

**A Study of Female Community Development Agents  
in Senegal**

**by Laurie Brush  
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## SYNOPSIS

### A STUDY OF FEMALE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AGENTS IN SENEGAL"

By Laurie Brush

Brush's study, funded under a grant from the WID Office to CID/WID investigates the needs and problems of Senegalese women as extension and development agents. This research explores how training, resources and gender-related factors impact project effectiveness.

The data were gathered through a survey and field-based observations obtained from January through June 1986. The reserach was conducted in Casamance (Kolda and Ziguinchor) in southern Senegal.

The results are summarized as follows:

Senegal is unusual in its efforts to include women in development through the regular use of female development agents. However, several areas were identified which could be effectively addressed. These include the following:

1. FACTORS ADVERSELY AFFECTING FEMALE AGENTS' PERFORMANCE:
  - a. Seasonal Work: most female agents stop their development work during the agricultural season.
  - b. Extension services are rarely directed toward needs of women (especially their need to manage cooperatives or other controlling organizations).
  - c. Agents often do not speak language of the community in which they are posted: "From the point of view of the villagers, they are being sent a development agent from the government ... who [sometimes] cannot communicate directly, ... who is not part of their ethnic culture, and who has possibly never lived in a village" (p.22).
  - d. Lack of transportation, fuel, driving skills necessary to reach rural villagers.
2. FACTORS AFFECTING MORALE OF FEMALE AGENTS
  - a. Single agents seen as morally "loose"; tendency for male colleagues to treat them as sexual partners; often expected to cook and clean for male agents.
  - b. Low correlation between womens' posts and their husbands' place of work.
  - c. Lack of satisfaction with available education for their children.
  - d. Rapid succession of reassignments
  - e. Women given low priority in use of vehicles

### 3. FEMALE AGENTS' PERSPECTIVES OF THEIR FUNCTIONS/ROLES

They were asked to rank items on a list of activities in order of importance. In order of most to least important, these are:

- \* education in health, nutrition and literacy
- \* collaboration with governmental team
- \* fostering group organizations (e.g. gardening groups)
- \* doing office-related activities
- \* obtaining project materials and resources
- \* doing technical training
- \* initiating new projects
- \* surveying on-going projects
- \* collecting data/doing research

(Note: While literacy training is considered very important, apparently none of the female agents interviewed are involved in literacy programs. Health and nutrition do seem to constitute important activities.)

### 4. SPECIFIC RESOURCE DEFICIENCIES (\*\*)

Agents cited the following resources as being unavailable or insufficient:

- \* office materials
- \* project materials
- \* credit for womens' groups
- \* funds for womens' project

(\*Brush indicates that in some cases, resources are available but agents unaware of them.)

The agents report that they would like to spend more time on health, nutrition, organizing the population, sewing and tie dyeing and gardening. Literacy training was ranked above marketing, commercialization activities.

### 5. REASONS FOR LACK OF VILLAGE SUPPORT OF TRAINING EFFORTS

- \* Finding a market for vegetables a major problem
- \* Some crafts may be associated with specific groups (e.g., broom making, older women, pottery making, another ethnic group)
- \* Lack of awareness of benefits of training
- \* Perception of some kinds of work as "bad"

### 6. SPECIFIC REMEDIABLE PROBLEMS MENTIONED BY AGENTS

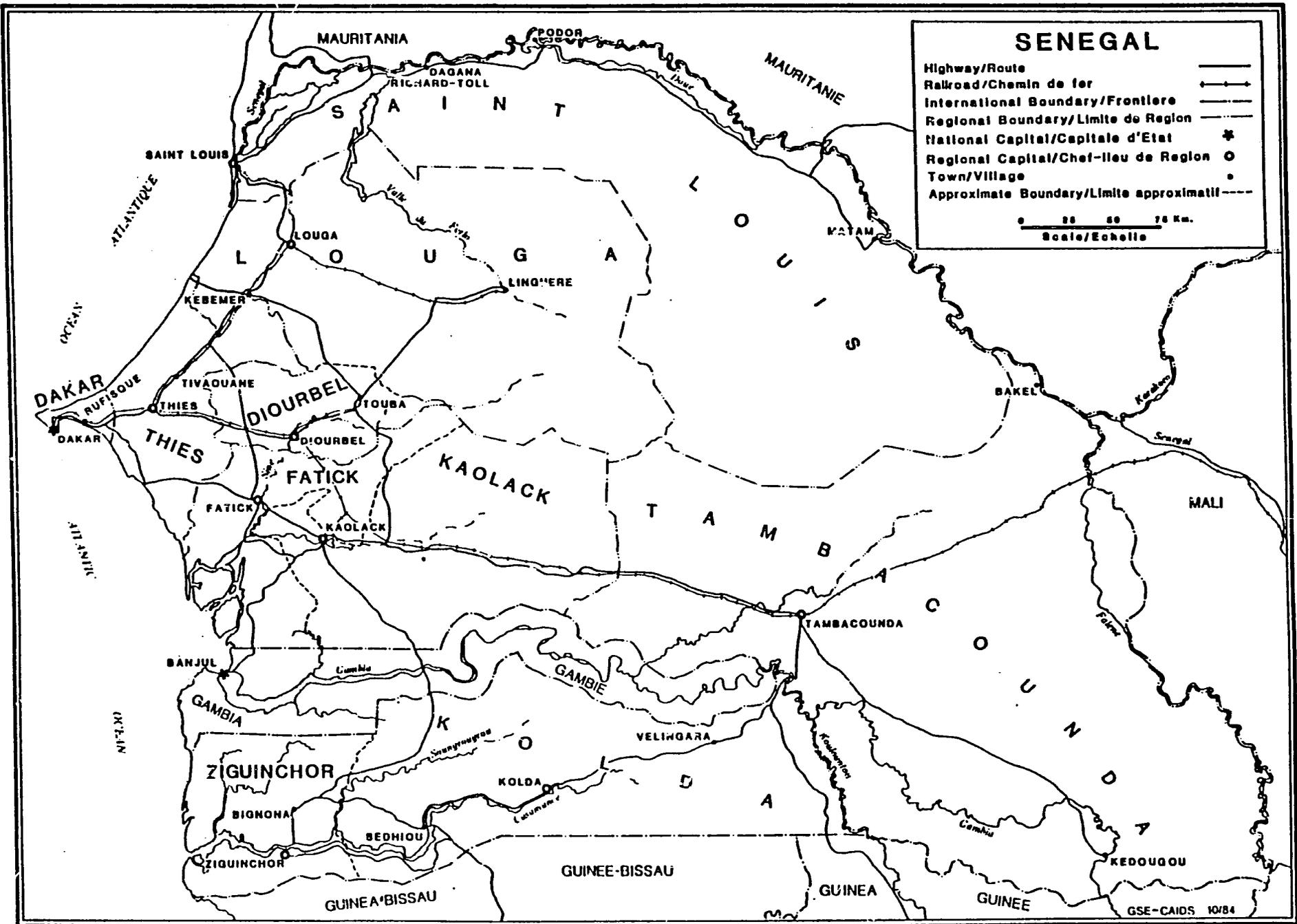
- \* Inadequate preparation before beginning their jobs (54.87% said this was the case.): specifically, insufficient training in the skills demanded by villagers (e.g., sewing, tie dyeing, crocheting, embroidery, gardening); additional prior training also

indicated in sociology, health, nutrition, care of livestock, family planning, administration, literacy training and applied animation; most commonly identified training deficiency is knowledge required for making hand-crafted products

\* Population sometimes not informed prior to agent's arrival

\* Difficulty in arranging meetings with villagers

**SUMMARY:** Brush believes there is a clear need for effective female development agents and that they can play a profound role in integrating women into the development process. In order to meet this potential, it is necessary to help female agents acquire the prerequisite skills before going to their posts and provide them with adequate resources once they are there. Meeting these requirements will allow agents to tackle problems in literacy, craft-related skills, small scale enterprise, agriculture and health and nutrition.



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The aim of this project was to investigate the needs and problems of women working as extension, or community development agents in Senegal, and to determine what role, if any, improvement or changes in training would have on their job effectiveness. The research was carried out with funding from the Women in Development Fellowship program of the Consortium for International Development Project of USAID. The researcher worked in conjunction with the National School of Applied Economics (ENEA) Rural Management Project in Dakar, Senegal. The Rural Management Project is working with ENEA to improve the quality of training received by the development agents of Senegal currently in professional schools, such as ENEA, as well as providing training seminars for agents already in the field. Management has been identified as a field in which such training and retraining is needed. Though a study was done in order to identify the training needs of mid-level development agents in Senegal, most of the agents interviewed were male and only a brief mention was made of problems unique to female agents. Yet, survey data indicate that women development agents have different needs and problems than male agents. There is an obvious need to investigate the training needs of female agents independently from those of male agents. This research will make a direct contribution to the Women in Development component of the project.

It was found that many of the needs and problems of female development agents will not be resolved through training. The major

financing, and work materials. Many women simply didn't have the means to do their jobs as they were trained to. The lack of administrative support in many cases contributed to the discouragement of the agents, who had little motivation to work around the obstacles they encountered. Many of those who were working with women in villages were doing projects oriented toward the domestic arts. Village women seemed to feel that working with a development agent was a leisure time activity. It was very seasonal; in other words, when the agricultural season began, almost all work with female development agents stopped. Those projects that were oriented toward producing products for income such as gardening, sewing, and tie dyeing, were seen as income generating projects, yet the lack of marketing made it almost impossible for these projects to provide more than supplementary income.

Problems specific to female agents included being seen as potential sex partners by the male agents of the community development team, or viewed as loose women, if they were single. Married women had the problem of being assigned to posts that separated them from their husbands and usually being responsible for children. Often they were assigned where schooling was not available beyond a certain age for their children. Women agents also often served as cooks for single male agents as well as visitors who came to work with women in their community.

The female community development agents of Senegal are a valuable resource. Their existence shows that Senegal is concerned with including women in development. However, if their existence is to be more than a gesture of concern, their potential needs to be used to

greater advantage. Female development agents are making a contribution to the development of their country but they are far from doing what they are capable of.

## INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this research project was to investigate the role of the female development agent in Senegal in order to identify her needs and problems and, furthermore, to identify which of these problems are related to training needs. This information will be utilized by the National School of Applied Economics' (ENEA) Rural Management Project. The project is concerned with providing improved management training to mid-level development agents, such as the subjects of this study, in Senegal. Several of the female development agents participating in this study received their professional training at the National School of Applied Economics (ENEA).

Funding from the Women in Development Fellowship through the Consortium for International Development or CID/WID project of the United States Agency for International Development, made this study possible. The researcher spent seven months in Senegal working in conjunction with the ENEA Rural Management Project contract of Texas Tech University to carry out the research. It was decided that contact with the development agents themselves, in the field, would provide the best sources of information about their needs and problems on the job. Two regions in the southern portion of Senegal were chosen in which to carry out the research, on the recommendations of project personnel; Ziguinchor and Kolda, the two regions together known until recently as the Casamance region.

A great deal of research has been done on the problems of extension agents in lesser developed countries, including research

primarily at men. Now it is becoming increasingly recognized that there is a need for effective female development agents. Ester Boserup brought to light the importance of women's economic role in the development process in the 1970's (Boserup, 1970). Since then, many international development organizations have acknowledged the necessity of integrating women into the development process. Female development agents will begin playing a profound role in this change. However, at present, according to the Rural Management Project Proposal it is rare that extension services are directed toward the needs of women or that they are given the chance to learn the skills of managing a cooperative or other such resource controlling organization (Technical Proposal, 1983). Yet according to Dixon's research on Jobs for women in rural services and industry, there is a need to include women in the rural economy through creating rural employment for them. She suggests that women should be mobilized through indigenous social groups to work together. She also states the need for credit available to women in conjunction with training and technical skills (Dixon, 1979, p 11).

Staudt has also done research on women's participation in rural development. She suggests that further research be done on government intervention and government programs for women (Staudt, pp. 67-68). Research has also been done specifically on the socio-economic role of women in the lower Casamance, now known as the Ziguinchor region, of Senegal. One of the suggested goals for applying the research was to create development projects that responded to the identified socio-economic problems of women (Le Conseil National Des Femmes Noires Americaines, 1983). Another author points out that women, though they

make up the majority of the population, have been neglected in development plans, leaving a valuable resource untouched. For economic reasons, as well as their right to equality, women need to be integrated into development programs (Overholt, et al., pp. 3-4).

The same authors also quote an AID Women and Development policy paper which states that '...In Africa it is estimated that females do 60 to 80% of agricultural work. Yet these same females are rarely systematically targeted for training, extension, research, technology or improved inputs.' (Overholt, et al., p. 18)

Senegal is unusual, however, in its efforts to include women in development. A unique program was adopted by the government of Senegal at the time of independence, 1959, in an effort to initiate development from below. It was and is known as the program of "Animation Rurale". Animation is a difficult word to translate directly but one author who has written about the theory suggests that animated rural villagers should convey the image of rural people who have been mobilized and awakened, their consciousness raised to the point where they participate in their own development according to community values, building cooperative economic structures (Gellar, Charllick and Jones, 1980, p. 34). The people responsible for animating villagers originally were village-based volunteers, men and women known as animateurs and animatrices. They were trained by animation officials in organized training sessions and then sent back to their villages. From the beginning of the animation program there was a special section of the program devoted to women's animation, known as Animation Feminine. Rural Animation Centers were formed to coordinate animation activities. These later became known as Rural

Expansion Centers (CERs) which still exist today as local administrative structures.

Though the original plan for male and female animators was that they would be counterparts in their villages, women's animation soon began to focus on training that concerned only women's traditional roles, such as child care, health and nutrition for the family, domestic arts, and collective gardens to improve the nutrition level of the family as well as provide some cash income. The programs brought improved quality of life and were seen as more successful than other animation programs. According to animation theory, women would also take part in economic structures and work together with male animators toward common goals. However, the economic structures and development oriented structures remained male dominated (Gellar, et al., pp. 115-116.).

With the administrative reform laws in 1972, renewed efforts at decentralization led to Rural Animation Centers becoming Rural Expansion Centers, which were to work with teams of agents from different services (Vengroff and Johnston, 1984). One of the team members was to be an animator, male or female. Technical agents on the development team could include an agriculturalist, a forestry and waters specialist, a fisheries agent, and a monatrice or woman trained to work specifically with women, usually meaning she worked with them in the "domestic arts" and traditional skills that the original animatrices taught. The animators were no longer volunteers from villages but paid government employees, recruited at the national level according to entrance examinations, education requirements, and other qualifications, and trained at ENEA in Dakar, in a two-or three-

year program before going to work in the animation service. Both men and women are given the same training. Since very few women meet the education requirements, the ratio of women to men is very low. Their curriculum involves a broad social studies background, courses in management, marketing, accounting, etc. They undergo a short field training during which they usually conduct some type of social research in a rural area.

The monatrices are also recruited at the national level with similar entrance requirements and are given a two-year training at the Ecole de Monatrice in Senegal's second largest city, Thies. The school trains only women. They are given technical training in areas such as gardening, agriculture, tie dyeing, sewing and health; management training; and literacy and language training. Throughout the two-year program they do practicums in the field a total of several months.

Beginning in 1977, another social service agency, Maison Familiale, became active in Senegal. The organization was founded by a private French development organization. They made an agreement with the government of Senegal to set up centers, or Maisons, throughout the country as long as they were granted some autonomy in doing so. Using techniques of "animation", agents known as moniteurs, who are paid for their services, work at the grass roots level with villagers. Eventually, female agents or "monatrices" were included who work with village women as counterparts of the male agents. They work with associations made up of many villages in an area known as an arrondissement or county. Their first goal is to raise the consciousness of villagers toward their role in their own development,

developing the concept of self-help. Then their efforts are structured through a community association with each member buying a membership card to the association, thus contributing to the financial support of the organization. Eventually the organization should become self-controlled and self-supported. Each village belonging to the association has delegates to represent it to the association. Women's projects, like those in the other services, tend to focus on uncompensated domestic activities of women. These development agents, like the others described so far, are recruited nationally and must meet entrance requirements and pass an entrance exam. They also must pass a trial period in which their aptitude for the job is assessed. Agents then receive a three year training which is cyclical, alternating between theoretical classroom work and field training (Gellar, et al., pp. 180-185).

