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**ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-
GOVERNMENTAL PARTNERSHIP IN NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT**

**Principal Report:
Karen LeAnn McKay and David Gow, DAI**

**Case Studies:
Christine Brown, E/DI
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August 1990

**Natural Resources Management Support Project
(AID Project No. 698-0467)**

Contract No. AFR-0467-C-00-8054-00



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FOREWORD

The Natural Resources Management Support Project (NRMS) for Africa, funded by Technical Resources/Agriculture and Natural Resources Branch of the Africa Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) has funded a number of activities since its inception in 1987. The Level of Effort Contract (LOE) was designed to furnish technical support to A.I.D. Missions in Africa in natural resources management (NRM) and biological diversity issues.

One of the activities of the LOE was to conduct several special studies on natural resources management topics of interest to A.I.D. Other studies conducted by the project include one on natural forest management, one on economic incentives in natural resources projects, and a workshop on natural resources issues and A.I.D.

This study of NGO and donor relationships in natural resources management activities came about because of the increasing interest on the part of donors, including A.I.D., to work with NGOs in the implementation of NRM projects. NGOs have a good track record in the conservation of biological diversity and the implementation of NRM and low-input agricultural projects at the village level. In addition, pressure from lobbying groups in donor countries both to work with NGOs and to address environmental issues have made NGOs and natural resources a logical combination.

Yet, working together often works much better on paper than it does in reality. In working with NGOs, donors are faced with some of the same problems they encounter in working with small farmers directly, albeit to a more limited extent. NGOs often have trouble absorbing the large amounts of money that donors want to program. Their technical capabilities are sometimes not as strong as their ideological commitment. NGOs, for their part, often see donors as trying to set the development agenda in isolation -- without the popular input that NGOs feel they can provide. Financial reporting requirements are often felt to be overly burdensome and require NGOs to spend an inordinate amount of time on non-development related activities.

In spite of these problems, the future promises more collaboration between NGOs and donors, not less. PVOs and NGOs bring many important strengths to development and natural resources work, as will be discussed in this paper. Their strategies of working with farmers and other resource users, motivating local people, and adapting quickly to changing situations are all essential to successful natural resources management in Africa. For these reasons, the NRMS Project felt that a critical look at this, at times uneasy, relationship would be useful to both parties. Although many of the observations and findings are applicable to any field, the study focuses on NGOs and donors in the area of natural resources management and explores some issues unique to that field.

1. INTRODUCTION

The African sub-continent (Sub-Saharan Africa) is a vast continent of mangroves and deserts, rainforests, mountains and, miles upon thousands of miles of flat wooded plains. It is a continent whose people rely directly on its basic natural resources -- land, water, soils, animals and vegetation -- for their day-to-day subsistence and development.

Traditional land management practices and customs served to support a sparse population through farming, herding, and hunting and gathering. But population growth has combined with the erosion of traditional management systems and increasing aridity in some areas to place food production and populations at risk. The recurrent famines in the Sahel and elsewhere, although not simply a matter of crop failure, nonetheless point out the fragile nature of the natural resources base and current agricultural systems in Africa.

The effects of environmental degradation have taught bilateral and multilateral agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and national governments harsh lessons about the critical importance of natural resources management to food security and development. On a continent where 80 to 90 percent of the population lives and works on small farms with little to no technological inputs, better management of natural resources must begin at the grassroots level. But dealing with individual farmers, or even farmers' groups, is a difficult task for large donor agencies or personnel-strapped government extension services.

NGOs have been active in Africa for a long time. While many NGOs started out by providing famine relief in the 1960s, their efforts of the 1970s and 1980s have been necessarily replaced or augmented by development efforts to address Africa's lack of food security. Development and relief-oriented NGOs have always worked at the village and farmer level. They are in a good position to reach farmers and address farmer needs in natural resources management and food production. Additionally, several northern NGOs have proven expertise in the environment field that African governments and donors have drawn upon to help with the management of national parks and protected areas and, more recently, the identification and conservation of biological diversity.

2. THE APPEAL OF NGOs AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

2.1 The Historical Context

From the early years of the U.S. foreign aid program, perhaps manifested most clearly in the community development (CD) movement, many development practitioners have believed that local organizations and local governments should and can play a crucial role in economic and social development. In the early 1970s, A.I.D. commissioned a series of studies by Cornell University on the role of local organizations in rural development. A major finding, based on fieldwork in 16 Asian countries, was the importance of organizational linkages, both vertical and horizontal, underlying the need to strengthen a system of local organizations in an area rather than simply building the capacity of a single organization (Uphoff and Esman 1974).

A.I.D.'s interest in local organizations was revitalized by the New Directions mandate and the focus on the rural poor (Rondinelli 1987:74-78). As a consequence, A.I.D. began to explore the factors affecting the successful planning and implementation of projects to help small-scale farmers. One study, which included field visits to 81 technical assistance projects in Africa and Latin America, indicated that of the 25 major factors that distinguished relatively successful from less successful rural development projects, two accounted for about 49 percent of the variation. Consequently, the study concluded that (Morss et al. 1976):

- **First:** Projects intended to benefit small farmers are more likely to succeed when small farmers participate in project decisions and make resource commitments to project activities.
- **Second:** Organizations can facilitate small farmers' participation in decision-making and resource commitment.

There is a growing consensus from contrasting ends of the political spectrum that beneficiary participation -- often in the form of local organizations -- can play a key role in addressing these issues. According to the Institute of Development Anthropology (Horowitz 1988:2):

In a variety of areas, anthropology affected the ways that some development planners viewed the problems, even if these planners only rarely applied those views in project implementation. Most planners, however, seem to remain well insulated from our findings, the most important of which is the necessity of involving local populations in the planning, design, implementation, and evaluation of development activities intended for their benefit (emphasis added).

In a recent study of 25 agricultural and rural development projects funded by the World Bank, it was found that 12 of the 25 appeared to have successfully achieved long-term

sustainability. A major contribution came from local organizations which were characterized by participation in project decision-making; a high degree of autonomy and self-reliance; accountability of leaders; and continuing identification of the project activities with local needs (Cernea 1987). In the field of community forestry, for example, local organizations offer a number of potential advantages, including: knowledge of rural communities; good relationships with local people; flexibility; autonomy; agricultural extension experience; and effectiveness as coordinators (Gregersen, Draper, and Elz 1989:180-181).

Reality, of course, is somewhat different. Local organizations have not lived up to expectations and have suffered from several pervasive "vulnerabilities". Among the more important are: active resistance to their formation from various sources; falling under the control of powerful outsiders; succumbing to factionalism and internal politics; lack of expertise in the necessary political, organizational, and technical skills; and corruption and betrayal by organizational leaders (Esman and Uphoff 1984:181-202).

2.2 The Comparative Advantages of NGOs

Be that as it may, over the past 20 years, there has been an explosion of interest and activity in organizations at the local level, ranging from local government and local administration, to membership organizations, cooperatives, service organizations, and increasingly, NGOs, both international and host country.

While the term NGO is used rather loosely, in its simplest form it refers to any agency or institution that is not public. More specifically, it refers to private organizations that are active in providing services to communities or governments and in helping them to develop themselves. Hence, an NGO can be both a service or intermediary organization, as well as a membership organization. Brown and Korten (1989) have provided some conceptual clarity by specifying three institutional sectors active in development: the commercial, the governmental, and the voluntary. Organizations in this latter sector mobilize resources and social energy **through the mechanisms of shared values and expectations**. By this definition, not all NGOs are private voluntary organizations (PVOs) – particularly those subordinate to government agencies and those driven by market and financial incentives. This report deals primarily with NGOs that can legitimately be classified as PVOs.

This reliance on the voluntary sector has been justified on the grounds that NGOs are, in theory at least (Cernea 1988: 17-18; Hyden 1983:120-121; Tandler 1982:1-10):

- * Much closer than government to the poorer sections of society.
- * Staffed by people who are normally highly motivated and altruistic in their behavior.
- * Economically efficient – partly a function of their smallness but also a result of a much greater cost-consciousness and financial discipline.

- Flexible, innovative, and experimental -- a quality that stems from their small size and the decentralized nature of their decision-making structures.
- Independent and this gives them the opportunity to develop demands for public services and resources and thus facilitate the work of individual government departments in rural areas.

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These strengths are often a function of NGO values, special skills, small size, limited resources, flexibility, and freedom from political constraints. Nevertheless, NGOs commonly demonstrate serious weaknesses, especially in achieving sustainable outcomes on a consequential scale. It should be noted that many of these weaknesses are a function of the same characteristics that give NGOs their distinctive advantages, in particular their value commitment, small size, independence, and lack of administrative rigidity (Brown and Korten 1989).

In terms of the developmental effectiveness of NGOs, a 1986 study on their role in four sectors -- health, nutrition, potable water, and sanitation -- identified four problem areas: technical capacity; replicability; sustainability; and isolation (Hursch-Cesar et al. 1986). According to Cernea (1988), there are two strategic options -- perhaps only one with two complementary sides -- for addressing these issues. The first one assumes that grassroots activities will proliferate, that the web will thicken, and eventually influence state policies and the public sector (Annis 1987). The second depends on effectively linking local public and private organizations into a supportive national development system, which may well also include the international donor community (Korten 1987).

Examples of the latter are found in environmental activities (VanSant 1989). For example, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), IUCN and the African Wildlife Foundation have played important roles in assisting African nations to develop policies and action programs for conservation, particularly in the areas of national park development and wildlife protection and management. In Mali, Volunteers in Technical Assistance (VITA) collaborated with the National Women's Group in a fuelwood conservation project that enlisted metalworkers in the production of more efficient wood-burning stoves. Other NGOs have been instrumental in spreading the use of clay stoves constructed by the women themselves. The Malian government now has a policy requiring the use of improved stoves.

2.3 The Appeal to the Donor Community

While the appeal of PVOs and local organizations to the donor community is obvious, it is important to recognize what motivates it: public disillusionment with the spotty results of 25 years of official development assistance; the institutional and resource constraints imposed by declining aid flows in many countries; and tight ceilings on administrative expenditure (Brodhead 1987). According to the World Bank, donors have turned to local organizations out of pragmatic considerations since they are viewed as more efficient conduits for certain development inputs than the oft-discredited official agencies

(Masoni 1985). The 1982 A.I.D Policy Paper on PVOs made clear that all A.I.D-financed programs must address the priorities of Third World governments, priorities which are often developed in conjunction with the other donors, including A.I.D. Hence, the agency began to see PVOs and local organizations as natural agents or extensions of its own programming, rather than as independent institutions (Hellinger, Hellinger, and O'Regan 1988:104).

But this pragmatic approach has a potentially damning long-term impact: by bypassing public sector institutions, donors are ostensibly washing their hands and refusing to help national governments live up to their responsibilities – both institutional and moral - - in such fields as health, education, road-building, agricultural research and extension, and rural development in general. Creating public sector capability in these critical areas has proved to be frustrating, problematic, and, ultimately, questionable. But unaddressed is the key question: which is at fault – the objective; the strategy for achieving it; or both? From this perspective, institution-building takes on a whole new meaning and opens up another, decentralized dimension to sustainability.

The popularity of the PVO approach extends beyond mere pragmatics. There is also an ideological element since local organizations are, by definition, private sector, though critics might argue that some are more religious sector. In much conventional development thinking, the private sector -- never closely defined but often used as a euphemism for the middle class -- is to be encouraged as an antidote to what are viewed as the failures and excesses of the public sector. This is very much a case of jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. H.L. Mencken once remarked that: "For every problem there is a solution that is simple, direct, and wrong".

Slavish privatization -- the desire to transform many public sector activities into private sector enterprises -- is a case in point. More relevant and appropriate is some combination -- a variation of what has been termed "third party government" (White 1987:148-149):

A number of theorists [in institutional analysis] focus on the problems that can arise when managers choose to work through a variety of organizations. . . . These theorists acknowledge that for whatever reasons, programs are in fact being implemented by an increasingly diverse set of units. This increasing emphasis on what Salamon calls "third party government" does not signify a move to a drastically curtailed public sector and a parallel, but growing private sector. Rather this emphasis means that there is a complex, mutual penetration of the public and private sectors and that those concerned with institutional analysis need to explore the role of managers in monitoring and working in this more complex arena.

More recently, the differences between the three sectors have been summarized as follows:

Table 1
Sector Differences

	Commercial	Government	Voluntary
Primary Concern	Produce Goods and Services	Preserve Social Order	Actualize Social Visions
Implicit Organization	Markets	Hierarchies	Clan/Consensus
Coordination Mechanisms	Negotiated Exchange	Authority and Coercion	Shared Values
Enforcement Mechanisms	Contracts and Reciprocity	Supervision and Rules	Moral Obligation: Professional Ethics
Prototype	Corporation	Army	Church

Source: Brown and Korten 1989:5.

The voluntary sector has a crucial role to play if one accepts that poverty is as much a political as it is an economic condition. Distributive justice then becomes a major development issue. As such, this necessarily requires strengthening the role of civil society vis-a-vis the state (Brown and Korten 1989:8):

The voluntary sector has a special role in contributing to the development of pluralistic civil societies and in the awakening of a socially conscious work and investment ethic. **Indeed, these may well be the sector's most important and distinctive development roles.** The grassroots organizing work that is central to the agendas of many Third World VOs (voluntary organizations) is an important contributor to democratization and to the strengthening of civil society. It facilitates the breakdown of residual feudalistic structures and value systems **by realigning power structures and improving access of the actual producer to productive resources** (emphasis added).

3. PEOPLE AND SUSTAINABLE RURAL LIVELIHOODS

In order to provide a context in which to better understand the potential role of NGOs in natural resources management, two elements will be presented and discussed. The first is the concept of livelihood security, which provides an explanation and justification for sustainable NRM at the household level, and the second is the moral economy of empowerment, which attempts to operationalize the special role of NGOs discussed above.

3.1 The Concept of Livelihood Security

In recent testimony before the U.S. Congress, the following statement was made (Lipton 1989:10):

What needs to be "sustainable" is not a particular form of farming, nor a particular use of this or that piece of land. What has to be sustained is the capacity of people, countries, and the world to support decent livelihoods. An important implication of this becomes clear when we consider that a growing majority of the world's poor derive their sustenance not from farming their own land, but from working for other farmers as employees. How are their livelihoods, and the soil and water that support them, to be sustained?

The relationship between sustainable development and the rural poor is of increasing concern and relevance. There is a growing realization by social scientists of the close relationship between resource degradation and poverty, a consequence of lack of access by poor households to productive resources and relevant assistance to meet their basic needs. One way to deal with this issue is to think of it in terms of **livelihood security**, which has been defined as follows by the Brundtland Commission (Food 2000 1987:3):

Livelihood is defined as adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs. Security refers to secure ownership of, or access to, resources and income-earning activities, including reserves and assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies. Sustainable refers to the maintenance or enhancement of resource productivity on a long-term basis. A household may be enabled to gain sustainable livelihood security in many ways - through ownership of land, livestock or trees; rights to grazing, fishing, hunting or gathering; through stable employment with adequate remuneration; or through varied repertoires of activities.

In normal professional usage, poverty is a synonym for deprivation and is measured in terms of flows, whether of income or consumption. No account is taken of stocks or assets and their role in maintaining the household at some basic, acceptable standard. Nor has much attention been paid to what people do with these stocks and assets when productive opportunities start diminishing. Yet those who are defined as falling below the poverty line have developed various strategies for survival which may vary by season and location.

There is mounting evidence that people living in fragile lands which are subject to dramatic changes -- natural, man-made, or a combination of both -- respond with a high degree of flexibility and an escalating set of strategies, according to the gravity of the situation (Waddell 1983). In the case of the semi-arid tropics of Northern Nigeria, for example, farmers have developed a hierarchy of coping mechanisms for dealing with lack of rainfall (Watts 1983). These include intercropping, water conservation, the exploitation of several microenvironments and, in cases where early rains are followed by drought, the replacing of their millet and sorghum with different, quick-maturing cereals. After a poor harvest, villagers know that cereal prices will increase exponentially. Accordingly, they try to generate cash income to buy grain through wage labor and craft activity. Even in conditions of moderate poverty, many households invest off-farm.

If this is insufficient, then they will seek support from extended kin through the "economy of affection", the networks of support, communication, and interaction among different groups connected by blood, kinship, community, or religion (Hyden 1983). Should this in turn prove insufficient, then they will begin to dispose of their productive assets, such as small stock, or seek a loan from a local merchant. Increasingly, trees are regarded in the same way as livestock. In the case of the Agroforestry Outreach Project in Haiti, for example, crop failure is so frequent and the market for wood and charcoal so secure, that farmers prefer to leave their trees as a bank against future emergencies (Murray 1987). But in extreme conditions, villagers will sell their farm and migrate permanently to another location.

In these situations, the conventional development approach is to try and assure farmers employment, a job, training, or an asset that will provide for all or almost all their needs. But a more viable alternative may be to strengthen their existing strategies, in which productive assets often play a key role (Chambers and Leach 1987).

A common, perhaps universal priority expressed by poor people is the desire for an adequate, secure, decent livelihood which provides for physical and social well-being and this includes security against sickness, early death, and impoverishment. But once basic survival is secured, under safe and secure conditions, there appears to be a strong propensity to stint and save when the opportunity arises and take the long view -- for example, the sacrifices parents will make to invest in their children's education or the extraordinary tenacity with which farmers will struggle to retain rights to land.

Providing people with the necessary base on which to build and create for the future is necessary for voluntary, long-term natural resources stewardship (Chambers 1989:3):

Secure tenure and rights to resources and adequate livelihoods are prerequisites for good husbandry and sustainable management. Moreover, sustainable livelihood security is a predisposing condition for a stable human population in the long-term, for when livelihoods are secure it becomes rational for poor people to limit family size. Enabling poor people to gain

secure and sustainable livelihoods in resource-poor and forest areas is, thus, the surest protection for the environment. **The poor are not the problem; they are the solution** (emphasis added).

In practice, this means that development interventions should concentrate on assisting local people to develop their productive resources and, in cases where these resources are limited or insufficient, assisting them to create new resources. Possibilities include:

- Secure rights of ownership and usufruct of assets, including sale and inheritance.
- Transform small-scale tenancy and sharecropping into inheritable rights to land.
- Allocate degraded forest land to poor households for growing trees and, where appropriate, for growing crops and raising livestock.
- Reinforce livelihood strategies by supporting diversification, including non-agricultural activities.

These findings are partially corroborated by a recent report, part of a larger study financed by A.I.D. to address natural resource management (NRM) in the Sahel (Shaikh et al. 1988). The report focuses on a host of on-farm natural resources management and agricultural production practices that show promise for sustainable agricultural growth in Gambia, Mali, Niger, and Senegal. The emphasis was on what works and a total of 70 successful NRM initiatives – many small-scale and localized – were visited. The interventions with the greatest impact were found to be those that resolved the problems of the local population – rather than those of the environment per se. Precisely because environmental degradation now visibly threatens local production systems and their capacity to survive, farmers have turned to NRM to accomplish two things: first, to protect the soil and water resources on which their production depends; and second, to provide new opportunities for income, such as pole production, orchards, gardens, fuelwood, and fodder sales.

3.2 The Moral Economy of Empowerment

Strengthening livelihood security at the local level can further the goal of **empowerment**. This emotional concept requires some clarification. The political dimension of empowerment and, by association, participation and local organizations cannot be overemphasized. Broader participation is likely to change the use and allocation of scarce resources among social groups; indeed, this is often the reason why participation is advocated in the first place (Uphoff, Cohen, and Goldsmith 1979:284).

Historically, the goal of certain local organizations, particularly popular protest movements of the rural poor, has been not so much a radical belief in equality of wealth and landholding but the more modest claim of a right to subsistence. This "moral economy of the peasantry" has a direct relation to the claimant's sources of subsistence. For a small farmer, the claim might include continued access to the land. For a tenant, it might involve a secure lease and free access to common land and the forest. For a landless laborer, it might involve guaranteed employment, gleaning rights, and also access to common property resources (Scott 1976:179). Hence, livelihood security can be viewed as a contemporary manifestation of this moral economy.

Accepting this reality, it is suggested that by furthering livelihood security, whether in the form of strengthening strategies, securing productive assets, or some combination of the two, the poor can be empowered. Following the argument made earlier by Chambers, the logic is that rural people, when they have satisfied their daily survival and subsistence needs, will have the security with which to not only plan for the future, but also to make increasing investments (of time and resources) and demands upon the system. By having more control over their own lives and the natural resource base which they utilize, they will be in a better position to bargain, negotiate, and make demands upon the system, in this way strengthening civil society, discussed earlier (Gow 1990).

The key idea here is control and ownership. A recent review of participatory afforestation strategies has emphasized a key element in their favor -- the users of the resource are also the producers, a characteristic that applies to resources other than trees. This can and does facilitate local ownership and control (Cernea 1989:28-29):

Helping users to organize themselves into groups and to undertake production and management functions in forestry would in fact restore the "participation equation" to normalcy: the users of forests and forest products act as the primary producers and decision-makers, and the forest departments will "participate" in their activities, rather than the other way around.

4. NGOs AS RESOURCE STEWARDS

If NGOs are to function as effective stewards and managers of the natural resource base, certain practical considerations must be incorporated when assessing their potential, particularly the following:

- Key characteristics of the natural resource in question.
- Key characteristics of the local population.
- The advantages and disadvantages of common property management.
- Organizational variation -- from forest management to the management of protected wildlands.

Each of these will be discussed briefly below.

4.1 Key Characteristics of Natural Resources

The nature of the resource to be managed will affect how desirable certain organizational options are. Three key characteristics to be considered are: **resource renewability, seasonality, and public perception of the resource** (Uphoff 1986:30-32). The less renewable the resource, the greater the risk that poor management will have drastic consequences and the greater the justification for some involvement by the central government, disastrous as that has often turned out to be. The length of time for a natural resource to be renewed varies greatly. For example, grass on a range may reappear after a few weeks, whereas trees in a forest can take 20 years and longer to regenerate, depending on the species. As a result, range management can -- within some limits -- be left to local institutions whereas forest maintenance, a long-term commitment, has traditionally required more centralized institutional arrangements.

The use and management of soils, a basically non-renewable resource, make their use and protection of both short and long-term interest. Protection of individual fields from drastic degradation is in the farmer's short-term interest and is best done by farmers. Farmer selection of cropping patterns and farming systems management approaches that are medium to long-term in their beneficial effects on the natural resource base should be supported and encouraged by government extension agents. Long-term conservation and improvement, especially of communal lands, usually falls into the hands of government.

Seasonality may also affect institutional options. The flow of local institutional activity is generally affected by variations in the agricultural seasons. Under conditions of high seasonality, the institutions charged with resource management have to operate with more flexibility and speed than is usually found in centralized, government bureaucracies. For example, a community forestry project in Niger found that during the time when it required

the most involvement from villagers, they were busy planting their field crops and unwilling or unable to assist the Forestry Department in planting operations (Brechin and West 1982).

How natural resources are perceived by users is a third important consideration. Regardless of the actual legal status of a resource, if users perceive that over the short term (and even over the long term in some instances) the benefits of investing in that resource will accrue to them, then investment will be considered. Of particular importance is whether potential users of a resource see it as a public or a private good, to be managed for collective or for individual benefit. In principle, if individuals or groups have improved a resource, they have established a right to the ensuing benefits. If groups are unable to exclude non-members from using a resource, they have little incentive to invest in its development or protection. The same situation occurs if groups are excluded from the benefits, whether direct or indirect, of protected areas.

There are several examples of this issue of equity, of who actually benefits. On clearly delineated individual fields throughout Burkina Faso, farmers have instituted soil conservation. In one village, a male farmer gave the village women's group a rocky field for their communal use. The women undertook soil conservation measures on this field only after the "chef de terre" and the local government official ensured their tenure rights (McKay et.al. 1989). In Cameroon, an agroforestry project has encountered obstacles in managing the trees planted by pilot farmers. Misunderstandings over ownership and management between forestry agents, farmers, and the project have prevented farmers from carrying out the necessary pruning and pollarding of their field trees. In many African countries, farmers are only interested in planting exotic trees such as eucalyptus because they feel they have clearer ownership over these trees. In Malawi, for example, farmers say that the forest service will not bother them if they cut exotic trees they have obviously planted. In contrast, the planting or protection of indigenous trees would be much harder to prove and cutting them would raise issues of ownership that would be difficult to prove (Seubert and McKay 1989).

