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IMPROVING LOCAL CAPACITY TO MANAGE
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN AFRICA:
SUMMARY OF STUDY SERIES

WORKING PAPER NO. 101

by

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The views and interpretations expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be attributed to the Agency for International Development.

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PREFACE

The Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) of the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination has reviewed Agency for International Development (AID) experiences in development management in order to learn about the management constraints to development projects in Africa and the management strategies used to overcome these constraints, and to suggest interventions to enhance the capacity of country personnel and institutions to manage these projects. The products of this effort are the reports of six field studies in Africa, a computer analysis of completed projects in Africa, reports of a workshop that preceded the field studies and a seminar after the teams returned to the United States, four synthesis reports.

The present report summarizes this effort, focusing on the lessons learned from the field studies and synthesis reports.

Because this report is a summary of the case studies and syntheses, we use their contents liberally. Quotation marks are used only to emphasize certain points. Credit is herewith given to those authors both within and outside AID who worked on these studies. Their names and the titles of their papers are included in the Bibliography.

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1. THE PROBLEM

A critical factor affecting the success of the development process is local capacity to manage. The capacities of host country leadership and personnel, organizations and institutional arrangements, and administrative processes and techniques have long been identified as factors affecting the performance of development programs and projects. Practical attention to improving this capacity has been a neglected dimension of development assistance. Although AID provides management training to many country officials, it is not making sufficient efforts to research and fully understand the actual management practices of the developing countries as the developing basis for this training.

Consequently, few AID projects have been systematically designed with well-thoughtout strategies for building local management capabilities. This deficiency affects the substantive success of projects not only while AID is providing assistance, but also after AID assistance is withdrawn. The sustainability of projects after donor assistance is withdrawn is becoming an increasingly acute issue as critics begin to question the long-term effectiveness of donor activities.

The subject of development program management--both public and private--is taking on new meaning, although it draws on substantial work carried out in the 1950s and 1960s on administrative reform, public administration, and institutional development. Some development analysts have characterized management problems in macro terms. Policy reform objectives are important. But below the policy level there are operational issues that affect program execution and the outcome of policy changes. African economic crises are, in large measure, consequences of both weak policies and poor program management. These concerns and findings are the backdrop to the evaluation series on the management constraints to development summarized in this report.

2. SOURCES OF CONCERN

The difficulties associated with developing country management capacity are a constant finding in AID internal evaluations and inspections and external audits. Other donors have similar experiences. Development professionals are openly expressing their concerns. One purpose of this study is to isolate the concerns and to put them into a context that will permit them to be better understood, analyzed, and resolved.

2.1 General Accounting Office Audits

The General Accounting Office (GAO) reported to Congress that the management and effectiveness of AID projects in health care, water development, and agricultural assistance, as well as projects to strengthen government institutions, ultimately depend on the ability of host countries to implement the projects.¹ The GAO argued that without this implementation capacity there are large obligations of unspent assistance funds or expenditure of funds for projects with limited life after U.S. assistance is terminated. A GAO review of the Sahel Development Program stated that lack of progress in that part of Africa was due to a myriad of economic, political, and physical problems in the area, but noted that a major problem contributing to slow rates of economic growth in the Sahel is the weak capability of the Sahelian governments to plan and manage economic development and to coordinate donor activities.²

2.2 Inspector General's Views

The AID Inspector General testified before Congress that in his reviews he found continuing implementation problems arising from practical weaknesses in country management capacities. He said that Inspector General reviews of AID-funded activities "have shown delayed projects, increased costs flowing from these delays, poor logistic support by host governments, a general lack of audits of contract and grant costs by host governments, procurement inefficiencies in the acquisition of both goods and services and administrative

¹Testimony of Frank C. Conahan, Director, International Division, General Accounting Office, before U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations, Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations, hearings, 97th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1983), p. 341.

²U.S. General Accounting Office, Limited Sahelian Government Capabilities To Administer Economic Assistance Affects Their Economic Development, Report No. 472037 (Washington, D.C.: GAO, 1985), pp. i-ii.

difficulties on the part of host governments in executing bid procedures, preparing contracts and administering contracts."³ In a study on West Africa, the Inspector General found "project after project undergoing serious delays and short-falls in reaching planned objectives. Lack of host country funds,

trained personnel, delayed procurement, over-optimistic assessments of host country capabilities were contributing conditions."⁴ As a result, the Inspector General questioned the viability of many AID projects once U.S. financial and technical support ended and concluded that because of the low level of management capacities, AID investments have been placed at risk.

2.3 AID's Strategic Plan

Enhancing organizational capacities and management skills is a prerequisite to eliciting participation in development programs and projects. AID's Strategic Plan emphasizes that "the impact and sustainability of public sector investments can be significantly improved if local citizens assume a role in needs assessment, project design and implementation. Too often, governmental organizations and programs are out of touch with the reality of development needs and the problems and perspectives of low income groups."⁵ Experience suggests that effective beneficiary participation becomes easier when nongovernmental organizations as well as public agencies and private enterprises have strong management skills and abilities.

2.4 Internal AID Evaluations

An AID Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) sponsored analysis of 238 AID FY 1984 project evaluations concluded that most AID managers believe strongly that institution building is AID's most important task.⁶ The

³Statement of H. L. Beckington, AID Inspector General, before U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations, op. cit., P. 372.

⁴Ibid.

⁵U.S. Agency for International Development, Blueprint for Development: The Strategic Plan of the Agency for International Development (Washington, D.C.: AID, 1985).

⁶U.S. Agency for International Development, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Lessons Learned from AID Experience in FY 1984, Occasional Paper No. 5, (Washington, D.C.: AID, November 1985).

analysis noted that AID personnel have become skilled in institution building and in human resources improvements. However, this view and skill did not seem to extend to developing country officials. That is, the analysis suggests that AID is not pursuing this goal with sufficient diligence down to the level of the country program manager.

Compatibility of AID programs with country environments was another concern of this internal analysis. The report observed that some projects' compatibility with their environments was less than congenial because local and regional cultural deviations from the national norm were not adequately taken into account. Even developing country managers were not fully sensitive to the complexities of their own national culture. Many new countries in the developing world are such mixes of different languages and ethnic and other cultural characteristics that it is difficult for even national officials to understand these factors. They are often, therefore, not aware of the cultural implications of introducing into their own system even the simplest Western management practices.

The analysis went even further. It stated that AID's project designs have evolved in ways that impede the full realization of the promise of AID's institution-building conviction. Project designs do not allow the time necessary for successful institution building. The report concluded that this approach is counterproductive and poor management strategy.

2.5 Other Donors' Concerns

Other donors are also concerned with management constraints to the development process. The Development Cooperation Directorate of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) identified poor public management, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, as a critical limitation on donor-funded projects.

At a March 1986 meeting, the DAC reviewed on-going technical assistance efforts focused on strengthening economic management capacities in low-income developing countries, including related training and civil service reforms programs. It was agreed that priority should be given in future assistance programs to efforts aimed at strengthening the core economic instruments needed to help these countries initiate and effectively manage economic reforms, restructuring and long-term development programs (e.g., medium-term public investment programs, budget expenditure tracking system, accounting and auditing systems).

