned to the interviewee _____

Length of the interview from _____ to _____
 (hour and minute)

Region (circle)

1. Cap Vert 2. Diourbel 3. Sine Saloum 4. Thiès

5. Fleuve 6. Louga 7. Casamance 8. Senegal Oriental

Department (write the name) _____

Circonscription (write the name) _____

1A. What is your title ? (circle)

1. Inspector for the cooperative service
2. Technical agent for the cooperative service
3. Inspector for the community development service
4. Technical agent for the community development service
5. Planner (engineer)
6. Inspector of land use planning.
7. Sub-prefet
8. Head of Rural Expansion Center
9. Technical agent for the statistical service
10. Engineer of the statistical service
11. Non formal educator
12. Other (write) _____

1B. What is your job ? (write) _____

1C. In what organization do you work ?
 (write) _____

1D. At what level did you terminate your studies ? (specify)
 (circle)

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Non-formal education | 2. Some primary school |
| 3. Primary school | 4. Secondary school |
| 5. BAC | 6. National training school |
| 7. University (licence) | 8. University (maitrise) |
| 9. University (DEA) | 10. University (doctorate) |

2. In what year were you born ? 19 _____
(write the year)
3. In which region were you born ? (circle)
1. Cap Vert 2. Diourbel 3. Sine Saloum 4. Thiès
5. Fleuve 6. Louga 7. Casamance 8. Senegal Oriental
4. In which circonscription were you born ?
(write the name of the circonscription) _____
5. In what region did you grow up ? (circle)
1. Cap Vert 2. Diourbel 3. Sine Saloum 4. Thiès
5. Fleuve 6. Louga 7. Casamance 8. Senegal Oriental
- 6A. In what year were you attached to your current service ?
(write the year) 19 _____
7. How long have you been at your current post ?
(circle)
1. less than one year
2. 1 - 2 years
3. 2 - 3 years
4. 3 - 4 years
5. 4 - 5 years
6. more than 5 years
8. Is your immediate superior in the same location as you ?
(circle)
- 0 No 1 Yes
9. How frequently do you see your immediate superior ?
(circle)
1. Every day
2. Every other day
3. Once a week
4. Once a month
5. Less than once a month
10. How many agents are under your command ?
(write) _____

- 12 (Read the question to the interviewee and circle his/her answer).
 Suppose that there are two bureaucrats in a service like yours.
 The first conforms exactly to the rules specified for each situation.
 The second bends the rules in those situations in which he thinks that
 so doing will better achieve the goals of his service. In your opinion,
 which one is the better bureaucrat ?

Which one is the better functionary in your opinion ?
 (circle) 1. the first 2. the second 3. I don't know

- 13 Which one of these bureaucrats will be the first to be promoted
 or rewarded ? The first, who conforms to the regulations in accord
 with the situation ; or the second, who bends the rules when he thinks
 that so doing will better achieve the goals of his service ? (circle)
 1. the first 2. the second 3. I don't know.

(Read the following sentence to the interviewee before posing the
 following three questions)

I will read you several statements and I would like you to tell me if
 you are entirely in agreement, if you agree, if you disagree, or if you
 are in total disagreement with each of them.

- 14 The real value of the person counts very little in obtaining a
 promotion or an important post in the government of Senegal.
 (circle) 1. completely agree 2. agree 3. disagree
 4. completely disagree 5. I don't know.
- 15 The harder a functionary works, the more he is respected by his
 colleagues. (circle) 1. completely agree 2. agree 3. disagree
 4. completely disagree 5. I don't know
- 16 In order to do his job, a functionary must pay special attention
 to the requests of "important" people. (circle).
 1. completely agree 2. agree 3. disagree
 4. completely disagree 5. I don't know

(Read the following sentence to the interviewee before posing the following questions)

To what extent do the following factors constitute, in your opinion, obstacles to the development of production in the rural milieu in your territorial entity? State if you think it is an obstacle.