4.2 Key Characteristics of the Local Population

In the field of natural resources management, it is more appropriate to talk about users rather than beneficiaries, since usually the users of the resource are expected to be the primary, direct beneficiaries of the proposed intervention. In some cases, as mentioned earlier, they are also the producers of the resource in question. There are important differences among natural resources in terms of the **boundedness** of users and resources - - the extent to which they are delimited and identifiable. In many situations, the users are an ill-defined set of people with no existing mechanisms for making or enforcing decisions. When the amount and availability of a resource are known for certain, the possibilities for effective management are greatly increased. When there is less knowledge and predictability, organizations are important for reducing risk, focusing more on insurance and welfare functions than productivity (Uphoff 1986:26-27).

In addition to whether or not users are a definite set of people and have some recognized authority structure, three other characteristics are important to consider, namely **interdependence**, **homogeneity**, and **tradition**. To the extent that resource users are dependent upon one another for their livelihood and even survival, the incentives for making local organizations work well are greater, as in the case of irrigation water management. The same may hold true for rangelands where the availability and adequacy of water for both livestock and people is a dominant concern.

Certain resource management technologies may require interdependence. If bench terraces are constructed to control soil erosion, there must be cooperation in constructing toe drains and waterways to carry away the runoff. If reforestation on farmers' lands is to be effective in watershed management, then a high percentage of local residents must participate, since a shotgun approach -- with random, haphazard, widely dispersed participation -- may actually exacerbate the problem.

The tasks of local organizations are greatly simplified when users are homogenous -- they use the resource for the same purpose -- since decisions can be more uniform. Heterogeneity occurs when the resource has multiple uses and various groups may be competing for the same resource. This may happen when men and women use different resources from the same land, when pastoralists and farmers compete for the same marginal lands in semi-arid environments or when indigenous people and settlers compete for the same land in the humid tropical lowlands (Macdonald 1988).

Conflict over resource use is less likely when users see themselves as unified by kinship, occupation, geographical location, class, or by some other common characteristic. But where conflict predominates, local administration or local government may be more effective than membership organizations in reaching decisions. The incentive is great for one set of users to predominate when scarce, valued resources are at stake. Since compliance with decisions and regulations is rarely achieved through coercion, processes of consultation and consensus will be needed.

4.3 Common Property Management

While a strong argument was made earlier in favor of private property, such individual ownership does not necessarily imply better stewardship of the resources in question -- in spite of the "tragedy of the commons" and the resulting arguments in favor of privatization. There are many examples of sound and sustainable management of communal land and forest resources, but the dependence of the poor on the products of these resources is frequently overlooked. Consequently, encroachment of crop land on forested areas is often to the detriment of those who rely upon such areas for food, fuel, shelter, and income.

The fact that the resource is private, however, does not necessarily mean that the owner will be highly motivated to invest in long-term improvements. Their motivation will

be effected by other options such as alternative employment opportunities, land markets, government policies and markets for primary products. For example, in the U.S., where private owners have installed land and grazing improvements on a substantial scale on their own ranches, it has often been by using public funds in the form of grants or loans on very favorable conditions (Sanford 1983:127). In parts of the U.S. Pacific Northwest, timber companies liquidated timber on their own lands and then either turned to government lands or sold their lands and moved to other regions. This "cut and run" approach treated a renewable natural resource (timber) as a commodity to be exploited once with the profits reinvested elsewhere and the forest left in shambles. While these examples are drawn from the United States, similar examples could be found in the developing world. Policies and economic incentives will influence quite strongly landowners, interest in managing their land in a sustainable fashion.

Nor is tradition a synonym for sustainable resource management. It is wishful thinking to assume that resource users living in traditional social settings are necessarily able and willing to manage forests, soil, and water productively, equitably, and without conflict. There are very few places in Africa unaffected by Western education, medicine and skyrocketing population growth, new crops and other factors that have radically changed traditional resource management. Under certain circumstances, traditional forest peoples can use dynamite and chain saws just as destructively as the most recent settlers. However, where traditional roles are relatively intact, the capacity of local institutions to manage natural resources appears great (Siy 1982).

The fact that some communities do not manage their resource base well does not necessarily imply that they are unaware of the problem. Many traditional forms of common property resource management have weakened or collapsed under increasing population pressure, greater commercialization, public policies, technological change, and environmental pressure (Arnold 1989). In the case of communal rangelands, overgrazing may well mean that external forces work against existing controls as, for example, in the case of traditional authorities who are also salaried, government employees. In serving two masters the more unscrupulous can play the government off against their local constituency (Artz, Norton, and O'Rourke 1986).

One point should be clarified. Livelihood security and ownership and control of the natural resource base do not guarantee good stewardship. They are often necessary, but not sufficient conditions. What they offer to the poor are some alternatives, the opportunity to choose, and the chance to adapt the alternative chosen to their own needs.

4.4 Organizational Variation

Management of natural resources depends not only on the people and organizations involved but on the nature of the resource itself: its resilience to degradation, the time frame involved in its renewal, its ability to produce human-valued products, and the complexity of its management. Natural resources range from soils and water to flora and

fauna. The Africa Bureau of A.I.D. has identified soil conservation and fertility, vegetative cover, and biological diversity as its central focus. This study will also focus on these areas.

4.4.1 Soil Conservation and Fertility

Africa has not been blessed with an abundance of fertile soils. The continent's ancient geology has left much of the soils leached of nutrients and poor in organic matter. In areas where soils are naturally more fertile -- generally volcanic soils and some floodplains -- steep slopes pose problems of erosion. Traditionally, long fallows complemented shifting cultivation throughout Africa. Population increases have shortened or eliminated fallows without fundamentally changing the slash-and-burn techniques that greatly reduce organic matter and lay the soil bare to wind and water erosion.

In many parts of Africa farmers are taking steps to conserve soils, fully aware that their degradation is contributing to declining crop yields. What is more, in many situations where severe degradation has occurred, mitigative measures produce relatively rapid results by conserving soil and moisture for crop production.

NGOs have been active in soil conservation measures throughout Africa. In Burkina Faso, Oxfam-U.K. helped start one of the best known projects in soil conservation and water harvesting at the farmer level. The Yatenga Agroforestry Project traces its beginnings to 1979 when Oxfam decided to address the severe land degradation in the heavily populated Yatenga region of Burkina Faso's Central Plateau. The project began with microcatchments to conserve soil and trap water in order to grow trees for agroforestry. Trees were planted in these microcatchments to benefit from the increased water availability. The project soon discovered, however, that farmers were more interested in the potential for increasing crop yields than in producing trees. As a result, the project reoriented its activities to focus on water harvesting, by concentrating on more labor efficient barriers that were improved versions of traditional designs (Wright and Bonkougou n.d.). The widespread adoption of these simple techniques is now evident throughout the Central Plateau region.

Examples of activities addressing soil fertility are fewer than soil conservation activities for all types of organizations. Although various types of composting have been promoted for a long time, labor requirements are high and have been one factor preventing the widespread adoption of composting. Agroforestry, another technique often promoted to address soil fertility problems, will be discussed below.

4.4.2 Vegetative Cover

Vegetative cover is intimately tied to soil conservation and fertility. Activities that deal with the maintenance or re-establishment of vegetative cover can include protecting areas of bush for a variety of purposes; tree planting; natural forest management; agroforestry; and soil conservation that incorporates biological measures such as grass strips, relay cropping, and perennial crops to keep soils covered.

NGOs are involved in many of these activities. Village-level reforestation and tree-planting exercises -- although meeting with uneven success -- have become a mainstay of NGO activities. Interventions such as natural forest management, relay cropping, and perennial crops are technically more complex and have generally not been developed by NGOs. In addition, NGOs have experienced many of the same problems that donors and governments have encountered in attempting to persuade farmers to plant trees for fuelwood and agroforestry. The long-term nature of the investment remains a problem, regardless of the agency promoting it.

The Yatenga Agroforestry Project, cited as a success in addressing immediate concerns through soil and water conservation, has not succeeded in promoting its initial goals of agroforestry. Due to tenure problems, long-term pay-offs, lack of a perceived fuelwood problem by male farmers, and other factors farmers have generally been less interested in planting trees than in other activities more directly related to increasing crop yields.

Tree planting in Kenya, however, has been a well-publicized success story carried out, in part, by local NGOs. The success of the Kenya women's Green Belt Movement has been widespread not only in planting trees, but also in establishing nurseries and publicizing tree-planting. A study in two districts found that population density and tree planting were positively correlated (Kerkhoff 1990). Dynamic grassroots organizing and awareness-raising by NGOs have contributed greatly to the success of Kenya's forestry efforts.

As with most activities, including tree planting, NGOs have been successful with certain techniques for maintaining or establishing vegetative cover when farmers perceive it as a need or can see its value. In some instances, as the case studies note, NGOs have difficulty moving from the satisfaction of immediate concerns to mobilizing farmers to more long-range considerations. As mentioned earlier, most NGOs rely on consensus and shared visions to induce people to carry out activities. If factors like tenure policies and economic constraints are perceived as more important, then shared visions may not be enough for action.

4.4.3 Biological Diversity

Biological diversity is a complex field that only recently has been identified as an important natural resources issue. The identification, management and conservation of biodiversity has traditionally relied on biologists, botanists, zoologists, and other scientists with specialized expertise who have focused on studying and preserving ecosystems and species. Interestingly enough, this highly technical area has often involved NGOs, but a different type of NGO.

There are a handful of international NGOs active in Africa that specialize in activities related to the conservation of biodiversity, primarily centered around protected areas. National NGOs dealing with these issues tend to be nature clubs that deal primarily with environmental education and awareness-raising. In Kenya, a country where biodiversity

is a national economic concern, these groups have a relatively long history.

Up to a few years ago, the international NGOs dealing with these issues worked primarily with government agencies to carry out the biological inventories and research necessary to develop management plans, education campaigns, and, where applicable, tourist development for protected areas. But, as the threat from encroaching populations -- farmers, hunters, and settlers -- has increased, these NGOs are turning more and more to strategies that work with and benefit local people.

In Rwanda, for example, several conservation organizations including Wildlife Conservation International, an organization of the New York Zoological Society, and the African Wildlife Foundation, have worked not only to protect the country's threatened mountain gorilla population but have also instituted training programs for Rwandan scientists and guides and environmental education for teachers and students. They have worked on park management plans and opportunities for controlled tourism that brings Rwanda much needed foreign exchange and employment for local people.

In Mali's Niger Delta, the World Conservation Union (WCU, formerly the IUCN) embarked on an ambitious and complex undertaking to preserve the biological diversity of this critical ecosystem. WCU has attempted to show local people the linkages between wildlife, fisheries, grazing, pest control, and crop production in this economically and culturally diverse area. Through intensive negotiations with the various groups of fishers, herders, local villagers and local authorities WCU drew up an agreement -- the "Bouna Agreement" -- that would deal with complex and contradictory land claims and herding and fishing rights; return power to traditional authorities; protect certain trees and birds; and vest rights of forest ownership to local villages (Shaikh et. al. 1988). Although this agreement has run into numerous problems, it represents an example of a conservation group promoting conservation through dialogue and other socio-economic means well outside of a protected area.

5. THE NRMS EXPERIENCE

5.1 The Case Studies

The NRMS Level of Effort (LOE) project has worked in a dozen African countries, ranging from Senegal and Burkina Faso to Kenya and Botswana. A large part of the work has involved NGOs – soliciting their views about NRM priorities, visiting and learning from their projects, and working with them on training exercises.

In three countries in particular – Cameroon, Madagascar and Mali – the NRMS project examined NGO/donor relations in the field of natural resources management (see Annexes 1, 2, and 3). This examination focused on the perceptions NGOs and donors held of each other and their working relationships in the field of natural resources. Interviews were carried out with international and indigenous NGO staff, bilateral and multilateral donors, and government personnel. An attempt was also made to take a critical look at NGO field activities, not to evaluate, but simply to talk to field personnel and add another dimension to conversations in the capital cities.

The case studies, carried out by three different teams, identified several issues common to all three countries. In addition, they also brought out some differences between countries like Mali, with a relatively long history of NGO activity, and countries like Cameroon and Madagascar, where NGO activity is just beginning.

There are many changes taking place in Cameroon: economic crisis after years of relatively stable growth; reevaluation of the extensive government involvement in the economy; growing environmental awareness; and increased donor interest in NGOs as implementing agencies. The case study examines NGO activities in natural resources in this broader context. The study looks at two large NGO projects: a development project in the semi-arid north and a conservation project in the humid south.

Mali presents an interesting challenge for a case study on NGO activities in NRM because there are simply so many NGOs and so many activities. The authors worked with the NGO coordinating committee in Mali, *Comite de Coordination des Actions des Organizations Non-Gouvernemental au Mali (CCA/ONG)*, to gather overall statistics on NGO activities in natural resources which helped them to focus their interviews and field visits. Visits were made to three projects – two implemented by Malian NGOs and the third by an international NGO.

Despite Madagascar's incredible wealth of natural resources, in particular the diversity of its biological resources, NGOs have been active in NRM only recently. At the forefront in this area are several international conservation NGOs which have been working with the government on ways to manage its unique natural heritage. This case study focuses on institutional issues of collaboration and funding.

Both the Madagascar and the Cameroon case studies include a detailed list of NGOs operating in the countries. The Malian organization, CCA/ONG, collects and stores this type of information for Malian NGOs. The Cameroon case study also includes abstracts of several reports on NGOs in Cameroon.

The following themes are drawn from at least one, and usually more, of the case studies. Each case study reflected the very different natures of the three countries. Mali, a country in which drought and famine have been unwanted visitors more than once, has a diverse and vibrant community of NGOs – both indigenous and foreign – many of which started their activities by working on relief efforts. Cameroon, on the other hand, has been relatively successful economically and is blessed with a more favorable climate and land base. Relief efforts have not brought NGOs to Cameroon. Both Madagascar and Cameroon have much more significant biological resources than Mali and, consequently, host international conservation organizations with sizable projects in protected areas management.

5.1.1 Local Time Versus Donor Time

Although donors' chronically short attention span is an issue for all types of groups in all sectors, NGOs consistently identified it as a problem, particularly for NRM work at the village level. NGOs are in the position of having to mediate between, on the one hand, what villagers are willing to do when they are ready to do it, and, on the other, what donors want accomplished and when they want it done. The two time frames are often at odds.

A volunteer with the Canadian NGO, Organisation Canadien pour la Solidarite et le Developpement (OCSD), gave an example of a project designed and funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and carried out by OCSD. With a budget of \$4.5 million over five years, this project was supposed to fund small activities identified by village groups in the extreme north of Cameroon. CIDA planned to spend just under one million dollars a year. The OCSD project director, however, soon found that the groups in the area were a long way from being able to organize and identify viable projects and prepare proposals for funding. The desire to spend one million dollars in a responsible manner during the first year was simply unrealistic.

In Mali, representatives of a local NGO stated that they did not feel donors would accept the longer time frame required for a natural resources intervention. Such work requires a longer time frame than many other activities, no matter what type of organization is responsible for implementation. Growing trees, restoring soil fertility, or bringing back animal populations all take time. Funding for one, two, or even four-year natural resources projects are considered by many to be unrealistic.

5.1.2 Funding Levels

Although NGO/donor collaboration must be more than just a recipient/funder relationship, money is, nonetheless, an important factor in the equation – NGOs need it and donors are interested in providing it. The case studies brought up several problematic areas

in the funding process.

Donors often feel it is too difficult and time consuming -- in terms of administration and oversight -- to fund small, indigenous NGOs. In both Mali and Madagascar, the Swiss development organisation mentioned that it was as difficult to fund and administer a small NGO project as a large bilateral project. In Madagascar, the World Bank was unable to tolerate the heavy administrative burden of an experimental, \$3,000 grant to a protestant orphanage. Few donors, in fact, work with indigenous NGOs and most bilateral donors prefer to work through large NGOs from their own countries. Another reason that some donors, particularly the multilateral donors, have difficulty funding NGOs is that they see their mandate as working with the national government.

This perception on the part of donors that NGOs constitute an excessive, labor intensive management burden was not universal. In both Cameroon and Madagascar, some A.I.D. staff pointed out that government projects could be just as time-consuming to oversee if qualified personnel are not assigned to the project. One A.I.D. staff member, referring specifically to U.S. NGOs, felt that once an NGO has established its credibility, A.I.D. should not try to micro-manage the project. This sentiment echoes the CIDA position of trusting established Canadian NGOs to carry out projects in a responsible manner.

NGOs, for their part, often feel that the long time lag for getting a proposal funded by a large bilateral or multilateral donor is a problem. In Madagascar, one local NGO stated that it preferred soliciting funds from private sources rather than suffer the delays and bureaucratic difficulties involved in obtaining PL 480 counterpart funds from A.I.D. A French NGO in Cameroon also stated its preference for funding from private sources in France, explaining that large organizations like the World Bank can take years to come through with funding for a project. In Cameroon, both Canadian and French NGOs receive significant amounts of core funding from their respective governments to support their small home offices in Canada and France. However, both groups were actively seeking to diversify their funding base by identifying other sources of funding for actual projects, usually from private groups in their respective home countries.

While NGOs are often said to complain about the difficulty of donor reporting requirements, it is important to distinguish between different types of NGOs. Large, international NGOs, such as CARE and WWF (World Wide Fund for Nature), do not appear to have much problem absorbing large amounts of money and satisfying reporting requirements. Nevertheless, this complaint was heard from several NGOs in Madagascar and one NGO in Cameroon. It was not a general theme, however. Of more importance to NGOs in Madagascar was the issue of funding for institutional support which they felt was an important gap in donor funding to NGOs. Smaller NGOs, NGOs that deal with a large number of funding organizations, and NGOs that are intimately tied to the village level have more problem absorbing large amounts of money that would overwhelm village capacities. These NGOs are often the ones that call for institutional support.

5.1.4 Process Versus Product

NGOs often identify themselves as **process oriented**, whereas they claim donors are more **product oriented**. Viewing development as a process means attaching equal importance to the establishment of a village group that actually functions as to the establishment of a village tree nursery. While the latter is relatively easy to see, touch, and evaluate, the former is much more elusive but potentially more important and more sustainable.

Donors often emphasize **deliverables** -- things which must be delivered during the course of a project. Most NGOs, on the other hand, place their emphasis on the evolution of people and conditions. Physical things, ranging from nurseries to health clinics, are involved, but they are not the primary focus.

One of the projects included in the Mali case study provides an interesting illustration of this concept. The Africare Country Director and Technical Director pointed out that many of their projects have built upon basic skills, such as literacy, that were introduced by other projects. Such skills give the beneficiaries a head start in the Africare projects. For example, villagers who witness a project in a neighboring village and want to carry out similar activities may already have some experience in problem identification and resolution. In such a case, they are ready for the second step of a process that began in the first village.

However, there are also examples of on-the-ground activities that show a critical lack of process orientation. This was noted in Cameroon and in Mali. During field visits to projects, the case study team noted that local NGOs had problems moving beyond the first steps of responding to villagers basic needs to more complex NRM activities. In one project in Cameroon, the desire to make visible progress eclipsed efforts to support local institutions and make activities sustainable.

NGOs are caught in the same situation as any development institution -- governmental or non-governmental. No matter how committed they are to process and the intangibles of development, even the most grassroots of organizations recognize the need for quick, visible, tangible results. This is as much to gain villagers' respect and enthusiasm as it is to satisfy funders' requirements. There are two questions that need to be asked. The first is: **What's next?** Once the clinic has been built, is there a plan to improve water sources? Once the spring has been protected, is there a plan for reforestation to protect the catchment area? And once the area has been reforested, is there a plan to manage grazing in the area?

The second question that must be asked is: **Will people -- both government agents and villagers -- be able to continue, at some level, project activities once the NGO is no longer there?** This, of course, depends on many things over which the NGO has no control, such as government budgets and legal restrictions. However, in the case of one of the Cameroon projects, it is clear that the massive extension effort launched by the NGO project could never be taken up by the government. What is not clear is whether or not the

activities initiated by the project will continue in any form whatsoever once the project ends.

A related question might be asked about whether the emphasis on process includes the goal of having international NGOs scaling down or even working themselves out of a job through the strengthening of local NGOs, village groups and public institutions.

5.1.5 Evaluating NGO Projects

A small-scale, village-level project that is concerned with such intangibles as institutional strengthening and raising environmental awareness can be difficult for donors to evaluate. In Cameroon, both the World Bank and CIDA pointed this out, although neither could point to any easy solutions to the problem. Once again, this is related to the issue of process versus product. Without products to evaluate or easily quantifiable measures of project success, such as number of trees planted, number of farmers contacted, number of this, number of that, NGOs and donors are left with little more than words and good feelings that may or may not represent any real progress on the ground.

This is an issue that needs a critical, but flexible, examination by both NGOs and donors. Monitoring and evaluation is important for all activities. The question is not whether to monitor and evaluate, but how? This question needs to be answered by NGOs and donors working together.

5.1.6 Setting the Development Agenda

An interesting issue that appears in different guises in the case studies is the question of who sets the development agenda and, for that matter, the NGO agenda. Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in Cameroon was skeptical about donor development fads – be they natural resources management or child survival. Africare in Mali also felt that, while these type of donor themes may be important development issues, they are not necessarily what a given population is willing or able to address at a given time. Africare representatives stated that their long-term involvement with villagers put them, and NGOs in general, in a unique position to help donors and governments determine priorities. Yet, nowhere did donors refer to NGOs as partners from which to learn about development priorities. This issue of learning from NGOs is raised in much of the literature about NGOs and will be discussed further in the next section.

Donors appear schizophrenic in their views about NGO activities, particularly the diversity of these activities. On the one hand, they sometimes stated that sectorally narrow activities were a weakness on the part of NGOs. In Cameroon, NGOs were less than enthusiastic about the World Bank's suggestions that they get involved in urban issues that the Bank wanted to address. In Madagascar, a national NGO has resisted the pressure from donors to become involved in sectors it feels are outside its area of expertise.

These examples of donor pressure to diversify conflict with the comments by several donors, ranging from CIDA to the World Bank, that NGOs should be very careful about the number of sectors they work in and should expand very slowly and deliberately. Some

donors feel that sectoral specificity is an advantage. They feel confident funding an NGO with a proven track record in a certain area and are suspicious of NGOs that try to do anything for which they can get funding.

5.1.7 Collaboration: For and By Whom?

The Madagascar and Cameroon case studies focused particularly on the issue of collaboration between NGOs and collaboration between NGOs and donors. Both studies raise the question of who is promoting collaboration and why. Both conclude that the two types of collaboration are being promoted largely by donors and governments for a variety of reasons.

Donors are increasingly interested in funding NGOs, particularly in village-level NRM activities, but most feel that they cannot deal with several small organizations with limited absorptive capacity. Governments are interested in NGO activities as a supplement to donor activities. They often see NGOs as a free vehicle for the implementation of government development plans and want a coordinated, organized body with which to work. Government control over the actions of private groups may also be an issue in those countries where indigenous NGOs are relatively new phenomena.

The fact that this was not an issue in the Mali case study provides an interesting commentary on the above. For one thing, Mali has perhaps the most effective NGO coordinating group in Africa – CCA/ONG. Therefore, although some donors were still heard to complain about the difficulty of working with small NGOs, there was not the strong emphasis on NGO coordination found in the other two countries. As mentioned earlier, NGOs have been active in Mali for quite some time, and predate the current intense interest on the part of donors on working with them. Even Malian NGOs, which came into being in the 1980s, emerged in an atmosphere where NGO activities were part of the norm.

Neither Cameroon nor Madagascar has this kind of history. They have also been spared the extreme natural disasters like the Sahelian droughts which raised the awareness of the necessity for action on all fronts, not just by the government. As donors and governments continue to search for ways to deal with environmental degradation and government budget crises, NGOs will probably come under increasing pressure to form coalitions and committees. Both the A.I.D. and UNDP-funded projects have this kind of coalition building as a fundamental part of their mandate and such activities are well underway in both countries. The evolution of these coalitions will be interesting to watch.

6. PERSPECTIVES FROM THE LITERATURE

6.1 Reports from West Africa

Literature on NGOs in the NRM sector tends to be of two types: literature on NGOs in general and literature on the NRM sector that includes NGO activities. A brief examination of a selection of both types of literature reveals some interesting issues which, in many ways, reinforce some of the findings of the case studies.