In 1983 the World Bank created an Office of Institutional Development to work on development management. That office has three major focuses: the management problems of structural adjustment lending, reform of public sector enterprises, and organizational change strategies to support policy reform. The World Development Report, 1983, focused on the subject of managing the development process. In 1984 the Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank completed a two-volume report on Bank efforts at institutional development in Africa.

The present CDIE review has sought to identify these and other concerns and to develop a framework for the analysis and design of improved management strategies.

3. DEFINING THE FIELD AND ISSUES

Development management encompasses a wide range of activities. At one end of the range it involves the management of sociopolitical and macroeconomic policies that shape national development goals and the basic sociopolitical economic orientation of the country. The importance of these aspects of development management is recognized in AID's interest in policy dialogue. At the other end of the range, the concept involves concerns with the management of natural and physical resources. At this end would be issues concerning the application of engineering and technical knowledge. Historically, development specialists have concentrated on perfecting the technical packages, which are the physical input to the development process. The management issues of technology have been described as AID's interest in "technology transfer". Between these two sets of activities are those concerned with the management of people, organizations and institutions. Here we are concerned with improving human skills, organizational structures and administrative processes to apply socioeconomic policies and use improved technologies. This middle range of management activities is concerned with issues most closely related to institutional development, one of AID's four pillars of development. The present evaluations focus on this middle range of issues.

Development program management may be defined more specifically as the judicious use of donor and local resources to achieve local economic and social development objectives. This definition combines a classical Western concept of management with the special objective of inducing change in third world developing countries. "Judicious" classically means to maximize efficiency and effectiveness. In terms of third world development, we add the issues of sustainability and maximization of participation. The term "program" focuses attention on the developing country's organizations and institutions and its own development policies and strategies. While it encompasses the specific "project" interventions of donors, the term "program" distinguishes donor "project" interventions from the country's development "program." Thus it is through the "project" that AID affects the country's organizations and management and through them the substantive goals of its development "program."

Dr. Louise White of George Mason University also believes that the analysis of development management should distinguish between and be applied to both the "project" and the "program." The six case studies in this study effort deal with "projects." Some projects were fairly autonomous; others were more closely integrated into a national ministry. Some were under the control of host personnel; in others expatriate personnel had more influence. Despite these variations, she noted that the cases provide insights into management at both the program and project levels. Many of the management experiences they report go beyond the project and address the broader strategies used by country institutions to manage ongoing programs.

White offered views that add validity to our review. She noted that development management is emerging as a pragmatic, conscious field of effort to deal with issues that have been ignored in designing development projects. The CDIE evaluation, she said, emphasizes that development management is a critical, technical variable. How assistance is implemented in the third world is as important as what the resources are spent on. White argues that development management is performed in many different arenas. These include different levels of government--national, regional, or local; different kinds of organizations--public or private; and organizations with different degrees of autonomy. Table 1 lists the different organizational levels from which projects may be directed. The impact that levels of direction have on the nature of management was one of the organizing questions for the development management evaluation; it was given special importance in the case studies and in the computer analysis.

For Dr. Coralie Bryant of American University, development management is a change-oriented field concerned with the managerial, organizational, and institutional dynamics of social change. It is about marshalling resources, deploying them, and following through with error corrections until tasks are completed. In development work, she wrote, management is as much if not more concerned with characteristics such as learning, informing, negotiating, and persuading as it is with classical management concerns such as control. Dr. Bryant reminds us that development management includes both public and private sector management. As nongovernmental organizations come to play ever-increasing roles in the development process, their organizational and managerial skills are also encompassed within development management. Although many of its ideas have classical roots, it is Dr. Bryant's view that development management as a field is in its infancy. She observes that it draws upon and in some respects has grown out of four existing disciplines: (1) political science, (2) international economics, (3) organization and management theory, and (4) sociology/anthropology. Development management is at the intersection of these fields, drawing on and merging findings

Table 1. Levels or Organizational Locations From
Which a Project may be Principally Directed

Formal Government

National government
Decentralized unit of central government
State/provincial governments
Subprovincial/municipal governments

Semi-government

Parastatal organization
Separate authority
University/school/institute
Bank or other financial institution

Semiprivate

Indigenous private voluntary organizations
External private voluntary organizations
Cooperatives/associations

Private Sector

International private sector
National private sector
Local private sector

Traditional Grouping

Pastoral/nomadic
Village/settlements
Household/family

and research from each. Dr. Bryant's paper details how development management has borrowed from each of the these fields. One of the implications of the realization that development management is a specialized field in its own light is that professional preparation is as essential in this field as it is in others; experience in development work does not automatically qualify one to be a development manager.

Institution building or institutional development is a complex concept as well as an intricate process. There are competing perspectives on how to conceptualize it and little agreement on how to bring it about. The AID Policy Paper on Institutional Development does not define the concept but rather lists different kinds of activities that are part of AID's institutional development pillar. Because the subject is being debated within AID and in the academic community, Dr. Bryant was asked by CDIE to clarify the relationship between development management and institutional development.

The principal issue is the meaning of and the relationship between the terms "organization" and "institution." Some use the concepts interchangeably. Others believe that the concepts are different and require separate treatment. An institution, generically, is a pattern of behavior that is valued within a culture. Institutional development, then, is the process of enhancing the capacity of these patterns of behavior to affect development. An organization, generically, indicates the capacity to accomplish goals through collective action within some structure. Bryant states that it is difficult to conceive of providing assistance to institutions (patterns of behavior) without working through organizations. A categorization, for example, of the organizational and institutional components at work within the agriculture and rural development sector in Africa, the focus of this study, illustrates this relationship. Table 2 indicates that institutions are most subject to change via formal organizations or clusters of organizations. No small part of the lack of success of development projects has been the attempt to graft Western concepts of organization and management onto indigenous institutional forms or patterns of behavior, in developing countries when there was no match between the two. Bryant deals at length in her paper with the relationships between development management and institutional development.

4. RELATION TO THE FOUR PILLARS OF AID POLICY

The importance of management as a critical factor affecting the success of development programs has not been sufficiently detailed in AID policy guidelines on its four pillars: institutional development, technology transfer, private sector development, and policy dialogue. Management is, however, the

Table 2. Links Between Organizational and Institutional Components of a Project in the Agriculture Sector

Determinants of Production	Organizational Components	Institutional Components
Prices	Government regulatory bodies Marketing boards Central bank Ministry of Finance Parastatals Public enterprises	Markets Interest rates Subsidies Subsistence agriculture Bazaars
Land	Land resettlement authorities Ministry of Lands National Planning Commission	Communal land practices Chiefs' roles in land adjudication
Labor	Ministry of Labor Unions National Planning Commission	Gender labor practices Urban/rural income differentials Ethnic solidarity Rituals Patron/client relations
Capital	Central bank Credit associations Financial intermediaries	Moneylenders Cattle as savings
Technology	Agricultural/food research organizations Extension systems Transport agencies Public enterprises	Tools and mechanization Draft animals Traditional practices
Terms of Trade	Ministry of Finance Customs unions Ministry of Commerce Exchange rates/ convertibility	Cross-border trade Barter

Source: Coralie Bryant, Development Management and Institutional Development, October 1985, Working Paper for CDIE.

critical factor that links these pillars. Policy reforms, for example, are carried out through organizations. Managerial leadership is the key to making the reforms effective. Decisions on public and private roles in development and their functioning are management decisions. How these decisions are made and carried out are management concerns. The choice and application of technologies are management decisions.