The targets for this study include female agents from each of the three services described. They are animatrices, monatrices and Maison Familiale (MF) monatrices. The animatrices and monatrices serve at one of three different administrative levels. At the regional level they are responsible for the activities affecting women in the entire region. The next smallest administrative unit where they are posted is the department. Each of the regions is divided into three departments. And the smallest administrative unit to which they are assigned is the arrondissement. These could consist of up to 300 villages and each arrondissement has a village designated as the CER headquarters where the CER team is based. MF monatrices were usually assigned to an area similar to the arrondissement but known as a zone.

known as animatrices who have been trained by the international development project with which they work. They have goals similar to those of the animation service. The project is ending and there are only a few animatrices still remaining in this service but two of these women are included in the research.

There is an evergrowing body of research on the problems faced by extension, or rural development agents in grass roots development in developing countries. In a review of the research, Vengroff summarizes the problems of delivery of extension services into five categories:

(1) technical issues--the lack of successful technical packages to transmit to clients; (2) manpower--the lack of sufficient numbers of trained agents; (3) resources--the lack of funds and/or logistical support necessary to perform the extension function; (4) organizational support, including inadequate supervision, communications and evaluation of job performance; (5) societal relations--the ability of the agent to adapt to local conditions and to effectively interact on a personal level with his client population (broadly defined). (Vengroff, 1983, p.36).

While this is an excellent summary of the problems faced by extension agents in general, it does not take into account a sixth category; that of problems specific to female agents. Due to their relatively recent and minority status as extension agents, they encounter problems not faced by male agents. According to Wills, survey data indicates that women development agents in Senegal

their male counterparts." (Wills, p.6)

In a study carried out on the training needs of mid-level development agents in Senegal, men interviewed claimed that women agents were unsuccessful due to their youth and inexperience. However the women claimed that the problem is due in part from the tendency of their male colleagues to treat them as potential sexual partners rather than co-workers (Vengroff and Johnston, 1984, p.63).

It is strikingly obvious that there is a need for research examining the needs and problems of these women development agents if they are to function effectively in their jobs and achieve development goals. It is hoped that the results of this research will have an impact on development for women in countries such as Senegal, through improving the ability of female development agents to reach them effectively through development services.

## METHODOLOGY

The data for this research was gathered by means of a survey instrument and observations in the field from January thru June 1986 in the southern portion of Senegal known as the Casamance. Two regions were included in the study, Kolda and Ziguinchor. The survey instrument was geared specifically toward women development agents responsible for doing community development work in rural areas. The role played by these women is a critical role both for the development of their country and for the future of women in development. Women play a vital role in the rural economy of Senegal, yet their potential as a viable economic resource for their country has hardly been tapped. Their role should be of particular concern to the government of Senegal with its dedicated efforts at development from below, at the grass roots level.

The survey instrument was based, in part, on a similar instrument employed by Vengroff and Johnston in identifying training needs of mid-level development agents in Senegal. It was then revised to draw out information specifically concerning the needs and problems of women agents. The resulting initial instrument was tested in the field on four female agents. It was then revised with the help of project staff at ENEA to eliminate unnecessary questions and shorten it. Other questions were restructured to make them more concise and specific about the information desired. The major problem of the test questionnaire was that it solicited more information than was necessary. Therefore the information from the first four interviews is still valid to the study and used in reporting the findings.

The questionnaire was designed with female government agents in mind. However, in conducting the first four test interviews it was realized that not all the women to be interviewed would have the same job responsibilities. Thus, when the questionnaire was modified this was also taken into account. These changes generally entailed adding response categories. Again, the information solicited was the same in both versions of the questionnaire and therefore the information is still valid. If, in reporting the findings, the changes in the questionnaire have any bearing on the results this will be so noted.

A total of 31 women were interviewed over a period of about five months. Because women were interviewed at their work sites and were often in remote, rural areas, there was usually no means of requesting an interview or making an appointment ahead of time. Many of the sites were difficult to get to and often the researcher arrived to find that the intended subject was not available for one or more of a variety of reasons. Therefore, particularly in the Kolda region, much time was spent simply trying to locate interview subjects. The advantage of this was that the women were not forewarned of the researcher's coming and their schedules were not influenced by her presence.

The researcher presented letters of introduction and permission from the appropriate officials which were usually presented to the interviewee's supervisor. The majority of the women were very willing to participate in the survey and spoke to the researcher at length about their jobs. All interviews were conducted by the researcher in French using a questionnaire followed by an informal interview. The interviews averaged about one-and-a-half hours. Following the

interview, if the agent seemed an appropriate subject, the woman was asked if she would allow the researcher to return and observe her at work for several days or a week. If she agreed, a time frame was suggested in which the researcher might return, such as sometime during a particular month.

The questionnaire was designed keeping in mind the dependent variable to be identified: the training needs of the female development agent that are necessary to effectively carry out the duties of her job. Other factors or variables to be considered which might effect her job performance are administrative organization and support, availability of resources, logistical support, and length of time at her post. The questionnaire used identifies the independent variable and other variables, such as those noted, that can have an effect on the work of a development agent.

The survey instrument includes both open and closed questions comprised of background characteristics; work background, education and training; obstacles encountered; work and time commitments; perceived characteristics of the population; availability of resources; project activities; and the agents perceived training needs. Not all of the questions were effective. The information in questions 31 a - c did not solicit the type of answers desired and the information was not adequate for interpretation. There were also problems with questions which asked for numbers of villages worked in because that was not necessarily consistent with the number of villages they were in charge of. This effected questions 21 and 22. In the Findings section of this paper, where the results of these questions are discussed, there is an explanation of how this problem

was dealt with so that the information could still be used. (Copy of questionnaire provided in appendix)

The second method of gathering data for this study was through observing the subject in the field and accompanying her in her activities for a period of several days or a week. Eight of the women who responded to the questionnaire were later revisited and observed in the field. Though the planned period of observation was one week for each of the observation subjects, time limitations and conflicts did not permit this in every case. The range was from two to five days. When the researcher was not present for the entire work week, she questioned the subject as to her activities on the days she was not present. Notification of the date of the week of observation was given only a few days in advance, or, if possible, remained very general so that the subject to be observed did not have the opportunity to alter her work activities as the result of the researcher's presence.

Because most of the women interviewed were in the Ziguinchor region, the majority of subjects chosen for observation were also from this group. Most of the observations were conducted after all interviews using the survey instrument were completed so that subjects could be selected from the entire subject sample. Unfortunately, this meant that observations were conducted very close to the beginning of the rainy season and many villagers had already begun going to work in their fields rather than participating in the types of projects conducted by the female development agents. Many of the development agents interviewed claimed that there was little or no work they could do during this period. The Muslim holiday of Ramadan, a month-long

period of daily fasting from sunrise to sunset, also fell during the period in which most of the observations occurred. This meant that many people were not participating in their normal activities. Thus, for some of the observations, factors may have effected just how much work there was to observe. This will be dealt with further in the Findings section of this paper.

### Sample

The regions chosen to work in were recommended by the ENEA Rural Management Project team. The two regions, until recently, 1984, were one region known as the Casamance. Now, with the area divided into the two regions of Ziguinchor and Kolda, Kolda is probably suffering the most as Ziguinchor kept what had been the regional capital as its own. The town of Kolda became the regional capital for Kolda and the new region has much less infrastructure and existing services than does the Ziguinchor region. It was thought that there might therefore be some interesting contrasts between the two regions. But the only remarkable difference noted was that there were several sectors of the Kolda area that were supposed to have a female development agent assigned to them but didn't, supposedly because there was no money available to pay them.

Because of the limited number of female agents working in these two regions, it was decided that every agent working in either of the regions who could be contacted would be included in the sample. Of the 31 women interviewed, nine were working in Kolda and the remaining 22 were in Ziguinchor. The subjects for observation were chosen in

such a manner as to maintain a representative ratio of agents from both the Ziguinchor and Kolda regions. The women observed were selected not only according to region but other characteristics as well. An effort was made to observe subjects representative of the interview population according to characteristics such as age, job category and location, and marital status. The researcher also tried to choose women whom she thought would be doing enough work to give her something to observe. As the findings indicate, this was not always successful. Selection was also dependent on the willingness and availability of the individual agent. Some women were on personal leave, sick leave, or had even been reassigned since the original interview, at the time the observations occurred.

The development agents of the regions of Ziguinchor and Kolda made this research possible. Without their willingness and cooperation the research would not have taken place. The warmth and hospitality of so many of these women not only made the research possible but made it enjoyable. The willingness of many women to invite the researcher into their homes and answer her many questions, sharing working time as well as personal time, provided her with insights and information which it is hoped will be valuable in helping to eliminate the problems and needs they shared with the researcher.

A note on translators used for this study. The researcher communicated directly with interview subjects in French. However, there are many languages spoken in the Casamance, as well as in Senegal. One can identify four languages most commonly spoken in the Ziguinchor and Kolda regions. Thus, it was rare that any of the

population a development agent worked with were French speaking. Therefore, the researcher found it convenient to use a translator where one was available whenever visiting an agent in the field, but particularly during the observation of agents working in the community.

## FINDINGS

### Background Characteristics

The background characteristics of the women who participated in this research add a necessary and important dimension to the findings. These characteristics include such basic personal information as age, ethnic origin, religion, birthplace, their mother tongue, where their husbands are posted if married, number of children, and level of education. When these factors are combined with job related factors, such as where they are posted, how long they have been at their post, professional training, where or if they have an office, etc., they become more significant than when considered independently. Such factors can have an influence on the agent's ability and willingness to adapt, contentment and motivation.

For example, the subjects in this study worked in two different regions, nine from Kolda and twenty two from Ziguinchor. But the women were from eight different regions. When a statistical correlation is run between the place of birth and the place of work it is very low: .085. This is relevant in that Senegal has at least fourteen major ethnic groups and several more minor ones which tend to be concentrated in certain locales. The women interviewed represent nine different ethnic groups. The majority, or 38.7 per cent, of them are Wolofs. The Wolofs are one of the largest ethnic groups and the Wolof language is the most widely spoken in the country (all but one of the women interviewed spoke it). The major ethnic

groups in the Casamance area however, each with their own language, are the Peuls and Mandingue in the Kolda region, and the Diola, of whom there are several different sects with different dialects in the Ziguinchor region. Of the women interviewed 25.8 per cent were Diolas and only 3.2 per cent were Peuls. None of them were Mandingues but there were representatives of such minority ethnic groups found in the Casamance as the Baynuks and Mancagne. (See Table 1). Of the nine women who were Diola two of them were assigned to non Diola communities in Kolda. The Peul, BaynuK and Mancagne women were each working in the area they were from. Regardless of ethnic correlations just over half of the women, 51.6 per cent, were working in the region in which they were born. Of those 38.7 per cent were working in the same department they were from.

The low correlation between where these women are from and where they are working is not surprising. It was expected that not many of the agents would be from either of the Casamance regions because the training schools are in the distant cities of Dakar and Thies. Not much effort is made to recruit students from more distant or rural areas and the entrance exam is offered only once a year in Dakar. Thus it is expected that most of the development agents are from the larger urban areas such as Dakar and Thies.

Another explanation for the low correlation could be that no consideration is given to where the woman is from when assigning her to a post. This is supported by the evidence that two Diola women from Ziguinchor are working in the Kolda region. So even when trained women from a specific area become available they may not be assigned to that area. Many posts are left unfilled because there is no money

to pay the agents, in spite of vacancies and available personnel. Several of the youngest women interviewed had waited a year after graduation before being given an assignment because there was no money available to pay them. Thus when assignments are made it is probably according to what is available not according to request. Though many of the women interviewed were unhappy with where they were posted none of them were willing to quit their jobs. Many had however, put in transfer requests. Some women wanted to be transferred to be near their husband or family. One woman wanted to be transferred because she thought someone in the community was trying to poison her. Other reasons included schools for their children and health problems.

Another problem with being assigned to a region they were not from was that the women were unlikely to speak the language of the area in which they were working. Only 32.26 per cent of the women used their mother tongue as the primary language on the job. Another 22.58 per cent of the women spoke the local language where they were posted but not as their first language; 16.13 per cent of the women had a passive command of the local language (or spoke a little); 9.68 per cent didn't speak the local language at all. Finally, 19.35 per cent of the women spoke at least one of the languages used in urban areas. This means that for those women based in an urban area several languages were spoken and they spoke at least one of them even if they didn't speak the common language of the rural areas in their territory. All of the women spoke at least two languages some spoke as many as six. The average was 3.67 languages.

When the women spoke little or none of the local language many said they communicated in Wolof. As was noted earlier Wolof is the

most widely spoken language in Senegal. Of the development agents interviewed 74.1 per cent stated that they actively used Wolof in their work. Another 22.5 per cent used it passively and only one woman or 3.2 per cent spoke no Wolof. The women who did not speak the local language could usually count on finding someone who spoke Wolof to translate for them. While the agent could communicate by this means it probably did very little to ease her acceptance into the community. If the woman is also of a different ethnic group the receptiveness of the local population is not likely to be overwhelming. From the point of view of the villager they are being sent a development agent from the government to help them in developing their community who can not communicate directly with most of them, who is not a part of their ethnic culture, and who quite possibly has never lived in a village. Agents in such a situation face quite a challenge in meeting their job goals.

Another such factor to be considered is religion. Senegal is over 90 per cent Muslim yet Ziguinchor has the largest Catholic community in the country. The number of Catholic development agents interviewed, however, is probably representative of the population of the Casamance. There were 11 or 35.4 per cent Catholics in the sample. Nine are based in the largely Catholic Ziguinchor region, the other two are in Kolda. Animosity between the two religious groups was not evident. One could find Catholics and Muslims mixed in some villages. Among the Muslims there is further division into sects which follow different religious leaders and tend to be concentrated in certain regions. While some of the Muslim women said that sects were for men, others claimed one: 6 of the women didn't identify a

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sect, 4 were Mouride, 9 were Tidiane and 1 was Khadir. While there is some rivalry between the various sects it is usually among men and religious divisions do not appear significant to this study. While subjects interviewed would sometimes state that a certain ethnic group was harder or easier to work with, such stereotyping was never accorded to religion. There was only one example noted of a subject modifying her religious behavior. The woman was working with a women's group during the Muslim festival of Ramadan when Muslims fast from sun up to sun down. She was not as strict a Muslim as the women of the village and did not feel as strongly about maintaining the fast but did so in their presence, she explained, in order to have their respect. Apart from this example religion was never raised by any of the interview subjects as a factor effecting their work.

Another important factor to be considered is the family situation of these women. In Senegalese society men are considered the protectors and caretakers of women. A single woman on her own is often suspect and considered immoral or "loose". This was a serious problem raised by several of the single women interviewed who made up 19.35 per cent of the sample. The women interviewed were usually the only female member of the CER team. That fact in combination with the common attitude toward single women on their own made life very difficult for some of the women interviewed. One woman said that every one of her colleagues had made a pass at her when she started at her post the year before. After she had consistently refused them all they finally began treating her with respect, and seeing her "like a sister". Unfortunately she was also cooking and cleaning for two of these men, one of whom she had to share her government provided house

with. She was not the only female in this situation. Because of limited housing it was not uncommon to find CER team agents sharing a house, the woman always having her own room in the house. It was also very common procedure that these women cooked meals on a daily basis for one or more of the single male agents.

A common denominator among all these single women was that they had a young girl living with them, a paid house girl, and/or a relative or friend's female child, if there was not another adult female in the household. Limited space meant that this girl or girls shared her room with her. This probably made their living on their own without a male relative somewhat more respectable. Three of these single women had children. Unfortunately this is probably proof positive in the eyes of those who wish to label these single women as "loose" or "prostitutes".

Married women made up 64.52 per cent (20) of the women interviewed. Of those 20, 9.68 per cent had co-wives and the remaining five or 16.13 per cent were divorced. Though married women may be viewed as more respectable than single women in the eyes of the community, most of these women were also living on their own without their husbands and in some cases had been for years. The correlation between the women's posts and their husband's place of work is very low -.398. Closer examination reveals that 55 per cent of these women were living apart from their husbands. Due to the high rate of transfer even a woman currently posted in the same locale as her husband has no guarantee of remaining at that post. If he is in government service as well his chances of being transferred are probably as high as hers.

The majority of the women interviewed, 80.6 per cent (25) have been at their post less than five years and 58 per cent (18) have been there three years or less (see Table 2). Many of the women said they intended to or already had requested a transfer. Four transfers occurred in the two regions before the end of the research period. When a woman received a transfer it did not necessarily mean that she was replaced at her former post, though in theory, according to one CER team director a transfer would not be granted until there was someone to replace the woman leaving.