The recent interest in the natural resources field in "success stories" has led to an outbreak of epidemic proportions of "case studies", "lessons learned", "and "relevant experiences." The Sahel in particular has suffered from this backlash to the 1950s and 1970s doom-and-gloom scenarios. All over Africa people are desperately searching for "what works", for the one farmer in 200,000 who is doing something "right" in the hopes that, once identified, dissected, analyzed, modified, and codified, it can be reapplied on the scale necessary. To answer the skeptics, NGOs look for success stories (Dichter 1988:179):

Even though there are thousands of NGO development projects now under way in the Third World, the same four or five "stars" are trotted out at conferences and seminars as proof of new paradigms of successful development. Worse yet, the best cases are brought to the public relations table far too soon. Most successes are pilot projects and have not stood the test of either time or replicability.

In some ways, this obsessive pursuit of success may be a necessary tonic to the dispirited, who desperately want to believe all the work, money, time and belief have not been in vain. Another aspect of this search is the fact that, environmentally, conditions in Africa are not improving. Population growth continues at a frightening pace with no serious effort to confront the issue and the droughts that began as a "cyclical phenomenon" show no signs of cycling out in time to allow plant species to regenerate and reestablish in their original range.

Volumes of success stories or case studies such as Paul Harrison's, **The Greening of Africa** (1987), Shaikh et.al.'s, **Opportunities for Sustained Development in the Sahel** (1988), Rodale's **Experiences in Success** (Tull, Sands, and Altieri 1987) and Rochette's, **Le Sahel en Lutte Contre la Desertification** (1989) are just a few examples of the new genre of NRM development stories.

In Rochette's report, 13 of the 21 case studies involved either a national or an international NGO. In the **Opportunities** report, approximately 21 out of 70 case studies had significant NGO involvement and perhaps 50 percent of the activities examined had some NGO involvement. Harrison's popular book **The Greening of Africa**, although less structured and technical than the other two studies, contains reference to seven activities carried out predominantly by NGOs, of 15 specific activities discussed. The Rodale book,

one of the first of the success stories genre, includes five case studies. The one from Africa looks at a donor project, but examples from other regions include NGO projects. Finally, a recent book by Paul Kerkhof (1990), *Agroforestry in Africa, A Survey of Project Experience* looks at 21 projects, nine of which are implemented by NGOs. This study is not a catalogue of success stories, but an examination of experiences, both positive and negative, with agroforestry.

As Dichter pointed out (above), many of these studies look at the same projects. Rochette, Shaikh, and Harrison all describe CARE's Majjia Valley windbreak project in Niger. Rochette and Harrison look at Oxfam's soil and water conservation activities in Burkina Faso and Rochette and Shaikh look at the same SWISSAID projects in Niger.

These studies should not be considered definitive statements of the extent of NGO involvement in successful NRM activities in Africa. Reading the reports, it is often difficult to determine the true extent of NGO involvement in projects essentially carried out by the government. However, they can be viewed in a general way as indications of that involvement. The NGO activities in these case studies range in size from fairly large-scale operations to extremely small, single-village activities.

Unfortunately, these studies are extremely biased – geographically, ecologically, and substantively – towards development in the West African Sahel. NRM/NGO activities in humid and coastal areas, and in southern Africa are virtually ignored. Projects to conserve biological diversity, while known, have not been examined in the same manner as development activities, although a recent report by the World Bank, A.I.D. and the World Wildlife Fund which looks at conservation and development projects may start to address this (Wells, Brandon, and Hannah 1990).

6.2 Environmental Crises

Rochette and Shaikh – Harrison to a much lesser degree – look specifically at the drought-ravaged landscape of the Sahel. Not surprisingly, they find farmers and herders who are doing something about their degraded environment. They have a choice between that and migration – the choice of many. Business as usual cannot continue.

These case studies include many examples of soil and water conservation initiated by farmers, NGOs, donors, and government agencies. Rochette's book in particular chronicles small dam, after rock diguette, after gabion. In essence, natural resources management in these areas is responding to villagers' most basic needs – food production. Different types of organizations, using all sorts of approaches, have met with both failure and success in these case studies.

Many of these activities have grown out of relief work carried out by NGOs. This prevalence of NGO involvement in relief work is probably one reason there are more NGOs operating in Mali – and its neighbors, Niger and Burkina Faso – than in either Cameroon

or Madagascar. In addition, the clear connections between environmental degradation and agricultural shortfalls have made villagers more aware of the problem and possibly more willing to do something about it.

In these types of quasi-relief situations, NGOs and other organizations often use food aid or food for work. Food for work can serve as an incentive for communal infrastructure investments and other public works. In some situations, however, this approach has led to dependence, while in others it has created difficulties for organizations working nearby which follow a different approach. For example, a project implemented by a local NGO in Burkina Faso, Vive le Paysane-Sapone, created a problem for another NGO, in this case Save the Children-U.S., by giving food for work for soil conservation activities that Save the Children carried out nearby without such incentives.

6.3 Flexibility

Most of the studies listed above emphasize to the need for flexibility in local-level natural resources management. NGOs have a relatively good track record when it comes to both flexibility and persistence. Case studies show that NGO projects, while sometimes starting in the wrong direction, are able to make modifications, and even to change direction, in response to new situations or newly identified constraints.

In the case of the Kenya Woodfuel Project carried out by the Beijer Institute and ETC, the focus shifted from the establishment of central tree nurseries to direct support for farmer activities when an initial survey revealed that farmers were producing their own seedlings. The Oxfam agroforestry project in Burkina Faso shifted its emphasis from tree establishment for agroforestry to soil and water conservation for crop production. Had these organizations not had the flexibility to shift their emphases and been evaluated on the original project criteria, both would have been considered failures.

This level of flexibility on the part of many NGO projects may be due to several factors, but particularly the following:

- The willingness to learn from farmers.
- The necessity of responding to farmers' needs in order to elicit cooperation.
- The less rigid requirements of private donors as opposed to bilateral donors.

All of these factors might be difficult for government agencies to replicate. However, there is no inherent reason why donor projects could not be more flexible if their emphasis on deliverables was modified for all projects, not just NGO projects.

6.4 Popular Participation

NGOs are often thought to hold the high ground when it comes to popular participation. For the most part, the literature supports this claim and gives examples of activities that bear it out. Nonetheless, a close reading of the various case studies reveals that, in the case of natural resources management, NGOs, while avoiding the strong-arm tactics of government and some donor projects, have often come in with their own NRM agendas and had to modify their approaches when participation was not forthcoming. This was the case in an Ethiopian project where farmers wanted eucalyptus seedlings, but the NGO project staff were convinced that they needed nitrogen-fixing, multipurpose trees, which proved to grow poorly in the area. The project modified its technical recommendations. In Zambia, a local NGO launched several complex and labor-intensive NRM projects that were rejected by local farmers. After a several years of trial and error, the NGO is learning from past mistakes and building on its strengths in awareness-raising, planting some trees, and reaching women farmers.

The literature also give numerous examples of donor and even government projects that, particularly when staffed by dynamic project personnel, have been quite successful in working with local people.

6.5 Sustainability

Most of the case studies brought up the issue of sustainability at one point or another in their discussion. Both NGO and donor- financed projects were often found wanting in terms of post-project sustainability. The need for results is something that no organization can ignore, no matter how process-oriented. The question is two-fold:

- * Has the project worked with and provided training for institutions -- private or governmental - that will remain to carry on the activity at some level after the project terminates?
- * Has the project introduced high levels of financial assistance and an approach to the activity -- paying for lots of extension workers, bringing in vehicles and other equipment -- that cannot be maintained and cannot even be scaled down once the project leaves?

Harrison's (1987) statement that foreign "charities . . . cannot afford enormous expensive ventures or complex imported technologies" and that "they have no choice but to focus on low-cost ventures" is an oversimplification that may be true in many cases, but certainly not all as the NRMS case studies showed. In general, most NGOs do work with far fewer resources than donor agencies, but often far more than government agencies trying to do their jobs. This has led to the situation in some countries, Mali included, of government services losing their underpaid extension workers to better paying NGO jobs.

6.5 What the Comparative Literature Says

6.5.1 Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Lessons Learned

At the community level, a recent study analyzed the factors which contributed to the sustainability of five successful development efforts – two projects and three programs – initiated by NGOs (Chambers 1988). Sukhomajri/Nada in the Himalayan foothills of India began as a soil and water conservation project which expanded its objectives to encompass equitable resource management, including social fencing of degraded forest land, a stake in new village resources for all villagers, and sustainable livelihoods for the poorest. Tin Aicha in Northern Mali sought to enable destitute nomads with no previous experience of cultivation to take up settled agriculture which they despised, and create a new community from people with different origins.

The three programs present a contrast in scale. The Lampang Applied Nutrition Program in Northern Thailand, the Baudha-Bahunipati Family Welfare Project in Nepal, and the Guinope Integrated Development Program in Honduras all cover wider geographical areas. Each includes elements of health and agriculture. Lampang and Guinope drew on experience gained by their organizations elsewhere and have followed tested approaches and procedures.

For the achievement of sustainability, five major lessons can be drawn:

- * **A Learning Process Approach:** Follow the learning process rather than the blueprint approach, well described and analyzed by Korten (1984). The underlying premise is that development is a process of change which is often unpredictable, that projects are designed and implemented on the basis of limited information – on the understanding that, as new information is provided, strategy and goals will be changed and modified accordingly.
- * **People's Priorities First:** Put people's priorities first. All the case studies were successful because sooner or later they managed to identify and meet people's perceived needs. These were linked with livelihoods: fodder for animals and agriculture; incomes from ropemaking and irrigation; food and incomes from soybeans, ducks, beekeeping, goats, donkeys, and camels; and savings bank reserves in the form of privately owned trees.
- * **Secure Rights and Gains:** Once their very basic subsistence is assured, poor people's ability to take a long-term view depends on how secure they judge their future rights and gains to be. While secure rights can be communal, in general individual rights to property tend to be more secure.
- * **Sustainability Through Self-Help:** All the major case studies stress self-help, and contributions from people. The importance of using beneficiary resources such as voluntary labor is well documented. Beneficiary involvement in

planning and implementation may produce additional cost savings. Frequently, their knowledge of the local situation will prevent wasteful and inappropriate interventions designed by outsiders. Also, when the local population is interested enough to make direct commitments to the development interventions, cost burdens are shared, ownership ensured, and sustainability enhanced (Morss et al. 1975).

- **Staff Calibre, Commitment, and Continuity:** Calibre, commitment, and continuity of staff are crucial. Calibre refers to sensitivity, insight, and competence. Commitment refers to determination, self-sacrifice, and dedication to working with and for the poor. Continuity refers to working consistently over at least several years.

6.5.2 Working With, Rather than For, the Poor

In a recent article reviewing various strategies for assisting the achievement of self-reliance by the rural poor, Uphoff (1988) emphasizes that mobilizing and utilizing local resources and talent involves no fixed design, but multiple components that can be combined in appropriate sequences and amounts. Among the more important components, which complement the guidelines proposed by Chambers, are the following:

- **Organizational Linkages and Choices:** Appropriate organizations should reach beyond the grassroots level through federations of base-level organizations. These establish horizontal and vertical linkages, creating a system of local organizations that has the advantages of solidarity in small groups at the base and of scale and influence operating at higher levels. It is unwise to rely on just one form of organizational linkage – whether bureaucratic, local government, cooperative, private enterprise, NGO, religious, or other.
- **Use of Catalysts and Paraprofessionals:** Often, government personnel are not particularly effective in mobilizing local people's energies, talents, and leadership. As a result, a growing number of development programs have resorted to specially recruited and trained catalysts – variously called promoters, organizers, facilitators, or change agents. To bring services closer to the people, a number of programs recruit – or invite – persons from the community to get training in technical subjects and skills that they, as paraprofessionals, can put to use for the benefit of friends and neighbors.
- **Bureaucratic Reorientation:** The staff of most government agencies are not presently prepared to work with the poor in ways that encourage and support their participation in development activities. To achieve this, a concerted effort is called for to reorient officials' norms and behavior and transform them into what Chambers (1986) has called "new professionals" – those who see poor people as active and knowledgeable, colleagues as much as clients, individuals from whom to learn and whom to serve in the role of consultant.

6.5.3 Integrated Conservation-Development Projects (ICDPs)

The protection of natural ecosystems in parks and reserves is the single most important method of conserving biological diversity. To date, traditional methods of enforcement have often failed and there is growing recognition that the successful management of protected areas ultimately depends on the cooperation and support of the local population. As a result, a new generation of projects is attempting to link the conservation of biological diversity in protected areas with the social and economic development of local communities. Such projects include biosphere reserves, multiple-use areas, and buffer zones, grouped under the heading of Integrated Conservation-Development Projects (ICDPs).

A recent study, sponsored by the World Bank, WWF, and the Africa Bureau of A.I.D., has reviewed 22 such projects in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but is not yet finalized (Wells, Brandon, and Hannah 1990). As mentioned earlier, conservation NGOs have often provided expert assistance to donors and national governments in the identification, protection and management of protected areas.

Although these NGOs have made progress in the past several years of recognizing and coming to terms with development issues, they are not development NGOs. Their mandate - supported by large networks of private donors - is focused on environmental conservation. In dealing with complex development issues (issues which few organizations can claim to have "solved") conservation NGOs are at the beginning of a steep learning curve.

Rather than expect conservation NGOs to be everything to everybody, a better strategy would be to encourage partnerships between development and conservation organizations both PVO and non-PVO.

These kind of projects are, by their very nature, often more complex than a reforestation or gardening project and demand more time and a long-term commitment on the part of funders to the evolution of activities.

7. ENHANCING EFFECTIVENESS: SOME GUIDELINES

One of the main findings of both the study and the literature review is that NGO and donor projects, working in natural resources management, face many of the same constraints, and experience many of the same problems – although often on different scales. NGOs seem to be both more flexible and more persistent in their development activities. Both NGOs and donor projects have experienced successes and failures in the area of popular participation in project design and execution.

Most of the case studies from the literature examine projects of NGOs, bilateral donors, government or individual initiatives. Multilateral donor projects are generally lacking. Many of the projects include a combination of organizations – government and NGO, donor and NGO. The evidence indicates that some of the best results have emerged from projects where there has been effective collaboration between NGOs and government agencies (Kerkhoff 1990). Harrison (1987) concludes that, as voluntary groups may have a higher success rate for their projects and have an important role in pioneering new approaches, aid agencies should increasingly sub-contract work to them. However, he continues, these groups do not have the personnel or the funds required for the scale of effort needed.

Brown and Korten (1989) suggest three ways in which these issues of expanding scale and sustainability can be addressed. The first is to transfer the service provided, already tested on a pilot basis, to the government or commercial sectors through provision of technical support. The second is to do small-scale development on a large scale through networking with similar organizations, an approach also favored by Harrison. And the third and most difficult is to promote national policies that will support improved NRM at the local level.

All the case studies acknowledge the important role that NGOs play in NRM, particularly in testing out new approaches and techniques. Most of the studies point to the relatively successful efforts of NGOs to mobilize villagers to undertake NRM activities.

These studies do not conclude, however, that NGOs are the only types of organizations capable of successful village-level NRM work, nor that they are uniform in their grassroots approach to development. All studies reveal an important role for government agencies, particularly if activities are to be sustainable, and donors, particularly if activities are to be extended to the scale necessary. Both entities could probably do more to learn from NGO successes and failures.

7.2 Some Practical Guidelines

There is no blueprint for the creation and maintenance of effective governmental and non-governmental partnership in natural resources management. Instead, there is a collection of lessons learned from many experiences in various parts of the world, most of

which must be adapted and modified to meet the needs and demands of the specific locality. On the basis of the preceding analysis, the following guidelines are offered to donors for enhancing the effectiveness of such a partnership:

- **Learning from Experience:** This argues for a social learning approach to institution-building: the acceptance that development is a process of change which is often unpredictable. This calls for flexibility and willingness to learn from past experience, both positive and negative, and to act upon the lessons learned. While this may be easier for NGOs given their smaller size and independence, it is crucial that donors and governments also try to follow this approach. This can be facilitated by expanding the time horizon of project support and striking some acceptable balance between process and product.

The examples of Oxfam-U.K. in Burkina Faso and the Beijer Institute in Kenya point out the necessity of this type of approach. Examples from other NGO experiences point out that all types of organizations (not only donors and government) need to build flexibility into their activities. This can be done at the project or program design stage. Literature reviews, baseline studies and other basic information often need to be generated or collected before large-scale activities are launched. Many organizations, including NGOs, do not carry out these kinds of studies and surveys and then find projects hard to evaluate and future directions difficult to determine. Just as importantly, the organization implementing the project - government, NGO, contractor - must be able to modify original project goals and methods to correspond with the findings of these studies and local-level realities which may only reveal themselves over time and may change over time. It does little good to carry out a needs assessment for example, if a project implementor is then restricted from modifying project activities to respond to these needs.

In sum, then, flexibility that is built into the design of a project will allow project implementors to learn from experience and adapt to changing situations.

- **Evaluating Process:** Donors should listen to the NGO demand for a more process-oriented world of development. This does not mean that NGO projects should not be held accountable and subject to monitoring and evaluation criteria. However, such criteria should be developed by NGOs or in collaboration with them rather than imposed from above. Such criteria should build in flexibility, realistic expectations and useful indicators rather than the box-ticking evaluations so often used.

Donors should encourage, and even require, NGOs to come up with evaluation and monitoring criteria that the NGOs feel to be useful and

relevant. In this way, NGOs would be forced to make clear their own motivations and perhaps donors could learn a few things about this difficult area that they themselves struggle with in non-NGO projects. Such requirements should also be encouraged for local NGOs as they seek to develop their own institutional capacities. Developing monitoring and evaluation criteria is a useful exercise for all project activities.

- * **Empowerment and the Role of NGOs in Policy Dialogue:** By furthering livelihood security, whether in the form of strengthening adaptive strategies, securing productive assets, or a combination of the two, rural people can be empowered. The key is local control and ownership which, although they do not guarantee good stewardship, do offer people some alternatives among which to choose. This should be a key objective of any donor strategy for achieving sustainable NRM at the local level. While NGOs can play an important role in this process of empowerment, they must be adapted to the characteristics of both the resource in question and the users of that resource.

NGOs also need to identify their policy niche in this regard. This will be a very country-specific issue and, while NGOs can influence policy very effectively, this process cannot be pushed in a policy environment that is not ready for it. Natural resources issues, including land and resource tenure, are so vital to the survival of African people and economies that they can be very sensitive politically. Nascent NGO movements may not feel capable of questioning government policies in these areas.

Donors need to be open to working with NGOs in the area of policy at a level with which NGOs are comfortable. This could involve supporting NGO workshops on the issue, consultation with NGOs regarding policy dialogue and the active involvement of NGOs in national-level strategies like the Tropical Forest Action Plans or Environmental Action Plans.

- * **Streamlining Funding Mechanisms:** Long delays in the disbursement of donor funds are a frequent inconvenience for recipients of donor money, however, smaller NGOs often do not have the cash flow to sustain themselves during the wait. This process could be streamlined by having donors channel funds through some centralized umbrella organization and by encouraging creative partnerships which will be discussed below.

There are some donors mentioned in the case studies - Norway in Madagascar and Canada in Cameroon - that have developed "user-friendly" funding mechanisms. Information on these mechanisms should be shared between donors and among donors and NGOs. In the final analysis, however, donors may not have as much flexibility as they would like in modifying their funding procedures. This underlines the importance to NGOs of developing a variety

of funding sources and working in groups or with other types of organizations that may be better equipped to deal with donor funding peculiarities.

- **Organizational Linkages:** As with funding, it is unwise to rely on just one form of organizational linkage. This would argue for NGOs to form both horizontal and vertical linkages, thereby providing solidarity with similar organizations and also some policy and funding leverage with donors and governments.
- **Creative Partnerships:** Although there are some characteristics common to most NGOs, NGOs on the whole are a very diverse groups with equally diverse strengths and weaknesses. Environment NGOs, for example, may be very technically qualified to carry out protected areas management but may not understand the development issues concerning farmers surrounding the park. Development NGOs may do a good job of helping rural people to address their immediate needs, but may fall short of helping these people understand some of the long-term environmental problems they need to address.

Rather than pushing NGOs to overcome all of their weaknesses (some of which are also part of their strengths as discussed above) and be all things to all people, donors should encourage innovative partnerships among NGOs and between NGOs and non-NGOs. This would certainly include the encouragement of development NGOs working with conservation NGOs in the protection and utilization of natural areas. It might also include NGOs paired with universities for research and extension projects, or with consulting firms for institutional building and management training projects. The idea is to capitalize on the complimentary strengths of different types of organizations and let each do what it does best. This relates to the basic tenet of many of the "success stories" that it makes sense to build on what works than to reinvent the wheel over and over.

- **Sustainability and Institution Building:** No one appears to have cornered the market in the design and execution of sustainable projects. NGO projects, while often economical on a gross level, can nonetheless be very expensive on a per beneficiary level - jeopardizing the likelihood of project activities continuing beyond the project's funding. In some situations a labor- and resource-intensive approach may be warranted - particularly in the pilot project phase, however, this issue needs to be considered in the consideration of project and program proposals. External resources should be kept to a minimum whenever possible and every effort made to minimize cost through the generation of local resources in both cash and kind. Such a strategy can reduce external dependency and ensure local ownership.

This approach also argues for donor support to focus on building the managerial and technical capabilities of local NGOs and indeed donors are more and more interested in this area. International NGOs are often the vehicles chosen for institution building for local NGOs. Some international NGOs are very committed to this and have proven it through their actions over the years. However, this approach requires specific skills in management and technical training - skills which not all NGOs possess. Donors and NGOs should be creative in their search for organizations with the best skills to help local NGOs better manage their resources and develop skills in natural resources management.

Local People, Local Knowledge, Local Priorities: The operational side of much of the above is an approach to NGOs and NRM that takes local people and their needs seriously. This holds for donors, governments, and NGOs. This does not argue for donor support to go only to the larger, more credible NGOs, whether local or international. Rather, it argues for supporting those NGOs which legitimately represent an interested local constituency and which have a reasonable idea of what they want to do, why they want to do it, how they propose to implement it and what their vision of future involvement holds.

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ANNEX I

CAMEROON CASE STUDY

DONORS, NGOS AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN CAMEROON:
CHANGING TIMES

A report prepared by
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Natural Resources Management Support Project

January 5, 1990

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DONORS, NGOS AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN CAMEROON:

CHANGING TIMES

After years of relative stability and economic growth the decline of world market prices for Cameroon's exports and the resultant economic tailspin has left the country scrambling to hang on. The current economic crisis ("La crise" for short) is forcing Cameroonians and outsiders to re-evaluate the government's "do-all" and "be-all" role in the country's development. And, as with any good crisis, multilaterals, bilaterals, banks, private agencies and assorted others are leaping into the fray to change policies, adjust structures, exchange rates, and so on.

At the same time, due perhaps as much to international trends as to internal interest, Cameroon is experiencing a small flurry of environmental activity. A Tropical Forestry Action Plan has been developed and donors are beginning to plan environmental activities. From desertification in the Extreme North to forest degradation in the South and with everything from soil erosion to urban pollution in-between, Cameroon will be faced by increasingly serious environmental and natural resources management issues.

These two major developments are having important implications for NGOs, both indigenous and international. Given that "governmental" has lost its sparkle, many donor organizations are casting bedroom eyes at the small number of non-governmental organizations active in Cameroon. No fewer than six reports about and concerning NGOs have been produced in the last two years; more than the number of indigenous, natural resources-oriented NGOs that could be identified for a recent NGO workshop. The U.S. Agency for International Development, UNDP and the World Bank are engaged in or considering major "NGO" activities. Perhaps as a result of the external forces involved in the developing NGO drama, most of these recent NGO-oriented initiatives focus on the emergent environmental and natural resources issues. The Cameroonian government for its part has been talking more and more about NGO "coordination".

The Current Brouhaha over NGOs

Although several international NGOs have been active in Cameroon for quite some time (CRS established their program in the 1960s) it is only in the last few years that indigenous NGOs have come into existence and gained official recognition. These young NGOs are still grappling with the complications of obtaining official recognition. At the same time they are attending conferences and workshops, contributing to reports on government-NGO coordination, and fielding a steady stream of consultants' questions on what they do, where and how.