As described in section 3, there is a special relationship between development management and institutional development. This study takes the position that although institutional development is an important goal, it is not an operational concept. Development management, however, comprises methodologies and concepts that can be studied, improved on, and manipulated by development practitioners. Macro-level institution-building goals described in the Institution-Development Policy paper can be achieved by attention to the building blocks that constitute development management.

5. INITIAL CONCENTRATION ON AFRICA

An initial worldwide study of development management would probably have resulted in lessons learned that were too general to be operationally useful. CDIE believed that it would be more productive to take a more limited approach: to learn about specific problems and specific solutions and then to generalize. That is, although management has a measure of universality, development management in developing countries must be tailored to the individual country context. Africa was selected for the first phase because its management problems are the most critical and the results of the study could have an immediate impact. Economic problems in Africa are severe, and it was believed that African governments would be open to suggestions for changes that could lead to improvement.

6. PRIOR AID ACTIVITIES IN DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

This study and the proposed framework for improving project management is built on extensive work already carried out by AID. AID Handbook 3, for example, requires that each Project Paper include an assessment of the administrative capabilities of the host country implementing agency. The Handbook indicates that the assessment should cover issues relating to organization, management, and staffing in areas that would be affected by the proposed AID project. It identifies for attention such management functions as project financial management; local contracting procedures; training of managers, technical personnel and other project counterparts; internal and external reporting; and project operations after AID assistance is terminated.

The Handbook guidelines have been supplemented over the years with policy statements and guidelines for detailed analysis. There has been a Policy Paper on recurrent costs and related financial management issues, a Policy Paper on local government and decentralization, and the 1983 Institutional Development Policy Paper. In 1976, the AID Bureau for Science and Technology issued a Guide for AID Appraisals of the Management Capacity of Host Country Institutions. In 1975 a task force on development administration revised the AID Handbook 3 and raised the Agency's sensitivity to issues of local project management. In 1979, a local revenue project was initiated with Syracuse University to find solutions to recurrent cost issues. AID undertook a project with the Internal Revenue Service to help develop revenue systems and new national revenue policies. Projects were entered into with the University of California to develop guidelines on decentralized government management and with Cornell University to prepare guidelines on local and provincial rural administration.

In 1980, the AID Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination initiated a program to prepare Social and Institutional Profiles for countries receiving assistance through AID. These profiles serve as useful guides for program development and project design. The Bureau for Science and Technology presently is funding a project using the resources of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration and the Development Program Management Center of the U.S. Department of Agriculture to assist overseas AID Missions in resolving development management problems.

Additional work is needed. Not enough AID personnel, for example, are professionally expert as development managers. Currently, not one foreign service officer with specialization in Development Administration, works for AID overseas. Neither AID recruitment efforts nor internal AID training gives sufficient attention to development management skills. The attitudes of AID staff toward local management have been based largely on U.S. requirements rather than host country needs. At the same time, a growing number of local managers have professional training and hands-on experience as managers. One thrust of this study has been how best to ensure that local managers are put into positions of project leadership and are trained to do the development job.

7. SCOPE AND PROCESS OF THE EVALUATION

The conclusions and management framework proposed in this report are based on an 18-month study that included the following:

- A pre-evaluation workshop during which participants defined the scope of work and the field evaluation teams received training
- A computer analysis of completed African projects to broaden knowledge of development management
- Field studies of six successful agriculture and rural development projects in Africa
- A synthesis seminar at which academics, practitioners, and decision-makers reviewed the results of the six field case studies
- Synthesis reports covering key management subjects:
 - Development Management in Africa: Context and Strategy by George Honadle
 - Development Management: Experience with Implementing Agricultural Development Projects by Dennis Rondinelli
 - Development Management and Institutional Development by Coralie Bryant
 - Managing Development Programs: Management Strategies and Project Interventions in Six African Agricultural Projects by Louise White

The product of this effort is, therefore, contained in the six country case studies, four synthesis reports, a computer analysis, and the reports on the preliminary workshop and synthesis seminar. The high points in this process will be briefly discussed; however, the reader is encouraged to read the individual reports.

7.1 Pre-Evaluation Workshop

The initial workshop that helped define the scope of work for the field studies and train the field teams took place in September 1984. CDIE Evaluation Special Study No. 33 reports in detail on that workshop.

7.1.1 Historic Context of Development Management

Dr. Dennis Rondinelli presented a paper showing how institutional and managerial approaches have changed since the 1950s. Although there is no simple continuum to the changes, his paper presented approaches under two major and eight minor

periods. The first major period covers the 1950s and 1960s. He called this the period of technology transfer and management control. This period stressed the role of government in the development process. He distinguished five minor periods:

1. Tool-oriented technology transfer--Transfer of American management technology and management "know-how". One result was the establishment of schools of public administration.
2. Community development movement--Involving people on a community basis in the solution of their problems. AID taught American "democratic processes" as the operating mode. Outside advisers guided the process.
3. Political development and modernization--"Social engineers" believed that the growth process could be directed from the national level to make things happen in a top-down, predetermined way.
4. Institution building--Changes were to be introduced and sustained through improvements in formal institutions, especially governmental and educational institutions at the national level.
5. Project management control systems--Emphasis was on development projects and training of local project managers in American management techniques to direct the project. The project was monitored closely by AID project officers through the use of PERT charts and other control-oriented flow-process systems.

The second major period covers the 1970s and into the 1980s. Rondinelli called it the learning process and local capacity building period. The stress was on the role of the beneficiaries rather than the government. This period had three minor periods:

1. Local action and local capacity building--Technical training of rural beneficiaries and local-level personnel to work directly on their own local development projects.
2. Organizational development and behavioral change--Changing the behavior of village beneficiaries to achieve efficient and effective rural development projects. This was similar to the social engineering approach mentioned above, except that it was to be more locally guided with less "outside" direction.
3. Learning process and bureaucratic reorientation--Only the basic strategy of the development project was to be planned in advance. Village-level beneficiaries were to be provided with the resources and empowered to work out the project details and manage its implementation.

Now, in the second half of the 1980s, we should update Rondinelli's analysis and add a third major management period, one concerned with the management factors resulting from the shift in project management from public sector to private sector institutions.