Of the women interviewed 77.4 per cent (or 24) of them had children. The average number of children was 3.33 with a range from one to nine. All except three of these women had their children living with them and 45.16 per cent of the women had children not yet in school (age six or under). Most of these women, 61.9 per cent employed domestic help, usually a young teenage girl, to care for their children while they were working, and 23.8 per cent entrusted their children to a relative, again usually a teenage girl. Two of them had both a hired girl and a relative and one woman's son was old enough not to need caretaking.

When these women were asked if they were satisfied with available schooling for their children where they were posted 54.55 per cent (or 12) said no. Those who expressed dissatisfaction usually had older children. They said that once their children got to be a certain level of their education they had to be sent away to live in a town if they were to continue their education.

A woman's family situation can have quite an overall impact on her job performance. If she is single, living away from her family

she may not be treated with respect from her colleagues. If she is married there is a good chance that she will have to live apart from her husband because of her work. If she has young children she will have to leave them at home, most likely under the supervision of a hired girl or, if she is fortunate enough to have family nearby, with a relative. If she has school age children it is likely that she will have to send them away to continue their education beyond a primary school level. All of these factors will be reflected in the contentment of a development agent with her situation and will therefore have a bearing on her job performance.

## Work Background, Education, Training

All of the interviewees had completed primary school but, somewhat surprisingly, they did not all have secondary school degrees. Six or 19.35 per cent of them had some secondary school but had not completed school to receive their diplomas. Of those six, four of them were currently serving in the animation service with professional degrees from ENEA. Two of them were Monatrices trained at the Ecole de Monatrice. A seventh woman had no secondary school at all. The remaining respondents, 77.4 per cent, had secondary school degrees or the equivalent. Of the seven women who did not have secondary diplomas the average age was 42.8 with a range of 39 - 45. At the time these women started in the service it was very uncommon for women to have much education and the standards for acceptance were not the same as they are now. The four of these women in the animation service were recruited into the original animation program when service was voluntary and education requirements were not what they are now. All of these four women were later accepted into training at ENEA and granted the degree of Agent Technique. The two women without secondary diplomas who were Monatrices had likewise gone on to receive their degrees from the Ecole de Monatrice. Under current requirements none of these women would qualify for training at the schools where they received their professional degrees. The seventh woman without a secondary diploma never went on to any professional school after original animation service training. But she was still referred to as an Animatrice by her supervisor and appeared to be doing the same job as other Animatrices.

Because of the variety of ages among the women interviewed, ranging from 25 to 47 with an average of 35, they have varying levels of education and training even when they hold the same job. Table 3 provides a list of the job titles of the women interviewed and Table 4 their levels of education.

Another characteristic typical of these women's jobs is the length of time they spend at a post. A breakdown of the time at their current post is provided in Table 4. While five or six of these women show a fairly short amount of time at their current post due to their recent graduation into the service, the others are indicative of the frequency of transfers within the service. Such frequent reassignments may be a negative factor in the woman's job effectiveness. Because of the large number of ethnic groups and languages in Senegal, chances are she will not only be adjusting to a new community but to a new language and different ethnic group as well. The time it takes her to adapt and become accepted is time lost in which she is not doing her job as effectively as she is capable of doing it. The high rate of transfer may also discourage an agent from putting the kind of effort into becoming a part of the community that she would if she considered the post long-term or permanent.

Each of the women interviewed was asked if she would prefer an urban or a rural assignment. Responses were equally divided between the two, 14 saying urban and 14 rural. Two women refused to respond saying there was no point because they had no choice, and one woman chose both responses saying that she chose a rural post for the present but once her children reached school age she would prefer an urban post. The majority of the women who said they preferred an

urban area gave their children's schooling as an explanation. One woman gave health problems as her reason for preferring an urban assignment. Another said that she wanted to improve her knowledge and training and couldn't do so in the isolated rural area she was based in. It is interesting to note that this woman at first refused to answer the question saying that she wasn't going to be trapped by such a question—she was trained for work in rural areas! After completing the rest of the questionnaire she was willing to go back to this question perhaps feeling reassured that the intent of the interviewer was not to "trap" her. The women who said they preferred rural assignments usually explained that helping the rural population was what they had been trained for or that helping rural women was their goal and they were dedicated to staying in the rural community. Many of the married women stated their preference but made their response conditional on their husbands being assigned to the same area. Being near their husbands when possible had priority.

Even though all these women were trained for jobs in rural areas not all of them were willing to stay there if given a choice. Many of the women confided to the researcher that they felt they had no choice in what job they did as jobs for educated women that required their skills were very limited. Usually the woman had not chosen the field she would go into but had applied and taken the entrance exam for every school she was qualified for. They attended the school that accepted them. One woman said because of her love for children she had always wanted to be a teacher but she hadn't passed the entrance exam; so she went to school to become a monatrice. One young single woman said that, even though she didn't particularly like requirements

of her job, such as living in a rural area, she would never quit. She believed that independence and self sufficiency came first. She told the story of an aunt who quit her job because the man she married didn't want her to work. After three children her husband left her and she was destitute, unable to get her old job back. This young woman said her aunts story was a lesson to her and she won't quit her job even when she marries though, as this survey shows, there is a 55 per cent chance she will have to live apart from her husband.

For many of the younger women in this sample, their first experience in a village or rural area occurred during their training. One young woman in a particularly isolated area said she was so unhappy that she convinced herself she was sick and after a week asked for sick leave and fled to her parents home in the city. They convinced her to return and give herself time to adjust to rural living. She did go back and when she was offered a transfer to the nearest town she turned it down, saying she had trained to help rural women and that she was dedicated to that purpose. All signs of illness vanished. At the time she was interviewed she had been there for a year and was one of the more active of the women interviewed.

While some of these women have chosen rural life others are simply doing a job in a particular location. For whatever reason many of these women were waiting for requested transfers. None of the women in urban posts, however, complained that they wanted to be reassigned to a rural post.

The women surveyed were asked if they shared the same office as their immediate supervisor. About 58 per cent did; but among those who didn't, some explained that they had no office at all. Even some of

the supervisors had no office and were working out of their homes. But the majority of the women, 67.7 per cent, saw their supervisor every day (see Table 5). For those women based in rural areas it was expected that they saw their supervisor on a fairly regular basis due to the fact that the team usually lived together in a block of government provided houses. There were exceptions-one woman had seen her boss once in three months and for one day. He hadn't lived in the village in over nine months but stayed in a town several hours away. There was only public transportation to the village once a week and during the rainy season the road often became impassible. Another woman who understandably saw her supervisor less often than most was a departmental supervisor. Her boss, the regional director, was based several hours away from her.

In estimating how many hours they spent in the office each week respondents covered the range of possibilities (see Table 6). Explanations are just as varied for why the majority of women spend so little time in the office. Perhaps she just doesn't go to the office because she has nothing to do or maybe because she spends all her time working in the field. Maybe she just doesn't have an office. Because report writing is an important part of the Senegalese system, one might expect that about one-third to one-half of an agent's time is spent in the office with the rest of the time spent in the field. But some women spent their entire work week in the office. Most of them explained that this was because they had no transportation to get them out of the office. All but one of the women who said they spent 30 hours or more in the office per week were regionally or departmentally based in towns.

All of the women worked with other members of their development team at some point with the exception of one woman who gave no response at all. Over half, 54.8 per cent, of the women worked with the members of their team twice a week or more and another 19.4 per cent worked with their team an about once a week. It was expected that the majority would respond that they worked with their team at least once a week because the usual development team had a regular staff meeting once a week. However, it was expected that most of those interviewed would need to work with their team members fairly often in the field as well, calling on the more specialized training of, for example, the livestock agent or the agricultural agent. Thus it is somewhat suprising that 9.6 per cent of the women worked with their team only once a month and 6.45 per cent only twice a month. This could be because these women didn't get out in the field. Or possibly their colleagues were not available to work with them. There were two women who didn't respond in the categories given but one stated that she worked in perfect collaboration with other team members and the other woman would only say that she worked with team members whenever necessary.

The number of villages each woman said she was responsible for varied from two to 297. There was an interpretation problem with this question. Some women thought they were being asked how many villages they actually worked in and a few thought they were being asked how many they were responsible for (this number was almost always much greater than the number of villages actually worked in). The confusion arose because most of these women might be assigned at one of three different levels: to an arrondissement, which might have up

to 300 villages in it; to a department, responsible for 3 or so arrondissements; or to the regional office in charge of 3 departments. It was discovered that the number of villages in a territory, even at the arrondissement level, were many more than they could possibly visit, especially with limited transportation or none at all. The women who worked for Maison Familiale were responsible for a zone about the size of an arrondissement or possibly smaller. The interviewer tried to correct for the different possible interpretations by asking for both sets of information. However, many women had no idea how many villages were actually in the area they were responsible for or could only estimate. The number of villages they actually worked in (provided in Table 7) were surprisingly few in most cases. The primary explanation for this was lack of transportation. But one must question what other factors are involved when an agent is only working in two or three villages. This will be dealt with further in another section of this paper.

The question asking the average frequency of visits per village invited a variety of responses making them very difficult to categorize. There were as many responses as there were interview subjects. In addition, the first four women on whom the first version of the questionnaire were tested were asked the question in a slightly different manner than the rest of the sample population. However, the nature of their responses was the same and the information is included here. Some of the respondents stated how many villages they visited in a given time period and others stated the number of times they visited particular villages during a given time period. Some said they didn't go to villages at all or went irregularly because they had

no transportation. Only two women claimed to visit the majority of villages they were responsible for on any kind of a regular basis and they were both working with an AID-sponsored project and had vehicles at their disposal. One of the women claimed to be responsible for 59 villages which she visited once every two months. The other woman worked in 20 villages which were divided into sectors. She visited each sector once a month. In spite of the statistically inconclusive responses, further questioning made it clear that, except for the two women noted above, the women did not usually visit more than one to three villages a week, if any at all. One woman said that in the year she had been assigned to her regionally based job she had never left the regional capital to go out to a village. Lack of transportation was, again, given as the reason. The women were also asked if there were some villages they visited more frequently than others. Seven of the women said they visited no villages more than others. One of these women explained that this was because she had "a well defined program." For the remaining six women the common explanation was they cannot visit some villages more than other if they are not visiting any villages in the first place. The remainder of the women, except one who didn't respond, said they visited some villages more than others. There were two categories of explanation for this. Some said they visited villages closer by or that they could get to on foot more than others. Some said that more active or dynamic villages were visited more than others.

The most distant village that any of the women were responsible for was 125 kilometres away. (The range was 0 - 125 with an average of 31 kilometres. As has been stated, some women responded according

to the villages they were responsible for; others included only the villages they actually visited. The statistical response is therefore not very reliable, but, when considering that the majority of these women had very limited means of transportation, it is unlikely that many of them travelled the average of 31 kilometres to a work site very often. This is further supported by the researcher's observations in the field during which time the most distant village visited was about 18 kilometres away and reached by moped.

## Obstacles to Visiting Villages

In an effort to learn what problems might interfere with an agent's efforts to get out into the community, the researcher asked them to rate the importance played by several possible obstacles they might encounter in their efforts to visit a village. Table 8 shows the responses. No means of transportation was considered a very important problem by almost 75 per cent of the women. It also ranked first in importance when compared with the other possible obstacles. No gas was ranked closely behind transportation in importance. An explanation of the usual transportation system set up for these development teams is necessary here. Usually a team had one vehicle, a moped, available for about seven agents, or with Maison Familiale possibly two or three agents. Some teams had no vehicle at all, usually due to breakdowns and no money to repair it, and some had more than one (not very common) due to outside project funding or private owners using their own vehicles. A very limited amount of gas was allocated for the month. Most teams planned the use of their vehicle and allotted gas for the month in a planning meeting at the beginning of the month, at which each team member presented his or her proposed schedule and transportation needs. Women seemed to be given very low priority for use of any vehicles. Throughout the research period, no female development agent was ever seen driving a vehicle. Further probing revealed that virtually none of these women knew how to ride a moped. Some women claimed the moped of their service was available to them if they asked but then they needed to bother someone to take them where they needed to go. Women were seen riding on the backs of

mopeds a few times but not as often as expected. Older and overweight women were often unwilling or unable to mount a moped. It was more accepted among younger women and a few said they would like to learn to drive a moped. One young woman learned to ride but had an accident and refused to drive one any longer. Two of the younger women who said they wanted to learn had taken steps to do so. One had an agreement with an agent who was going to teach her during the rainy season "when there is nothing to do" and another had already started taking lessons from another agent and had the bruises to show for her efforts. Because most women in Senegal do not know how to ride a bicycle, learning to ride a moped can be more difficult than one might expect. There was one woman interviewed, again, a younger agent, who had bought herself a bicycle and was using it to go to villages (up until the time she had a baby), but she was unique in this. In rural areas it is still quite uncommon and unacceptable, at least for village women, to ride bicycles, let alone mopeds. So even if they knew how to use them and had such vehicles available to them, they might find villagers unaccepting of them.

A third obstacle rated very important by about one-fourth of the women interviewed was administrative difficulties. One interesting point to be made about this response is that half of the women who ranked this obstacle as very important were working for the same departmental administration. In this department at least, women felt that administrative problems, in part, kept them from visiting villages.

Very few women claimed that not having enough time kept them from getting to villages and even fewer said that bad weather was of any

importance as an obstacle. One would think that a woman responsible for a territory that covered as many as 300 villages would not have enough time to do her job. Perhaps because many of the women never or rarely got out to villages due to lack of transportation, they had plenty of time on their hands. It was expected that bad weather might be a more important problem to the women, in particular during the rainy season when heavy rains make some rural roads impassible. However, the revelation that many agents feel there is little or nothing to do during this season may explain why bad weather is not usually considered an obstacle.

Some women listed other obstacles which they felt kept them from visiting villages. These included lack of project funds, political and social obstacles, deaths in villages, health problems, and lack of work materials.

## Work and Time Commitments

It was felt that asking each woman to describe a typical day's work activities, and whether the days activities were carried out as planned or not, would give the researcher a clearer picture of what is involved in the job and what types of problems might arise. Therefore each interviewee was asked to recall her work activities of the previous day, or, if that was not a working day, their last working day. In order to simplify the responses for interpretation they were broken down into four categories, by time. The first category was women who spent no time on work activities. The second was women who had worked three and a half hours or less. The third was women who had worked more than three and a half hours but less than six and a half. The fourth category was women who devoted six and a half hours or more to work activities. A normal full day of work in Senegal is seven hours a day Monday thru Friday, and four hours on Saturday. None of the days described was a Saturday. Table 9 shows the breakdown of responses. One woman refused to respond saying that the questionnaire was repetitious, since she had already stated that she couldn't work due to lack of transportation. The other woman who didn't respond said she had spent the day sitting in the office doing paperwork and there was nothing to specify. As can be seen from the table, less than half of the women, 48 per cent, put in even close to a full day's work. Yet, only 17.24 per cent, or five of the 29 women who responded, said that they had planned activities for the day which they were unable to carry out. The rest simply hadn't planned a full

day of activities. Women who were unable to carry out planned activities gave the following explanations: no gas; a sick child at home; materials didn't arrive in time for a tie dying project; a death in the village where the project was to take place; no sewing machines available for a planned lesson.

Though the figures show that only five women had activities planned that they were unable to carry out, this should not lead us to believe that the agents could schedule a full day's activities and carry them out as planned. Rather we should realize that the agents have become discouraged or have no incentive to plan activities which risk being difficult to complete. It is not difficult to stick to a work schedule if one has little or nothing planned. Many of the types of activities listed were carried out locally. Only five of the women left the town or village they worked in for any of these activities, and three of those walked to where they were going. Activities included baby weighings, working or meeting at cooperative gardens, sewing or tie dying projects, meetings with village groups, meetings with administrators, and writing reports.