Due to a number of factors, including the problematic legal situation for indigenous NGOs, church groups have played a very important role in community-level development activities. The church, both Catholic and Protestant, is probably the most pervasive, local-level organizing force for development in the country. Related organizations like BASC and JAC may be somewhat weak at the moment, but they have a strong network upon which to draw when they've organized themselves.

In addition to northern NGOs, Cameroon is also home to several pan-African NGOs: INADES, PAID and APICA. These organizations have a very strong mandate for training for rural development. This often includes natural resources and agricultural issues but tends to focus on more general issues of rural development, village-level organization, identification of problems, mobilization, etc. A few of the national NGOs such as SAILD, CRAT, and JAC also have this general, rural development approach.

In general, there seems to be a lot of words and interest running after very few NGOs. On the part of donors, NGOs are often seen as a way to reach the poor and village-level in a way that neither donors nor government seem able. CIDA in particular mentioned this as an objective in their work with NGOs. Additionally, as was said earlier, many donors are encouraging the government to scale back its activities and NGOs may be seen as one mechanism by which that can be accomplished at the same time as NGOs encourage local people to initiate their own development. The World Bank, for example, is exploring the possibility of working with NGOs in its Social Dimensions of Adjustment Project -- a way to reach the poor while the government tries to cope with structural reform.

Government, for its part, is clearly interested in using NGOs to further its own development priorities and tap additional resources for development. The Ministry of Plan and Territorial Affairs participated in a large study in 1988 on NGOs and their contribution to socio-economic development in Cameroon (see Annex I). Much of this report was a descriptive account of NGOs and their activities that helped the government and others identify which NGOs were doing what, where.

In September of 1989 this same ministry, with the assistance of UNDP and the World Bank, convened a three-day seminar for NGOs and government which was attended by approximately two-hundred people. In both the report and the seminar, the dominant theme was how NGOs can assist the government in implementing its development strategy, how their activities conform to the directions of the current national development plan and what responsibilities they have for national development.

Despite all this interest the number of NGOs in Cameroon remains relatively small - particularly national NGOs. Donors and

international NGOs mentioned that part of this may be due to the relatively high cost of living and working in Cameroon. For international NGOs, the same amount of money spent in Cameroon could finance a much larger program in many other African countries. Several people with whom I talked speculated that relatively good economic growth, pervasive government involvement in development and a lack of visible environmental crises had combined to limit both the number of Cameroonian NGOs and the level of environmental awareness in the country. It is interesting to note that environmental awareness and NGO natural resources activities are most prevalent in the Extreme North, an area that has suffered some of the same drought conditions as the Sahel which is home to a far greater number of indigenous and international NGOs.

Natural Resources Management Issues and Some NGO Perspectives

A workshop composed of approximately 15 international and national NGOs called by the NGO-PVO/NRMS Project revealed several different facets of the overall picture of NGOs' work in natural resources management in Cameroon.

The following issues, proposed as discussion points by the World Wide Fund for Nature, provide a list of some of the critical environmental issues in Cameroon. The discussion inspired by these issues revealed interesting insights into NGO priorities and activities in natural resources management. The issues were:

1. slash and burn agriculture/shortened fallows
2. extension of commercial crops (on the part of smallholders) into forest areas
3. poorly regulated timber exploitation (forest conversion after logging by smallholders)
4. land and tree tenure
5. fuelwood gathering and charcoal production
6. desertification in the north
7. protected areas system.

Slash and burn agriculture and the question of shortened fallows and reduced production were high priority areas for several groups, including representatives from government (forestry and community development). Groups like INADES and JAC which work directly with farmers on training and improved farming techniques were some of the most vocal groups on this issue.

Issues two and three seemed to be of principal concern to groups like WWF, WCI and FON: all three of which are active in the dense forest region and very concerned with conservation. Also, both issues deal with aspects of government policy or performance that some NGOs were reluctant or felt powerless to address.

Land and tree tenure were the subjects of intense debate which involved almost every group including the participant from the government reforestation service. Although there were a few who were not willing to agree, most of the group felt that tenure issues are a definite natural resources management problem. They were divided as to whether NGOs had a role to play in the modification of tenure policies. This discussion seemed to point out the still tentative relationship between NGOs and the government and NGO unwillingness to directly question government policy, particularly on something as potentially sensitive as tenure.

The discussion of desertification centered around reforestation issues and a now-defunct governmental program called "Sahel Verte". Although this involved a government program, NGOs were quite interested and confident about reviewing, criticizing and suggesting changes to address the program's problems with local participation.

Finally, the discussion of protected areas turned into an examination of the interaction of local people with parks and protected areas. As would be expected, this discussion was dominated by the groups involved in Korup National Park (WWF, WCI, FON) which are dealing directly with issues of relocating people out of national parks, buffer zone management and non-extractive resource use. The discussion also highlighted some of the different underlying orientations of conservation versus development NGOs. The former focusing on ensuring the integrity of the park, the latter emphasizing the needs of local peoples.

A recurring theme that surfaced throughout the workshop was the issue of "awareness raising" or "sensibilisation". The Cameroonian participants in particular felt that the level of environmental awareness among local people needed to be raised. This opinion was also expressed by other Cameroonians involved in NRM projects.

The workshop, although useful, was weakened by the absence of a few key NGOs: CARE, SAILD (which was present for about one hour), APICA, PAID, and AFVP. There are, of course, other NGOs with long-term experience in Cameroon that, although not active in the sector, might have had useful things to contribute.

NGO Activities in Natural Resources Management

In terms of size of program, staff and impact there are only a few NGOs that can be viewed as key players in natural resources management in Cameroon at this time. Others, such as Save the Children, APICA, PAID and CRS often have natural resources management as part of the program, but not as the major focus. Groups such as JAC and FON do not yet have the staff or funding for major programs. These organizations and others are briefly

described in Annex II and are also discussed in several of the reports listed in Annex I.

CARE

Active in agroforestry since 1981, CARE has perhaps the oldest NGO natural resources program in the country. CARE's natural resources work is centered around Mokolo in the Extreme North, through the continuing agroforestry project, a small women's gardening and fruit tree project and a forestry project that is currently in a preliminary phase. The CARE approach in these areas is intensive "animation", therefore they have a large staff (over 100 people) primarily "animateurs" and extension workers. The proposed forestry project, for which they've approached CIDA for funding, would have a budget of \$5.4 million over the three year period for Phase I (of a ten year project). The women's project is approximately \$85,000/year and the agroforestry project is closer to \$200,000/year.

A new project manager with solid experience and technical qualifications has recently arrived in Mokolo and seems poised to re-orient a program that has hitherto been somewhat academic and isolated from the greater community. CARE is struggling to nail down funding for their "SOS Louti Nord" forestry project which they've already begun on a provisional level. This very large, multisectoral project has a heavy emphasis on natural forest management. CARE in Cameroon is funded and administered through CARE-Canada, their primary source of funding comes from CIDA. Lately, deep cuts in CIDA's budget have thrown not only CARE but other Canadian NGOs into a rather unsteady state. Other funding comes from The Netherlands and CARE-Canada and USAID for the women's gardening and fruit tree project. The projects in the North are working with SNV and an OCSID volunteer. CARE works closely with the government, particularly ONAREF.

WORLD WIDE FUND FOR NATURE

WWF has been officially involved in the large and complex Korup Project since 1987 (other groups were involved before WWF took it over). WWF project personnel have worked on scientific and management aspects within the Korup National Park and on buffer zone management around the park. Due perhaps to the lack of experience of WWF-U.K. in implementing a large project with a development component, the buffer zone component has not been as successful or well-defined as the more traditional scientific and park management components.

The Korup project receives its nearly one million-dollar funding from ODA, WWF-UK and EEC. A new five-year plan for the project includes building a road to open up markets for local people and other activities totalling several million dollars over the life of the project. GTZ is seriously considering becoming involved in the project in the area of community development. They would provide their own personnel and implement their own

activities but work with the existing project. WCI has also become involved through a small grant from USAID. The Korup Project is intimately tied to government services related to parks and protected areas. Project employees work with government counterparts on a daily basis.

INADES

INADES, a Pan-African NGO based in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, currently has three offices in Cameroon with a total of 20 professional trainers (often agricultural engineers) and 20 support staff. INADES' work is primarily concerned with training and a large part of their training program deals with improved agriculture, soil conservation, forestry and other natural resources management issues. They have undertaken and completed several long-term projects throughout the country, including one involving farmer training in soil conservation techniques in the northwest. INADES is also an important contractor for other organizations, including NGOs, in the area of training. Their funding comes from a wide variety of sources: CIDA, AFVP, Artists for Africa, church groups and other NGOs. INADES also produces a wide array of training and issues-oriented publications, many on natural resources issues. Although INADES is always ready to work with government, they find that most of their work is directly with farmers.

ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DES VOLONTAIRES DE PROGRES (AFVP)

AFVP has approximately 40 volunteers (out of a total of 80) working in agriculture and forestry activities. They have worked on a variety of natural resources related issues including forestry research trials with French scientific organisations, research and promotion of improved cookstoves (with Bois de Feu, a french NGO), and training. AFVP receives most of its core funding from the French government and youth and development associations in France, however, they can and often prefer to look for project funds from other organizations. The person with whom I spoke mentioned that NGOs, including churches, based in Europe were often easier to deal with than donors which usually take a long time to come to decisions and allocate funds.

SERVICE D'APPUI AUX LES INITIATIVES LOCALS DE DEVELOPPEMENT (SAILD)

Although SAILD cannot yet be considered in the same league with the aforementioned groups, both in terms of size of program and staff, they are, nonetheless, one of the most active and visible Cameroonian NGOs involved in natural resources. Founded a year and a half ago by Bernard Njonga, an agricultural engineer at the national agricultural research institute, the organization is officially recognized by the government, has a staff of eight technicians and four support staff and receives significant funding from the Swiss and Italian governments. SAILD works primarily in the Extreme North with a family tree project. They are also involved in intensive training sessions in which they bring village-designated representatives to Yaounde for a month of

training. SAILD also has an information component and produces a high quality newsletter.

NGO Field Activities

I was able to visit only two NRM NGO projects in Cameroon - CARE's agroforestry and preliminary forestry project and WWF's Korup Project. These two projects provided interesting contrasts and similarities.

The CARE project is located in the Extreme North where rainfall, and more specifically the seven to nine month dry season, is a major constraint to development. Farming and livestock are the principal economic activities. There are strong traditional local authorities and a culture influenced by Islam - the dominant religion in the North.

CARE, now basically a development organization in Cameroon, has strong roots as a relief organization. Their approach in the north, as the earlier description implies, is intensive and proactive in the extreme. Although they work with government, and to a very limited degree with local church groups, institution building takes second place to results.

The Korup project is located in the opposite extreme of the country. Korup National Park is one of the wettest places on earth. The local people are Christian or animist and have weaker local political structures than those in the north. The local economy involves some farming and trade with neighboring Nigeria, but also harvesting of wild plants and animals from the biologically rich forests.

WWF-UK is a relatively small organization concerned primarily with conservation. Previously only a source of funds for projects implemented by others, Korup is their first large project. The project attempts to ride the new wave of putting conservation and development together. WWF has gathered some impressive talent in their heartland of park management, ecology, scientific research, etc. These professionals appear to have worked successfully with government park staff. Yet, the rural development component has been left to more inexperienced people who have received very little support and guidance up to this point.

The Korup project has been a relatively complex project and is likely to become even more complex as other donors and implementors enter the scene. The first project manager had problems with this complexity. The new project manager (a Cameroonian) has just started and faces a formidable task of organization, coordination and diplomacy to keep the project functioning smoothly.

Both organizations have had their ups and downs in terms of

qualified, professional expatriot staff, but on the whole technical natural resources staff seems to have been of fairly high quality. Indeed, staff members seem to have had more technical skills than grassroots organizational and rural development skills. Perhaps for this reason, both projects have been somewhat donor-like in their fairly top-down, externally driven approach that has, at times had problems with local organization and participation. While projects work at the grassroots level, they have not always been successful in working with the grassroots level.

It is interesting to note that CARE's project - essentially a rural development project - has never carried out a socio-economic survey of the project area (the new project manager is planning one now). The Korup project - a conservation project - has carried out extensive socio-economic surveys but has not made a concerted attempt to incorporate them into the project.

Neither project manager reported difficulties in dealing with donor reporting or financial requirements. These areas were handled in large part by the home offices in Canada and the UK.

In short then, both projects refute some commonly held beliefs, both positive and negative, about NGO natural resources projects.

NGOs look at Donors and Donors look back

It would be impossible to generalize about NGO perceptions of donors and vice versa. So much depends on the size of the NGO, its professionalism and operating style and the donors it dealt with. Some donors, such as USAID, currently have little direct involvement with NGOs, others, like the Netherlands, work through volunteer organizations from their own countries. A few NGOs did not deal with bilateral donors - CRS and JAC for example. Others dealt almost exclusively with only one bilateral - OCSD and AFVP with Canada and France respectively. At this point in time SAILD is the only indigenous NGO receiving money directly from a bilateral organization, therefore, the following discussion will be concerned primarily with international NGOs.

At the moment, the apparent donor and governmental interest in NGOs does not seem to have resulted in much money for NGO activities. Canada, cited by one and all as doing the most with NGOs, has just suffered a significant budget cut which has effected its levels of funding to NGOs. The World Bank has been exploring the idea of working with NGOs, but it may be quite some time before anything materializes, if it materializes at all. Both UNDP and U.S.A.I.D. are starting up small projects that will be further subdivided into small grants for small activities. The economic crisis has seriously effected the Cameroon government's ability to continue its funding and in-kind contributions to NGO projects.

Consequently, the problem of money was a given for all NGOs. Even those that were doing relatively well were attempting to diversify their funding base, not only by approaching other donors but also by pursuing European or Canadian-based NGOs that had money but did not implement projects.

In general, neither NGO staff nor donor staff identified major problems in their relationships with each other. Some of the oft-mentioned problems of NGO accounting and reporting, NGO autonomy, donor development fads, etc. did not crop up as dominant themes. Rather, the more elusive problems of local time versus fiscal years, local capacity to spend money and how to evaluate an NGO project focused on process rather than product were issues raised often by both donors and NGOs.

The "Management Burden"

The often heard NGO complaint of reporting and accounting requirements was seldom expressed as a problem by the NGOs with whom I talked. The large international NGOs like Save the Children, CARE, WWF-UK and EIL seem to have developed accounting and reporting systems sophisticated enough for donor purposes. In addition, their home offices are often very involved in reporting to funding sources. INADES which works with a very diverse set of donors did mention accounting and reporting requirements were a headache (my meeting at INADES was with the Head of their Administrative and Financial Service). The General Secretary of SAILD mentioned that they employed an accountant on a part-time basis to deal with their bookkeeping requirements.

Donors, for their part, were also not terribly concerned about the management burden that an NGO project might entail. Whereas the problem of moving large amounts of money through NGOs does exist, it may be more a function of local capacity than NGO capacity. Most people at donor agencies did not feel that NGO projects were a day-to-day management burden. Discussions with some staff at USAID revealed frustrations with getting an NGO project developed and approved. This appeared to be more an internal problem in the particular mission than a problem inherent in NGOs.

The Roots of Grass

All four donors with whom I met viewed NGOs as the most effective way to reach the village-level in any sector, natural resources included. In this sphere of relatively small, local-level activities donors had few qualms about NGO technical capabilities.

Interestingly enough, the NGOs identifying most strongly with this definition of themselves were CRS and perhaps INADES (APICA and PAID may have as well). CRS receives no donor funds in

Cameroon and INADES receives donor funds only sporadically. Other NGOs (CARE, EIL, WWF) were working as much, if not more so, with government agencies and personnel as with villagers.

Another interesting aspect of the donor desire to reach the grassroots is the perception by many Cameroonians working with NGOs (whether indigenous or international) that local people need "sensibilisation". They need to be educated to recognize, understand and prioritize environmental and natural resources problems. Everyone wants to reach the local level, but there's also a desire (on the part of donors and some NGOs) to have local-level priorities conform to priorities set elsewhere.

Finally, the line separating small, grassroots-type activities from large, non-grassroots-type activities was more a matter of intuition than numbers. CARE's proposed "Louti-Nord" project and WWF's proposed extension of the Korup Project push the image of a small, village-level NGO project to the limit.

Commitment, independence and donor fads

The NGO battle cry for independence and autonomy was heard in only a few corners of Cameroon. The CRS director made a strong case for NGO autonomy from donor fads, worrying that such fads could undermine the continuity and integrity of NGO activities. The World Bank survey ran into this sentiment fairly often both because of NGO mistrust of the Bank's operating style and because the Bank was looking to fund urban activities which would entail a fundamental reorientation for many NGOs. Several NGOs contacted during this survey indicated that they had no wish to alter their rural-oriented programs for World Bank money.

On the other hand, some of the international NGOs (CARE, EIL, WWF, SAVE) remarked that they would welcome more donor interest and feedback on project progress. In some cases, they felt that this might help avoid unexpected outcomes of project evaluations.

In terms of donor commitment to NGOs (and the avoidance of fad funding) NGO integrity seemed to be a fairly important issue. CIDA's method of funding Canadian NGOs relies heavily on the NGO's proven ability to fund and implement rural development activities. Once that is established, CIDA provides generous matching grants for operational expenses and other grants for special projects like the OCSD project in the Extreme North. The Canadian officials with whom I spoke felt very positive about the activities of the NGOs they supported.

AFVP operates in a similar manner with the French government, however, this NGO is actively seeking to diversify its funding base. When asked if it would seek funds from the World Bank, for example, AFVP responded (as did several other NGOs) that the World Bank and other large donors simply took too long to come through

with funding. Other NGOs were less bureaucratic, easier to work with and more reliable for funding small projects.

The concern with NGO integrity was echoed by one person at USAID. His feeling was that after an NGO has "proven" itself, donors should fund it for the types of projects it does best and not try to micro-manage each project. This of course would also have a direct bearing on the aforementioned concern of management burden. In this regard, an NGO having a limited range of expertise was positive rather than negative. It would be clear to a donor that certain NGOs would be qualified for certain kinds of projects and not for others.

All donors were skeptical about large NGOs that tried to do everything or were willing to do any type of project for a grant. Yet, as some NGOs and the World Bank pointed out, there is a tendency for donors to push NGOs to expand and grow to fit donor needs.

Time and Space

Areas that several NGOs thought were often problematic related to village-level scale and time frames versus donor scale and time frames. OCSID and CARE (both of which work with CIDA) talked about the difficulty of getting donors to fund the small projects that local people and organizations are ready to handle. Donors seem to want NGOs to operate on a small scale -- but not too small. Related to this is the issue of time. Donors want money dispersed at a certain rate and/or by a certain date. NGOs working with local people and organizations may or may not be able to fit local time to fiscal years. The result can either be not enough money spent which might make the donor unhappy, or money spent simply for the sake of spending it, which could make both the NGO and the local people unhappy.

One way of getting around the scale problem is to create an umbrella type of project as has been done by U.S.A.I.D., UNDP and CIDA. The OCSID project in the Extreme North illustrates the potential complications. This special project was set up to work with local organizations and communities to fund small projects and activities that they identified themselves. It is managed by a Canadian with experience in community development in Africa. The project was designed by CIDA, however. As designed, the project should be dispensing about one million dollars a year, from the first year. Yet the project manager found that the local communities were not well-organized or stable enough to absorb that kind of money in a sustainable manner. Therefore, the first year of the project is drawing to a close and the required amount of money has not been dispersed.

Evaluations or How'd we do?

Another issue that several donors and NGOs raised was the problem of evaluating NGO projects. CIDA, OCSID and the World Bank all brought this up and simply left it with a question mark. It seemed accepted that NGO projects could be difficult to evaluate.

Mr. Mitchnik at the World Bank brought this up as a problem for an institution like the Bank that is dominated by quantitatively oriented economists. NGO projects, in his view, tend to resemble integrated rural development projects in that they are involved in a wide variety of activities and they concentrate as much on process (participation, organization, etc.) as on products. These kinds of projects are very difficult for economists in particular to come to terms with as they may have very few measurable outcomes.

The comment was made at USAID that when NGOs encountered problems with their projects they were often accused of having designed the project poorly. In his opinion this related to USAID's tendency to view all project problems as design flaws rather than inevitable and unforeseeable events that arise in every project. NGO projects in particular, as the previous discussion has emphasized, need to be flexible and adaptable to local conditions. The OCSID coordinator in Yaounde saw international NGOs in particular caught between local realities and donor realities. They were trying to be the flexible cog that holds together two gears moving at different speeds and sometimes in different directions.

Tenacity

Both donors and several NGOs brought up an issue that has recently gotten some play in the development field, particularly in the area of natural resources. That is that sustainable rural development with an emphasis on process takes time. More time than most donors are willing to spend on something. In spite of the failures and problems of both the Korup project and CARE's agroforestry project, both projects are evolving and learning over time. There is a continuity there that, in my opinion, will probably result at some point in successes. The organizations are committed to these areas. They are learning from mistakes, diversifying funding and continuing their commitment rather than simply abandoning it as a failure or a success.

Conclusions

This profile can only be considered an impressionistic look at NGO-donor relationships in the area of natural resources in Cameroon. Limitations of time, logistics and scheduling conflicts

combined to limit the number of contacts I was able to make and the number of project I was able to visit.

Things are just getting interesting in terms of NGOs and the environment in Cameroon. It's only been in the last several years that anything has been done at all in this sector. The new UNDP and U.S.A.I.D. projects should produce some useful lessons and hopefully guidance both for NGOs and for natural resources work in Cameroon. At the moment, however, Cameroon provides far too limited a sample upon which to draw to analyze NGOs working in natural resources.

The economic crisis has had both positive and negative effects on NGOs and the environment. While it has focused more attention on the importance of both, it has also contributed to an atmosphere of uncertainty regarding the role of government in natural resources and NGO coordination. Of major importance to several initiatives is the reorganization of the two forestry parastatals - ONAREF and CENADAFOR. This could have significant implications for both NGOs and donors involved in forestry-related activities throughout the country.

Cameroon's tremendous ecological and cultural diversity, the economic and political changes and its nascent environmental NGO community set the stage for what promises to be a very interesting and unpredictable unfolding of events.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFVP	Association Francaise des Volontaires du Progres
APICA	Association pour la Promotion des Initiatives Communautaires Africaines
BASC	Bureau d'Action Socio-caritative
CENADAFOR	Centre Nationale pour le Developpement Forestier
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CRAT	Centre Rural d'Appui Technique
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
EEC	European Economic Community
EIL	Experiment in International Living
FIMAC	Fonds d'Investissement pour les Micro-realizations Agricoles Communautaires
FON	Friends of Nature - Cameroon
GTZ	German Assistance Agency
INADES	Institut Africain pour le Developpement Economique et Social
IPD	Institut Panafricain pour le Developpement (see PAID)
JAC	Jeunesse Agricole Chretienne
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NRMS	Natural Resources Management Support Project for Africa
OCSD	Organisation Canadienne pour la Solidarite et le developpement
ODA	Overseas Development Administration (United Kingdom)
ONAREF	Office Nationale de Regenerations des Forets
PAID	Panafrican Institute for Development (see IPD)

PVO Private Voluntary Organization

SAILD Service d'Appui aux Initiatives Locales de
Developpement

SNV Netherlands Assistance to Development Programs

UNDP United Nations Development Program

USAID United States Agency for International Development

WCI Wildlife Conservation International

WWF-UK World Wide Fund for Nature - United Kingdom

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ANNEX I
Reports on NGOs/PVOs in Cameroon

There have been quite a number of reports on NGOs active in Cameroon. More reports, in fact, than indigenous Cameroonian NGOs if one excludes village-specific groups. The following is an annotated bibliography of some of these reports.

Githens, Wendy (1989) Report of the First National Seminar for NGOs in Cameroon. Unofficial report produced by Wendy Githens, Experiment in International Living/Cameroon.

This nine-page report is one participant's impressions of a major, week-long meeting organized by the Ministry of Plan and Territorial Affairs (MINPLAN) with assistance from UNDP and the World Bank. The report describes the major elements of the Seminar, topics presented and a synthesis of the results. A list of seminar participants (approximately 200) and more specific seminar outcomes was not available but should be produced by the Seminar organizers.

Government of Cameroon/Ministry of Agriculture, Division des Etudes (1989) Les Groupes Agricoles au Cameroun. Etude preliminaire a la mise en place d'un fonds d'investissements pour des micro-realizations agricoles et communautaires (FIMAC). The Ministry of Agriculture and the World Bank. Yaounde, Cameroon.