7.1.2 Economic Context of Development Management

Dr. Jerry Wolgin of the AID Africa Bureau presented a paper to the workshop titled Development Management Amid Economic Crisis. This may have been the most controversial workshop session. Wolgin took the position that economic policy management was the most important factor in development. He played down the importance of institution building and people's capacity to manage. Development managers, he said "are mere mortals in a world where Olympian decisions are made in presidential palaces, finance ministries, and party headquarters." It is his position that in a well-functioning economy, development management is relatively simple. "There is less room for corruption; incentives lead to expected behavior; ...government employees are sufficiently remunerated to enable them to work full time, and so forth. It is when the [macro-] economy is ill-managed that development management becomes difficult. In an environment where goods are rationed, political clout and bashkish [bribery] become the means of allocation; government employees need to spend as much time shopping or moonlighting as they do working; required supplies and equipment are scarce; and farmers are uninterested in becoming involved in the project." Many workshop participants questioned the perspective of this paper. While agreeing with the importance of macroeconomic and macropolitical policy decisions, participants indicated that these alone were not sufficient preconditions for development.

7.1.3 Political Realities of African Development Management

A different perspective was provided by Dr. David Leonard in a paper at the workshop which indicated that attempts to transfer Western managerial technologies to Africa is likely to end in failure. A great deal of thought and experimentation is needed, he said, to find administrative reform and managerial improvements that flow with rather than against the logic of African social reality. Change will only come about gradually and at a cost of difficult changes in USAID management practices as well as in the host countries.

Leonard discussed four different types of management behavior which would have to be affected to achieve sustained change: (1) public policymaking to help development managers plan their course of action; (2) organizational leadership, (3)

internal administrative processes and (4) a concept that he termed "bureaucratic hygiene." The latter concept asserts that whereas "clean" administration may make a management system look good (hygienic), it does not necessarily have an impact on project substance or lead to project success. His paper was not a call to downplay management, but to ensure that any system that is introduced is appropriate to local needs and local abilities to handle.

7.1.4 The Impact of the Sociocultural Context on Development Management

Whereas "social soundness analysis" is a customary component of a project design, Dr. Michael Horowitz of the Institute of Development Anthropology led the discussion of a paper by Philip Boyle on one aspect of the socioinstitutional milieu that has rarely received adequate attention. The Boyle paper reviewed the organizational culture within which projects are implemented. Organizational culture, he stated, as opposed to the more commonly understood concept of ethnic or national culture, "refers to the shared traditions, behavioral norms, and 'stored value systems' of personnel in organizations and institutions. Because neglect of organizational culture is a prime cause of management dysfunction, contributing substantially to overall poor performance of even technically [or economically] sound projects, we need to give it much more attention."

Boyle noted that the typical U.S.-funded development project affects values of at least four sets of organizational components:

- The USAID field Mission
- The host government institution(s) responsible for project implementation
- The American organization (university, private voluntary organization, or business firm) contracted to assist in implementation
- The beneficiary population

Personnel assigned to a new organization arrive carrying their subcultural baggage, replete with values, ideology, career perceptions, educational background, and biases, and may only slowly assimilate the values of the new organization. Unfortunately, institutional analysis of AID projects rarely goes beyond the level of the formal organization chart. Assumptions in Project Papers concerning the ability and willingness of host country personnel to carry out planned functions betray the culture-bound biases of American project designers.

Proper organizational and institutional analysis should do more than delineate formal functions and organizational linkages. "It should carefully examine the cultural characteristics of each of the organizations expected to mesh with all the others in carrying out project objectives. The educational and career backgrounds of key managerial candidates should be appraised, especially where they are to be regrouped in a new, project-specific institution." The organizational context of key beneficiaries, be they village organizations, cooperatives, lineages, or associations, should not be separated from the concept of an overall project implementation organization within which key members of the beneficiary group will play crucial roles in project success or failure.

Boyle wrote that "An organization's culture comprises patterned behavior based on shared, if often unconscious, traditions, values, norms, beliefs, and attitudes. A management, or authority structure, will reward adherence to accepted norms in prescribed ways.... An organization, if it is large enough, may have several, slightly distinct, cultures in its various divisions. Values, or what people consider important, have received relatively little attention in the study of organizational culture; however, they are crucial to an understanding of potential conflicts between the personnel of the various organizations composing the project implementation structure." Horowitz listed 10 major value systems to consider in an organizational and institutional assessment: systems of authority, subordination, status, social distance, business ethics, pressure and pace, jurisdiction, collaboration, structure and order, change and innovation. The final product of this present study will urge that these value systems be taken into account in project design.

7.1.5 Disaggregating Development Management

The central theme of the paper presented by Drs. Norman Uphoff and Milton Esman of Cornell University is that understanding development management in Africa requires making finer distinctions than are now being made. Sub-Saharan Africa is a highly diverse region--culturally, geographically, economically, socially, and politically. Once one begins analyzing the variety of levels, sectors, functions, and objectives of development administration, one may find that "standard" administrative organization and practices are inappropriate for most development purposes.

Uphoff and Esman observed that in the literature on development management, there have been repeated calls for decentralization of government operations to provide more differentiated and responsive services to the public. But even these prescriptions, they note, derive from social and political contexts quite different from those present in most of

Sub-Saharan Africa. The constituent aspects of decentralization--deconcentration and devolution--may not fit the African circumstances as aptly as they apply elsewhere. "Central governments often have little capacity to provide services beyond the main urban centers and little authority to remit or share. On the other hand, there are latent managerial capacities outside government that can be mobilized to support developmental activities in rural areas."

The Uphoff/Esman paper searched for suitable terms to guide African development management. Their approach was to distinguish between state and societal sectors and between national and local levels. In Africa, they said, "most efforts at improving development management have been focused on the state and national ends of the two continua. In fact, for development management to become more broadly effective in Africa, there needs to be more focus on the societal and local ends of each spectrum." Their paper dealt with two structures:

- Administrative structures that can reach down through bureaucratic hierarchies on behalf of the center to the district or subdistrict level and are responsive primarily to the directives of the government.
- Local structures that can reach up from the individual and household level to undertake collective action in response to local needs.

Uphoff and Esman said that an elaboration and meshing of these two sets of structures "holds the key to improved development management. For this to be done effectively requires a systematic understanding of the variations within the administrative and the local realms, so that tasks and capabilities can be disaggregated and matched." Their paper presented a framework for disaggregating development management and explored the problems of each component that are particularly relevant in contemporary Africa. This analysis substantially aided the work of the field teams and is taken into account in our final recommendations.

7.1.6 Other Presentations

Other presentations at the workshop were made on financial management, personnel management, issues of organizational structure and administrative processes, and practical guidelines for assessing and explaining development management performance.