Question 29 was designed to determine what types of work activities the women interviewed felt were an important part of their jobs. Their responses are an important indicator of their role perceptions. At another point in the questionnaire (question 37), the women were given the same list of activities and asked to rank the amount of time they spent on each activity. These questions were asked independently so that the respondents wouldn't let their response to the importance of an activity influence their response to the amount of time they said they spent on that activity. Table 10

ranks the activities in the order of importance accorded to them by the women. More women ranked educational training (such as health, nutrition, and literacy) as important than any other activity. This activity, along with the organization of groups, ranked third, were the only activities directly related to community development that were among the top ranked activities. Collaboration with team members, second in order of importance, involves working with other members of the development team in both the office and the field. The rest of the activities ranked in the top half are all office-related activities. Activities such as obtaining project materials and resources, and technical training of villagers -- all directly related to carrying out community development activities -- were ranked after office activities. The low importance accorded to surveying ongoing projects could be due to the fact that, as one woman put it, there were no ongoing projects to survey.

It is just as important to look at the amount of time spent on these same activities, which may or may not be related to the importance accorded to the activity. An agent may feel that an activity is not very important, such as obtaining resources, but will have to spend a lot of time doing it. Or she may feel an activity is very important but not be able to spend much time on it. Table 11 shows the outcome of this question in order of importance. Organizing groups was rated by more than 77 per cent of the women as taking a lot of time. Even if women don't have the transportation to go out to villages they could be spending a good deal of their work time getting groups in their own and nearby villages organized; for example, gardening groups. This seems to be a very time-consuming activity for

most of the women. It is surprising that technical training didn't rank higher than fourth. According to the researcher's observations, sewing and tie dyeing projects were almost as common as gardening projects, more common than educational projects which ranked second. Surveying ongoing projects was ranked seventh. Even though it was not considered very important by many of the women, 42 to 71 per cent of them spent more than a little time doing it. The same relationship is seen between the small number of women according importance to the initiation of new projects and the amount of time they spend doing it. It is hoped that if transportation were more readily available to these agents they would spend more time initiating new development projects in keeping with the role of a development agent. However, the low importance accorded to this activity by many of the agents makes this a questionable assumption. Preparing reports was more consistent, ranking fourth in importance and fifth in time spent on it. Writing reports about her work is one of the only ways an agent in the field has of letting her supervisors know what she is doing and how well she is doing it.

The correlations between the importance of and time spent on activities, shown in Table 12, can give us a clearer picture of how much time the women spend doing the activities they say are important. For the most part, the correlations are surprisingly low. One of the stronger relationships can be seen between the importance of and time spent on obtaining resources such as transportation, gas, and financing. Other strong correlations are seen for the activities of organizing groups, technical training, and education. Thus, for these activities the women are spending the amount of time they feel is

needed in accordance with the importance of the activity.

## Characteristics of the Population

The women worked with anywhere from one to eight different ethnic groups, the average being 3.6. The agents worked with one of five different types of women's groups, usually a village-based group consisting of an ethnic majority but with ethnic minorities represented. Just under half of the agents interviewed said there were women in the community who had need of services but were not members of the afore-mentioned groups. Only two of these agents said they would work with such individuals if asked. The others said they did not have the means to work with individuals but if they formed groups they would work with them. The larger part of the population interviewed said that there were no women in need of services who did not belong to one of the types of groups they assisted. They claimed all women either belonged to traditional groups or formed groups in order to receive services. Two women admitted that they didn't know if there were individuals in need of services who didn't belong to the groups worked with.

All of the agents said they contacted the village chief and/or the head of the women's group in their initial visit to a village. On their initial visit to a village 87 per cent of the women said they took male agents with them. Working with men of the village as well as women was common among 61 per cent of the women. Monatrices generally work with just women while animatrices and Maison Familiale Monatrices, who are trained to work with all villagers, tend to work with both men and women. Just under half of those interviewed said they had a village they liked to work in more than others. This

preference was often explained by saying they preferred to work in certain villages because they were more active or dynamic than others. This means they were probably not only easier to work with but also more successful and therefore more rewarding to work with.

In order to assess the size of the different populations worked with, the agents were asked the number of women in the largest and smallest villages they entered. This question erroneously assumed that all of the agents were working only with women when 61 per cent of them were working with men as well. Nonetheless, their responses can still give an indication of the size of the villages in which they worked. The largest female population in a village under their control was 450 or more for 19.35 per cent of those interviewed and only 50-100 for 9.67 per cent of the interviewees. Most of them were in the range of about 200. The female populations in the smallest villages worked in were from 80-100 in size on average but a few women worked with female populations as small as 0-20. Again, there may have been confusion as to whether responses include all the villages in their territory or just the villages they actually work in. Several women did not respond, saying that they didn't know. In any case, responses seem to indicate not only that these agents are responsible for more villages than they can possibly work in with their lack of transportation, but that in many instances, they are working with populations greater than 80-100 women, and twice that if they work with both men and women.

Ideally, according to the "animation" philosophy, development agents are responding to the needs of the population. With this in mind, the interviewees were given a list of possible needs expressed

by the villagers and asked to rank their importance. Their responses can be seen in Table 13. The need that more than 87 per cent of the women ranked as very important was the need for a water supply. Most villages visited for this research had a drinking water supply that would last year-round. But many villages did not have enough water to water their gardens through the dry season. Because almost all women's groups had cooperative gardens into which they put a lot of work, it was a common complaint that they needed a new well that would not go dry as most of their traditional hand-dug wells did. Training in gardening techniques, product making, sewing, etc. was ranked by 96 per cent of the women as either important or very important. This is consistent with the types of development activities that the women interviewed said were important and were observed doing. Both development training and information and support in health and hygiene were considered by 90 per cent of the women to be important or very important needs expressed by the villagers. This, too, is consistent with the activities on which the agents said they were spending their time. The need for literacy training and foodstuffs were both ranked as very important by more than 50 per cent of the agents. Yet none of the agents interviewed were involved in literacy programs that the researcher was made aware of. Educational training (health, nutrition, and literacy) was ranked as an activity that was important; however, the way this question was worded, literacy training was grouped with health and nutrition education. When asking about needs expressed by villagers, literacy training is listed separately from health information. Thus, it is misleading to think that many agents spent time on literacy training activities when many felt that it was

much less important than other needs expressed by villagers. Finally, about 67 per cent of the women interviewed felt that the need for project management training expressed by villagers was very important and another 19 per cent felt it was important.

When the interviewees were asked if the villagers had needs not met by the development services and by their service in particular, an overwhelming 72.33 per cent responded "yes" to both questions. When they were asked if any of these development activities were beyond their abilities, 75 per cent of them said "yes". The question was worded slightly differently in the test questionnaire but it solicited the same information as in the final version.

### Availability of Resources

It was noted that sometimes the resources needed by animatrices are lacking. The researcher was interested in finding out if basic resources needed to carry out their jobs were available. In question 46, the agents were provided with a list of work materials and asked to identify the degree of availability of each of them. Their responses are shown in Table 14. The resource ranked by the greatest number of women as available all the time was the administration, by 38 per cent of the women. As the most available resource, access to the administration was still limited to sometimes or never according to 58 per cent of the women. A surprising 59 per cent of the women had little or no access to office materials and more than 74 per cent had little or no access to project materials. Typically, just under 84 per cent of the agents sometimes or never had access to transportation. And an overwhelming 72.41 per cent of the agents never had access to credit for women's groups and only one woman said she always had access to credit for women's groups. (There is reason to believe she misunderstood the question, as she was one of the women who admitted she did nothing but sit in the office "with her arms crossed".) It is therefore unlikely that she had ever tried to help a women's group get credit.

The women were asked in question 44 if there were any problems in collecting funds for women's project activities. Five of the women did not respond; probably those who never worked in villages. But 61.54 per cent of those answering said "yes" and 38.46 per cent responded "no". The usual means of financing a project activity was

to collect dues from each woman who wished to participate. Often, women did not participate because they could not afford to contribute. Sometimes they were allowed to participate with the understanding that they would put in their profits from the project until they payed what they owed. Thus, not having access to credit was a real limitation in starting any women's project. It is also possible that the agents did not know how to go about applying for financing for their groups. Two agents were observed who had projects for which they had received financing with the help of a Peace Corps volunteer. In both instances, the agent herself could have applied for the funding with just as much chance of receiving it as the Peace Corps volunteer if she had known how to go about it.

To learn more about how the agents dealt with their transportation problems, the researcher asked them to identify their most common mode of transportation (question 47), as well as what they would do in a situation where they had no appropriate means of transportation (question 48). The most common means of transportation was listed by 41.94 per cent of the women as being on foot. Second ranked was a government car, used by 22.48 per cent, and a third, at 19.35 per cent, was the moped. Public transportation was used by only 12.9 per cent of the agents, and, finally, 3.23 per cent got around by horse-drawn cart. It is interesting that so few women use public transportation on a regular basis in spite of the fact that it was very accessible to almost all of them. Those who did use it said that they were not reimbursed for the fare. This would explain the reluctance on the part of many to use it. It was beneath the dignity of most of the agents to go anywhere by horsecart when they were

government workers. But the one young woman who used this as her most common means of transportation was also one of the more active agents. She was also in an area very isolated from public transportation. She preferred this to sitting around doing nothing or fighting for the use of the moped and a driver.

The responses to question 48 can be put in five categories. When women had no appropriate means of transportation, they acted as follows: went on foot (43.33 per cent); took public transportation (13.33 per cent); stayed in the office or at home (13.33 per cent); worked locally (28 per cent); borrowed a vehicle from another service or found a ride (10 per cent). Again, it is interesting to note that public transportation rated very low as an option. These results also explain why so many women were only working in villages they could get to on foot or were just working in the locale in which they lived.

## Project Activities

Almost all of the women, 87.1 per cent, said there were activities they would like to spend more time on (question 45). The examples they gave covered the range of project activities that are already being conducted by many development agents: health and nutrition, organizing the population, sewing and tie dyeing, gardening, transformation of garden products, and, not as common as some of the other activities mentioned, management training was suggested by three women. Two more said family planning.

Further insight comes from asking the agents what types of project activities they considered it important for the women to participate in. They were provided with a list of possible activities and asked to rank each activity according to its importance to the women with whom they worked. Table 15 shows their responses in rank order. Nutritional education activities were ranked first, followed closely by health education and agricultural activities. Gardening projects were the main agricultural activity observed and baby weighings conducted with health talks were the major activities noted under the other two project categories. Finally, literacy activities were ranked above marketing/commercialization activities. Craft activities were ranked lowest in importance.

It is surprising that marketing/commercialization was ranked so low in importance. The researcher learned of only one project concerned with marketing women's products during the research period and it was the result of outside project funding. Yet, a major problem for many of the women's groups was finding a market for their

products, from vegetables to tie-dyed cloth. They were only trying to sell what they produced in their own and neighboring villages, which they could reach on foot with their products on their heads. If the next village had its own cooperative garden, as many did, the women were then stuck with vegetables they had intended as income and were often unwilling to eat themselves. Many agents were concerned with teaching conservation of these food products by transforming them so they could be preserved, ie tomatoes into tomato paste, and encouraging the women to eat what they grow to supplement their families' diets. Though many of them talked about not being able to sell what they grew, almost none of them considered expanding their markets or commercializing as a solution.

The low degree of importance given to craft activities, as compared to other activities, is an indicator that projects involving tie dyeing or sewing were probably not considered by the agents as "craft" activities as they were very common. No other activities involving the production of a "craft" product were observed. This might be further explained by looking at the responses to the next question (question 58).

The agents were asked if the women were unwilling to participate in one or another of these activities. The 29.03 per cent who said "yes" were asked to explain their responses. One agent said that women were unwilling to participate in craft activities such as broom making because, though there is a good market for selling them, it is considered an activity for old women. Another agent stated that pottery making was an activity only done by a certain ethnic group and for that reason, many women were unwilling to learn it. Nutritional

education was mentioned by another agent as an activity in which women were often reluctant to participate; specifically, infant nutrition.

She said women could not see the long term benefits of participating in nutrition programs. She felt that if she had appropriate didactic materials she would have more success. Not enough time and lack of awareness ("sensibilisation") were mentioned as reasons women were unwilling to participate in activities and another agent said willingness depended on ability and the choice of activity. She gave no examples. Other reasons for unwillingness to participate were the perception of the work as "bad", doubt on the part of the women that they will gain from the work, or the belief that too much time will be lost to the activity. But the majority of the agents, 78.97 per cent, did not think that women were unwilling to participate in any of these types of activities.

The agents were also asked specifically how they collect funds to finance their activities. This question differed from the question asked earlier concerning what problems women have in collecting funds to finance their activities. Responses indicate that women almost always take up a collection or dues from each member. The other possibility was that they received outside funding, but this was rare. Many groups used profits from previous projects toward new projects, but they usually needed to supplement this sum with individual contributions.

### Agents' Perceived Training Needs

The last section of the questionnaire consisted of mostly open-ended questions designed to find out what individual agents felt were problems or shortcomings in their job training and what types of seminars or workshops might improve their ability to meet the demands of their jobs. Finally, they were asked to simply give their opinions as to what inputs and methods could improve the training received by the majority of women development agents. Understandably, these responses are a bit difficult to categorize, but an attempt is made here to give the full range of responses.

The majority of the women interviewed (54.87 per cent) said that when they first started their jobs they encountered problems for which they had not received preparation. The remaining women, with the exception of one who didn't respond, encountered no such problems. For the more than 54 per cent of the women interviewed who admitted they were not prepared for problems they encountered when they began their jobs, a variety of examples were given. Nine of the women said they lacked technical skills demanded by the village women such as sewing, tie dyeing, crocheting and embroidering. Two of them also included gardening skills. These women were monatrices, Maison Familiale monatrices and animatrices. Other examples were the problem of marketing, setting up childcare centers, "unscheduled meetings" and "visiting seminar groups". Three women said contacting the population was a problem and another said the population was not informed of her role. One woman simply said she was not prepared for the "lack of means" she encountered.

Oddly enough, even some women who said they encountered no problems they were not prepared for still said they felt their training was incomplete in one area or another. Of the 23 women (74.19 per cent) who felt their training was incomplete, 14 of them listed the skill of making hand crafted products, i.e. sewing, tie dyeing, embroidery, as one they lacked. Other areas in which the interviewees felt their training was incomplete were sociology, health, nutrition, livestock, family planning, administration, literacy, management, and applied "animation". Three women said they felt their training was lacking in all fields or in general. Some listed more than one of the above. It is interesting that the most common response concerned those skills needed to make hand crafted products. These appeared to be the types of skills in greatest demand among village women.

There was one woman who stated that her training was complete because she worked in collaboration with other services. This is the theoretical ideal of how a CER team is supposed to function. The "animator" is trained to organize and sensitize the population. The other team members are specialists in agriculture, livestock, fisheries, etc. And, supposedly, one member is a monatrice who will deal specifically with development for women. Ideally, they work in collaboration with one another to achieve their goals. But only this one woman felt that the system was working in such a way that her training was complete. Yet this same woman, an animatrice, said she had not received preparation for problems she encountered in gardening and sewing when she started her job. She also said she wanted retraining in literacy and technique. As an animatrice she is only

supposed to be responsible for organizing the community and sensitizing or inspiring the population using the technical skills of other team members when necessary.

All but one of the women interviewed said "yes" when asked if she would like to take a refresher or retraining course. The one woman who said she didn't want retraining qualified that by saying that for the job she was now assigned to she needed a complete training program. Again, the women were asked to give examples of areas in which they felt they needed "retraining". The variety and multiplicity of answers precludes a complete listing of responses. But the more popular ones, in order of popularity, were training in production of hand crafted products (sewing, tie dyeing, embroidery), some type of management training, nutrition, health, preserving produce, pediatrics, and literacy. Also mentioned were agriculture, accounting, and marketing. While the women felt these were skills they needed for their jobs, not all of them were supposed to be doing such activities as a part of their job according to the director of the college of animation at ENEA.

Almost all of the women interviewed (98.32 per cent) had attended some type of training course or seminar since starting their job. Among them they had participated in several types of training courses and seminars. In order of those mentioned most commonly were seminars or training in project management, claystove making, family planning, gardening, and preserving garden products. Others mentioned were nutrition, health, and credit management. The remaining 9.68 per cent (three) of the agents who had not attended any seminars were all monatrices. One was an older woman, over 40, but the other two were

both in their mid-twenties and new to the service and perhaps had not yet had the opportunity to attend any seminars. All of the women who had attended seminars said they were worthwhile.

Almost all monatrices and animatrices in the two regions attended a seminar toward the end of the research period sponsored by a government project which was providing communities in many of their arrondissements with work/time saving machines such as millet grinders. The development agents were responsible for organizing the communities in their territories to build shelters for the machines, choose two people from each area to be trained to run them, and organize bookkeeping and accounting procedures. Little information on the actual contents of the seminar was available. The women went to their regional capital for a week at government expense. Seminars are popular if for no other reasons than that they are usually held in the regional capital city and a per diem is paid. Generally the women seem willing to attend any seminar.