0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know

- 17 Lack of collaboration between administrative agents and traditional authorities : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know
- 18 The administration begins actions without taking into account the needs of the local population : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know
- 19 An insufficient number of extension agents at the base of the system: (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know
- 20 A lack of professional qualifications for the extension agents at the base of the system : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know
- 21 Insufficient means (equipment, per diem) for extension agents : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know
- 22 Administrative personnel working in the rural area lack sufficient motivation : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know
- 23 Lack of collaboration between the territorial administration and the services charged with rural development : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance
2. important 3. very important 4. I don't know
- 25 Lack of coordination in the interventions of different technical services (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance 2. important
3. very important 4. I don't know

- 26 Lack of coordination between development projects in the same locale
(circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance 2. important
3. very important 4. I don't know
- 27 Producers are not motivated to produce more than for their own needs
because prices are set too low by the administration : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance 2. important
3. very important 4. I don't know
- 28 Lack of credit for the producers at the base of the system : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance 2. important
3. very important 4. I don't know

29 (Read the following sentences to the interviewee. Then read each activity, ask the following two questions, and circle the responses).

I am going to read to you a list of activities. We would like to know your view of the importance of each activity in performing your job. Sometimes an activity is very important but a functionary cannot spend much time on this activity. Sometimes a functionary must devote a lot of time to an activity which is not an important part of his job. We would like to know if you spend no time, little time, some time, or a lot of time on each activity.

A. Importance of the activity :
is this activity :
(0) unimportant
(1) of little importance
(2) important
(3) very important
for your job

B. Time devoted to it : in your
work, do you spend :
(0) no time
(1) little time
(2) some time
(3) a lot of time
on each activity.

| | Importance | | | | | Time | | | | | | |
|---|------------|---|---|---|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. Extension work | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. Accounting and bookkeeping | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c. Supervising the work of subordinates | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d. Planning | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| e. Collecting data | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| f. Organizing the population | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| g. Preparation of reports | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| h. Collecting taxes and fees | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| i. Collaboration with technical specialists | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| j. Initiation of local projects | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| k. Monitoring of local projects | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| l. Finance of local projects | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| m. Coordination and liason with the national or regional plan | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| n. Administrative division into rural communities | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| o. Integrated planning for rural areas | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| p. Maintaining public order | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| q. Getting information from and to subordinates | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| r. Project evaluation | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| s. Other (write) _____ | A | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | B | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

(Read the following sentence to the interviewee before asking the following questions)

What causes the poor performance of extension agents at the base of the system? State if you think each cause is

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 30 Insufficient level of studies : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 31 Training (education) did not prepare them for their jobs : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 32 Lack of on-the-job training and upgrading courses : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 33 Training too specialized-lack of general knowledge : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 34 Lack of experience at current type of job : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 35 Lack of time at current post : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 36 Inability to adapt to changes : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 37 Poor comportment vis-à-vis the local population (for example, excessively authoritarian) : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 38 Insufficient salaries : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 39 Insufficient knowledge of the local language : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |
- 40 Insufficient knowledge of local resources : (circle)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 0. of no importance | 1. of little importance | 2. important |
| 3. very important | 4. I don't know | |

- 41 Lack of promotions and other rewards for good service : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance 2. important
3. very important 4. I don't know
- 42 Unsatisfactory working conditions in the rural areas : (circle)
0. of no importance 1. of little importance 2. important
3. very important 4. I don't know

- 44 (Read the following sentences to the interviewee and ask the question)
 Generally, people think that a training course could assist a functionary to better perform his job. Are there some areas in which you believe that you yourself, or someone who does a job like yours, could profit from training? (circle) 0. No 1. Yes

(if the answer is yes, ask :)

In your opinion, they could benefit from training in which areas?
 (circle the letter alongside each activity mentioned).

- a. extension work
- b. accounting and bookkeeping
- c. personnel administration
- d. planning
- e. data collection
- f. organizing the population
- g. preparation of reports
- h. collecting taxes and fees
- i. collaboration with technical specialists
- j. initiation of local projects
- k. monitoring of local projects
- m. coordination and liason with the national or regional plan
- n. administrative division into rural communities
- o. integrated planning for rural zones
- p. maintaining public order
- q. getting information to and from subordinates
- r. project evaluation
- s. other (write) _____

(say to the interviewee) Thank you very much for your assistance.

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