7.2 Computer Analysis of Completed Prospects Projects

The computer-based analysis of 277 successful agricultural and rural development projects in Africa drawn from material in AID's Development Information System (DIS) yielded management findings that should receive further examination. The analysis presented primary and secondary findings. Primary findings were, as follows:

- Even though the preponderance of projects in the sample were aimed at improving the lives of rural populations, few projects were targeted directly at the local or regional levels. Project designers seem to have shown a distinct lack of creativity in choosing implementing agencies. Over the 10-year period covered by the study, just over 50 percent of the projects were managed at the local/village/cooperative/association level. More attention should be given, therefore, to management strategies and enhancement intervention applicable to problems, institutions, and people at the local level.
- Project support activities were a most important administrative constraint to project success. The analysis suggested that improvement of these project-support activities should receive more attention. It confirmed an assumption of the original scope of work that projects cannot be looked on as isolated efforts but that their success depends to a great extent on the environment or context. For instance, distance of the project site from decision-makers and support services must be taken into account in project planning in order to overcome implementation and coordination difficulties.
- The main type of management improvement intervention was technical assistance. This finding may be counterintuitive to those who think that training would be the principal type. This finding may suggest that some attention should be given to determining why training is not used more often. Technical assistance must also be seen by decision-makers and project designers as a capability building intervention as well as a method for accomplishing the substantive goals of a project.
- Formal schooling was the main form of intervention in cases for which training was the principal type of management enhancement. And, within this category, the emphasis on training in Africa seems to be on formal schooling in the larger cities rather than on less-conventional types of training in the rural areas. Again, if African programs are aimed at principally rural and agricultural development, then

training activities should be meshed more closely with the activities and beneficiaries at the local level that they are supposed to support.

- Although management factors in this analysis were judged against the criterion of a "successful" project, a methodological issue is the difficulty of knowing what is a successful project. Data in the DIS were often inconclusive on this point.
- Among the contextual factors that might affect the ability to successfully manage a project, the sociocultural context ranked the highest. Macroeconomic factors which to some might intuitively have seemed to be important, showed up as less important to project evaluator who judged them only as important as the impact of donor procedures. All external influences, as a group, had more responses than internal administrative factors. That is, although internal administrative procedures are important, they cannot be considered without understanding the project's context.
- Human resources factors such as motivation and incentives play a subtle role in project success. However, these cannot be plumbed adequately by a computer analysis. These factors can be understood only after extensive and direct interviews with project personnel and beneficiaries in the field.

Secondary findings based on written comments on project synopses of 63 projects included the following:

- Poor planning was an important management constraint along with overly ambitious project designs that aimed for unrealistic targets in too short a time frame.
- Invalid assumptions and faulty knowledge of socio-economic, cultural, and environmental conditions are management constraint. These included project objectives in conflict with traditional values and environmental conditions.
- The need to actively involve host country personnel in project design and implementation is important if project benefits are to be sustained after donor assistance is terminated.
- Ineffective procurement systems for spare parts and equipment were mentioned as cause for delays that seriously affected implementation. Such low-level operational concerns are too often ignored by project planners who tend to think in macro-level terms.

A general observation is significant. The authors of the computer analysis stated that the analysis did not yield findings that would be surprising or unknown to experienced practitioners in Africa. A conclusion to be drawn from this observations is that because experienced AID officers generally know what the management constraints are, there is something wrong with the "system" that limits the application of this experience.

7.3 The Projects, Findings, and Lessons Learned

This section represents the richness of this study. The preparatory and analytical work for the field studies was certainly essential. A scope of work and issues were needed as a framework for the field studies. The syntheses are also essential as tools for use by future designers and evaluators. But the state-of-the-art and the tools need continuous enrichment and sharpening. The specific management findings and lessons learned from the six cases must be studied in depth to determine where we are now. Additional studies should be undertaken to ensure that our tool continues to have a cutting edge.

The six projects studied under this evaluation are distributed throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. Three are in Anglophone countries, and three are in Francophone countries. Of the six projects, one is in East Africa, one is in southern Africa, and four are in West Africa. The project descriptions that follow for each of the case studies are intended to give the reader some sense of the major activities undertaken. These descriptions are not, of course, expected to summarize, or be a substitute for, a reading of the full case studies. Following the descriptions are the principal management findings and the lessons learned. The findings and lessons learned are presented in a somewhat different format for each case study because each project was somewhat different, as was each field team.

7.3.1 Kenya

Description. The Egerton College Expansion Project in Kenya aimed at upgrading a training institute for agricultural extension agents. Kenyan faculty were sent to the United States to obtain advanced degrees while expatriate technical assistance staff took their places. Infrastructure consisting of a library and two other buildings was built on the Egerton campus. Later, a fourth building was added.

Principal Management Findings. This team stressed findings that contributed to project success. They listed the principal management findings under three subheadings.

1. Project Management

- Determination of Egerton College management not to allow the project to fall into the "active donor/passive recipient" mode
- Small size and stability of the staff at the College
- Match between the management style at Egerton College and the requirements of a diverse and decentralized system of multiple parallel enterprises
- Positive reinforcement of initiative provided by the incentive system within the College and freedom from Ministry of Agriculture interference
- Capacity of top College management to inspire trust among the faculty

2. Characteristics of the Project

- Simplicity
- Widespread understanding of and agreement with project goals within the College
- Extensive experience in the College with the basic activities/skills required for the project (e.g., construction contracting, procurement of equipment, academic performance)

3. Contextual Factors

- Ample financial resources available in both the capital and recurrent budgets, augmented by the windfall provided by devaluation of the Kenyan shilling
- Grant funding of the College budget by the Ministry of Agriculture, along with complete autonomy in using the funds and carrying over unexpended funds into the next fiscal year
- Government guarantees for the supply of students and the demand for graduates

Lessons Learned From the Kenya Case

1. Project Design and Management

- The analysis suggests a relationship between simple, clear, quantifiable goals and project success. The simpler and clearer the project goals, the easier it is to reach consensus on them, to discipline activity around them, and to provide objective criteria for resource allocation.

- Management enhancement takes time--time to train the staff and install the management systems, time to adapt the systems to local needs, and time for staff to become accustomed to them. If a project with an inadequate time frame depends on such management enhancement efforts for its success, the project may not achieve its goals. If a project must be completed within a short time frame, it should be kept simple.
- Management success in rapidly changing circumstances has more to do with the quality of leadership, a general spirit of commitment on the part of its staff, and overall management style within the institution than with specific management reforms or administrative skills.

2. Resource Management

- An environment of fiscal surplus permits management flexibility and innovation. Project design should give more attention to how a surplus condition can be maintained long enough to consolidate management gains.
- Budgeting and financial management systems are less of a constraint in smaller institutions with more personalistic management styles.
- Parastatal status or other semiprivate or private institutional arrangements should be given greater attention in project design.

3. Organizational Structure and Administrative Processes

- Participation in planning by middle-level management and fostering a sense of ownership of the project by beneficiaries can promote high morale and efficacy.
- A shared institutional "doctrine" can help overcome potential problems associated with family, clan, or religious affiliations still very important in Africa.
- Congruence of the interests and incentives of key actors in the project process contributes to rapid and efficient project implementation. A difference in expectations or incentives between host country managers and expatriate technical assistance personnel often creates problems.

4. Human Resources Development

- Educational institutions need to engage continually in analyses of demand for graduates. Efforts to simply increase the supply of graduates, without commensurate measures to ensure postgraduate employment, can lead to a frustrated work force.