The final question asked of the respondents was simply an opinion question, very open-ended. As a result responses were again wide-ranging. They were asked, in their opinions, what inputs and methods could improve the training received by the majority of female agents. The two most common suggestions were to lengthen the training (6 respondents), and to follow it with retraining or seminars (5 respondents). Others said they needed more technical training, field training, specialized training, or training in a specific field such as gardening or sewing and tie dyeing. One woman suggested that all female agents should be sent overseas for their complete training. A couple of women had no responses and a couple of others responded but

made no suggestions related to training. The question did not really draw any well thought-out answers either because it was too general or it was at the end of the questionnaire and the respondents were tired.

## OBSERVATIONS

The observation phase of the research basically confirmed the information drawn from the questionnaires. The researcher spent approximately a week as a participant observer in the field with each of seven women who participated in the questionnaire survey, and two days with an eighth. Occasionally, a day was spent with a woman when she was located for her interview, sometimes a night, as well, if she was in a distant village, and the researcher had the opportunity to observe her on the job at this time, also. Information from those observations will be included in this section when relevant. In order to preserve the anonymity of the subjects, locations will not be specified. The procedure for the observations was to spend as much time as possible with the agent during the observation period, lodging with her when possible. She was asked to conduct herself as in a normal workweek, carrying out her regular activities. Unfortunately, not all the women had a full schedule of activities but the point was to observe what was actually happening in the field. With this in mind the observations were an effective means of verifying information gathered with the use of the survey instrument.

### Observation 1

Only two days were spent with the first agent in the field, partly as a trial run and partly because she was difficult to locate. She was a 33-year-old monatrice assigned to an arrondissement CER team, single with two children who lived with relatives in town. The

first day's observation began in the afternoon in a nearby village on the paved road where she had a tie dyeing project with the women's group. The group had started their activities about February of that year and by June all activities would cease because the women would be in the rice fields until after the next year's harvest. The monatrice communicated with the women in Wolof though the women spoke among themselves in other languages. At first only two women showed up and the monatrice explained that there had been a death in the village. She said there were usually about 15 women and they met twice a week for about three hours each time. Four more women wandered in during the first half hour or so. They gathered under a tree on a mat next to someone's compound, the location chosen both for its shade and proximity to the well. One of the women from the compound spent most of the time preparing the evening meal, coming over now and then to see what was going on. It was explained that her co-wife was participating this time while she took her turn to cook.

The monatrice brought the materials for the project with her. The group had given her money to buy the materials when she was in town, money which they had originally raised through contributions and the past year's sewing project. Now they used profits from the items they sold to buy more material, dyes, etc. The women had trouble collecting money for all the items they sold because so many of the village women (including themselves) bought on credit. They sold their goods in their village and to some nearby missionaries, their best customers. They worried that the missionaries provided only a temporary market. The monatrice did all the accounting for the group, keeping a book of accounts, though the money brought in was actually

held by the treasurer of the group. Like most of the groups they have officers of President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer. This group was actually organized by the previous monatrice. The current monatrice began working with them after one of the group members approached her about working with them, though the monatrice felt she had raised their awareness or "sensitized" the women in talks given at monthly baby weighings. The group worked until about 6:30 that evening. On the way home the monatrice was eager to show off the women's garden in her own village which was doing quite well.

The next morning's work began around 8:00 with the monatrice leaving home to walk to the site of the baby weighing program; a mission at the edge of the village. These programs, known as PPNS's or Protection Programs for Nutrition and Health, are sponsored by Catholic Relief Services. Women bring their babies once a month to be weighed, hear a talk on health or nutrition, and collect a food allotment, usually consisting of powdered milk, cornmeal, and oil, though usually one or another of these items was unavailable. The women pay 100 CFA (less than \$.30) for themselves and 100 for each child each time they come. The monatrice explained that the money is to cover costs of transporting the food and providing the card charts on which each baby's monthly weight is recorded and to show weight gain or loss.

The monatrice, upon arrival, spent about half an hour preparing cards for new babies. About 9:00 the weighing began. Money was collected and each baby weighed in turn. The monatrice had a woman helping her who was given a small salary out of the PPNS earnings. One baby, whose mother had died, was being bottle fed by a grandmother

who was given instructions on keeping the bottles clean and the kind of milk to use. The monatrice said because the woman was from a more distant village she would not be able to keep a close eye on the baby to see that the grandmother followed instructions.

After all the babies were weighed the monatrice spoke on the topic of the day, intestinal worms. She used a hand out provided by PPNS as a guideline as well as pictures. Many of the women did not seem to be paying attention, though they quieted down when the pictures were shown. The talk was given in Wolof, though the local language was Diola. It is unknown how many of the women spoke Wolof but not all of them did. After the talk, which lasted about 10 minutes, the foodstuffs were distributed. They received powdered milk and cornmeal (which was full of weevils), but no oil as it was all gone. By 11:00 the women were heading home on foot, to a village about 3 kilometres away. There were 35 of them and 37 children. The money and statistics collected would be sent by the monatrice to the organization in Dakar.

She does these baby weighings for eight different groups, meeting with each of them once a month. The women come to her. She worked in only three villages besides the one in which she lived. One was the neighboring village where she did the tie dyeing twice a week. The other two, both nearby on the main paved road, she visited once a month. There were, in all, 46 villages in the arrondissement or county she was assigned to.

At this point, a Friday morning, she had one more baby weighing to conduct and then her activities were finished for the week. Observation of this woman in the field began the same day she was

interviewed so her activities were very unlikely to have been altered due to the researchers presence. The morning she was contacted for the interview she had no activities planned. On several subsequent occasions the researcher stopped by and found the monatrice sitting outside under a tree (only the boss had an office) with several other agents, just chatting during working hours.

#### Observation 2

The second woman observed in the field was an animatrice, age 46. She was married with 7 children who lived in the town where she was formerly assigned. She had been reassigned only two months before from an urban post to the arrondissement, but it was one in which she had previously worked. Before beginning her assignment, she spent several weeks in Dakar being treated by a doctor for her diabetes. She says that, unlike when she used to work in this area, she can't walk far at all now and she worries about how much she'll be able to accomplish without a means of transportation (The CER team has one moped). She says that her job is primarily to "sensibilize" or do consciousness raising to let women know what services are available to them at the level of the rural community. She claims this should be done through groups made up of women from several villages who then carry the information back to their villages.

The week prior to the week chosen for observation the researcher verified with the animatrice that she was willing to have the researcher accompany her in her work for the entire week. On Monday morning of the agreed upon week it was discovered that the animatrice was still in town where she had spent the weekend with her family.

She didn't return until late Tuesday at which time she said she wouldn't be able to do anything until she met with the CER team head the following morning to formulate her work plan. She offered no explanation for her absence. She had been there two full weeks at this point but said she had been unable to meet with him so far.

The next morning, around 9:00, she headed for the office of the sous-prefet (a government representative at the arrondissement level), stopping first at each government agent's house to greet their wives. She informed him that according to her regional supervisor (whom she must have spoken to sometime during her long weekend in town), they were going to be receiving a team of trainers from Dakar to demonstrate the construction of clay and sand stoves on the following day. The sous-prefet expressed concern about having a good turnout on such short notice. He told her it was her decision as to where the demonstration would take place but suggested the village itself, where it would be most visible. At this point, the animatrice requested a few minutes in private with the official. On the way home, a chance encounter with the president of the women's group led to the discovery that they were about to have a meeting at the cooperative garden. The women were actually from two villages and the meeting was conducted by the president, but the animatrice was introduced and spoke. She spoke in the local language with a little help, though she claimed she was not really comfortable in that language because she did not speak it well enough. They encouraged her and told her she was doing fine. She encouraged the women to come to the stove-making demonstration the following morning, saying that it was for them that the team was coming all the way from Dakar, and if they wanted to develop their

community, they needed to make an effort.

After the meeting the animatrice returned home where she spent the rest of the day. The following morning by 8:30, a large group of women, about 30, was gathered outside the sous-prefet's office with the animatrice, waiting for the visiting delegation to arrive. They arrived, two men and three women, about 9:00 and went through the formalities of greeting officials. Then they met with the group and explained the purpose of their visit and the materials they would need. One of the women with them spoke the local language and translated what the delegation members said. At this point it was realized that the delegation was planning to stay three days. The animatrice said that the women were responsible for putting them up and providing food because they had come to help the women, even though the women had never expressed an interest in clay stoves. From that point on, the role of the animatrice became that of hostess and cook. She stayed until the group got started and then returned home to begin preparing the afternoon meal for the visitors after collecting food and/or money to buy it with from the women's group. This was about 10:30 am. She was angry that no one had informed them that the delegation would stay three days. The women, whom she said "have nothing", now had to stay away from their own work for three days and provide food for the visitors. With the help of the young wife of a male agent, who was cooking for her own family at the same time, the animatrice prepared three meals a day for the visitors, also lodging three of them in her own home. On the second day she explained to one of the male delegates that they had not been warned the visitors would be staying three days and there simply wasn't

enough money to feed them. He gave her money so they could send someone to town to buy the necessary provisions. In telling the researcher of this turn of events later, she said that, anyway, the delegates were certainly being paid a per diem for just that purpose. The animatrice attended very little of the stove building demonstration during the three days the team was there, due to her role as cook and hostess. She never complained about this, but seemed to accept it as part of her job. When she did participate, she was an active participant, willing to get her hands dirty. Unfortunately, she learned very little about constructing fuel-efficient clay and sand stoves. On Saturday the delegation departed before noon, concluding the week of observation.

### Observation 3

The third observation was conducted with a Maison Familiale monatrice who was single and 30 years old. Maison Familiale teams are slightly different from CER teams in that there are usually only two or three agents, and usually one male and one female, working out of a center where they live and work. In this instance, the monatrice being observed was in charge of a male agent and another monatrice with whom she worked. The male agent and his family lived at the center but the other monatrice lived in town.

The researcher arrived on a Tuesday morning about 9:00 am to find the monatrice already out in the field. The monatrice was located on her way back from a village about 2 kilometres away where she had been delivering dyeing materials she had picked up for a women's group on a recent trip to Dakar, where they were cheaper. She was ready to

return to the Maison Familiale center about 1 kilometre outside of town. She had walked there but returned with the researcher on her moped.

She explained that the coming week was not going to be a "normal" work week but she had expected the researcher's arrival and she was welcome to stay. (She had not been given a specific date of arrival by the researcher only the month so that her schedule would not be changed in any way because of the researcher). However this week would be unusual in that they were receiving visitors through an exchange with Maison Familiale in Burkina Fasso. She herself had already been there as part of the program. Now three representatives from Burkina were expected to complete the exchange.

Upon arriving back at the Maison, she began cutting up food for the evening meal when the visitors were expected, as well as for the noon meal. When the lunch was ready, she requested the researcher to take her house girl to town on her moped with food for a nurse friend who worked in the hospital. (Full and free use was made of the researcher's moped during the week. It is believed that they would ordinarily have walked the short distance into town or decided the errand wasn't important enough to bother. The male agent drove a moped and used it for work but it was discovered later that this was his personally, though he did use it for work).

The other monatrice arrived about 3:30 on foot with a friend. She sat outside with the wife of the male agent and her friend, having tea while the monatrice being observed prepared rooms for the coming guests, finished dinner preparations, and worked on reports. The male agent left to go to a village meeting early in the afternoon.

Sometime during the afternoon, the president of the village women's group came to talk to the head monatrice about the coming visitors. As neither of the monatrices spoke the local language, the woman had brought a school boy with her to translate. While awaiting the arrival of the visitors, a trip was made to view the village women's cooperative garden. It was a very large garden with deep cement-lined wells that didn't go dry. A former Peace Corps volunteer in the area had helped them get the funding for them through USAID. Now they want another well.

The monatrice who lived in town left before 6:00 because home was a "little far". She would greet the visitors the next day. The monatrice being observed complained about the other woman when asked if this was the sort of schedule she usually kept. She said she worked for her own conscience and she couldn't be responsible for anyone else's. Even though she is theoretically in charge, she has no power over the other woman's actions. Her supervisor was out of the country for several months but the monatrice being observed felt that when she returned, the other woman was going to have to explain her actions, or lack thereof. The animosity between the two women was felt from both sides in the few days spent with them.

The visitors finally arrived about 8 pm, two of them rather than the expected three. The next morning a meeting was held with the visitors and eleven delegates from eight or nine Maison Familiale member villages. The guests were welcomed, the delegates were welcomed and the purpose of the exchange, the opportunity to share information, problems and solutions, was explained. The President of the Maison Familiale delegation explained that there were 16 member

villages but some of them were not represented due to a boy's initiation ceremony in one village and a death in another. (One of the monatrices informed the researcher they were currently active in only eight of the 16 villages due to their inaccessability). One of the problems raised by villagers was not having a market for their garden products. A solution suggested by one of the Burkinans was possible monocropping or specialization. The head monatrice also reminded people that their garden produce should be considered a source of food for themselves. A possible bee-keeping project was also mentioned, which would produce both honey and wax to be sold. This exchange went on most of the day with a break for lunch. A great deal of time was spent on formality but some important issues were raised. Since French was the common language of the two countries, everything was said at some point in French. The second monatrice left sometime before the meeting was over.

About 3:30 the visitors left to visit the regional capital and conduct some sort of business there. The head monatrice and the male agent then met with their group of village delegates to discuss the following week's meeting, at which they were planning to elect new officers and collect money for the yearly membership cards, 150 CFA (about \$.55), to be turned over to the newly elected treasurer. This money is used for such things as food when they all gather for meetings, or sending representatives to seminars in town. The agents' salaries, according to her, are partly paid by the government and partly by development organizations they work with. This, she said; is why the salary is not good. To make matters even worse, it is unreliable. She claimed that she once went four months without

getting paid and then only after a lot of time and effort on her part. This was not a unique problem in Senegal. An animatrice also reported going two months without a paycheck, supposedly due to a post office mistake, and she was still waiting for it.

After the meeting, dinner was prepared, and the exchange visitors came back from the city. They left before sunrise the following morning. That day, though the researcher had been unaware of it at the beginning of the week, was a Muslim holiday and government employees had the day off so the monatrice was not working. The following day she planned to work with a women's group demonstrating tie dyeing for part of the day in a nearby- by village she would walk to and that would be the end of her week.

#### Observation 4

The observation began on a Wednesday morning as the researcher was delayed by other interviews at the beginning of the week. The woman being observed was a 41-year-old departmentally-based monatrice, married with five children. The family was living together in a house in an area on the edge of town actually known as a village separate from the town. She was from the region she was assigned to and spoke the local language fluently, though not as her first language. At the time of her interview, permission was requested to return sometime in the next month to observe her at work for several days and she agreed. Thus she was unaware that the researcher would be returning on the day in question here.

She was first looked for at her home as the Social Development office for this department was located on an untravelled road about 1

kilometre out of town with not even a telephone. It looked like a deserted building and according to the women who were supposed to be working there, no one ever went to their "office in the bush". She was not found at home but the researcher was told she could be found at the market. About 11:30 the researcher returned to find she had just gotten home and was preparing the noon meal. She said she had been to the health center because she felt a little sick and then stopped at the market on her way home. She said she really hadn't done much work Monday or Tuesday because her boss said they would be going out of town Friday and Saturday. At this point, it was also discovered that Thursday was a holiday and she would have the day off. But she would be going to visit a village that was having a problem with its dehulling machine that afternoon, so she told the researcher to come back about 3:30 or 4:00. She said she preferred to go out later and come back late then go out in the mid-day sun. At 4:00 she was still bathing and took another half hour to get ready to go. She had been planning on walking the nearly 2 kilometres but was willing to ride on the researcher's moped. The village where the machine was located was the same one in which the MF monatrice already observed was based. The two MF monatrices were conducting a tie dyeing lesson with a group of women from the village. But the second monatrice (not the one who was the subject of the observation) accompanied the department monatrice and researcher on into the village to see the broken dehulling machine. There they met with the two machine operators who explained why the machine, broken since December, was still not functioning in May. The operators had tried unsuccessfully to get the parts in the regional capital, so they gave the money for

the parts to a village chief going to Dakar in January. They knew he was back but they hadn't seen him and he failed to show up at arranged meetings. He finally showed up with the parts but said they cost more money than he'd been given and wanted them to reimburse him even though he hadn't kept the receipt. The monatrice took notes on all of this and there was talk that she would file a complaint against the man because they believed he owed them money. But at any rate, the machine, part of the FENU project, was now running again. The monatrice was responsible for checking up on the machine now and then and checking their accounting and management.