Although not really a study of NGOs, this three volume report contains extremely detailed information on small, village-level groups involved in agriculture. It was produced as a preliminary report for a World Bank food security project that hoped to work through small groups. Volume III has the actual in-depth interviews from 35 such groups. Volume II has a synthesis by province of these groups and a list of all such groups in each province (for a national total of 1707). This should be an invaluable reference for groups wishing to work with local, grassroots organizations in agriculture and natural resources.

Government of Cameroun & UNDP (1988) Les organisations non-gouvernementales et leur contribution au developpement socio-economique du Cameroun. UNDP.

This study identified 76 NGOs, many of which were ILDs (Initiatives Locales de Developpement). It places quite an emphasis on these organizations although it does not define what an ILD actually is. I have the impression they are a government inspired entity. The report attempts to describe NGO activities in Cameroun and highlight how these activities have contributed to Cameroun's socio-economic development. As an inventory of NGOs it's a useful point of reference.

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Mpanya, Mutombo & Ongolo Ndongo (1988 or 89) Africa 2000 Network, Cameroon Mission. UNDP. New York, N.Y.

This report was commissioned by the UNDP Africa 2000 project as a background paper for the initiation of their project activities in Cameroon. The report discusses a few national NGOs and briefly mentions some international NGOs. It discusses some government and donor actions and policies in the environment but does not relate them to NGO activities. Finally, it makes recommendations for Africa 2000's program. This report has a tendency to be superficial, incomplete and occasionally erroneous. It should be read with caution and only in addition to other reports.

Natural Resources Management Support Project (NRMS) (1989) NRMS Project Update and NRMS Project Country Profile. NGO/PVO-NRMS Project. Washington, D.C.

The NRMS Project Country Profile is a five-page background on priority natural resource concerns in Cameroon and some of the NGOs (primarily international) active in the field. The 10-page update focuses on the potential operating details of the NGO/PVO-NRMS project in particular. It also includes the general situation of NGOs in natural resources activities in Cameroon, with specific mention of the UNDP, Africa 2000 project.

PAID (Pan-African Institute for Development)(1988) Coordination des Actions du Gouvernement, des ONG et des Organismes Internationaux au Cameroun. World Bank, Washington, D.C.

This report, conducted by PAID for the World Bank, explores the specific question of collaboration/coordination among NGOs, the government and international organizations (specifically the UN system). A survey of NGOs, government and the UN was conducted asking one, if the organization thought that some formal system/structure of collaboration was a good idea, and two, how would the organization see this system set-up and operating?

PAID contacted eight NGOs that met certain criteria which included the ability to support other NGOs. The NGOs interviewed included: OCSD, CRS, AFVP, INADES, SNV, SATA HELVETAD, CARE and APICA.

The general, although not unanimous, feeling from all groups was that some form of coordination was necessary and was a good idea. There were differing views on how it would best be accomplished. So far nothing has been done with the report.

Rietbergen, Simon (1987) *L'Interaction des Populations Locales avec les Ressources Forestieres et les Interventions des ONGs.* In International Institute for Environment and Development, *Le Territoire Forestier Camerounais.* IIED, Washington, D.C.

This brief annex of a larger report offers the most natural resources management specific look at NGOs of any I found. It also offers an interesting account of the history of government-NGO relationships in Cameroon. The author explains his fairly loose definition of national NGOs which includes organizations that are legally government but function somewhat like NGOs. He then lists and describes several organizations that are not found in other reports. Although a bit dated (particularly in the rapidly changing NGO environment in Cameroon) this is nonetheless an interesting perspective on NGOs in forestry in Cameroon.

Talbot, Kirk (1988) *Report on PVO/NGO Survey for West Africa.* IIED/USAID NRMS Project. Trip report for US AID, Washington, D.C.

As part of a larger study that included Senegal, Mali and Niger, the consultant spent four days in Cameroon and met with 12 people from NGOs and donor organizations. There are detailed descriptions of meetings with CARE, Save the Children, World Wildlife Fund and the Pan-African Institute for Development. Also noted are conversations with representatives of the Canadian embassy, UNDP and USAID.

Woodward, Mark C. (1989) *Activities of Non-governmental organisations in Cameroon.* World Bank. Washington, D.C.

This report looks at 20 NGOs in detail and lists another 18 with brief descriptions. The purpose of the report was specifically to look for NGOs that work in urban areas and with which the Bank could work in its structural adjustment program. Consequently, there is no elaboration of NGO, natural resource management activities.

Donor-NGO relationships are touched upon briefly, particularly concerning NGOs negative perceptions of the World Bank. NGOs were quite worried about the possibility of the World Bank coming in and throwing money around. This could be a particular problem as there seems to be no significant NGO involvement in the urban sector at this time. Many NGOs were simply not interested in shifting their priorities for the sake of the World Bank's priorities. The report is sensitive to this issue, but one gets the feeling that the Bank will plow ahead anyway.

ANNEX II

NGOs/PVOs involved in Natural Resources Management in Cameroon

As mentioned in the main text, there are a number of reports that examine NGOs and PVOs active in Cameroon. Below is a brief listing and description of NGOs not listed in the main body of this report which have some activities in natural resources management. This section draws largely from the work carried out by Mark Woodward of the World Bank who contacted a significant number of the principal NGOs in Cameroon and summarized their activities. More extensive, but less detailed, information can be found in the UNDP/Minister of Plan, Government of Cameroon report of June 1988 which lists 76 NGOs with brief descriptions of their activities.

AFVP - Association Francaise des Volontaires de Progres

See main report.

APICA - Association pour la Promotion des Initiatives Communautaires Africaines

I was not able to meet with representatives from APICA therefore this information is drawn from the Woodward report, the Africa 2000 report and conversations with other NGO personnel. APICA is an African NGO with headquarters in Douala and activities in five central African countries. APICA is essentially a support organization that focuses on providing training, information and networking and assistance in appropriate technologies to local development initiatives. Several NGOs with whom I met mentioned that they had worked in coordination with APICA or contracted with them to provide training services at one time or another. Although the organization does not focus on natural resources management, many of their training and appropriate technologies do deal with this area.

BASC - Bureau d'Appui Socio-caritative

BASC is the development arm of the Episcopal Conference of Cameroon. I spoke with Callixta Belomo, the Director. Connected intimately with the Church, BASC carries out its operations through the different Diocese and, in the area of agriculture and natural resources, through JAC. Essentially, BASC operates as a coordinating and fund-raising organization for locally identified small-scale development projects that are usually carried out through local churches. Up to now the major funding sources have been European and Canadian catholic groups. Ms. Belomo plans to begin to approach other funding sources such as international NGOs and donors.

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CARE

See main report.

CRS - Catholic Relief Service

The CRS office in Cameroon manages the Cameroon program and programs in Equatorial Guinea, Chad and Zaire. The CRS country director, Jared Hoffman, emphasized that local NGOs and community groups were CRS' focus here - in other words, institution building. He sees CRS as a conduit to channel money to local groups. Involvement in natural resources is limited to agricultural development and related activities in the north. CRS has a professional staff of five and about four support staff. It does not have full-time technical staff. The annual budget for Cameroon activities in 1988 totaled approximately \$388,903, all of which came from CRS.

EIL - Experiment in International Living

EIL's presence in Cameroon is due to a two-year project (recently extended for a third year) with UNDP. This project has the very specific mandate to work with and train a training team within the Direction of Community Development in the Ministry of Agriculture. EIL does not have a program other than this project and therefore has not been involved in natural resources management. With the initiation of the NGO/PVO-NRMS project of USAID in September 1989, and the Africa 2000 project of UNDP around the same time, however, EIL will play an important coordinating and organizing role for NGOs involved in natural resources work in Cameroon.

INADES - Institut Africain pour le Developpement Economique et Social

See main report.

IPD - Institut Panafricain pour le Developpement

See PAID, below.

JAC - Jeunes Agricultes Chretiennes

Although technically an international NGO with a base in Leuven, Belgium, JAC seems much more like a struggling national NGO. Its

nine staff people are young volunteers with little to no formal education who get a basic subsistence-level stipend from the Catholic church with which they are closely associated. JAC has no other financial support at the moment. In the past they have received funds from church groups in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, however, their administrative capabilities are extremely limited. They have often worked through BASC to find funding for their activities. JAC is involved in "animation", extension and farmer-level organization and implementation of small agricultural activities. Their definition of agricultural is extremely broad and includes many natural resources activities. JAC identified training in everything from natural resources management techniques to project administration as an important need for its members. Information and communications aids would also help JAC in its work.

OCSD - Organisation Canadienne pour la Solidarite et le Developpement

OCSD is a Canadian private volunteer group similar to AFVP in that it receives a large part of its funds from its own government. OCSD volunteers work in about six African countries and are generally, although not always, fairly experienced development workers. In Cameroon, OCSD has been involved in a variety of natural resources issues including agricultural extension, community forestry, gardening, etc.

CIDA provides core funding for the organization through matching grants (this equals about 80 percent of the operating funds of their 25-30 person staff in Canada) and separate funding for special projects like the Projet d'Appui aux Initiatives Villageois discussed in the text. Volunteers receive a living wage but generally have to raise money either from Canadian NGOs or the Canadian Embassy's small fund for their project activities.

OCSD was not mentioned in the main report because it is in the process of closing down its volunteer program in Cameroon - a combination of CIDA budget cuts and the high cost of operating in Cameroon. There are currently only seven volunteers in Cameroon. The special project (a five-million dollar, five-year project) will continue with its two full-time staff (one expatriot, one African). The goal of the project is to fund locally identified activities. Therefor, the project will become involved in natural resources management and agriculture as local people prioritize those issues. OCSD also has a forestry volunteer working with CARE's "SOS Louti-Nord" project.

PAID - Panafrican Institute for Development

As the name indicates, PAID is a Panafrican NGO with offices in Doula and Buea, Cameroon, Burkina Faso and Zambia. PAID offers four to seven month courses and one year courses in integrated rural development and other, shorter training courses in related areas. In addition to training, PAID is also involved in research and consulting. PAID's work in natural resources is a spin-off from their work in rural development. '

SAILD - Service d'Appui aux Initiatives Locales de Developpement

See main report.

Save the Children - U.S.

Save the Children focuses on integrated rural development and as such can be involved in a variety of natural resources related activities while not having natural resources as a main focus. Natural resources activities that Save the Children has implemented as part of larger projects have included tree nurseries and tree planting programs with school children, gardening and other agricultural work. The director indicated an interest in expanding into natural resources activities in their program areas but noted that they would need ongoing technical assistance to oversee such activities. Save the Children is currently involved in three areas in Cameroon - Ntui in the central area, Yokadouma in the East and Doukoula in the extreme north.

In the past, Save the Children received substantial funding from USAID, now however, that funding is ending and seems unlikely to resume. Cameroon government contributions were also important to Save the Children's program and those have all but disappeared.

WCI - Wildlife Conservation International (A Division of New York Zoological Society)

At present WCI has a very small presence in the form of a \$210,000, three-year grant from USAID to carry out research and other activities in Korup National Park. The project has one full-time, expatriot biological coordinator who works independently but in coordination with the WWF Korup Project described in the main report.

WWF-UK World Wide Fund for Nature - United Kingdom

See main report.

ANNEX II

MADAGASCAR CASE STUDY

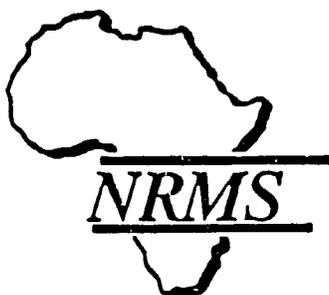
ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NONGOVERNMENTAL
PARTNERSHIP IN NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT:
MADAGASCAR CASE STUDY

Christine Brown, Energy/Development International
Kjell Christophersen, Energy/Development International
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December 1989

Natural Resources Management Support Project
(AID Project No. 698-0467)

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GLOSSARY

ACCN	Association pour la Connaissance et Conservation de la Nature
AICF	Action International Contre la Faim
AID	Agency for International Development
CMCF/AD	Comité Malagache Contre la Faim/Action pour le Développement
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CWS	Church World Services
D.V.V.	Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband e. V.
EAP	Environmental Action Plan
EIL	Experiment in International Living
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FI.SA.	Fianakaviana Sambatra
FNE	Fonds National pour l'Environnement
GDRM	Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MBG	Missouri Botanical Garden
MPAEF	Ministry of Livestock and Waters and Forests
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NORAD	Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation
NRM	Natural Resources Management
NRMS	Natural Resources Management Support Project
OAR/M	Office of the A.I.D. Representative/Madagascar

PNRM	Plan for Supporting Natural Resources Management in Sub-Saharan Africa
SPP	Strategic Program Plan
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Program
WWF/International	World Wide Fund for Nature

Enhancing the Effectiveness of Governmental and Nongovernmental
Partnership in Natural Resources Management:
Madagascar Case Study

1. Background

The A.I.D. centrally-funded Natural Resources Management Support (NRMS) Project has as one of its components the identification and implementation of special studies on topics of high priority to the Natural Resources Branch of the Agriculture and Natural Resources Division of A.I.D.'s Bureau for Africa's Office of Technical Resources. Out of an initial list of seventy possible topics, three were selected for implementation. One of those three is entitled "Enhancing the Effectiveness of Governmental and Nongovernmental Partnership in Natural Resources Management". The study report will draw on the findings of four individual case studies being carried out in Cameroon, Mali, Uganda and Madagascar and will make recommendations on ways to foster and/or strengthen collaboration between NGOs and multi- and bilateral donor organizations. The choice of NGO/donor collaboration as a special study topic stems from the Bureau for Africa's intention to "maintain a strong working relationship" with NGOs (PNRM, 1987) as stated in the 1987 Africa Bureau Sector Strategy entitled "Plan For Supporting Natural Resources Management in Sub-Saharan Africa".

2. Findings and Conclusions

After extensive interviews with representatives of NGOs, host government ministries and multilateral and bilateral donors, the study team came to the following conclusions:

- * Collaboration between NGOs and donors/government ministries is a new concept in Madagascar (with the exception of NORAD and Cooperation Suisse).
- * Increased collaboration seems to be more donor-driven than NGO-driven.
- * A general consensus exists among donor agencies and government ministries that increased collaboration with NGOs is desirable as NGOs are perceived to be an effective means to support grass roots development activities.
- * NGOs indicated a willingness to increase collaboration with the public sector, but with certain conditions--most importantly, the need to maintain their autonomy and their own philosophical approach to development activities.
- * Donors are aware of the generally limited absorptive capacity, narrow sectorial expertise, and limited geographical coverage of NGOs.
- * Collaboration between NGOs must be maintained on a small scale; large coordinating bodies would compromise individual development strategies.

3. Status of Current Natural Resources Management Activities in Madagascar

3.1 Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

3.1.1 NGO Funding Mechanisms

The funding base for NGOs in Madagascar is, at present, predominately private rather than public. There is a hesitation on the part of many of the NGOs to use public funding due to the perceived lengthy time frame required to secure funding and the cumbersome reporting requirements. Most of the NGOs seemed satisfied with their present program levels and are not actively soliciting additional funding from bilateral donors to increase their project portfolio.

There are three prototypes of funding mechanisms presently used by NGOs in Madagascar. The first is generally for international and church-based organizations which have a support or home office based in Europe or the United States. The majority of their project and operating expense funding is secured by the home offices and transmitted to the field. Each home office has a number of outside private and public funding sources which complement its own internal funding base. For example, Lutheran World Federation (LWF) in Geneva serves as a mechanism for the Malagasy Lutheran Church to secure project funding either directly from LWF or from Lutheran churches/organizations such as the Norwegian Church or Lutheran World Relief in the United States. Project reports, prepared in a standardized format, are submitted to headquarters which, in turn, submits them to the appropriate donors, adding or deleting information as necessary to conform to individual donor reporting requirements.

A second prototype is generally for national, non-confessional or secular NGOs with no internal funding base who must solicit monies for both projects and core operating expenses from public and private funding sources. Upon approval of project requests, all required reports are transmitted directly to the donor agency. A percentage of the operating costs are included as a portion of each funding request. To avoid the administrative burden of providing reports in a myriad of formats to numerous different donors, the NGO generally submits one standardized financial and narrative report to all funding agencies. These organizations, in particular, are hesitant to request funding from bilateral donor agencies which are perceived to have stringent and/or complicated reporting requirements. For example, FIKR/FAMA prefers to solicit funding from international private sources rather than use PL 480 counterpart funds due to the delays and bureaucratic difficulties encountered under this funding system.

A third prototype is a combination of the two types discussed above wherein the majority of funding is transmitted from a home office located outside of Madagascar, but the in-country NGO is allowed to solicit funding directly from private or public sources. For example, WWF/Madagascar solicited funding for its Ambre Mountain conservation/development project directly from the Office of the A.I.D. Representative/Madagascar (OAR/M) and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar (GDRM) PL 480 counterpart fund. In this case, financial and narrative reports are submitted to the OAR/M, the GDRM, and WWF/International. International

organizations such as WWF may be able to adhere to multiple reporting requirements such as these, but a national NGO would have difficulty, constrained as they often are by limited institutional capabilities.

3.1.2 Collaboration Among International and National NGOs

Collaboration between international and national NGOs in Madagascar has, in some instances, involved the creation of a national NGO to continue activities originally carried out by an international NGO or a donor agency. There are three examples of this type of collaboration in Madagascar.

FIKRIAM was created in 1975 by Church World Services (CWS) to continue the implementation of CWS activities in the water sector. In 1980, FIKRIAM changed its name to FIKRIFAMA to reflect the ecumenical nature of the organization. It was supported until 1986 by the presence of an international technical advisor who assisted in the training of national water technicians and in the identification of other international funding sources for project activities. FIKRIFAMA is presently managed exclusively by a Malagasy staff and a Board of Directors and has an annual project portfolio of US\$1 million from 10 public and private funding sources.

A second example was the creation in 1988 of ORIMPAKA by the Coopération Suisse. The purpose was to create an indigenous organization to duplicate the Coopération Suisse pilot reforestation project which had demonstrated a good success rate since its inception in 1984. The methodology and design of the original project was adopted by ORIMPAKA for implementation in a new project zone. Coopération Suisse continues to provide technical assistance by its international technical staff and funding for project activities. Efforts are currently being made, however, by the Malagasy director of ORIMPAKA to decrease its dependence on Coopération Suisse by identifying additional sources of funding.

Catholic Relief Services initiated the creation, in October 1989, of a third NGO called NAMANA. NAMANA is overseen by a Board of Directors responsible for the formulation of the statutes and bylaws for the organization. Initially, NAMANA will be responsible primarily for the administration and implementation of the PL 480 Title II food program under a contractual relationship with CRS, but its activities could expand to other sectors. Program funding will be provided by recipient contributions collected in conjunction with the food program. CRS was accorded a grant from A.I.D./W to provide institutional support in the phase-over of the food program to local institutions in five countries in Africa. A total of \$50,000 per year for three years will be provided to NAMANA to develop its logistical capability and its financial management systems, and to finance staff training and technical assistance.

This type of collaboration is an effective method of developing the institutional capabilities of national NGOs. Technical and financial assistance provided by an international organization allows the national NGO to build up its technical capability and establish itself as a credible organization. This, in turn, enables it to solicit outside donor

assistance directly. CRS is using this approach with several other national NGOs that already exist in Madagascar but whose institutional capabilities need further strengthening.

3.2 Donors

3.2.1 Office of the A.I.D. Representative/Madagascar (OAR/M)

The OAR/M FY 1990 Concept Paper recommended against OAR involvement in biological diversity activities after September 1988. This recommendation stemmed from the belief that the resources the OAR/M could commit to this sector would be "insignificant" compared to what would actually be needed. OAR/M has since revised its thinking on this recommendation and intends to give conservation highest priority in the FY 1992 Concept Paper. The projected funding levels for the total OAR/M NRM portfolio are approximately US\$20 million per year over the next seven years, possibly rising to as high as US\$35 million.

OAR/M is currently financing two natural resources management (NRM) activities through NGOs--the Amber Mountain Project with the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF/International) and the Masoala Peninsula Project with the Missouri Botanical Garden, SA.FA.FI. and the Waters and Forests Service of the GDRM Ministry of Livestock and Waters and Forests. A third activity to be launched in FY 1990 is with Duke University and WWF/International. Project activities will include the creation of Ranomafana National Park, conservation education and rural development activities. The Mission will also design a major NRM project anticipated to include an umbrella grant to be administered by an appropriate international NGO. Grant funds will probably be targeted for conservation, sustainable development and the creation of national parks.

As set forth in A.I.D. Handbook 3, Pages 4C-2 and 4C-A-1 through 4C-A-5, OAR/M can directly fund both U.S. and non-U.S. NGOs, provided they are registered with A.I.D./W or OAR/M. The Madagascar OAR favors increased collaboration with NGOs. It designs its projects, however, so that the funding is managed by an international NGO who, in turn, subcontracts with a national organization. This arrangement is currently used in the OAR/M Masoala Peninsula Project. While reporting requirements are less stringent for NGO subcontractors, they remain comprehensive for NGO contractors. Current A.I.D. financial management regulations do not allow streamlined reporting requirements for NGOs. Collaboration with NGOs often places a heavy management burden on USAID missions whose personnel must sometimes devote considerable amounts of time ensuring that project requirements are being met. However, this management burden is sometimes no more heavy than it is when working with host government ministries if those ministries do not delegate to the project personnel who have strong managerial expertise.

3.2.2 Coopération au Développement de la Confédération Suisse (Coopération Suisse)

Coopération Suisse has an annual budget averaging between 25 million and 30 million Swiss Francs (SF) to be spent on four sectorial programs: environment, agriculture, road rehabilitation and basic health. Approximately one third of the annual budget is spent in the forestry sector. As part of its support to the forestry sector, Coopération Suisse finances professors, technicians, vehicles and teaching materials for a forestry technician school called Etablissement d'Enseignement Supérieur des Sciences Agronomique (EESSA). Other assistance includes a 10-year support project with the Forestry Training Center at Morondava and co-funding of the World Bank Third Forestry Project.

Coopération Swiss favors increased collaboration with NGOs in the implementation of natural resources projects in Madagascar but recognizes the limits. The focus on environmental issues is new in Madagascar and only a handful of NGOs have become active to date. In 1987-88, Coopération Suisse tried unsuccessfully to identify an NGO that could continue its village reforestation activities. In the end, the Swiss had to create such an NGO--ORIMPAKA--which is now 1 1/2 years old and functioning with Swiss support (See Section 3.1.2.). Coopération Suisse believes that NGOs should initially restrict the number of development sectors they become involved in and only gradually expand into related sectors. Coopération Suisse can fund NGOs directly. It believes the management load for small NGO projects is as big as for large bilateral projects.

3.2.3 Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation (NORAD).

NORAD has been active in Madagascar for 17 years and has a long history of collaboration with NGOs. NORAD currently has a bilateral program level of approximately 25 million Norwegian Kroner (US\$4 million). NORAD is contributing another US\$3.2 million (20 million Nkr) through multilateral channels. The Lutheran Church in Madagascar receives financial support directly from Norway and is not supported by NORAD's office in Madagascar.

Of all the donors interviewed, NORAD's funding process is the least cumbersome for NGOs. Implementation of development activities through the NGO mechanism is stated NORAD policy. NORAD has minimal reporting procedures for local NGOs to make it as simple as possible for them to apply for direct assistance. This streamlining of NGO funding requirements is a deliberate policy on the part of the Norwegian Government. NORAD/Oslo has a fund of 500 million Nkr (approximately US\$80 million) for development assistance through NGOs.

3.2.4 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)

GTZ does not yet have a large NRM portfolio although all of their projects have NRM components. Two new projects--one being an integrated rural development project with a substantial soil conservation component and the other a renewable energy project--will be launched in FY 1990. The policy of the GTZ is to work within established host government priority areas on a strictly bilateral basis with projects implemented by GTZ contractors and their host government counterparts. The GTZ has not collaborated

with NGOs in the past, believing that their large-scale, multi-faceted projects could not be effectively managed by an NGO. This policy is beginning to change, however, as more NGOs are created and gain experience in the natural resources sector.