7.3.2 Zaire

Description. The North Shaba Rural Development Project in Zaire is located in the southeastern corner of Zaire, 1,000 miles from the capital. This project aims at increasing maize production through the introduction of new technologies, strengthening of local organizations, improvement of farm-to-market roads, and improvement of the grain marketing system. The project was initially implemented through a semi-autonomous project management unit. Responsibility is now being transferred to private sector and village organizations.

Principal Management Findings

1. Project Goals and Objectives

- There has been a lack of concensus among the Government of Zaire, AID, and the contractor on the priority of project goals, that is, whether it was a maize production project or whether it was a rural development project designed to improve farmer income. The original project design was overly complicated if its principal goal was production oriented and inadequate if the principal goal was to achieve long-term, sustainable rural development.

2. Project Sustainability

- Although AID's policy of encouraging the private sector in development appears suitable to Zaire, enforcing of the policy after 6 years of public sector management may not contribute to project sustainability after AID funding ceases.

3. Implementation Agent

- The choice of one contractor for project design and implementation, and the provision of relative independence to that contractor, introduced a third element that may have complicated project management.

4. Contextual Factors Relating to Management

- Given its sociocultural tradition, North Shaba was probably not the best place to attempt a participatory development strategy. One transient and hierarchically structured ethnic group in the project zone did not appear interested in forming cooperative groups. A second ethnic group had difficulty operating outside

established lineage spheres. Choosing one person to rule a group of independent lineages was not looked upon kindly.

- The effectiveness of the project was strengthened by its establishment as a legitimate provider of agricultural services to the local population through the provision of goods and services that visibly met the population's expressed needs.

5. Distance and Isolation

- The project functioned well in a remote, difficult location because of its emphasis on logistics, use of formal and informal communication channels, and specific concern with "creature comforts." The isolation of the project zone was an anticipated management constraint that was faced with specific management attention and extra financial resources.

6. Organizational, Structural, and Institutional Considerations

- The project structure, although internally well administered, did not have important external management linkages.
- The organization of the project as a separate, semiautonomous authority was appropriate to its unique geographic and institutional context. Under its designation from the Ministry of Agriculture, the project was permitted to act with significant authority. It made financial commitments and signed contracts in its own name; maintained bank accounts and collected and dispensed money; negotiated with government and private entities; hired, disciplined, and fired staff; owned and disposed of property; and established its own rules of operation.

7. Administrative Processes

- Project management made an explicit effort to decentralize and delegate authority within the project structure.
- The project responded positively to problems that plagued its information gathering, monitoring, and evaluation activities.

8. Financial Management

- Although financial records and accountability improved over the life of the project, particularly after the project hired an experienced Zairian Deputy Director

for Administration and Finance, the project did not have in-depth information on local currency transactions and was unable to provide reliable financial data for planning and reporting purposes.

9. Logistics and Commodity Management

- Project management responded to the isolation of the project zone and the lack of transportation and communication by giving special management attention to these constraints and using extra resources to ensure their improvement. A key to overcoming these constraints was to recognize them and to exercise creative management to overcome them.

10. Human Resources Development and Management

- Project-zone farmers did not take easily to group actions.
- The Government made a generally successful effort to provide a well-trained, experienced, dedicated, and competent Zairian cadre.

Lessons Learned From the Zaire Case

1. General Lessons

- Complicated technical assistance projects should not be expected to achieve results in unrealistically short time frames. It takes at least a full generation (10-15 years) to create new institutions and teach new management approaches in traditional societies. Simple interventions may be more effective in leading to change within a traditional economy than are more sophisticated institutional and management actions.
- Success breeds success. Some investment in short-term actions that demonstrate productive successes may be a necessary first step to get farmers and government officials to pay attention to suggestions for longer term institutional changes.

2. Contextual Factors Relating to Management

- The existence of multiple goals or purposes should be clearly understood during project design. Priorities among conflicting goals need to be reevaluated

periodically during implementation. Project management should be flexible enough to change its approach to meet changing circumstances.

- Modification of policies midway through a project should be attempted only after careful consideration of their possible impact on a project that was designed in a different policy framework.
- Informal and patron-client relationships can be a particularly positive force in Africa in establishing the legitimacy of a new institution. Careful attention to filling key positions with people of specific tribal or ethnic backgrounds can help establish an organization's legitimacy in a local context.
- Although the traditional sociocultural context in many African countries promotes informal networking as more efficient than establishing new, formal linkages, both are vital for sustaining the impact of a project. The use of informal channels to get things done must be fully understood and appropriately applied, with the caution that it may lead to less attention being paid to longer term institutional development. Understanding the balance between the two is important for development management in Africa.

3. Organizational, Structural, and Institutional Considerations

- AID and the host government should actively monitor contractor responsiveness to host government and AID policies and strategies throughout the design and implementation process. Contractors, no matter how professional and competent, should not be given an entirely free hand in managing projects.
- Various project units engaged in collecting data should communicate with each other, formally and informally. This will allow separate units to complement each other's efforts and help eliminate duplication of activity.
- Low-key project direction may contribute to the motivation of lower level staff and may foster in them a sense of project ownership.

4. Administrative Process Changes

- Positive management of project phasing is important for ensuring project success. Especially in projects in which lead time may be a problem, processes such as the

training of host country personnel and the ordering of equipment should be appropriately related to other project actions.

- Projects located in remote areas should plan well ahead for logistics and communications needs. Such projects should have flexible designs, use informal as well as formal support channels, attend to personal as well as technical and physical support needs, and establish logistics networks in the communities in which they are located.
- Senior management should follow its own recommendations regarding the importance of communications. Staff can become discouraged if information flows only in one direction.
- A project's monitoring and evaluation system should pay attention to its own sources of data. A monitoring and evaluation unit engaged in cost/benefit or cost-effectiveness analyses should be certain that financial accounting and reporting are parts of the data system.

5. Resource Input Management

- Written financial, inventory, and other records are essential for modern, effective project management. On the other hand, for simpler projects, or where financial resources are ample and the need for equipment or commodities is minimal, the level of attention to these management factors should be adjusted.
- Detailed dollar cost and time estimates for specific data collection and analysis activities should be included in the project design. This should mitigate somewhat the "we're going to collect all the data at once" syndrome, which fosters unrealistic expectations.
- Managers should be aware of all project-funding resources and costs. Enhancing a host country's capacity to manage project resources includes the knowledge and monitoring of donor as well as host country funds.

6. Human Resources Management and Behavioral Considerations

- No matter how competent expatriate advisers may be, it is usually better for the long-term sustainability of the project to move local personnel as quickly as possible into senior-level positions.

- AID, contractors, and host government senior management should give careful consideration to establishing not only technical and language qualifications, but also behavioral criteria for recruitment and selection of expatriate personnel.
- Management training for host government staff should be considered in any technical development program.

7.3.3 Senegal

Description. The Bakel Small Irrigated Perimeters Project in Senegal is attempting to diversify agricultural production and reduce the risk of drought in this Sahelian country. The project, implemented through a sub-national parastatal organization (SAED), focuses on riverine areas. Training of farmer groups plays a major role in the effort, and the phase-out of parastatal responsibilities and the build-up of local organizational responsibility are planned.