The week before, she had attended a seminar dealing with a new phase of the project and more machines to be distributed soon. She would be visiting the villages which would be receiving the new machines to organize the people and let them know what would be expected of them as a community receiving one of these machines. She said she would take one of the MF monatrices with her to do this "sensibilisation" because it would not be good for a woman to go alone.

At this point, it should be noted that there was also an animatrice assigned to the department. She had been ill in the hospital for a while and only recently returned. When she was interviewed, she said that she and the monatrice basically did the same work though sometimes they would split up the department. Since the office was not used on a regular basis it is doubtful they saw each other often unless they made an effort. At the time of the observation, the monatrice was unaware that the animatrice was out of the hospital and was back at work.

The monatrice was delivered back home about 6:30 Wednesday. She said not to return until about 4:00 Friday afternoon. Thursday was a holiday and she wouldn't be doing anything Friday morning if she was expected to go out of town to visit villages Friday afternoon. She wouldn't know if there was a car available for them to use until that time. (The subject did not invite the researcher to stay at her house but assumed she would stay with another American woman living nearby.) On Friday, when the researcher returned at 4:00, the monatrice was sleeping. She said she was sick but that was not why she wasn't going out. The village she had planned on visiting that day, within walking distance, had had a death. She had planned on meeting with the women of the village to discuss the machine they would be receiving from the FENU project. More questions about FENU revealed that there are already machines in nine of her villages. As coordinator for the project, she received a gas allowance but not a vehicle. She said she had ended up spending the morning with a woman and her sick baby at the hospital and had not worked. She had raised the possibility, earlier in the week, of going to an arrondissement on Saturday with her boss. But he had since informed her that he had to go out on some other business and she should see him the following Monday about when they would go. At this department meeting, they would set up their schedule for the month. It was already the ninth of the month. Since she said she would not be doing anything more until the following week, the observation ended here.

### Observation 5

This observation was planned to begin with the researcher's arrival on a Monday, but upon her arrival it was discovered that the monatrice had just been transferred to the regional capital where she would be working at the military base. The second choice monatrice was similar in age and background to the first, but the first was married with two children whereas the second was single with no children. Her arrondissement village was also much further away so the observation did not begin until Tuesday morning. The woman concerned is a 25 year old monatrice. She lived in CER housing with her sister, her sister's children and a niece. When she was first visited for an interview, the woman was participating in a clay and manure stove-building seminar being conducted in the same village she was found working in during the week of observation. At the time she arrived in the village, she had just returned from the nearest town, where she had had to wait two days for a late paycheck.

On Monday of the observation week she said she had spent the day at the office waiting for a woman from the departmental office with whom she was supposed to make the rounds of villages in her arrondissement, which would be receiving machines from the government. The woman from the department never showed up but a message was sent saying that she would be coming the following week instead. So the monatrice went back to her planned schedule of spending the week in a village 1-2 kilometres from her house working with women on a tie dyeing project. The project had begun the week before, when the monatrice brought the needed materials which she purchased in the regional capital. Only 19 members of the village women's group were

participating in the project, out of about 30 or so regular members, because not all of them had the 600 CFA (a little under \$2.00) contribution required to get them started. The rest of the money came from outside project funding that a Peace Corps volunteer in their village had helped them apply for. The project funding contributed \$100, half to start their project and half to be received the following year, after they showed that they had put some money back into the project. The volunteer also explained to the monatrice that she could have applied for the funding as easily as he had, and was going to teach her how to write up such a project proposal

Basically, each day followed the same pattern. The monatrice arrived in the village between 8:00 and 9:00 each morning. Because it was Ramadan, the Muslim season of fasting, the women worked all day long. The monatrice said it took their minds off being hungry and thirsty. Though she was a Muslim, she said she was fasting only because the village women would be upset if she didn't. Out of the public eye she did not maintain the fast but wanted this to remain a secret. She worked alongside the women throughout the day, speaking the language of the village, which was her mother tongue. She demonstrated tie dyeing patterns to the women from which they could choose. The women had divided up into groups, each group being responsible for several pieces of cloth, which they were preparing for dyeing by tying or sewing patterns into it with string. It was tedious and time-consuming work. On Thursday they did the dyeing and hung the pieces to dry. Most of the women left to start dinner by 5:30 but the monatrice was afraid if they didn't get the dyed materials rinsed out that day they would be ruined so she stayed until

7:00 with only a few of the women helping to finish the work. The following morning, the women took out all the strings and finished rinsing the materials. They decided at this point that they would use the little bit of remaining color to dye some of their personal cloth or clothing. So the monatrice mixed it up and some women dyed anything and everything they owned. This resulted in quite a free-for-all which ended in a shouting match. When order was finally restored the women all sat down with the monatrice and the Peace Corps volunteer to decide what price they would charge for the cloth. Both the volunteer and the monatrice made suggestions, but they left it to the women themselves to make the decision. They decided to charge 1000 CFA (about \$3.00) per piece of cloth. With the money earned, each woman would be repaid for her original investment, which, it was hoped, would encourage more women to join the group. The rest of the money would go back into the project. This would not be until the following year, as women would soon be going to work in their fields which would occupy all of their time until after the harvest next fall.

The group concluded the session about 3:00 and the monatrice returned to the office to see her boss about whether or not they would be going out Saturday to visit some villages, a possibility he had mentioned. She hadn't yet seen him by 6:00 and the researcher departed.

#### Observation 6

This observation also began on a Tuesday as Monday was a holiday. The woman to be observed had been contacted in person the week before

to get specific permission to accompany her during this week, as she had wanted to verify it with her departmental supervisor. She seemed a bit reluctant to agree, but she did, nonetheless. She said that because of Ramadan not much would be happening. The woman was an animatrice based in a departmental office (ie, in a town). She was about 43 years old, divorced with three children at home. When the researcher arrived at the office Tuesday morning, only the head of the department and another man were to be seen sitting outside talking, their chairs under a tree. He said the animatrice had been there that morning but was tired and had gone home. Besides, he added, there was nothing to do anyway. Neither of the other two women assigned to the department were in sight. The animatrice was located at her house in town (housing is not provided at the departmental level). She said again that Ramadan was not a good time to see much happening, but the researcher explained that time limitations did not allow her to wait until after Ramadan, which was a month long. The animatrice said she had no activities planned until Thursday morning, when she was supposed to go with her boss and an arrondissement head to a village which would be receiving one of the machines through the FENU project. She said there was also to be a women's group meeting in one of the quarters of town but the women were already organized and had elected their officers so it wasn't essential that she go, but we could. So Wednesday evening the researcher returned and the animatrice took her to the meeting. The women's groups in towns were divided into different sections or quarters of the town. This quarter was going to be receiving a millet machine and they had gotten together to discuss where they would locate the machine and how much money they would need

to contribute to build a shelter for it. While men would be responsible for the actual construction of the shelter, the rest of the project was strictly the women's, as they would be the ones using the machine. Though the meeting had already ended, the animatrice talked with the president of the women's group to see what decisions and progress had been made. The books were examined to see who had contributed so far. She spoke with her in the local language, which was the agent's mother tongue. She was soon ready to leave, as most of the women had already gone. The animatrice returned home and instructed the researcher to meet her there the following morning at 8:30.

The arrondissement head, who was riding the animatrice on the back of his moped, finally arrived about 9:00. Earlier, she had said that a car might be available, which was true, but there was no gas. So mopeds were used. Before going to the village, a stop was made at the department office to see if a government mission from Dakar had arrived, as the animatrice had been told, to ask her some questions about the FENU project she was working with. When they hadn't arrived after an hour, it was decided to continue to the village as planned, as the agents were expected. The village was about 18 kilometres away and the villagers were still patiently awaiting the development agents. The village was to receive a dehulling machine from the FENU project. The government agents had come to organize them and explain what was expected of them before they would receive the machine. This was their second visit to the village. The animatrice's boss conducted the opening and introductions, apologizing for and explaining their tardiness. Then the animatrice took over to explain

how they would need to choose officers for both the men's and women's groups, and select three women to learn management and two men to be trained in operation of the machine. Suggestions were made as to the qualities these people should possess. The villagers were also warned that if they didn't get organized and demonstrate their willingness, they risked losing the machine to another village. The meeting was very organized and impressively run. Before adjourning, the animatrice was given the list of elected officers and other appointees that she had asked for.

Before the meeting was finished, the expected mission from Dakar arrived, having been directed by the office to the village. After lunch was served, for those not fasting, at what happened to be the house of one of the animatrice's relatives, the researcher and the animatrice left with the Dakar mission people in their truck to visit villages which already had project machines in place and operating. Two village machines were visited, though only one was operating at the time, and one that was in an urban quarter. The operation of the machines was being managed as expected, women's group members on duty to take money and keep the books and two machine operators, usually men but one of the machines also had a female operator. Both machines were doing plenty of business. The Dakar visitors returned the animatrice to her home about 4:30 and left. She said she had no plans for the next day but would go into the office about 9am the next day.

The following morning the researcher arrived at the office to find a meeting just ending between the women assigned to the department and representatives of the government Family Health Project. The three women agents explained, after the visitors had

departed, that they had come to request their input in a seminar, similar to one they had already attended, that was being planned for another region. The researcher inquired of the animatrice being observed when she had been informed of the meeting. She said someone had sent the message over shortly after she arrived home yesterday. This was an example of her reluctance to cooperate with the researcher. Though she said she realized the researcher was interested in all phases of her work and agreed to her presence, she did not act in accordance to this agreement. It would have been simple for her to send a message about the meeting to the researcher, who was staying nearby, or even to walk past where the researcher was staying on her way to the meeting that morning. It can only be concluded, from this instance as well as other minor incidents, that she was reluctant to have the researcher present, though no explanation is evident. Perhaps she in some way felt obliged to agree to the researcher's presence and resented it. It is difficult to say.

After sitting and talking for another hour or so, all the women left for home. The animatrice being observed said she was going to visit the doctor about a shoulder pain before going home. There was no more work scheduled for the week.

#### Observation 7

Ramadan was still going on when this woman was revisited. The researcher wrote to her in advance confirming the visit, due to the distance and difficulty involved in reaching the village, and had received a response before leaving for the village. The woman observed was a monatrice, age 25, divorced, with no children. She was

one of the few women interviewed who had been working when the researcher found her. She was in a village about 12 kilometres away, which she had reached on a horse-drawn cart sent for her by the villagers. She remained in the village for a week working with the women's group on a sewing and tie dyeing project. She warmly welcomed the researcher back, but it was soon evident that she had no work activities planned for the week. She had not cleared her calendar to spend the week with the researcher but simply had finished her work for the season. The rains were starting and all the women were now working in the fields and didn't have time to do anything else. She had, however, notified a couple of the women's groups in different villages that she would be bringing a foreigner to talk to them.

When the researcher arrived, late on a Monday morning, the monatrice was just returning from a meeting at the sous-prefet's office. She had no other work planned for the week but thought it would be interesting to visit a couple of villages and meet with the women's groups. This way the researcher would be able to ask them questions about the work they had done.

The monatrice had only been at her job for a year. There had been a monatrice assigned there about three years before her who had worked in only one village, so she basically had to start from scratch. She did so beginning with the village she lived in. Though the local language was not her mother tongue, it was of similar origin and she had no trouble speaking it fluently. And even though she was a city girl, after the initial adjustment period, she adapted well to village life. The villagers excepted her and she began talking to the women about starting a garden. She said they were a little reluctant,

so she went out and used her own money to buy them some garden tools and seeds. She worked alongside them in the garden to get them started. Once they began selling their vegetables at the weekly market and seeing a profit, they were enthusiastic about the project. Women from other villages began asking how they had gone about it. They began coming to her and asking that she come to their villages and get a garden started. She told them if they built a fence around the area for their proposed garden and dug a well for it, and each contributed 500 CFA (about \$1.50) and continued to contribute 25 CFA a week for a month, then she would return to work with them. She then used the money they raised to buy seeds and materials for them in town. In this way she started 12 gardens and 7 tie dyeing groups. She said she works with 28 groups in all. She explained that not everyone can have gardens because the water is too deep to reach with hand-dug wells. She trains these groups in areas such as hygiene, childcare, nutrition (through cooking demonstrations), and sewing. When the villagers want her to come, they send a horsecart for her. Their CER team has no moped. For villagers who don't have cash to contribute, millet is accepted, which is later sold and the earnings kept, with other contributions, by the treasurer.

On Tuesday, using the researcher's moped, two villages were visited about 7 kilometres away. In the first village, when the women were all together, the agent talked to them about planting a collective field this year, explaining to the researcher that she hadn't been there in almost a month, but a collective field was the only type of work she could do with them during the agricultural season. The women decided they would like to do a collective peanut

field to raise money for their group. They told the researcher that, along with their garden, next year they would like to learn tie dyeing.

In the next village as well, the garden was viewed but the women were not all there to talk to the monatrice, as she had not been able to notify them that she was coming. But the next morning, three of the women walked from their village to the monatrice's house to tell the researcher that they would like to do a garden again next year because it had been very successful and they would like to do other projects as well, such as sewing and tie dyeing. Obviously, they felt they had let the monatrice down the day before and were demonstrating their support for her by walking the 7 kilometres and back to let the foreign visitor know what kind of programs their monatrice had helped them organize.

The monatrice had planned one more trip to a village for the next day, the same village where the researcher first found her, to show the garden and tie dyeing the women had done and allow the researcher to ask questions. However, it rained quite hard that night and the monatrice said the road would not be passable on a moped.

There was no work to be done that week. She planned to go to a village the following week where she was organizing a new group, but she had already notified the village when she would be there. She wanted to move the date up so that the researcher could go with her, but didn't think it would have given the villagers enough time. So that was all she had planned for her work week. She spent the rest of her time preparing meals and cleaning house or hauling water from the well. She shared her house with a male agent from the CER team and

she also had a friend's little girl staying with her, with whom she shared her room. She cooked for both of them, though the little girl helped her a great deal, and for another bachelor agent who came over for all of his meals. Neither of the men contributed to preparing the meals or cleaning up after them. Because it was Ramadan, the meal which broke the fast may have been a little more elaborate than usual, as she prepared enough extra food to take a special bowl to respected members of the community each night, according to custom.

A trip was also made to a market during the week, in a town which was not very far away but was in the Gambia. Going back and forth between the two countries did not seem to be any problem, and, because that was where the nearest town was, it was common practice among the government workers based there.

The researcher departed on Friday morning to make the long trip back to the nearest Senegalese town.

#### Observation 8

The eighth and final observation did not begin until Wednesday morning of the following week due to illness of the researcher. The woman being observed was again a monatrice, 26 years old and single, with no children. She had been raised in the city and was not happy living so far from her family. She hoped that after another two years she would be granted a transfer to a post closer to home if not in the specific region she desired. She had been notified the previous week via messenger that the researcher would be returning Monday to spend the week in the field with her as had been discussed at the time she was interviewed.

When the researcher arrived, the monatrice was conducting a baby-weighing or PPNS at the health center in the village she was assigned to. She was in the midst of a talk on malaria prevention and treatment with emphasis on infants, using flip charts with pictures depicting what she was saying. Many of the women were talking among themselves and a trinket and jewelry seller wandered through, stopping to show a few of the women his wares. The monatrice continued her talk, speaking in Wolof, until she was finished. Though many of the women were speaking Diola among themselves the monatrice said that they all spoke Wolof. Quite suprisingly, some of the women even spoke French to the researcher. It was explained that because this was a coastal village, very near one of the more popular tourist beaches in Senegal, many of the women and their families migrated here from the north for seasonal fishing or work in the tourist trade. At this point, the monatrice went into the health center where she said she turned in the materials to the nurse who would be responsible for the distribution of the food. She said all her PPNS's were done in conjunction with him.

At the monatrices home, her schedule for the week was discussed, as well as what she had done on Monday and Tuesday, before the researcher arrived. Monday and Tuesday her entire days had been spent at the arrondissement's sewing center, as they were each week. That afternoon, Wednesday, she would again be returning to the sewing center and Thursday she would be going to a village about 15 kilometres away for the day, where she worked with a women's group, teaching them to sew. She had nothing scheduled for Friday and would be returning to the same village sewing group for the day on Saturday.