3.2.5 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

UNDP's five-year (1987-1991) assistance program to Madagascar totals US\$45 million of which approximately \$18 million is for agricultural and environmental projects. UNDP is strictly a funding, rather than an executing, organization. All UNDP financing is for other United Nations (UN) agencies and cannot be channeled directly to NGOs. Other UN executing agencies can, however, subcontract with NGOs with GDRM concurrence.

3.2.6 Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

FAO funded a study of NGOs whose activities are complementary to the type of projects being carried out by FAO in Madagascar. This study was considered a preliminary step towards increasing FAO collaboration with NGOs. A total of 15 organizations were assessed with 6 selected as having the potential for collaboration with FAO through Technical Cooperation Projects (TCPs). Some of the organizations interviewed were reticent to work with FAO as they felt their approach to development would be superceded by FAO policies. The six organizations selected by FAO were: Catholic Relief Services, CARITAS, FIKRIFAMA, FLSA., Action International Contre la Faim (AICF), and Comité Malagache Contre la Faim/Action pour le Développement (CMCF/AD). FAO has already begun discussions with AICF for two small projects to be implemented in 1990. This will be the first time FAO/Madagascar has collaborated with NGOs. The FAO representative interviewed stated that this was due in large part to the fact that FAO has traditionally designed projects that realize a rapid return on project funding whereas NGOs view their involvement as long-term and evolving out of the expressed needs of the target populations. FAO hopes to foster increased collaboration with NGOs in the future.

An ongoing study of the long-term sustainability of projects, requested by the Economic Commission for Africa, funded by FAO, and implemented by a University of Madagascar professor, has highlighted the fact that many activities initiated through development projects often cease once the project ends. Though the study is not yet completed, preliminary speculation is that involvement of NGOs may have improved the sustainability of some of these projects. This study is expected to give impetus to increased collaboration between FAO and NGOs.

3.2.7 World Bank (WB)

The World Bank's present corporate policy is to collaborate more with NGOs. This policy has been manifested in a variety of ways in the past two years. In 1988, the WB and the GDRM Ministry of Population took an inventory of all NGOs operating in Madagascar. Through the WB Improvement in the Quality of Life Project (Projet Passage), funds are allocated for training and institutional support for NGO's. Also in 1988, the WB Mission in Madagascar decided to set up a test case whereby it would provide a small grant directly

to an NGO. A total of \$3,000 was taken from the WB's operating fund and given to a Protestant orphanage to implement specific activities. Administration of this grant and the technical inputs required from the WB staff proved to be a heavy management burden. This experiment convinced the World Bank/Madagascar staff that it has no capacity to deal directly with NGOs.

To create a mechanism through which donors can work effectively with NGOs, the WB is proposing the creation of the National Environmental Fund (FNE) under its proposed Environment I Project. Project funds targeted for small-scale activities in soil conservation, agroforestry and forestry, among others, will be channeled through the GDRM Ministry of Finance to the FNE. The FNE will, in turn, facilitate the transfer of funds to the private sector, research centers and NGOs. The FNE will be the principal funding mechanism for all environmental activities at the village level.

In the interim until the FNE is established, the WB is working with NGOs through the already-created Support Office (Cellule d'Appui) attached to the GDRM Ministry of Plan. The mandate of this office is to coordinate and synchronise all environmental actions in Madagascar including extension and research activities, and donor and NGO project implementation in the environmental sector.

3.2.8 World Food Program (WFP)

WFP/Madagascar has no natural resources projects in its current portfolio. WFP does work with NGOs in other sectors, particularly social welfare projects and emergency assistance, with the approval of the GDRM. Current WFP policy is to foster increased collaboration with, and support to, NGOs. WFP/Rome has recently changed its policy to give its field missions authority to approve projects at the mission level rather than submitting proposals to Rome. This should substantially decrease the amount of lag time for NGOs between the design and the actual funding of projects. Long delays between proposal submission and receipt of funds is one of the major criticisms NGOs have of dealing with donor agencies.

WFP recently completed a worldwide study on WFP/NGO collaboration. The study found that roughly 70% of WFP offices worldwide collaborate with NGOs and that 117 NGOs have worked with WFP to date. The study also indicated that WFP projects involving NGOs have a higher rate of success than those with no NGO component.

4. Donor and GDRM Perceptions of NGO Roles and Capabilities

4.1 Donor Perceptions

Representatives of each of the donor organizations interviewed agreed that NGO participation in donor projects can be beneficial to the long-term sustainability of project activities. However, the donors also stated that NGOs have definite managerial and technical limitations which restrict their potential for involvement in any large-scale project. Comments made by the various donors concerning NGO limitations are summarized as follows:

NGOs are too sectorial, both geographically and in terms of technical expertise, to manage country-wide, multi-faceted development projects;

NGO absorptive capacity is limited and care should be taken to not over-fund them.

Creation of NGO consortia to implement integrated development projects, with individual NGOs implementing activities in their specific geographical and technical areas of expertise, would be looked on favorably by donors. Donors believe, however, that national NGOs in Madagascar do not routinely collaborate with other national NGOs except in disaster relief activities. NGOs want to maintain their own identities and development philosophies.

Many of the national NGOs in Madagascar have only come into existence within the past decade and are technically and managerially weak. Those NGOs who are more established and have strong technical expertise are already operating at maximum capacity.

Many of the NGOs have no legal status in Madagascar and many of those that are registered, both international and indigenous, seem to operate independently of the GDRM.

4.2 GDRM Perceptions of NGOs

Government representatives interviewed stated that the GDRM recognizes that it cannot address all environmental issues on its own and views NGOs as valuable partners as long as NGOs adhere to GDRM protocol. One GDRM representative expressed the desire to see increased collaboration between international NGOs and indigenous NGOs. A second view expressed was that NGOs should be an instrument of the GDRM whereby the GDRM issues directives that NGOs carry out and the GDRM then monitors. This representative described the following two possible scenarios:

1) A bilateral donor and the GDRM design a project and incorporate an appropriate NGO to implement specific activities. The NGO would report to both the GDRM and the donor.

2) An NGO would obtain external project funding on its own, report it to the GDRM and work with the appropriate GDRM ministry in implementing the project.

It should be stressed that the scenarios described above were one person's opinion and not necessarily the stated or unstated policy of the GDRM. This view is included here, however, to highlight the potential for conflict if host governments perceive donor/NGO collaboration as a means of circumventing or excluding host government involvement in the allocation of project resources.

5. NGO Perceptions of the Pros and Cons of Increased Collaboration with Donors

NGO personnel interviewed expressed a variety of reservations about the merits of increased collaboration with donors. These reservations are summarized as follows:

If the donor community wants increased collaboration with NGOs, it needs to accommodate NGO operational modes through such things as:

- * funding projects under \$50,000;
- * expediting project approval and funding processes;
- * streamlining reporting requirements; and
- * multi-year programming.

Donors frequently want to establish NGO coordinating bodies but fail to discuss with NGOs the types of activities they would like to implement and how implementation should be carried out. NGOs in Madagascar have tried to organize themselves before but have never succeeded in establishing a lasting mechanism. An ad hoc type of collaboration among 4 or 5 NGOs involved in similar types of activities or who are implementing complementary activities within the same geographical area would be more beneficial to NGOs than a top-down, coordinating structure imposed on the NGO community by itself or by donors.

Donors should earmark a portion of project funds for institutional support, including management training, for those NGOs collaborating in the implementation of the project. This is especially true for those NGOs with no core operating expense budgets.

The desire to increase collaboration between donors and NGOs seems to be more donor-driven than NGO-driven. Most of the NGOs interviewed were satisfied with their present funding levels given their management and technical capabilities. The one exception was ORIMPAKA whose representative stated they would be willing to expand their activities into other zones if additional funding could be secured.

6. NGO/NGO Collaboration

Collaboration among NGOs is currently being carried out on an informal basis in Madagascar. Most of the collaboration is between one or two NGOs who have similar philosophies or approaches to development. For example, the church development organizations working with water delivery systems meet on a periodic basis to share information on various techniques and to ensure that efforts are not being duplicated in different regions of the country. There is currently a collaborative effort between an international NGO (Missouri Botanical Garden) and a national NGO (SAFAFI) to carry out complementary activities on a natural resource management project on the east coast of Madagascar.

ANNEX 1
NGOs ACTIVE IN NATURAL RESOURCES IN MADAGASCAR

WORLD WIDE FUND FOR NATURE (WWF/International)

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WWF/International established an office in Madagascar in 1979 with the designation of a Malagasy representative. Primary activities were, and continue to be, focussed on education and environmental awareness. These activities are mainly funded by the various WWF offices such as WWF/USA and WWF/UK through WWF/International.

In 1986, the Malagasy government requested international assistance in managing its natural resources and conserving its extraordinary flora and fauna. This included an urgently needed review of protected areas and sites of high biological interest, together with management planning for priority locales. WWF was asked to assist and subsequently created a new project entitled WWF - Protected Areas Management. WWF also produced management plans for two protected-areas projects in the south.

The two southern projects involve integrated rural development and conservation programs for the Andohahela Strict Nature Reserve and Beza Mahafaly Special Reserve. The protected areas survey was carried out in 1986-87 by the WWF - Protected Areas Project in close collaboration with the GDRM Ministry of Livestock and Waters and Forests (MPAEF). The survey covered 29 of the 36 reserves and 14 additional sites of interest and served as the basis for ranking conservation activities for both protected and unprotected natural areas. This survey also contributed to the design of an overall plan to restructure conservation management in Madagascar. It has subsequently been used in the development of Madagascar's Environmental Action Plan.

Following a 1987 review of potential environmental projects in Madagascar, WWF elaborated an integrated rural development and conservation project centered on the northern protected areas and submitted the proposal to the OAR/M for funding in 1988. The project agreement was finally signed with the GDRM in September 1989.

WWF recently signed an agreement for the Debt-for-Nature Swap providing the equivalent of US\$1 million in local currency to finance activities under the Protected Areas Management Project. Project funds will be used for hiring additional guards, guard training, and implementation of conservation/development projects.

CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES (CRS)

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CRS has maintained a program in Madagascar since 1962. Traditionally, the orientation of the CRS/Madagascar program was to improve the health and nutrition status of preschool children through the CRS Food and Nutrition (PL 480 Title II) program. Since 1986, CRS has been reorienting their program activities to include a broader spectrum of development activities with an increased emphasis on institutional support. Subsequently, CRS has become more of a donor agency than an active NGO, working through local NGOs to implement projects rather than being operational themselves.

CRS is presently working with six national counterpart NGOs in Madagascar. Their current modus operandi with these counterpart NGOs is institution building, including administrative, material and staff support as well as training and project support activities. CRS/Madagascar does not maintain its own training and technical staff, but rather contracts for technical services locally. This has created some problems as many of these services provide higher-level training and technical assistance than required for village-level work.

CRS's present project funding level is approximately \$185,000 per year spread over 5 new projects which are primarily in the human resources sector. Environmental stabilization was removed as a priority sector from the CRS FY 1990-92 Strategic Program Plan (SPP). Current SPP priority areas are agriculture, institution building, and training and community development.

In response to a CRS/Baltimore directive to transfer the food and nutrition program to a local institution or government counterpart agency, CRS/Madagascar created a national NGO, entitled NAMANA, in October 1989. Initially, NAMANA will be primarily responsible for the administration and implementation of the PL 480 Title II food program under a contractual relationship with CRS, but their activities could expand to include other types of activities. Program funding will be provided by recipient contributions collected in conjunction with the food program with excess monies earmarked for development activities. CRS was accorded a grant from A.I.D./W to provide institutional support in the phase-over of the food program to local institutions in five countries in Africa. A total of \$50,000 per year for three years will be provided in Madagascar to review programming issues, improve logistics and financial systems, and provide any training as well as any technical assistance required by NAMANA.

EGLISE LUTHERIENNE MALAGASY - FLM (SA.FA.FI.)

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The Malagasy Lutheran Church (FLM) is over 100 years old in Madagascar and has approximately 100,000 members. The church's development activities have evolved over time and have been organized into a substantial and well-managed national development office. This national office is divided into three sub-offices: (1) the Development office whose role includes coordination of all FLM-sponsored development activities; (2) SA.FA.FI which implements a rural development program specializing in animal husbandry, agricultural projects and training; and (3) SALFA which implements a health program. Funds for the various departments are provided from several sources--the Norwegian, Danish, German and U.S. Lutheran churches, plus some funding from bilateral donors.

SAFAFI is currently collaborating with the Missouri Botanical Garden (MBG), the MPAEF, and the OAR/M in the implementation of the Masoala Peninsula Conservation and Development Project. The project is comprised of three principal components: protection of the forest reserves, managed by MPAEF; conservation and training, managed by MBG; and rural development, managed by SAFAFI. The three implementing agencies, including the GDRM, are considered equal partners. This is significant since the GDRM has heretofore insisted on a management, rather than a collaborative, role in project implementation.

The project structure is as follows:

Administrative Council

(Composed of 1 representative from MPAEF, MBG, SAFAFI and OAR/M)

Coordination Team

(One expatriate and 1 Malagasy counterpart based at project site)

MPAEF	SAFAFI	MBG
Create parks & reserves	Development	Conservation/Training

Project start-up was delayed for almost three years due to two principal differences of opinion between the GRDM and the NGOs:

- 1) Initially, the GDRM wanted all project funds to pass directly through MPAEF instead of being channeled through an NGO. Only after lengthy negotiations between the government and the NGOs did MPAEF agree to be an equal partner rather than the controlling party. This was a major breakthrough and will, hopefully, pave the way for similar host government/NGO collaboration in the future.
- 2) The GDRM policy on the use of PL 480 Counterpart Funds has been that the Ministry of Finance will only reimburse expenses upon presentation of invoices. This process has been slow and cumbersome and was not acceptable to NGOs who do not have sufficient capital to incur costs and then seek reimbursement. After extensive negotiations, the GDRM accepted a quarterly advance system establishing an imprest fund for NGOs.

SAFAFI will be hiring an additional eighteen people to implement their component of the Masoala Peninsula Project. This was not felt to be a burden on SAFAFI headquarters, however, since all project personnel and administrative matters are being handled by the Project Coordination Team. SAFAFI indicated they do not find OAR/M reporting requirements any more stringent than other donors.

FIKRIFAMA

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FIKRIFAMA was created by Church World Service (CWS) just prior to its departure from Madagascar in 1975 as a means to continue implementation of its water program. Originally called FIKRIAM, the name was changed in 1980 to FIKRIFAMA when it became an ecumenical organization. FIKRIFAMA's principal activities continue to be the provision of potable water to rural populations through gravity-fed water systems and wells with an emphasis on community participation and organization. There are 12 technicians on the staff who install 40 new gravity-fed water delivery systems and 20 wells per year. As a complementary component to the water program, FIKRIFAMA integrates agricultural activities such as vegetable seedling nurseries and vegetable gardens where appropriate.

FIKRIFAMA has been approached by a number of donors to incorporate forestry/agroforestry activities into its program. It is reluctant to expand into this domain out of concern that its technical resources will be spread too thin and lead to a lessening of its impact and credibility. FIKRIFAMA indicated, however, that it would be willing to collaborate with another NGO having a similar development approach in the natural resources sector (e.g., ORIMPAKA) in order to provide a more integrated approach to their water development program. FIKRIFAMA is presently collaborating with a number of church NGOs--SA.FA.FI., FJKM, and CARITAS--in the implementation of its water program.

FIKRIFAMA's current annual program level totals US\$1 million with funding from both the public and private sector. Approximately 60% of this funding comes from Coopération Suisse with the remainder from a variety of other donors. FIKRIFAMA was receiving funding through the GDRM/OAR PL 480 counterpart funds under the system of reimbursement upon presentation of invoices. It no longer solicits funding from this source, however, due to dissatisfaction with the delays and bureaucratic difficulties encountered and to the substantial amount of funding received from other donors.

FJKM DEVELOPMENT OFFICE (FJKM)

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FJKM is a United Reform Church-supported NGO with some additional support provided by the Quakers and other NGOs. In conjunction with the Malagasy Lutheran Church (FLM), FJKM created the Federation of Protestant Churches. Federation activities are split geographically, with the Lutherans working in the southern half of the country and FJKM working on the Plateau and in the north. FJKM implements activities in 12 priority zones with each zone encompassing between five and 10 villages. The approach is to convene village meetings to discuss and identify priority needs and to then design projects accordingly. FJKM is organized into several departments to address the different needs of each village:

- o PROMORUR - training and extension;
- o Centre de Formation Rurale - demonstration farming, workshops, farmer-oriented activities;
- o Adduction d'Eau - gravity-fed water supply systems;
- o ISALAMA - health and sanitation;
- o Environment - tree nurseries, seedlings sold at heavily subsidized prices;
- o PROMOFEM - women's organizations.

Each department is largely self-financed except for Adduction d'Eau which receives direct support from Coopération Suisse. Enough funds are generated in the other departments to pay for most of the recurrent costs.

FJKM's national office, located in Antananarivo, is staffed by 12 professionals (BS degrees or above) and 12 support staff. The field staff consists of 20 professionals of which approximately 80 percent are agronomists with the remainder being doctors and other health personnel. In addition, there are 48 extension workers, with the equivalent of high school degrees, spread out over the 12 zones.

CARITAS

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CARITAS-BLASC (Catholic Liaison Office for Social and Charitable Action) has as its primary mandate the coordination of development and relief activities of the Catholic church in Madagascar. The following areas of concentration were given top priority in CARITAS' current three-year plan:

- 1) Establishment of a national structure capable of providing necessary technical support and performing the role of a national coordinating body for socio-economic development activities;
- 2) Food self-sufficiency for the Malagasy family through increased agricultural production, village-level training, small-scale production of farming tools, improved irrigation systems, and animal husbandry;
- 3) Primary health care with a concentration on nutrition education through MCH centers, disease control measures, extension of curative services and the provision of safe drinking water;
- 4) Promotion of women in development, particularly in the agricultural sector.

At the present time, CARITAS is primarily involved in micro-level projects such as gravity-fed water systems, small dams, and improved agricultural techniques. The choice of a particular activity depends on the expressed needs of the village. CARITAS would like to enlarge their project portfolio to include natural resource activities, particularly the protection of watershed areas through a reforestation program. However, the current staffing level (1 engineer and 6 water technicians) is not conducive to program expansion.

CARITAS has attempted to increase its institutional capacity but most donors are unwilling to finance administrative and technical support costs. The majority of CARITAS funding is channelled through Caritas International from European Catholic organizations for specific projects. The water program is funded on a three-year basis by Coopération Suisse.

MISSOURI BOTANICAL GARDEN (MBG)

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Missouri Botanical Garden (MBG) has been operating in Madagascar since 1972, following the country's identification as a priority botanical research area. A series of research expeditions were conducted over the subsequent ten years culminating in 1983 with the signing of a collaborative agreement between the Garden and the Tsimbazaza Botanical and Zoological Park in Antananarivo. One full-time research botanist is based in Madagascar with intermittent technical assistants sent to work on park improvements.

In 1986, the MBG received grant funding from the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the National Geographic Society to increase its activities in park improvements and botanical research.

In FY 1990, the Garden began implementation of a three-year Masoala Peninsula project in collaboration with the GDRM Ministry of Livestock and Waters and Forests, and SA.FA.FI. (See SA.FA.FI. section in Annex 1.)

MBG finds OAR/M reporting requirements burdensome, particularly when compared to the minimal reporting requirements of the foundations. MBG would prefer a more streamlined system but believes the benefits of having OAR/M financing outweigh the inconveniences. A major constraint to further expansion of MBG conservation activities in Madagascar is its restricted operating budget. Donors have proven willing to fund field operations but not sorely-needed institutional support.

DEUTSCHER VOLKSHOCHSCHUL-VERBAND E. V. (D.V.V.)

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The D.V.V., created in West Germany in the 1950s, currently represents 4,000 adult education centers which, together, form a National Association of Adult Education. The D.V.V. has 3 divisions: 1) pedagogical; 2) media; and, 3) international cooperation. Through the international cooperation division, trainees were originally brought to West Germany for training. This proved ineffective and the D.V.V. decided to carry out training activities in other countries. This was made possible by funding from the FRG Ministry of Economic Cooperation (MEC). The D.V.V. has a worldwide budget of US\$4 million which is 100% funded by the MEC. The Madagascar program receives a total of approximately US\$400,000 annually, including operating expenses.

The D.V.V. began working in Madagascar in 1983, but did not establish a formal bilateral program until 1987. Its primary accent is on rural training in environmental issues, soil erosion, and agricultural problems as well as other development issues. The adult literacy program is carried out through national NGOs, but the D.V.V. maintains a close working relationship with the Direction of Popular Education and Literacy under the GDRM Ministry of Population. Initial contact with NGOs was made by D.V.V., but as it became better known, NGOs began submitting proposals to D.V.V. for review and funding. The D.V.V. receives multi-year funding from the MEC based on a three-year program strategy and budget proposal. D.V.V. finds the funding and reporting process for the MEC cumbersome and has proposed a more streamlined process.

ASSOCIATION POUR LA CONNAISSANCE ET CONSERVATION DE LA NATURE
(ACCN)

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ACCN is a national NGO with a mandate to sensitize the population to the richness of Madagascar's flora and fauna and the conservation of the environment. Activities are carried out in three main areas: (1) sensitization; (2) training/education; and, (3) reforestation. Conferences and seminars have been organized on a variety of subjects such as Malagasy Women and the Environment, Forest Ecosystems in Madagascar, and the Urban Environment. ACCN also works through the primary and secondary schools to sensitize children to environmental issues. A botanical garden is presently being established at one of the high schools in Antananarivo. ACCN was also instrumental in the construction of an education center at Tzimbazaza Botanical and Zoological Park in Antananarivo. Field activities have consisted of tree planting and reforestation through the schools.

Funding of ACCN activities comes from annual donations from participating members as well as outside donors such as WWF/International. ACCN believes strongly in the need for information exchange between NGOs working in the natural resources management sector.

ORIMPAKA

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ORIMPAKA was established in April 1988 as a means to expand the pilot village reforestation project initiated by Coopération Suisse in 1984 in Ambatofotsy. A project zone was selected near the pilot area to allow for continued technical assistance and sharing of information during the initial phase of project implementation. Over the last two years, their activities have concentrated in 8 townships (fokotony) in the area (fivondronampokotony) of Andramasina. Three central tree nurseries have been established with subsequent individual nurseries planted by the participants. There are a total of 1,260 participants out of a total population of 14,000 people.

ORIMPAKA uses a participant-based approach to the implementation of project activities, beginning with a sensitization phase. The audio-visual materials were developed during the pilot phase and were designed exclusively for the Malagasy context. A reforestation committee has also been established, comprised of village elders who play an important role in sensitizing the local population to the need for reforestation. After the sensitization phase, Project participants are accorded individual lots for tree planting in government-designated areas known as ZODAFARB (Zones Delimitées d'Action en Faveur de l'Arbre).

An important element of the project is a system of certificates awarded on the basis of the quality of work done by the participants. Their work is evaluated by a committee comprised of project extension workers, a representative of the local Ministry of Waters and Forests office, and a member of the village reforestation committee. The trees and land belong to the participants only after receipt of two certificates for planting and maintenance. There is a closing celebration at the end of each planting season which serves as another means of rewarding the participants and of sensitizing the local population to the need for reforestation.

The project also works with primary schools in the area to carry out reforestation activities. During the 1989-90 planting season, ORIMPAKA plans to establish a demonstration agroforestry plot as an initial step of introducing the local population to these forestry techniques. It is presently undertaking socio-economic studies to determine possible zones for future project expansion.

ORIMPAKA is 100% funded by Coopération Suisse. It would like to diversify its funding base as it expands into other project zones. ORIMPAKA maintains a very close working relationship with the technicians attached to the pilot project. It would be amenable to collaboration with other NGOs provided their development philosophies and approaches to project implementation are complementary to those of ORIMPAKA.

EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LIVING (EIL)

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EIL is presently the lead agency in a consortium with CARE and World Wildlife Fund (WWF) to carry out the PVO component of the A.I.D./W centrally-funded Natural Resources Management Support Project. The purpose of this project component is to strengthen the operational and organizational capabilities of local and international NGOs. Assistance is provided in the design and implementation of increasingly-effective activities related to natural resources management in the four priority countries of Madagascar, Uganda, Cameroon, and Mali. This will be accomplished through a combination of technical assistance, information support services, training, and pilot and demonstration projects related to soil fertility and conservation, agroforestry, and habitat preservation in arid, semi-arid and tropical highland agro-ecological zones.