Major Management Findings

1. Sociocultural

- The ethnic groups in the Bakel area have a tradition of outward orientation, which is unusual in rural Africa and has had a positive impact on project implementation. AID could not have picked a better socioeconomic site for the project.

2. Policy

- The project received the support of the farmer producers in the area. This conferred local legitimacy on the project, which proved critical for its success.

3. Organization and Structure

- The loosely structured and distant relationship between AID and the project implementation agency (SAED) fostered SAED "ownership" of the project. The Government of Senegal and SAED policies now support transferring this ownership to farmer organizations.

4. Administrative Processes

- Social associations, although varying considerably in terms of roles and strengths, tend to provide a focus

for self-selected participants to cooperate in decisions necessary to support the project objectives. Administratively, they serve an important function in terms of planning, executing, and monitoring individuals' contributions.

5. Resource Input Management

- The key problem for the future of the project is financial sustainability. USAID funding will cease when the project terminates, and SAED already has funding shortfalls. Unless arrangements are made to have farmers repay their credit more fully and promptly, SAED will find it difficult to keep the project financially viable.

6. Human Resources Development

- Training has been increasingly effective, providing managers with knowledge, skills, and orientation to carry out their roles. This has been more the case with SAED mid-level staff than with farmer managers. Participant training was not an integral component in the project, but evolved as the need became apparent. Despite these shortcomings, training appears to have contributed to sustained participation by key personnel at the bureaucratic and farmer levels.

Lessons Learned From the Senegal Case

- Project designers should carefully assess the sociocultural and economic characteristics of the target population. A project that is considering the introduction of a new technology may have more success if it starts in an area where the people are more open to change and have experience with a culture outside of the village.
- Project financial and economic analyses should try to assess all remittances and external dependencies in determining financial flows.
- Appropriate government policy changes may be necessary to enable target populations to participate effectively in project decision-making. Although a project may be performing well in the field, if national or regional policies (e.g., pricing) are inappropriate, the incentives may be inadequate for sustainability.

- A "hands-off" or detached approach to a project by a donor can be an effective management policy under certain conditions. If the host country staff is adequately trained, a loose management style can foster a sense of "ownership" of the project by this staff. This sense of ownership is essential for sustaining key project efforts after donor funding ceases.
- A strategy in which local organizations participate in project direction will benefit by building on indigenous structures and practices. Allowing the organization to choose its own officers and management style may foster organizational, and hence project, viability.
- Farmer repayments of debt may be a protracted process. Management entities must begin early to encourage and enforce repayment before delinquencies become overwhelming. Moving agricultural credit from a subsidized to a commercial status may be necessary for the long term, despite short-term setbacks.
- A strategy fostering beneficiary management requires concomitant and comprehensive training. Providing responsibility with little means to exercise it may prove frustrating and unproductive. A carefully designed and executed training program can help build a sense of beneficiary ownership and support of project objectives.

7.3.4 Lesotho

Description: The Land Conservation and Range Development Project in Lesotho aims at reversing soil erosion and range deterioration while improving economic opportunities available through the productive use of livestock. The project uses a two-pronged approach to the problem. First, training and staffing a conservation and range management division within the Ministry of Agriculture provides an organizational base for addressing the national problem. Second, the establishment of a pilot grazing area to build a range management association provides a means for implementing policy and testing field approaches.

Major Management Findings

1. General

- The project is making an invaluable contribution to institution building through the training of a counterpart staff. At the field level, the project has produced visible results that have won praise from farmers.

2. Management Structure and Process: The National Level

- The project is integrated into the Ministry of Agriculture. Technical assistance staff make effective use of formal and informal channels of communication. Using informal channels they have conveyed to key decision-makers policy and regulatory recommendations on sensitive management issues. Individual Technical assistance staff have moved from direct line positions to assume advisory and facilitative roles. This has resulted in a greatly enhanced Ministry of Agriculture technical capacity by increasing the number of trained national staff.

3. Management Structure and Process: The Local Level

- At the local level, traditional sources of authority are strong and can impede implementation. Reluctance to implement grazing regulations is partly due to the allegiance of the rural population to traditional authority. The technical assistance field staff has responded by adopting a directive managerial style, imposing decisions that the local grazing association cannot make. Necessary functions are thus performed, but the capacity of the grazing association to act as a decision-making management unit remains in doubt.

4. Administrative Culture and Decision-Making

- Local value systems influence civil service administration. The traditional practice, for example, of deciding through consensus is a time-consuming process that has carried over into government and helps explain why decision-making is often slow.

5. Implication for the Future

- The regional and local range and grazing associations are unlikely to continue without leadership from an external source that can shoulder the blame for

unpopular decisions. The unique conjunction of favorable circumstances that helps sustain the regional association makes it a poor choice for replication.

Lessons Learned From the Lesotho Case

- Interactions between technical assistance staffs and host country people through formal and informal channels and at different hierarchical levels can be instructive to project counterparts. Such interactions serves the purpose of institution building.
- Where returned participants are frequently promoted into administrative or management positions, additional training that combines technical and managerial training is desirable.
- Training should be extended beyond government counterparts to include participants who could play important roles in sustaining project interventions.
- When surplus funds are available, management decisions to provide additional training for host country staff and avoid recurrent cost generation can promote long-run development capacity.
- Project design should allow for budget flexibility.
- Rigorous financial management systems may not necessarily be an important determinant of project success.
- A project that introduces new techniques of resource management must walk a tightrope. On the one hand, it must co-opt local authority figures. On the other, it must play the role of adversary or scapegoat to relieve local organizations of responsibility for unpopular decisions.
- Field level independence allows quick, flexible responses within the local milieu in which project activities are carried out.
- Project efforts to introduce new techniques of resource management must be supported by relevant institutions with both policy and regulatory responsibilities at national and local levels.
- A local organization established by a project to control resource allocation must have supportive linkages to preexisting legitimate institutions.

- Physical and functional integration of a project into an existing institution can strengthen institutional capacity.
- Effective use of informal communication channels may be an important key to successful project performance.
- Different project components, different levels of focus, and different periods of implementation may require different management styles.
- During early phases of implementation the delivery of quick, obvious results may be important for local creditability, but is not indicative of long-run sustainability.
- Circumstances favorable to a project's success may be ones that argue against its replicability.

7.3.5 Niger

Description. The Niamey Department Development Project in Niger uses different line agencies at the sub-national level to develop and extend technical packages and to increase food production. In addition to raising production, the project is expected to improve existing technical services and the linkages among them. Project funding is used to augment ongoing efforts of the line agencies.

Major Management Findings

1. Organizational Context and Culture

- The different line ministries and the technical services that fall under their authority operate within separate domains. Horizontal integration does not occur, and active collaboration among them is not encouraged.
- Power and authority are concentrated at national and regional levels. Communication patterns within ministries and their respective services are characterized by unidirectionality (from the top down) of initiatives. In the case of information flow, there is an upward movement only of minimally interpretive details. Initiatives from lower levels of organization are rarely rewarded and rarely taken.