At about 3:00, after lunch and the afternoon siesta, the researcher took the agent on the moped to the sewing center, just a little way up the road. She usually walked. Only three women were there to take advantage of the monatrice's being there. She herself brought some crocheting to do as she knew not many women would show up and those who did were pretty well advanced in their sewing projects. She stopped her own work to help one of the women only once, when asked a question. The center was quite a nice new building donated to them by their sister city in France, along with the health center and maternity clinic, in 1982. The sewing center was not operating before the monatrice arrived the year before.

As the women worked, they spoke among themselves and with the monatrice in Wolof. For the most part, their conversation was just gossip, but at one point, the monatrice raised the subject of starting cooperative antimalarial prophylactic programs for village infants. It was the same thing she had talked about at the baby-weighing that morning. She said the nurse at the village health clinic originated the idea but she was promoting it strongly because she said infant deaths from malaria were a real problem in the area. She talked about it whenever she was with village women, since malaria season was in progress.

The women's group she worked with had about 22 members, but, because the agricultural season was starting, there were very few still participating. She would only keep the center open another week. The women's group she worked with was organized as all the other ones mentioned had been. They each contributed 300 CFA (about \$.85) each month to buy materials, such as more cloth. The group's

treasurer kept this money separate from money earned from what they sold of their sewing, which was to go toward buying tie dyeing materials for the following October when they reopened. Women who were not members of this group also used the sewing center's facilities but they were not allowed to use any of the group's materials.

There was another room built on to the sewing center which was meant to be used as a day care center where mothers could leave their children while they went to the fields. Though the facility had toys for the children and a place to cook for them, when the monatrice had tried to get it started the previous year, no one brought their children, so she was unwilling to organize it again for this year. She didn't know why the women were unwilling to use it.

The monatrice said she spent most of her time at the sewing center. When asked what she would do after the sewing center closed until it reopened the following fall, she said there really was nothing to do. She had asked one of the other CER agents to teach her to drive the moped during this slow season.

At the time, her other activities included two baby-weighings each month. She said every village in her region has a garden though nothing grows well there. Many of the women even have personal gardens behind their houses. She was also working on a sewing project with a village women's group some distance away, to which the researcher accompanied her. At 5:30 the women swept and cleaned the center and then left for home as did the monatrice.

The monatrice shared her house with another CER agent and she also had a housegirl and a niece sharing her room with her. At the

time the researcher was there, three men temporarily assigned as interns to the CER were also using the house. All three were staying in an extra room that was usually a storage room. She was cooking for all of them with the help of the two girls in the house. Since the house was quite full, the researcher was not staying there, though the monatrice had offered to make room for her somehow.

The monatrice was picked up the following morning, Thursday, at 8:00, to go to the village she worked in about 12-15 kilometres away. She said her boss usually took her on his moped. The monatrice did not actually go to the village of the women's group she worked with, as it was very difficult to get to. It was virtually an island during high tide and the best way to get there was by canoe. At first the women's group had sent a canoe to get her but this cost them 1000 CFA each time (a little less than \$3) and they decided it was too expensive, especially since she was not reliable about showing up. She had walked once and said she would not do it again. As a compromise, they were now meeting under a tree at the place on the road near where the monatrice was dropped off.

Much of this information was provided by a Peace Corps volunteer who was living in the village and working with the women's group. When she arrived to live there, the women told her they wanted to learn to sew and had sent representatives to ask the monatrice to teach them, but she said she didn't have the transportation to get to their village and the women had given up on the idea. So the volunteer went to see the monatrice and said the women would be willing to pay for her transportation and would also send a canoe to meet her and she agreed to come twice a week. They gave her money

twice for transportation but she found a ride both times and had given the money back and had not taken it again. However, in the three months since they had started their sewing group she had only shown up approximately ten times.

The monatrice complained that none of the women came anymore and it wasn't worth her while to go all the way out there. She said it would be her last week of meeting with them. The village women said they could not all leave their households for an entire day with no one to do the cooking or look after small children, so many of them had stopped coming. At any rate, the monatrice agreed to come that Saturday one last time to help with tie dyeing they wanted to do. However, she did not feel comfortable enough with her tie dyeing skills to teach it, so the Peace Corps volunteer had gone to the department where the Maison Familiale monatrice, already mentioned in these observations, was based and asked her if she would come. She said she would, even though the village was not one she was responsible for, in hopes that the volunteer would help her get funding for a well they needed.

While the women sewed, the monatrice worked on some crocheting she had brought with her, stopping to answer occasional questions. The group was organized much as other groups, and financed themselves through contributions, but this group had also received some materials donated by a French woman familiar with their village. Since the women spent the day on their sewing, they had a woman prepare lunch for everyone, for which each one also contributed. About 4:30 one of the CER team agents came to pick up the monatrice on a moped and the women walked back to their village. The monatrice had no more work

activities planned until Saturday when she was to go back and help with the tie dyeing. The researcher did not stay until Saturday, but learned later from the volunteer that the monatrice had not shown up.

These observations were valuable in that they allowed the researcher further opportunity to determine what types of problems are encountered by female development agents in the field. It also allowed the researcher to see how effectively the women were doing their jobs and to correlate what was seen with the questionnaire responses. For the most part, the agents, regardless of their titles, were involved in sewing and tie dyeing projects, cooperative gardens, baby-weighings, and a couple of them, at the departmental level, were coordinating a development agency-funded project which, through the government, provided some villages in their jurisdiction with machines to lighten the work load of women. None of the agents had regular transportation, and most had few other resources, sometimes not even an office. Most of them had no outside sources of funding for their women's groups and didn't believe any was available. The researcher did give a copies of A Guide to Sources of Financing, published by the CAID's office of Texas Tech, to the women in the observation group, which will hopefully help them in finding funding for their projects in the future. For the most part, the observations confirmed what was revealed by the survey instrument.

## Recommendations

As expected, many of the problems encountered by female development agents can not be eliminated through improved training. They fall under the categories noted in the introduction of this paper, identified through existing research as problems generally associated with the delivery of extension services, the major one being lack of resources. Also to be included, however, are problems of organizational support, such as inadequate supervision, evaluation and communication, and lack of adequate numbers of trained personnel. These types of problems are the responsibility of the administration. While financial problems are not so simply resolved, problems of supervision and support can be resolved through a system of evaluations and incentive programs. Many of the agents encountered in this research had no motivation. It didn't matter if they did their job or not; the results to them, personally, were the same. There were no consequences and no rewards. This showed in their work. There were several women who did little or nothing everyday. The supervisors don't expect a woman to go out in the field with no means of transportation, so if some means isn't provided, many of the women do what is expected of them: nothing. The term "manque de moyens", or "lack of means", has become the catch-all phrase to excuse inadequate job performance. Yet, it is no surprise to anyone, and certainly not a new state of affairs, that there is a lack of means. Yet, the government continues to pay people to do nothing.

The lack of adequate numbers of personnel is also difficult to remedy. If the government does not have the financial resources to

provide a means of transportation to its personnel, there is not much point in spending money on training more people who will be paid to do nothing. Field personnel need to actually be getting out to do their jobs, through whatever means possible, before their numbers are increased. Moreover, women are being trained for a specific job and then waiting up to a year before being placed, not through lack of openings but lack of funds to pay them. The school which trains noratrices is accepting only 10 new applicants a year, but they aren't being placed.

A related problem is the lack of jobs available to professional women or women with advanced education in Senegal. While getting accepted into any government training program is difficult and standards are high, this doesn't always mean that people who are accepted are highly motivated for the career they will be trained for and will, more than likely, spend a lifetime doing. Even though final acceptance for at least two of the training schools depends on the applicant's display of aptitude during a week in the field, this does not always screen out those who, for example, would really rather be a teacher, but didn't pass the exam for that school. The only solution to the problem of people entering career jobs that don't interest them is to develop an economy that will provide employment options for people with education. Many development theorists believe that the key to such a developed economy is based in grass roots development or development from the bottom. This is at the heart of the animation theory of development practiced by Senegal. Perhaps in time the development agents of today will be creating job options for the job seekers of the future.

The recruiting process is also related to the problems female agents have in adapting to the area they are assigned to. Women recruited from rural areas would not face the problems of adapting to village life that a woman born and raised in the city would. The other problem women have in adapting -- not being able to speak the local language -- affects the work of the agents to different degrees but it is a problem. Because of the many languages spoken in Senegal, it would be impossible to provide training in all the languages needed unless it was known in advance where the agent would be assigned and that she would stay there. But if more effort were made to assign women to the areas they are from or where they speak the language, much of this problem would be eliminated.

Data has been gathered in this study on female development agents in three categories; animatrices, monatrices, and Maison Familiale monatrices. Yet, with only slight differences, the women were all found to be doing basically the same job. The theory behind their training is that animatrices and monatrices will be doing complimentary jobs, while MF monatrices, because the organization requires a degree of autonomy from the government, have very little coordination with the other two services. Observation proved that some of these women were working together in spite of the lack of formal coordination, sharing skills with each other. But none of them were working together in the way that the current program expects them to. For example, an interview with the director of the college of animation at ENEA revealed that agents being trained as animators today receive the same training to do the same job regardless of sex. They are there to organize the villagers and "sensitize" them. They

are deliberately trained differently from monatrices. A monatrice is taught technical skills to pass on to the villagers once the ground has been prepared by an animation agent. Theoretically, there is coordination between these two services. But, as has been documented in the findings section of this paper, that is not what is happening in the field. However, the animatrices interviewed were all older women who began working in the animation service when its agents were village-based volunteers and women were expected to be working only with women to pass on "women's skills". Now that the emphasis of animation has changed, perhaps it is time that these women were given a retraining course to change their job orientation and teach them to utilize the technical skills of other team agents, while they pass on management, organization, marketing and other such skills to the villagers and gather data about their needs. That is how animation students are trained today. Unfortunately, none of the more recent graduates were found working in either of the two regions the sample was taken from to offer comparison value. The director of the college emphasized that animation students are trained to go out to villages. But in reality, when they get to their posts in the field, there is no means to do what they have been trained to do. Yet the director said they are aware of the realities of the field.

This led to an important conclusion of the research. If the students and staff are aware of the problems of transportation and the lack of other resources encountered by agents in the field, why are they not prepared to deal with these problems when they get there? The lack of incentives, rewards and consequences already mentioned is part of the problem. But the another part of the problem is that

future agents are not being trained to deal with the realities even though, according to the director of the animation college at ENEA, they know what they are getting into. For example, some of the more recent graduates of the Ecole de Monatrices said they had been given lessons in driving a car as part of their training. This type of inappropriate training does nothing to ensure that development agents will be mobile in the field. There are only a few highly motivated individuals not provided with a means of transportation, who are using their own money to pay for public transportation or riding on horse carts in order to get out to the villages to do their jobs as they were meant to. Perhaps through the use of case studies in their training, using actual situations that have been observed or documented in the field, agents can learn to be more resourceful in dealing with situations they will encounter everyday in the field. Not only should they be aware of the realities of the resource problem, but they should be taught that they are expected to work around, and in spite of, the problems.

Another important recommendation resulting from this research is that female agents need to be trained to break away from teaching traditional "women's activities" to the exclusion of all other activities. Agents claim that they are responding to the desires of the women in the villages. However, it is the opinion of the researcher that animation has been around long enough that villagers have developed a stereotyped idea of what female agents do. The women will not begin demanding more from the female development agents until they begin to let the villagers know what they are capable of teaching them. In particular, animation agents are there to sensitize or raise

the consciousness of villagers to make them aware of the possibilities for improvement of their situation. At present, however, their activities, like those of all the female development agents interviewed, generally involve small scale domestic projects treated as leisure time activities, requiring little capital and resulting in a new skill that will provide a little extra household money. As many agents noted, they do no work with the women during the real working season, the agricultural season, except perhaps to organize them to do a collective field or a day care center for their children while they are in the field. Yet women spend as much, and quite likely more, time on agricultural activities as do men. There were even women who had their own cash crops such as peanut fields. These types of activities should be encouraged by development agents. Agents should also be made aware of all possible sources of funding available and should promote credit for women. While programs such as health and nutrition are important, female development agents should not be limiting their activities to training village women to improve their capabilities as wives and mothers.

The problems women encounter with male agents, such as being regarded as potential sex partners and not being taken seriously as colleagues, can only be changed with time. Support from their administration and the changing role of women over time will help. An increasing number of women in the administration will also have an impact as more women are put in positions of authority. Female development agents will have to support each other to fight against problems they will encounter as a result of this attitude on the part of the men they work with, until they are effective in changing it.

In summary, some of the problems unveiled in this study of female development agents are problems typical to women entering the work force in a changing world: such as problems with child care, maintaining a career and having a family, and breaking down stereotypes about the role of women. Others of their needs and problems are typical of those encountered by all development agents in a developing country; lack of resources, financial and logistic, lack of adequate numbers of trained personnel, and lack of organizational support. However, some of these problems, typical to all agents, are intensified for female agents. It does no good for them to have the use of mopeds, for example, unless they can find people to drive them, as few Senegalese women know how to operate mopeds. In any case, it should be acknowledged that the problems and needs of female development agents are different from those of male agents, and this fact should be dealt with in their training and preparation for service, even when they are being trained to do the same job as male agents. Female agents' training should make them aware of problems they will encounter specific to their gender and prepare them to deal with these difficulties. This training will enable them to effectively pass on their capabilities to those with whom they are working, in keeping with the goals of the ENEA rural management project, especially improving their effectiveness in working with the women of their country.

Areas for future research should include studies on the changing needs of rural women. "Animation" has been practiced in Senegal for more than 25 years and as it succeeds in its goals, and needs are met, other needs develop. CER teams in rural communities now exist

throughout Senegal and most villagers are aware of services available through the government representatives based in their regions. As the quality of life improves for many of the villagers and basic needs such as health care and water begin to be met, goals and demands will change. An increase in the number of educated women and the resulting awareness of opportunities available to them will make women especially visible. It is also important to study the problems women will have breaking into the professional working world in increasing numbers in the coming years.