EIL does not have an established presence in Madagascar but has designated an international interim representative to assist in the formulation of a Country Working Group, NRM action plan, and the selection of a Country Lead Agency who will be responsible for the administration, implementation and monitoring of the project and the selection of a national Country Project Coordinator. Project activities will be carried out in collaboration with the WWF/International office and the designated Country Lead Agency.

EIL would be interested in increasing its activities in Madagascar if and when it establishes a formal presence there. The Interim Representative is making initial contacts with appropriate host government ministries, bilateral donors, and international and national NGOs to assess possible areas of intervention.

ANNEX 2
PERSONS CONTACTED

GDRM

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Agnes Rakotomalala, Training Coordinator, OAR/M
Roland Albignac, Man in the Biosphere Project, UNDP
Guy Ramangason, Botanist, Man and the Biosphere Project, UNDP
Irene Chan Soc Yin, Administrateur de Programme Adjoint, UNDP
Theresa Dewulf, Administrateur de Programme Adjoint, UNDP
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Gerhard Pfister, Coordonnateur, Coopération Suisse au Développement
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ANNEX III

MALI CASE STUDY

MALIAN NGOS IN NATURAL RESOURCES

Ken Koehn and Chris Seubert
Development Alternatives, Inc.

December 1989

Natural Resources Management Support Project
(AID Project No. 698-0467)

Contract No. AFR-0467-C-00-8054-00

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MALIAN NGOs IN NATURAL RESOURCES

INTRODUCTION

Background

The Natural Resources Management Support Project (NRMS) was established by the Africa Bureau of the Agency for International Development (AID) to increase the understanding of natural resource issues in sub-Saharan Africa and to be a resource for mission efforts in natural resource management. Under the Energy Development, International/Development Alternatives, Inc. portion of Africa Bureau's NRMS Project a number of natural resource management assessments (1), action programs and plans (5), biological diversity assessments (3), and project designs and amendments (2) have been completed in nine countries in Africa. Upcoming and ongoing activities include: technical assistance to AID Missions in three countries, three special studies, one conference and ten workshops to be held in nine countries.

Recently, the last component of the NRMS Project, a Cooperative Agreement for the Natural Resources Management Support Project for private voluntary organizations (PVOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), was established. This component, which is being executed by a consortium of CARE International, Experiment in International Living and World Wildlife Fund, provides assistance to enhance the capabilities of international and indigenous PVOs and NGOs to develop natural resource policies and programs in sub-Saharan Africa. The initial target countries under the Agreement are Cameroon, Malagasy Republic, Mali, and Uganda.

Numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private voluntary organizations (PVOs) are involved in village- and farmer-level natural resource activities in Africa. More than 70% of the successful natural resource initiatives identified in the Sub-Saharan Resource Assessment (SSRA) study were implemented by NGOs and PVOs. Because of their good track record, established reputation as implementing organizations, and capacity for local level participation, the NGOs and PVOs are receiving increased amounts of funding from donor organizations for natural resource activities that focus on implementing technical initiatives at the farm- and village-level.

The Plan for Natural Resources Management for Africa (PNRM) identifies local level participation as a key feature in improving sustainable natural resource use. The Plan highlights the important role that PVOs and NGOs have to play in natural resource management. However, NGOs and PVOs cannot be treated as a homogenous group. Their history, funding sources, development philosophies and approaches, management styles, size and technical capacities differ greatly from one organization to the next.

NRMS is undertaking a **Special Study** to identify the strengths and weaknesses of NGOs and PVOs with respect to their capacities to implement natural resource management projects in Africa. Case studies -- being carried out in Cameroon, Malagasy Republic, Mali, and Uganda -- provide an overview of the USAID/PVO partnership in natural resources management, serve as a baseline needs assessments for the NRMS-PVO component, and provide background materials for the overall Special Study.

This report presents the NGO/PVO case study for Mali. It follows two natural resource activities undertaken earlier by NRMS in Mali for USAID. In late 1988 an Action Plan for USAID/Mali and an Action Program were developed by a NRMS team. A study on the biological diversity found within Mali was completed by NRMS in August of 1989.

Methodology

The case study was prepared by a two-person team in late November 1989. Before leaving for Mali, the team gathered materials from U.S. sources on PVOs working in Mali, reviewed previous NRMS work in Mali, and had discussions with people from the NRMS-PVO Project.

The team's visit coincided with a two-day workshop in Bamako sponsored by the NRMS-PVO Project. This workshop brought together various parties that had a joint interest in natural resource management in Mali; included were PVOs working in Mali, several Malian government officials, several donors, and the NRMS-PVO Project Coordinator. The primary reason for the workshop was to present the NRMS-PVO Project to NGOs and PVOs located in Mali and to establish a locally-controlled fund to support natural resource activities within the PVO community in Mali. The NRMS-PVO Project utilized the Comité de Coordination des Actions des Organisations Non Gouvernemental au Mali (CCA/ONG) as the organizer of the workshop.

Discussions at this workshop gave the team a broad overview of PVO interest, capabilities, and activities. The CCA/ONG data base was used to extract data on CCA members whose activities included support for natural resource interventions. Follow-up discussions were held with many of the PVOs and NGOs identified at the workshop and through the CCA data base. Several field visits to PVO projects enabled the team to gain first hand knowledge of natural resource activities and approaches taken by PVOs.

The team had discussions with many of the international donors that offer support to PVOs for natural resource activities. These donors included: USAID/Mali, Swiss Cooperation, Dutch Assistance, Canadian International Development Agency, FAO, and UNDP.

The report is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides information on the setting of PVO work in Mali and presents an overview of certain PVOs, chosen because their activities include assistance to natural resource interventions. The second chapter looks at the host country and donor perceptions of the roles and capabilities of PVOs and their support to PVOs for natural resources. The third chapter presents certain PVO field activities and approaches taken in regards to natural resource interventions.

One word of caution is in order. This case study is illustrative and does not include all PVOs, donors, activities, and approaches utilized for natural resources management by the voluntary sector in Mali.

VEGETATIVE MAP OF MALI

Végétation

Domaine saharien

 Végétation contractée, rare ou absente

Domaine sahélien

 Steppe sahélo-saharienne (buissons et épineux)

 Steppe arbustive

 Steppe arborée/arbustive avec tapis graminéen et localement passage des laux

Domaine soudanien

 Savane arborée/arbustive à *Adansonia digitata*, *Bombax costatum*

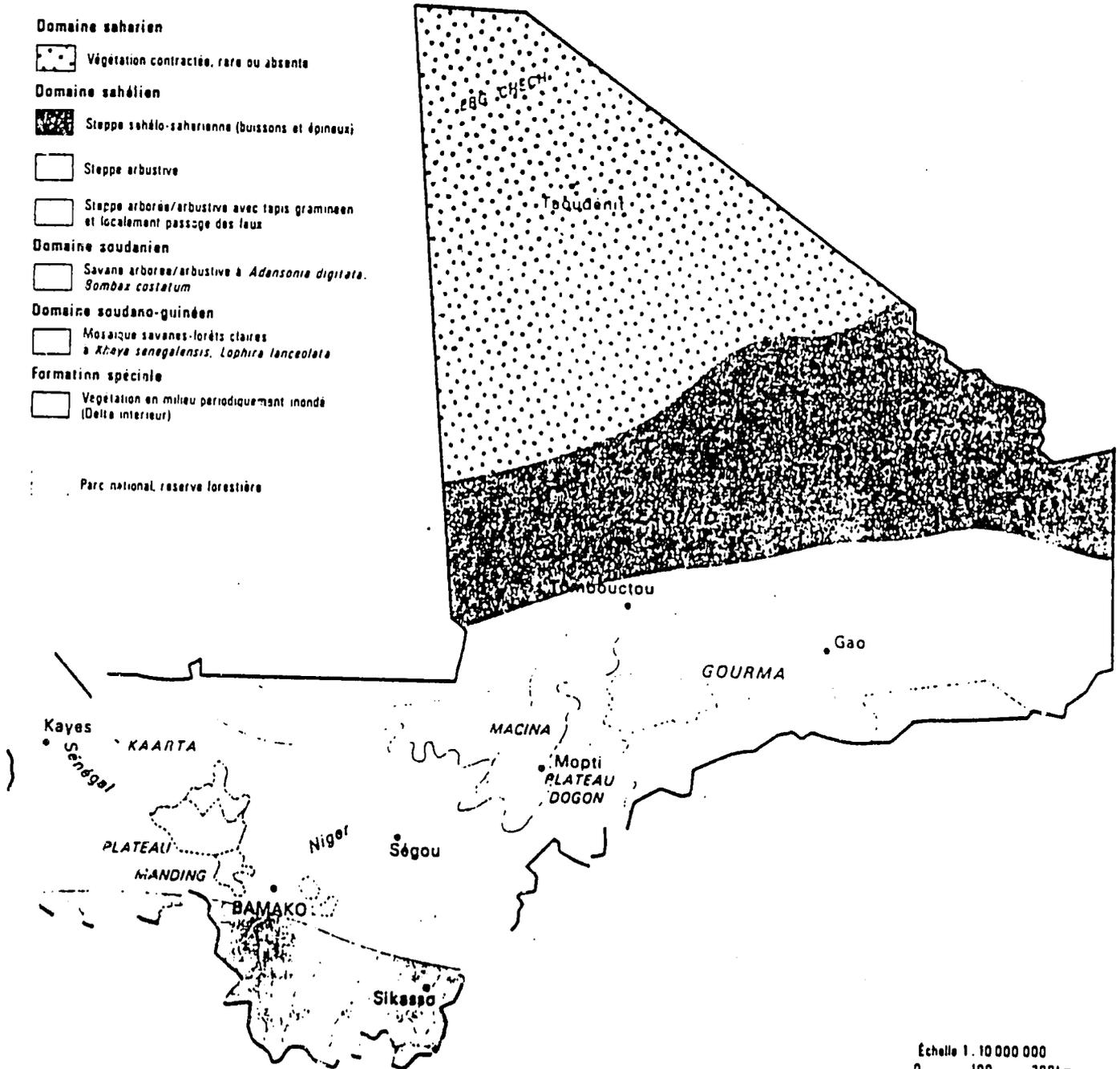
Domaine soudano-guinéen

 Mosaïque savanes-forêts claires à *Khaya senegalensis*, *Lophira lanceolata*

Formation spéciale

 Végétation en milieu périodiquement inondé (Delta intérieur)

 Parc national, réserve forestière



Chapter One

NGOS IN MALI

Setting and Background

The arrival of a large number of international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Mali occurred during and immediately after the drought of 1972. They arrived to help alleviate the suffering of the people of the Sahel due to the extreme drought and the dislocation of people caused by the drought. Some of these NGOs have remained in Mali since that time; among these are Africare, CARE and Foster Parents Plan International (known in Mali as Plan International).

Another severe drought in 1984 provided the impetus for more international NGOs to begin activities in Mali. These include: Save the Children (USA), World Vision, and many others --both U.S.-and European-based. The mid-1980's also heralded the establishment of many indigenous voluntary organizations whose primary interests were rural development.

The 1984 drought, along with experience from the decade of dry years between the two major drought years, help to form the following factors that in large part explain the NGO landscape in Mali today.

- o Malians became more aware of the gravity of the degradation in their natural environment and realized more than ever that greater efforts were required to find solutions for the development of the rural people of Mali;
- o An dramatic increase in the number of local NGOs occurred;
- o Attention became more focused on the development of communities, and on local problems and issues;
- o The Government of the Republic of Mali (GRM) began an effort to decentralize and give responsibility for development related decision-making to Local Development Committees (LDCs); and
- o Most international NGOs in Mali began a transition from disaster relief efforts to local level development initiatives.

Because of the degradation of the environment that occurred throughout most of Mali during the '70s and through the middle-'80s, there is an acute recognition -- from the farmer/herder/nomad level through the upper reaches of the GRM -- that immediate and sustained action is necessary to avert famine and further degradation of Mali's natural resource base. Growing awareness is apparent in the openness of local

communities to work with NGOs to recover the natural resources. This awareness and increased community openness are a good match because they offer NGOs in Mali unique opportunities to work with local communities.

There are currently 184 NGOs recognized by the GRM. An association of NGOs, Comite pour la Cooperation des Activites ONG (CCA/ONG), has been democratically established. The CCA/ONG currently has 122 members. This number is now divided about equally between

international and Malian NGOs, whereas only two years ago the international NGOs formed the large majority of its membership. The CCA/ONG is a coordination and representation body; it is not an implementing agency. Table 1 presents a summary of information on CCA/ONG's NGO members.

Table 1. ORIGIN OF NGOS WORKING IN MALI November, 1989.

Code	# of NGOs	Foreign	Malian	Confessional	Non-Confess.
M	86	57	29	10	76
(M)	13	1	12	1	12
P	21	16	5	1	20
CCA	4	4	(4)	-	4
N	24	9	15	4	20
X	7	2	5	-	7
TOTAL	155	89	66	16	139

(4)

- M - Member of CCA/ONG
- (M) - Organizations whose membership application to CCA/ONG is pending.
- P - Partner status with CCA/ONG
- N - NGOs not members of CCA/ONG but active in natural resources
- X - NGOs not members of CCA/ONG, not active in natural resources

The GRM effort to decentralize authority for development activities to the Circle level (the local government administrative level which contains the LDC) is being assisted, consciously or not, by GRM regulations which favor the establishment of more

NGOs in Mali. Also, GRM policies currently allow NGOs to freely pursue their various social visions. Once an agreement -- entitled Accord Cadre -- is signed between the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Development and an NGO (foreign-based or Malian), the NGO is free to implement programs that are approved by the Local Development Committees found at the Circle level.

NGOs and Natural Resource Activities

Since 1986, NGOs have turned most of their attention from relief type activities, to projects that have longer term development components. Most activities remain restricted in geographic area -- activities covering more than an administrative Circle are not common. Directly linked to this limited geographic area is an approach utilized by most NGOs in Mali that is best called Community Development. Within this approach are found a wide range of natural resource activities.

Rarely does one find an NGO that has natural resource interventions as the sole component of its program. There are several reasons for this. Current NGO efforts in general have been built upon a transition from relief activities to development oriented projects. This transition normally keeps the focus on the village family, where health, drinking water, education, agriculture production, and livestock maintenance remain the most important requirements. Natural resource interventions are seen as only part of the solution because environmental factors are only part of the problem for development in rural Mali.

Because natural resource projects are nearly always long-term activities, it is difficult to obtain significant direct benefits for farmers and villagers within a two or three year time frame. Because the mobilization of local energy and continued village interest is difficult to sustain without observable short-term benefits, it is especially important that long-term natural resource improvements be coupled or linked to short-term activities which directly benefit villagers.

Because of the importance of the natural resource base to Mali's survival and development, donors (bilateral, multilateral, international NGOs, and funding sources such as Band Aid) are making available larger sums of funding to NGOs in Mali. In return, NGOs are undertaking more activities that have components containing the sustainable management of natural resources.

Table 2 shows the number of NGOs and the types of natural resource related activities in which they are involved. While the activities undertaken by NGOs are diverse, most contain the critical elements for natural resource management as seen by NRMS; namely the interaction between man and his environment and the effort to strengthen the natural resource base.

Table 2. NGOS REPORTING NATURAL RESOURCE ACTIVITIES

Code	Trees	Erosion	Livestock	Agr	AgrFor	Land Use	Aqua	Tech	None
M	54	20	36	74	13	63	19	41	8
P	10	7	4	8	5	9	2	7	5
N	14	9	6	13	3	15	1	8	0
TOTALS	78	36	46	95	21	87	22	56	13

M = Member of CCA/ONG; P = NGO that has applied for CCA/ONG membership;
N = Non-member of CCA/ONG

Agr = Agriculture; AgrFor = Agroforestry; Aqua = Aquaculture; Tech = Appropriate Technology

Note: Numbers are as reported by NGOs.

Mention was made earlier of the link between the Local Development Committee -- GRM controlled bodies -- and approval of NGO programs at the Circle level. It was our observation that this link is totally respected by NGOs. Not only are activities officially sanctioned through approval by the Local Development Committee, but NGOs are able to actively pull in assistance and participation from the GRM technical services through this link. This use of technical services, which often includes NGO assistance in strengthening their capabilities, is one of the ways in which NGOs are mobilizing available local and regional resources and linking these resources to local needs. In natural resources, this is especially true for the Direction des Eaux et Forêts.

NGOs have been able to mobilize important sums of money from donors to support their various programs. As Table 3 shows, many NGOs have natural resource components as part of their programs. Financing for many of these programs comes from international bilateral funding organizations such as CIDA, NORAD, USAID, and Swiss Cooperation. In addition, international NGOs mobilize financial resources from their constituents. These latter resources are either channeled through their direct representation in Mali or through local, Malian NGOs.

Two other sources of funding that support natural resource efforts are worth mentioning. The first is dues and donations generated by Malian NGOs through their memberships. While small in quantity, these amounts indicate the serious commitment that many of these NGOs have towards their participation in development. The second source comes from efforts such as Band AID and USA for Africa. Both of these "enterprises" have and continue to provide important sums of money for NGO work in Mali. More of this type of funding is being shifted from support for short-term relief to longer term efforts aimed at environmental problems and issues.

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In ending this section on NGOs and natural resource activities, mention must be made of the important organizing role that NGOs in Mali fulfill at the local level. Through dialogue with the local population, NGOs are able to raise social and economic consciousness. They utilize methods that help villages to better understand local problems, the roots of these problems, and local-level solutions. Consciousness raising with regard to natural resource degradation is one of the very positive tasks that is being carried out by many NGOs.

Selected NGOs having Natural Resource Activities

Three criteria were used to select the NGOs that were looked at in some depth in the case study. These were:

- o Records from CCA/ONG computer data base and discussions with CCA/ONG personnel that identified those NGOs involved in natural resource activities;
- o The study should encompass a diverse group of NGOs, including: national and international, small and large, as well as those with activities geographically dispersed throughout Mali; and
- o Include NGOs that receive funding from a variety of sources.

In-depth discussions were held with ten NGOs that had offices in Bamako. These ten are presented in Table 3. The table shows that six NGOs that had their main headquarters outside of Mali. Four were American and one was Canadian; the other, IUCN (or the World Conservation Union) is an international NGO headquartered in Switzerland and has official representative status in Mali.

Table 3. NGO's Interviewed for the Case Study.

Name of NGO	National	International	
		U.S.	Other
Africare		X	
AMADE	X		
AMRAD	X		
CARE		X	
GANS			X
Kilabo	X		
Plan International		X	
SCF		X	
Stop Sahel	X		
IUCN			X

Foreign NGOs

Africare

Africare first came to Mali in 1974 and has continued activities since that time; few NGOs have worked longer in Mali than Africare. The Africare portfolio includes small projects small (\$5000-\$8,000) clustered in one region, as well as larger projects funded by USAID. Africare's projects fall under three categories: child survival and health, agricultural production, and hydrology (wells, dams, etc.).

During 1988-89, the total budget for Africare's field projects was slightly in excess of \$1,700,000. Of this amount, approximately \$1,500,000 came from USAID and was concentrated in two large projects; one in a primary health and nutrition, and the second in irrigation and agricultural production the Tombouctou region.

Africare's staff, made up of four expatriates and over 40 Malians, increasingly concentrates its overall program on establishing small, short-term projects in restricted geographic areas -- cluster concept. Currently five such projects, each of one year duration, are found in the Koulikoro Region. The combined budget for these five

projects is \$38,000. The projects include two village wells, winter gardening, assistance to a maternity ward, and bee keeping and honey commercialization.

The cluster concept, which focuses on working on several activities in a group of villages, allows Africare to supervise and manage a number of small projects. The cluster approach works well and is much better than trying to manage projects that are dispersed over in many villages. Africare works in four of Mali's eight regions.

One drawback to managing small projects is the extra effort that must be given to reporting and evaluating each project, reporting to each donor that sponsors a project, and evaluating each effort. In the case of the Koulikoro cluster projects, each project is financed by a different private donor and the average project cost is \$7,500.

Africare supports the construction of two dams in the 5th Region. These dams, along with many more constructed by NGOs with GTZ funding, are primarily for irrigation and livestock watering purposes. Onion production has increased dramatically around these dams, with the result that marketing has become a constraint. In addition, while the dams were not meant to supply potable water to the local populations, water from these dams is also serving that purpose. Africare and the GTZ have called a moratorium on the construction of more dams in the northern regions until the marketing problem is addressed and the potable water issue related to dams is better understood.

Africare increasingly prepares its projects in direct response to local demand. Local participation is a prerequisite for any funding support. In the past year Africare has prepared 37 project proposals, of which ten have already been funded. At least half of these proposals have strong natural resource components -- water control, agroforestry, tree nurseries, tree planting, and gardening.

CARE

CARE began working in Mali in 1975 and has continued to assist Mali over the past fourteen years. CARE developed the largest relief effort in Mali in response to the 1984 drought and has distributed over 9 million dollars worth of food grains, primarily in the 6th and 7th regions. CARE-Mali's programming is now quickly turning from relief efforts to emphasizing agricultural development and the environment, as well as population activities.

Some 260 national staff and 9 expatriates carry out CARE's portfolio of six projects. Slightly more than half of CARE's 1989 project budget of \$2.7 million comes from CARE/Norway through funding from NORAD. Approximately \$0.5 million dollars comes from USAID, with the remaining amounts coming from CARE's own resources.

CARE is implementing USAID's Village Reforestation Project work in the Koro Circle of the Mopti Region. Working with the Malian Forest Service (Eaux et Foret), this project focuses on the establishment of fruit and shade trees around homesteads, the

use of living fences, and the planting of windbreaks to improve millet yields. In addition, the project has an educational component to increase awareness for conservation and the use of efficient cookstoves. This project, which started in 1983, is beginning to show success at establishing windbreaks. This in turn is increasing community participation in other project activities.

NORAD funding supports two other CARE projects that have natural resource activities. The Agricultural Development in Drought Zones Project, begun in 1986, helps 44 villages in agroforestry, gardening, and to improve cultivation practices. The Timbuktu Rural Development Project, which also began in 1986, works to improve water resources through the construction of dikes, reservoirs, sluice gates, and related infrastructure.

Phase I activities recently began in CARE's Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Systems Project in the Djenne Circle. This project fits within the framework established by the GRM for test zones for ecosystems in its anti-desertification program. Eventual activities will include agroforestry, soil and soil moisture conservation, and livestock management. Most interventions will not be dependent on continued outside support.

CARE-Mali is finding that donors are becoming more interested in funding natural resource activities (environment and water) rather than health and children oriented projects. CARE's current programming fits well with this trend.

Helvetas

Helvetas, is a Swiss NGO that concentrates on technical assistance. They have a staff of three expatriates and 70 Malians and provide technical assistance to numerous development organizations, including the Swiss Cooperation. Helvetas is probably the best technical organization in Mali in the area of dam placement and construction. They provide technical assistance in dam design and construction for SCF.

PLAN INTERNATIONAL

Plan International is the name used in Mali for Foster Parents Plan International. Plan International has the distinction of being among the first U.S.-based NGOs to become established in Mali. Foster Parents began work in 1973 and became a recognized NGO in 1976. Its staff consists of 127 Malians and four expatriates.

Plan International in Mali is supported by payments from foster parents for 15,500 children. These children are located in the Circles of Binamba, Kati, and Kangolo. Each of these Circles forms a separate program area for the Plan. Children do not receive payments from Plan International. Rather, the funds are used for village, group, and family activities in areas where the children are located. While Plan has received USAID centrally-funded child survival grants in the past, their present program is almost entirely supported by payments from foster parents.

Increasing the capacity within the local populations is the bottom-line goal of Plan International in Mali. This takes the form of interaction with the local population

to identify common problems, prioritize these problems, investigate solutions, and devise ways to carry out solutions. Where natural resource activities form part of this capacity building, they become part of the supported program. Plan is working with Eaux et Foret to establish a classified (read controlled) forest in Binamba. Living hedges, nurseries, and reforestation efforts have also been assisted by Plan International.

Small dams and barrages are becoming of interest to Plan as villagers have begun to see the usefulness of these and are have verbalized their interest. However, Plan finds itself without the internal technical expertise required to begin such assistance. Plan International would like to see the USAID Co-financing Project be able to help in providing this type of technical assistance.