TABLES, 1-15

Table I  
Ethnic Origin of Respondants

Ethnic Group	N	Per Cent
Wolof	12	38.71
Serere	3	9.67
Manjaac	1	3.23
Toucouleur	3	9.67
Peul	1	3.23
Lebu	1	3.23
Diola	8	25.80
Baynuk	1	3.23
Mancagnon	1	3.23
Total	31	100.00

Table 2  
Time at Post

Time	N	Per Cent
Less than one year	4	12.9
One to two years	12	38.71
Two to three years	2	6.45
three to four years	2	6.45
four to five years	5	16.13
five or more years	6	19.36
Total	31	100.00

Table 3

## Job Titles

Title	N	%
Monitrice d'Economie Familiale Rural	15	48.38
Monitrice de Maison Familiale	5	16.13
Agent Technique d'Animation (animatrice)	4	12.90
Directrice Adjoint	3	9.67
Chef Departmental	1	3.23
Regional Coordinatrice de Volet Feminine	1	3.23
Regional Coordinatrice d'Action Feminine	1	3.23
Programme Responsable de Transformation & Conservation des Fruits et Legumes	1	3.23
Totals	31	100.00

Table 4

## Level of Education of Respondants

Secondary School	N	Per Cent
None at all	2	6.45
Some, no diploma	6	19.35
Regular diploma	22	70.97
Advanced diploma	1	3.3
Totals	31	100.00
Professional School	N	Per Cent
Ecole de Monitrice	16	51.61
ENEA- Agent technique	5	16.13
Ecole de Maisons Familiale	5	16.13
Ecole de Maitresse d'Economie Familiale Rurale	1	3.23
Others	4	12.9
Total	31	100.00

Table 5  
Frequency of Contact With Supervisor

Time period	N	Per Cent
every day	22	70.97
every other day	3	9.68
once a week	0	0
twice a month	2	6.45
once a month	4	12.9
less than once a month	0	0
Total	31	100.00

Table 6  
Hours Spent in Office per Week

Number of hours	N.	Per Cent
zero to five	8	25.81
five to ten	4	12.9
ten to fifteen	1	3.23
fifteen to twenty	2	6.45
twenty to twenty-five	3	9.68
twenty-five to thirty	4	12.9
thirty to thirty-five	4	12.9
thirty-five or more	5	16.13
Total	31	100.00

Table 7

## Number of Villages Agents Worked In

Number Villages	N	%
0	3	9.68
1 - 5	10	32.26
6 - 10	3	9.68
11 - 15	3	9.68
16 - 20	5	16.13
21 - 25	3	9.68
26 or more	4	12.89
Total	31	100.00

Table 8

## Obstacles to Visiting Villages

Obstacle	not important		a little important		important		very important		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a.No means of transportation	3	9.68	1	3.23	4	12.9	23	74.19	31	100
b.No gas for vehicle	8	26.7	3	10.00	2	6.67	17	56.67	30	100
c.Not enough time	18	58.06	7	22.58	2	6.45	4	12.9	31	100
d.Administrative difficulties	19	61.29	2	6.45	2	6.45	8	25.81	31	100
e. Bad weather	13	43.33	10	33.33	5	16.67	2	6.67	30	100

Table 9

Number of Hours Devoted to Work Activities  
Previous, or Last Working Day

Hours Devoted to Work Activities	N	%
No Work Activities	2	6.67
Less Than 3.5 Hours	7	23.30
3.5 to 6.5 Hours	9	30.00
More than 6.5 Hours	12	40.00
Total	30	100.00

Table 10  
 Importance of Work Activities  
 Shown by Rank  
 (Question 29)

Activity	N	Not important		a little important		Important		Very important	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
f. Educational Training	31	0	0	2	6.25	4	12.9	25	80.65
h. Collaboration with Team Members	31	0	0	2	6.25	5	16.13	24	77.42
c. Organization of Groups	31	0	0	2	6.25	6	19.35	23	74.19
a. Preparing Reports	31	0	0	1	3.23	12	38.71	18	58.06
b. Planning	31	0	0	1	3.23	12	38.71	18	58.06
i. Meeting with Supervisor	31	0	0	0	0	15	48.39	16	51.61
k. Evaluation	30	2	6.69	1	3.33	10	33.33	17	56.67
m. Obtaining Project Materials	27	3	11.11	1	3.70	8	24.63	15	55.56
l. Obtaining Resources	29	3	10.34	2	6.90	8	27.39	16	55.17
g. Technical Training	31	1	3.23	4	12.90	12	38.71	14	45.16
d. Initiating New Projects	31	1	3.23	3	9.68	15	48.39	12	38.71
e. Surveying Ongoing Projects	31	3	9.68	0	0	15	48.39	13	41.94
j. Data Collection or Research	31	3	9.68	2	6.45	16	51.61	10	32.26

Table 11

Time Devoted to Work Activities  
Shown by Rank  
(Question 37)

Activity	N	not important		a little important		important		very important	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
c. organization of groups	31	2	6.45	4	12.9	1	3.23	24	77.42
f. Educational training	31	3	9.68	3	9.68	9	29.03	16	51.61
a. Preparing reports	31	0	0	6	19.35	14	45.16	11	35.48
g. Technical training	31	4	12.9	3	9.68	9	29.03	15	48.39
h. Collaboration with team members	31	0	0	9	29.03	15	48.39	7	22.58
e. Surveying on going projects	31	7	22.58	2	6.45	9	29.03	13	41.94
d. Initiating new projects	31	7	22.58	2	6.45	11	35.48	11	35.48
m. Obtaining project materials	27	9	33.33	3	11.11	1	3.7	14	51.85
k. Evaluation	31	5	16.13	6	19.35	14	45.16	6	19.35
i. Meeting with supervisor	31	2	6.45	12	38.71	12	38.71	5	16.13
l. Obtaining resources	31	9	29.03	5	16.13	6	19.35	11	35.48
j. Data collection or research	31	5	16.13	11	35.48	9	29.03	6	19.35
b. Planning	31	2	6.45	8	25.81	12	38.71	9	29.03

Table 12

## Correlations Between Importance and Time Devoted to an Activity

!Question !29 ! 37 !	Activity	!Pearson's row! !Correlation !
!A ! A !	Preparing Reports	!.180
!B ! B !	Planning	!.236
!C ! C !	Organization of groups	!.472
!D ! D !	Initiation of new projects	!.043
!E ! E !	Surveying ongoing projects	!.211
!F ! F !	Educational training	!.398
!G ! G !	Technical training	!.425
!H ! H !	Collaboration with team members	!.266
!I ! I !	Meeting with supervisor	!.209
!J ! J !	Data collection or research	!.337
!K ! K !	Evaluation	!.325
!L ! L !	Obtaining resources	!.556
!M ! M !	Obtaining project materials	!.278

Table 13

## Importance Accorded to Needs Expressed by Villagers

Needs	not important		a little important		important		very important	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Foodstuffs	31	6.45	4	12.9	9	29.03	16	51.61
b. Water supply	31	3.23	1	3.23	2	6.45	27	87.1
c. Technical training	31	0	2	6.45	16	51.61	13	41.94
d. Project management training	31	9.68	1	3.23	6	19.35	21	67.74
e. Literacy	31	6.45	3	9.68	12	38.71	14	45.16
f. Community development	31	0	3	9.68	10	32.26	18	58.06
g. Information and support in health and hygiene	31	0	3	9.68	9	29.03	19	61.29

Table 14  
Availability of Work Materials

Materials	all the time		most of the time		some times		never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
a. Access to office materials	27	87.10	7	22.58	13	41.94	3	9.68
b. Access to project materials	31	100.00	6	19.35	13	41.94	10	32.26
c. Access to the administration	30	100.00	6	20.00	14	46.67	1	3.33
d. Access to means of transportation	31	100.00	3	9.68	17	54.84	9	29.03
e. Access to credit for women's groups	29	100.00	4	13.79	3	10.34	21	72.41

Table 15  
Most Common Means of Transportation

Means	N	%
1. government vehicle	7	22.58
2. public transportation	4	12.9
3. horse or donkey cart	1	3.23
4. bicycle	0	0
5. moped	6	19.35
6. on foot	13	41.94
Total	31	100.00

APPENDIX



## 13. Level of schooling:

1. a.  Incomplete primary school  
b.  Primary school with diploma (CEPE)
2. Secondary school a.  without a diploma  
with: b.  BEPC c.  DEFM d.  BEFM e.  Baccalaureat
3. Professional School:  
a.  Ecole de Monitrices Rurales  
b.  ENEA;  Agent technique  Inspecteur  
c.  Ecole de Maisons Familiales  
d.  Ecole de Maitresse d'Economie Familiale  
e.  Others, specify \_\_\_\_\_

14. What is your job title? \_\_\_\_\_

15. How long have you been at your current assignment?

- less than one year       1 - 2 years       2 - 3 years  
 3 - 4 years       4 - 5 years       5 years or more

16. a. Some women community development agents prefer to be assigned to urban areas. Others prefer to be assigned to rural areas. Which do you prefer?

 urban     rural

b. Please explain why you prefer such an assignment? \_\_\_\_\_

17. Do you share an office with your immediate supervisor?

 yes,     no

18. Do you see your immediate supervisor frequently?

- a.  every day      d.  twice a month  
b.  every other day    e.  once a month  
c.  once a week      f.  less than once a month

19. How many hours do you spend in your office each week? (check one)

- 0 - 5     5 - 10     10 - 15     15 - 20     20 - 25  
 25 - 30     30 - 35     35 or more

20. How often do you work with other members of the team?

- never       twice a month  
 less than once a month     once a week  
 once a month       twice a week or more

21. How many villages are under your charge? \_\_\_\_\_

22. What is the average frequency of your visits per village? \_\_\_\_\_

23. Are there any villages you visit more often than others?  yes,  no

If yes, why? \_\_\_\_\_

24. Approximately how far away is the most distant village you are responsible for? \_\_\_\_\_ Km.

25. Development agents often encounter obstacles in their efforts to visit a village. I suggest here a list of factors which can create such obstacles. Please tell me the importance of each of the factors as they concern you in your efforts to visit a village.

(0) not important  
(1) a little important

(2) important  
(3) very important

Possible obstacles	Degree of importance			
a. No means of transportation	a. 0	1	2	3
b. No gas for the vehicle	b. 0	1	2	3
c. Not enough time	c. 0	1	2	3
d. Administrative difficulties	d. 0	1	2	3
e. Bad weather	e. 0	1	2	3
f. Other _____	f. 0	1	2	3

26. Please try to recall your activities of the previous work day with as much detail as possible, following the sequence of your day, in other words from the beginning of your day's activities until the end of that same day.

Period of time	Place	Activity
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27. During the working day described, were there any activities you had planned but were unable to carry out? \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no

28. If yes, what activity?

For what reason were you unable to carry out the planned activity? \_\_\_\_\_

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29. Importance accorded to your various work activities. Is each activity;  
 (0) not important (2) important  
 (1) a little important (3) very important

Activity	Importance
a. Preparing reports	a. 0 1 2 3
b. Planning	b. 0 1 2 3
c. Organizing groups	c. 0 1 2 3
d. Initiating new projects	d. 0 1 2 3
e. Surveying ongoing projects	e. 0 1 2 3
f. Educational training (health, nutrition, literacy)	f. 0 1 2 3
g. Technical training (tie dyeing, sewing, crocheting)	g. 0 1 2 3
h. Collaborating with team members	h. 0 1 2 3
i. Meeting with your supervisor	i. 0 1 2 3
j. Data collection or research	j. 0 1 2 3
k. Evaluation	k. 0 1 2 3
l. Obtaining resources (transportation, gas, financing)	l. 0 1 2 3
m. Obtaining project materials	m. 0 1 2 3
n. Others _____	n. 0 1 2 3

30. What ethnic groups do you work with?

_____ Wolof	_____ Serere
_____ Toucouleur	_____ Peul
_____ Diola	_____ Mandingue
_____ Bambara	_____ Sarakhole
_____ Lebu	_____ Balante
_____ Malinke	_____ Mandiack
_____ Maure	_____ Diakhangke
_____ Others _____	

31. a. Among the ethnic groups you work with, which is the group with whom you have the most difficulty communicating? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Explain why. \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Which group has the best organizational infrastructure? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Explain \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Which group manages their resources the best? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Explain \_\_\_\_\_

32. What are the associations, village groups, or other women's groups with which you work?

_____ Village associations	_____ Local women's groups
_____ Young peoples associations	_____ Ethnic associations
_____ "Tontines"	_____ Other _____

33. Are there women who don't belong to any of these groups who have need of development services? \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, how do you contact them? \_\_\_\_\_

34. Who do you contact during your initial visit to a village? \_\_\_\_\_

35. Do you work with men of the village as well as women? \_\_\_\_\_

36. a. Are you accompanied by another development agent during your initial visit to a village? \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no

b. On subsequent visits? \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no

37. Times spent on work activities; in your work do you spend:

(0) no time at all (1) a little time

(2) some time (3) a lot of time

on each of the activities listed?

Activity	Time			
a. Preparing reports	a. 0	1	2	3
b. Planning	b. 0	1	2	3
c. Organizing groups	c. 0	1	2	3
d. Initiating new projects	d. 0	1	2	3
e. Surveying ongoing projects	e. 0	1	2	3
f. Educational training (health, nutrition, literacy)	f. 0	1	2	3
g. Technical training (tie dyeing, sewing, crocheting)	g. 0	1	2	3
h. Collaborating with other team members	h. 0	1	2	3
i. Meeting with your supervisor	i. 0	1	2	3
j. Data collection or research	j. 0	1	2	3
k. Evaluation	k. 0	1	2	3
l. Obtaining resources (transportation, gas, financing)	l. 0	1	2	3
m. Obtaining project materials	m. 0	1	2	3
n. Others _____	n. 0	1	2	3

38. Are there villages you prefer to visit more than others? \_\_\_yes, \_\_\_no

39. How many women live in the largest village under your charge?

\_\_\_less than 50 \_\_\_50-100 \_\_\_100-150 \_\_\_150-200 \_\_\_200-250  
 \_\_\_250-300 \_\_\_300-350 \_\_\_350-400 \_\_\_400-450 \_\_\_450 or more

40. How many women live in the smallest village under your charge?

\_\_\_0-20 \_\_\_20-40 \_\_\_40-60 \_\_\_60-80 \_\_\_80-100 \_\_\_100+

41. Need expressed by the villagers. Please tell me if each need is;

(0) not important

(2) important

(1) a little important

(3) very important

a. foodstuffs	a. 0	1	2	3
b. water supply	b. 0	1	2	3
c. training in techniques of gardening, product production, sewing, etc.	c. 0	1	2	3
d. training in project management	d. 0	1	2	3
e. literacy	e. 0	1	2	3
f. community development	f. 0	1	2	3
g. information and support in health and hygiene	g. 0	1	2	3
h. others, specify _____	h. 0	1	2	3

42. Are there needs expressed by the villagers and not met by development services?  yes  no

By your service in particular?  yes  no

What ones? \_\_\_\_\_

43. Among these activities are there any beyond your competence?  yes,  no Which ones? (ex. health, management, water resource management, etc,) \_\_\_\_\_

44. Are there problems in collecting funds for women's project activities?  yes,  no If yes, what are they? \_\_\_\_\_

45. Are there activities you would like to spend more time on?  yes,  no If yes, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_

46. Sometimes the resources needed by an animatrice are lacking. I am going to give you a list of resources. Please tell me if these resources are available to you;

- (0) all the time (2) sometimes  
(1) most the time (3) never

Availability of work materials	Degree of availability
a. access to office materials	a. 0 1 2 3
b. access to project materials	b. 0 1 2 3
c. access to the administration	c. 0 1 2 3
d. access to a means of transportation	d. 0 1 2 3
e. access to credit for the women's groups	e. 0 1 2 3

47 What is your most common means of transportation?

government vehicle  public transport  horse cart  
 bicycle  moped  on foot  other \_\_\_\_\_

48. What do you do if you have no appropriate means of transportation?  
\_\_\_\_\_

49 Among the following activities, which do you judge as important for the women to participate in? Tell me if each activity is;

- (0) not important (2) important  
(1) a little important (3) very important

Activity	Degree of importance
a. Crafts	a. 0 1 2 3
b. Nutritional education	b. 0 1 2 3
c. Health education	c. 0 1 2 3
d. Agriculture	d. 0 1 2 3
e. Marketing/commercialization	e. 0 1 2 3
f. Literacy	f. 0 1 2 3
g. Others _____	g. 0 1 2 3

50. Are the women unwilling to participate in one or another of these activities?  yes  no

If yes, explain \_\_\_\_\_

51. Usually, how do the women collect funds to finance their activities?  
\_\_\_\_\_
52. When you started your work, did you encounter problems for which you had not received preparation? \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no  
If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_
53. In which field(s), if any, did you feel that your training was incomplete? \_\_\_\_\_
54. Would you like retraining? \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no  
If yes, in which field(s)? \_\_\_\_\_
55. Have you attended any retraining courses or seminars? \_\_\_yes \_\_\_no  
Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_
56. Were they useful? Explain \_\_\_\_\_
57. In your opinion, what inputs and methods can improve the training received by the majority of women development agents? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If this questionnaire were to be used again the researcher would suggest some changes. First of all, a question should be included as to the length of time in the agent's current service as well as her time at her current post. Question 17 could be eliminated as it was often irrelevant since many of the women did not have an office. The following question on how often they see their supervisor is sufficient. Question 19, on time spent in the office, should have been further defined as time in the office versus time in the field. And questions 21 and 22 should have specified between villages they work in versus villages in their area of responsibility. This would also apply to question 24. Question 25 would have been improved by using a different scale such as how often the obstacles are a problem ; never, sometimes, always. Question 31 should have been left out as it was continually misinterpreted. Number 32 would have been better if it asked how many types of groups were worked with which would have allowed the responses to be categorized more easily, then the women could have listed the different types of groups. Many of the women had trouble answering questions 39 and 40, most just guessed. Part of the problem was they only worked with women's groups. It might have been better to ask about the size of the groups they worked with. It also needed to be taken into account that not all of the agents worked exclusively with women. Question 41 had the same problem of scaling as question 25. It would have been more revealing to ask how often villagers expressed the needs listed, again using a scale such as; never, sometimes, always. In question 43 it would have been an improvement to specify "among the expressed needs not being met, are there any you are responsible for which are beyond your competence?"

Examples should be eliminated.

The researcher learned a great deal in conducting this research and of course hind sight reveals changes which could have been made. The questionnaire was effective in its purpose, but there are always possible improvements and these are some the researcher would suggest to anyone using this questionnaire or doing similar research.

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