Save the Children/USA

Save the Children/USA (SCF) is one of three Save the Children organizations found in Mali. It collaborates with its siblings, SCF/Great Britain and SCF/Canada, but does not have joint programming with either of them. SCF is relatively new to Mali, becoming established in 1986. SCF plans a long-term (10-15 years) commitment to the Third Region and is one of the few NGOs working in this region.

Its country staff, made-up of 70 Malians and two expatriates, oversee a program in the Kolondiéba Circle. The Circle's population of 130,000 receives assistance from SCF in the areas of child survival, water resources, agriculture, small-scale enterprise and credit, women in development, and literacy and education. Its current project budget is \$600,000 annually.

SCF believes that its efforts in child survival will lead to more involvement in natural resources. SCF is the only American NGO that so far has presented a proposal to the USAID co-financing project for a grant in the natural resource area. These funds would allow SCF to expand its current activities in building small dams (by an additional 50), water management, and training for improved wells. SCF would add other activities such as tree nurseries, woodlots, beekeeping, and living fences. Co-financing funds would also enable SCF to increase its current staff working in natural resources from three to approximately ten.

IUCN

The Union International pour la Conservation de la Nature et ses Ressources (World Conservation Union) established a representation in Mali in early 1988. While the IUCN is not officially an NGO in Mali, it is considered a development agency in Mali and has official representation status. IUCN considers its two field projects as NGOs in their own right.

IUCN has two objectives in Mali. The first is to install and test various approaches for the conservation of natural resources in the Malian environment. The second is to preserve the flora and fauna found in the Kouma zone. This latter objective concentrates on the area where Mali's last elephant herd is located. IUCN is

preparing a new project, Project Kouma, which will be directed at saving and expanding the elephant herd. It is estimated that the herd size has declined to about 200 and is in real danger of extinction. Norwegian Church Aid (AEN) will fund the preparation of this project and contribute to its implementation costs.

Two projects are currently supported by IUCN. These are: Project Conservation de Nature in Youvarou Circle (Mopti), and Project Walia at Sefari. The former project is developing a plan for the conservation of natural resources found in the Circle. The latter project is directed at informing students about conservation issues. Three times per year Project Walia publishes an environmental information booklet destined for all secondary school students in Mali's Fifth Region. Both of these projects will continue until 1992. Total funding for the two projects is 727.000.000 CFA.

Malian NGOs

AMADE

The Association Malienne pour le Développement was established in 1983. It is one of the oldest indigenous NGOs and has become the largest Malian NGO. AMADE has established regional field offices, called antennes, in each of the five regions where it has project activities. Its total budget in 1988-89 was 140.000.000 CFA (\$ 450,000) and was used to support nine projects. AMADE has approximately a dozen paid employees and many more that receive partial salaries.

AMADE concentrates its efforts in the broad area of rural development. Its activities include: village wells, dams, nurseries and tree planting, promotion of banana, rice, and peanut production, cooperative development, health, and assistance to women. Natural resource activities are scattered throughout AMADE's various projects and regions.

AMADE believes that for projects to be successful at the village level, they must be multi-sectorial by nature. Only this approach responds adequately to reality at the village level. AMADE's experience indicates that donors have trouble accepting the longer period of time required for many natural resource activities. They feel that, if they presented a project based solely on natural resource management, gaining funding would be a problem.

Funding of AMADE projects has come from a variety of sources. Included are European church organizations, Solidarité Canadienne du Sahel (SCS), Band Aid, USA for Africa, and bilateral agencies. SCS has also provided funds to AMADE, through CCA/ONG's Technical and Financial Support committee, to increase the institutional capacity of AMADE over the past several years.

AMRAD

The Association Malienne de Recherche Action pour le Développement became a recognized Malian NGO in 1984. This recognition occurred after its founding

members had worked informally together since 1981. It currently has 120 paying members; 21 of these are women, and 17 are expatriates. AMRAD has a full-time staff of eight.

As its name implies, AMRAD links its research efforts to development activities. This has primarily taken the form of training and AMRAD has become known within the NGO community as the most active Malian NGO in training activities. In 1989, its training programs included modules on project implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. AMRAD is also very active in transforming technical knowledge into understanding and use in local languages.

In 1987 AMRAD began a large integrated development program in Niafunke. This project has research components as well as assistance for a variety of interventions. This ambitious project will run through 1992. The various project components are funded by a real multi-NGO effort -- IDRC funds the research component of the project, USA for Africa is funding pasture and livestock work, SCS is funding the irrigation component. Other components (health, literacy, gardening) receive support from Trocaire (Dutch NGO funding agency), University Services of Canada, and several others. In 1988, 14,000,000 CFA was spent on the Niafunke project. This amount should steadily increase over the next several years, with several hundred million CFA programmed for the project.

Through discussions with other NGOs, AMRAD in 1989 came to the conclusion that a training module for use in 1990 should be developed for natural resources and environmental issues. This effort will concentrate on organizational issues at the village level, interventions that have proven successful in various agro-ecological zones, and how NGOs can be most responsive to environmental concerns postulated at the village level.

GANS

Groupe Action Nord-Sud, a Canadian NGO, began field activities in Mali in 1986. Unlike most of the international NGOs in Mali, GANS works only in Mali. Being relatively new to Mali, GANS responded to GRM desires to see NGOs begin operations in areas that have received little attention to date. GANS sees its presence as continuing for many years and is concentrating its supported activities in the Kati, Kolokani, and Segou Circles.

GANS budget of 53,000,000 CFA supports three types of activities: Forestry and Environment, Food Production and Nutrition, and Assistance to Women. Their programs are carried out with a staff of 2 Canadians and 20 Malians. Its projected 1990 budget of \$600,000 (Canadian) will come primarily from private sources, with CIDA contributing approximately 30% of the total.

In the area of forestry and environment, GANS has started many village tree nurseries. They have been successful with women running and controlling the nurseries, as well as selling the seedlings -- 800,000 CFA has been generated and saved by the women of one village. GANS has achieved a one-year seedling survival rate of 85% in

several village woodlots, but only 50% when trees are planted around the homestead. They attribute this difference to active participation and interest generated within the local population for project supported activities, as well as the system developed by GANS for enclosing village woodlots. This system has 50 cm. of wire mesh topped by several strands of barb wire. The wire mesh keeps out most small animals, while the barb wire restricts large ruminants.

GANS is collaborating in a seven NGO consortium to implement the Comité Consultative pour Sy Project. Other participating NGOs are AMRAD, CECI, Aide à l'Enfance, Groupe Jeune, SUCO, and AETA. This new, three-year, 120.000.000 CFA project, supported by the FED and SCS, has been planned so that each NGO is responsible for one component of the project in which it has expertise. In the case of GANS, their participation will be found in the reforestation component.

Kilabo

Kilabo was the outgrowth of a "groupe de reflexion" that was concerned with rural life and the education that life had provided to them. Kilabo, a Mandinki word meaning "interested aid", was formed to actively participate in post-drought development efforts. Kilabo was officially recognized by the GRM as an NGO in late 1984.

Kilabo has a permanent staff of five, three in the field and two in the Bamako, and plans to remain small. To date it has concentrated its activities within a 100 mile radius of Bamako, believing that the area around Bamako has been somewhat neglected by NGOs activities. Its projects' budget in 1989 will be slightly higher than 20.000.000 CFA. Kilabo has received funding support from USA for Africa, Unitarian Service Committee of Canada, SCS, Aide à l'Enfance/Canada, USC, Band Aid, and NOVIB (Dutch).

Small project ideas generated through Kilabo inquiry commissions at the village level form the basis for projects presented for funding. Starting small and continuing dialogue with participating villagers has been successful for Kilabo.

Natural resource activities have formed part of the assistance in their projects. Efforts to move away from the traditional slash and burn system to the use of composting and manure spreading are being tried in several villages. The aim in this effort is to maintain ground cover and slow both wind and water erosion. Nurseries for fruit and fuelwood seedlings and reforestation efforts are found in Kilabo projects and they are also active in promoting the use of more efficient woodburning stoves for cooking.

Stop Sahel

Stop Sahel Association Malienne pour la Protection de l'Environnement, is officially one year old. It received its NGO status in December 1988. What separates Stop Sahel from other NGOs is its claim to only work with problems related to the environment and natural resources. It has recently received funding for several small hydrological

activities at Babandougou in the Kati Circle. It is also looking for funding of a project it developed in Nara that would focus on the establishment of greenbelts in the Nara area.

Stop Sahel has received grants from USA for Africa, Oxfam/UK, and SCS (for institutional strengthening). It has 20 members who have paid membership dues of 3.000 CFA each. These individuals now contribute 1.000 CFA per month to Stop Sahel's activities.

Chapter Two

DISCUSSIONS WITH DONORS

Discussions were held with various bilateral donors and multilateral donors. In general, the use of NGOs to support natural resource activities was felt to be a positive experience; many of the donors plan to increase their support to NGOs working in Mali as a way of supplementing their bilateral assistance programs. The following sections present information that was gathered in discussions with donors.

Cooperation Suisse

The Swiss Natural Resource Program in Mali is significant. Their assistance has included; 1) large reforestation projects through the Swiss Development Corporation, 2) bilateral assistance to the Direction de Eaux et Forêts, through Inter-Cooperation Suisse (IC), to develop a forestry training center, and 3) a wide variety of small, village level project initiatives in water management, agriculture, and agroforestry.

Cooperation Suisse funds given to NGOs working with natural resource interventions has largely been through three Swiss NGOs: IC, CARITAS, and Helvetas. Small amounts have been given to local NGOs like Centre d'Appui Cooperatif (CAC) and 6S. However, these funds have always passed through Swiss NGOs rather than directly to the local NGO's. About 50% of Swiss development assistance funds for Mali are handled through the Swiss NGOs.

The overall approach in Swiss development assistance has been to look at the whole country, assess the needs, and fill in the gaps where the government of Mali or other donors are not working. To date there has not been an emphasis by Cooperation Suisse on allocating their portfolio to certain themes. However, supporting natural resources at the farm level is expected to become an important part of the Swiss portfolio.

The main reason for not working more with and through local NGOs is that it is time consuming and difficult to work with small organizations. The Swiss find that supervision, accounting, and follow up for numerous small organizations is much harder than with a few large, well organized NGO's.

The Cooperation Suisse felt that it would help donors to target their funding if the NGO's would coordinate at the regional level. Regional coordination by NGOs would help donors to identify the number and type of projects being done in each region.

Dutch Cooperation

The Dutch Cooperative Assistance program is divided into seven areas of funding: 1) agriculture, 2) ecology and energy, 3) water and primary health care, 4) women's activities, 5) culture, 6) financial support to the government, and 7) other programs. Most of the funding for natural resources is in the ecology and energy sector. However, projects in other sectors have components which can be considered natural resource activities.

Natural resource related projects include: 1) erosion control in the southern zone of Mali, 2) forest management and reforestation in Koulikoro (two projects), 3) wood for the Segou villages, 4) village land management in Fana, 5) support to the soils laboratory at Sotuba, and 6) production system studies in the 5th region. Two of these projects (5 and 6) are research oriented, while four are focused on action and implementation of natural resource improving techniques. About 20% of the Dutch Cooperative Assistance portfolio, \$ 4.77 million, is devoted to the natural resource area.

None of the above mentioned projects are implemented by local NGOs. Five Dutch assisted projects do involve Dutch NGO organizations like l'Association Néerlandaise d'Assistance au Développement (SNV), l'Institut Royal pour les Région Tropicales (IRRT/KIT), and the Centre de Recherche Agrobiologiques (CABO). However, these organizations tend to have a public service, rather than voluntary service, orientation.

Natural resources and the environment are issues which are of increasing concern and focus in Dutch assistance programs. In the Dutch portfolio, the use of NGO's and direct execution of projects by the government of Mali is increasing. The Dutch want to improve their relations with Malian NGOs, but there are few mechanisms to do this. Like many donor organizations the Dutch have funds which go directly from the Dutch government to Dutch NGOs in the field. These funds are not controlled by the Bureau de Coopération Néerlandaise.

UNDP

The amount of UNDP funding being used for NGOs working in natural resources is small. At the moment there is only one \$ 25,000 project - the UNDP/NGO Partners in Development Project. However, there are two new projects which will provide funds to NGOs: Project Appui les ONG and Africa 2000. The Africa 2000 project is aimed specifically at funding natural resource projects. These projects are just being developed in Mali and funding levels have not been specified.

The UNDP is one of the few organizations which directly funds Malian NGOs. They provide funds to CCA/ONG, which in turn distributes the funds to other NGOs for implementation. Part of the funds can be used to directly support CCA's NGO coordinating activities.

The UNDP feels that natural resources and cooperative efforts with NGOs are two areas that will have increased emphasis and funding in future UNDP programs. However, because of budget constraints, projects will be slow in developing.

The UNDP feels that implementation work done by local NGOs is quite good. However, they say that local NGOs are difficult to supervise and that a better structure to facilitate NGO funding and supervision is needed. Two specific problems encountered were: 1) local NGOs often submit separate budgets to different funding organizations, rather than a consolidated budget for an entire project, and 2) local NGOs need to improve their management, accounting, and financial skills.

Given their limited staffing and budgetary constraints, UNDP can contribute little to assist NGOs improve their capacity to implement projects. They feel that a partnership between a larger and better organized international NGO and a Malian NGO would be one way for Malian NGOs to develop better management and accounting skills.

USAID

The AID program has several different mechanisms for funding NGOs and PVOs in Mali: 1) centrally funded projects which provide funding to American PVOs implementing their activities in Mali, 2) Mission funded projects which provide funds to US PVOs working in Mali (PVO Co-financing Project), and 3) PVOs and NGOs which implement part or all of a Mission bilateral project (e.g. The CARE/Direction Eaux et Forêts Village Reforestation Project).

Local NGOs cannot be financed directly through any current mission projects. Through the PVO co-financing Project local NGOs could receive funds by collaborating and subcontracting to US PVOs.

Table 4. NGO Activities Supported by USAID/Mali.

<u>Project</u>	<u>Implementing Organization</u>	<u>Project Type</u>
Village Reforestation Project	CARE and Direction Eaux et Forêts	Mission funded bilateral
Haute Vallée Project	Operation Haute Vallée and CLUSA	Mission funded bilateral
Groupe Jeune	Meals for Millions	Centrally funded
Menaka Oasis Project	World Vision	Centrally funded
Child Survival Project	Plan International	Centrally funded
Child Survival Project	Save The Children (US)	Centrally funded
	World Relief	PVO Co-financing
Dire Irrigation Project	Africare	Mission funded

Donor Summary

The donor organizations have three basic approaches towards funding and implementing natural resource projects in Mali: 1) bilateral programs executed by Mali government ministries and agencies, 2) implementation through technical services contractors, 3) contracts with public service organizations, and 4) implementation through international NGOs and PVOs. In some cases donor organizations use mechanisms 2, 3 and 4 to assist implementation of bilateral projects with the government of Mali.

Chapter 3

OBSERVATIONS FROM FIELD TRIPS

Africare's Projects Near Ouelessebougou

Africare's Country Director, Dan Gerber, and Technical Director, Mohamed Konaré, traveled with me to the town of Ouelessebougou, 80 kilometers south of Bamako. We visited three villages: Digan, which had a maternity clinic and dispensary project; Djitoumou, which had a beekeeping project; and Zielani in which the women had a garden and well project.

Africare's budget for Mali is about \$750,000 per year, and about 80% of their funds come from AID. Africare likes to cluster their projects in an area so that they can provide assistance to several village projects from one field office. They feel that this reduces transport costs, makes better use of staff time and improves field support.

Africare has developed, or is currently developing a number of working relationships with other volunteer and development organizations. Their collaboration includes other international PVO's, local NGO's and government agencies. In some instances they have developed follow-on or "next step" projects with villages where other PVO's have worked, or in some cases they have implemented the "next step" project as a follow-up to another PVO's activities.

Africare is presently giving consideration to collaborating or subcontracting with a Malian NGO called GRAT. GRAT has developed a good capability to build and install a variety of simple locally-made water pumps. Such a linkage would fit well with their village well and garden activities and provide support to Africare in a specialized area, as well as a service to the village. A hand operated pump would also be a logical "next step" after the village has successfully installed a well and garden.

In several instances Africare has implemented projects which built upon the skills that were introduced to villagers from previous projects. The beekeeping project in Djitoumou evolved from work initiated by a Peace Corps volunteer and has been strengthened and expanded by Africare. Africare's well and garden project with women in Zielani has benefited from a women's literacy project in that village, CFAR, that was implemented by the government with help from a Canadian PVO. The literacy skills that the women have learned have helped them in their vegetable markets surveys and in keeping track of the credit which the garden association gives to its members.

Successful projects in one village often lead other villages to ask for a similar project. While neighboring villages are not able to replicate the development without outside assistance, seeing a successful project in a nearby village, often speeds up the time that it takes for a village to articulate problems and solutions and embark upon a

project. Thus, village problem identification and the motivation to start a project can be replicated in nearby project areas.

Africare has found that there are many small NGOs which have never done any work, and which exist in name only, or serve only to provide a living for the founder. They are careful in selecting potential partners, but do want to collaborate with local NGO's so that their complementary skills can be utilized.

AID has tended to emphasize deliverables in their contracting mechanisms and in their approach to development. To work at the village level, and with local NGOs and PVOs, Africare feels that AID should recognize the importance of villagers participating in the development process. Many projects, which may not be sustainable or achieve the project deliverables, are not failures. Africare has found that literacy, numeracy, accounting, organizational skills developed in previous projects that might have been judged as failures because they didn't continue have paved the way for other projects to succeed. Literacy training helps small enterprise projects to succeed; successful enterprise projects teach cooperation and organizational skills which help villagers to take on projects with less immediate benefits - e.g. dispensaries and clinics.

Many of Africare's small project ideas come from villagers who visit their headquarters in Bamako, or who talk with their field agents at ongoing projects throughout the country. Africare then proposes the project to its headquarters in Washington and they search for an organization to fund the work. The result is that funds are provided for ideas that come from the villagers. Thus, the problem that the small projects address are priority concerns for villagers.

This "bottom-up" approach differs from that taken by many funding agencies. The funding themes that come from donors e.g. "child survival", "natural resources", "women's literacy", while very important themes in development, may not be the most important issues of concern to the villagers, and may not be the best "next step" for the village to take. Donors should be willing to allow NGOs to operate under a broader set of themes in an area or should be willing to accept a much longer time frame for accomplishing a project in their "theme area". For example, it may be necessary for a village to go through the experience of literacy training, beekeeping and developing a savings association before they are ready to take on a long-term project like a village woodlot.

A long-term presence by an NGO in a country and in an area is important. Africare, which has worked in Mali for more than 15 years, has found that studies of projects undertaken 10 years ago are provide valuable information that guides their current development efforts. Since donors seldom have this kind of institutional memory it is important that they allow the long-term NGOs and PVOs to provide guidance to them in directing their funding.

Africare cooperates with local government organizations and authorities in project execution. Projects in Sectors and villages are executed with the approval of the Chef d'Arondissement, as well as the village Chief. In their dispensary and maternity clinic

projects Africare negotiates an agreement with the government. The villagers provide bricks and labor, Africare provides a roof and equipment, while the government agrees to train and certify a nurse or pharmacist to be posted in the village. The salary for the nurse or pharmacist comes from the money they earn by providing their services.

In Africare's garden project in the village of Zielani the women had problems with insects attacking their vegetable plants. In this case, agricultural technicians from the Haute Vallée Project provided advice to the women on how to control the insects. This is a normal service available to villagers, but the Africare's representative working with the village helped them get the attention of the extension agent.

Africare has developed an internship program. In this program Malian school leavers volunteer their time to Africare for three months. They do not receive any pay and must cover their own living expenses. Their activities range from office tasks to assisting with project implementation in the field. At the end of their three month internship they receive a certificate from Africare. The work experience, certificate and references obtained from Africare have helped the three who completed their internships to find jobs in the government and private sectors.

Kilabo

We traveled about 50 kilometer southwest of Bamako, along the banks of the River Niger, with Mr. Moctar Traore, President of Kilabo, and Mr. Moussa Traore, Eng. Agronôme for Kilabo to visit the village of Séné and see Kilabo's activities. Kilabo had nine interventions implemented in the village: 1) introduction of carts and cart rental, 2) storage of cowpea and groundnut hay for goat and donkey feeding, 3) a grain bank, 4) literacy training for both men and women, 5) improved grain legume varieties, 6) improved housing, management techniques and breeding stock for goats, 7) use of the moldboard plough, 8) the use of an equipment storage shed, and 9) improved wood stoves.

This village put in a cement lined water well a few years ago with Canadian assistance. They are concerned about the water table because they have seen that wells in two neighboring villages have started to go dry during the dry season. They have noticed that the stream near their village now goes dry by November, whereas in previous years it was possible to do some vegetable gardening during the dry season. The villagers clearly link the dry stream to the lower water level in their village well. They want to put in barrages along the waterway to hold back runoff water and provide water for vegetable gardens. They also feel that this will help their well.

The Séné villagers understand the self help concept. They have implemented a wide range of improvements that Kilabo has introduced. Their leaders are concerned about the future and want to take action to solve the problems they see coming. They have developed valuable literacy and organizational skills under Kilabo and are capable of taking on more complex types of projects on their own.

The villagers did not express much interest in reforestation, despite the fact that they were very active in harvesting wood to sell in Bamako. When asked what they would do when the wood was gone they had no answer. The village concerns are about activities for the villagers and interventions within the village and adjacent areas like the river.

They do not have a heightened awareness the need to protect their larger environment and haven't made the connection between soil erosion, deforestation and the water levels in their wells. Kilabo's work has focused on interventions and techniques to solve immediate problems and has not provided any environmental education.

AMADE

We traveled with Mr. Mamadi Cisse, Coordinator of AMADE, to visit the village of Térékourou near the River Niger about 110 kilometers southwest of Bamako. This is a small villager of about 500 inhabitants that lived by hunting in the past; but, due to the decrease in game, has turned towards sedentary agriculture to provide its food needs.

AMADE has implemented two activities in the village: a 0.68 ha irrigated banana plantation along the River Niger and a bank account for the banana growers. The villagers have started to talk about developing a village grain bank. Also, the villagers have an area near the river that was used for rice some years back and now is only be used to grow maize. They want to do something to capture more water and bring it back into rice production.

The banana plantation seems to be working well, and the ten villagers managing the plantation have 500,000 CFA in their bank account. Considering that this was once a village of hunters, the change to this type of agriculture has gone quite well. AMADE wants to introduce the fertilizer use to villagers so that their banana plantation remains fertile and productive. The villagers still have some doubts about this; the benefit of a water pump is much easier to see than fertilizer.

The villagers have thought of ways to use the grain bank to provide funds to replace the pump. They understand the need for sustainability of the banana plantation and the importance of taking over that task for themselves. Although their base is small, this village is thinking about expanding into other activities and how to maintain their current activities. Also, the village is clearly at a stage where it needs to develop more organizational skills and needs to have more success with small activities.

Summary of Field Visits

The range of activities taken up by Africare, AMADE and Kilabo is impressive. It is very clear that these organizations, whether small young Malian NGOs or an older large American PVO have implemented their activities through the process of local level

participation. These organizations have done an outstanding job of working with villagers to help them express felt needs and turn them into successful village activities. The range of technical skills of these NGOs has been adequate for the task. They have used either in-house skills, or have called upon government technical services for assistance in project implementation. These organizations clearly have the confidence of the villagers and, if funding can be obtained, are in a position to provide additional assistance.

If the NGOs and PVOs have a weakness, it is determining the next step. The easy activities, those with direct benefits - digging water wells, literacy training, providing carts for transport of goods, establishing vegetable gardens, etc. - have served to develop village skills and confidence. However, the more difficult activities, those with less direct benefits and those which require and long-term investments - reforestation, soil conservation, range management, etc. will be a difficult step. When the NGOs and PVOs reach this stage with a village they have difficulty making the next step.

The next step requires investment beyond that of a few individuals and has benefits for individuals other than those directly involved in intervention implementation. Negotiation with local, regional and national governments regarding land tenure and use rights, changes in government policies regarding forest and range management, improved environmental education, changes in local taxation and spending, and improved delivery of technical services, will be amongst the many pre-conditions for implementing broad-based natural resource management. Clearly this effort will require a cooperative effort between farmers, herders and villagers, local governments, NGOs, national governments and donor organizations.

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