- The execution of orders is rewarded. The integration and commitment of technical services required for the successful operation of large regional development projects is problematic. Each service follows its own agenda based on an annual plan. Overall goals that orient specific technical interventions are rare.

2. Improved Production Techniques

- Despite general recognition of their weakness, the approved agricultural technical packages available are promoted by the project. To do otherwise would require that the project duplicate the functions of the Agriculture and Research Services of the Ministry of Agriculture.

3. The Institutional Framework of the Project

- The capacity of the project to enhance resource management is limited by other institutions that are linked to the project. Of particular importance are linkages with USAID, the Ministry of Rural Development, department-level political authorities, and the technical services.

4. Resource Management

- Fiscal accountability has become more rigorous in the project, and considerable staff time was required to satisfy Inspector General requirements. However, it is far from clear how this financial rigor has promoted the achievement of the project's substantive objectives.
- Broad institution building seems to have been eclipsed by other, perhaps more narrow, management priorities such as accounting control.

5. Organizational Structure and Institutional Issues

- There is no formal coordination by the project director of the project's various component activities. Any collaboration among section heads occurs through informal links. The working linkages within the project strongly resemble the weak links that are typical among other Government of Nigeria services. This weakness has contributed to lack of project success.

6. Administrative Process Issues

- One factor contributing to the slowness in adjusting the technical packages to field conditions is institutional inertia. A homogeneous technical package

is easier to plan, implement, and follow up. There is less room for interpretation on the part of workers, hence fewer chances for error--and learning. Unfortunately, ease of management by project personnel does not necessarily coincide with effectiveness of the techniques being promoted, or with the enhancement of resource management among project zone producers.

- An improved system for project planning, monitoring, and evaluation has been introduced that will allow better coordination of project planning. Information on individual components will be available to all section heads. The success of this innovation will depend heavily on support and guidance from the project director. That is, measures to improve internal management are subject to the influence of the project director's management style.

7. Resource Input Issues

- Improvements have been made in the management of project resources. Accounting practices have been improved: a system of account books has been introduced, records are kept more satisfactorily, and periodic reporting will soon be possible.
- The project is making an important contribution to enhancing development management at local levels, but rural populations do not yet appear ready to assume the increasing number of responsibilities they are being offered.

8. Human Resources Development

- The project is seeking to enhance rural development management resources through training seminars for a cadre of rural development services. These have provided a supportive setting for collective approaches to problem solving. Unfortunately, the participants return to authority and decision-making contexts that are different from what they have learned. If rural development agents in Niger appear to accord little value to teamwork, for example, it is because they have been socialized to do so from very early in their careers.
- Direct farmer training is based on the assumption that the improved techniques being taught will help peasant cultivators to better manage their labor and land resources. In practice this has not occurred because

the technical packages are not an improvement and because other constraints, not addressed by the package, are operative.

Lessons Learned From the Niger Case

1. Contextual Issues

- Under conditions of minimal horizontal integration among government services responsible for project implementation, and where control over resources is limited, expectations for commitment to project goals must be modest.
- Large, multifaceted rural development projects dictate that inordinate attention be focused on means (i.e., accountability) at the expense of ends--project goals. This is particularly the case when goals are essentially qualitative.

2. Organizational Structure and Institutional Issues

- A project strategy that seeks to improve local management capacities within existing government technical services structures rather than by creating new structures that parallel existing technical services pays a price in reduced effectiveness of implementation.
- Government technical services responsible for implementing project programs should be given a greater stake in the outcome of the project through a role in the formulation of project goals and annual work plans and through greater control over resources.
- Personality characteristics and management styles of project directors critically influence morale and integration of project participants at all levels of operation. A director whose style is open and supportive of staff can have an important positive impact on management enhancement efforts.

3. Administrative Process Issues

- Responsiveness of project extension techniques to varying conditions in the project zone requires regular feedback from people trained by the project on the content of their training.

4. Resource Input Issues

- Attention to the allocation of material resources for purposes of accountability must not occur at the expense of attention to the development of the personnel who manage these resources.
- Project interventions should include systematic followup and support for the activities of beneficiaries.

5. Human Resources Development Issues

- Projects that seek to enhance farm-level capacity for resource management through training in innovative techniques of production must (1) understand the constraints faced by project zone populations, (2) critically examine all national extension models in light of this understandings, and (3) verify that project interventions address the constraints of project zone populations and enhance rather than constrain local management capacity.

7.3.6 Liberia

Description. In Liberia, a sequence of two projects, the Agriculture Development Program and the Agriculture Sector Analysis and Planning Project, has focused on upgrading the capacity within the Ministry of Agriculture to conduct sector analyses and use those data for planning purposes. The projects are within the Ministry of Agriculture at the national level. Training and technical assistance form the core of the Monrovia-based projects.

Major Management Findings:

1. Contextual Factors

- The flexibility to modify implementation strategies is important in planning projects so that project activities can be adjusted to cope with unanticipated constraints or to capitalize on unexpected opportunities. This is especially true in highly unstable project environments.

2. Technology Transfer

- The underlying assumptions of purposive and economic rationality in planning projects are untenable for many

developing countries. As a result, initial project objectives may be difficult or impossible to achieve. In such instances, a more flexible strategy is needed.

- Sector planning requires host country political commitment. If sector planning is to improve the management of available resources and maximize returns to investments, economic and other types of analyses produced on the basis of the sector strategy cannot be consistently ignored by political leaders and other decision-makers.
- State-of-the-art, sophisticated technologies should be avoided when the objective is to develop information systems that the host country must support. Simple, low-cost techniques that are adequate to get the job done should be developed first. More sophisticated techniques to improve data quality for some other aspect of data collection, processing, or analysis can be introduced on a pilot basis.
- Management demands created by technology transfer need to be anticipated. Developing an adequate technical understanding of techniques and methods of data collection and analysis is not sufficient for institutionalizing information systems. Management requirements (e.g., supervision, coordination of information needs) must be within the capacity of the recipient institution.
- Continuity of technical assistance is essential. Discontinuity in providing technical assistance quickly undermines project accomplishments. Adequate time must be provided for recruiting advisers.
- Leadership facilitates technology transfer and institution building. Leadership skills are needed by host country managers as well as technical advisers to significantly advance the attainment of institution-building objectives.
- Projects that attempt to improve the performance of an institution through improved information systems tend to overlook the management demands of such projects and focus on the technical demands. Management skills should be considered when recruiting technical advisers for planning projects.
- Agricultural planning projects are high-risk activities. Managing agricultural planning projects

requires managing uncertainty: there is no guarantee that workable and acceptable investment strategies will be identified.

3. Human Resources Development

- Flexibility is essential when designing training plans to strengthen institutional capacities.
- When training is provided for a core group of long-term or short-term participants as an institution-building activity, management training should be included in the curriculum even when the principal objective is to develop technical skills.
- Greater emphasis should be placed on in-country and short-term training for government workers rather than on long-term participant training. This approach can minimize increased workloads for the remaining staff, permit the office to continue to function, and produce immediate improvements in office performance.
- Work assignments that challenge an individual's skills and tap that person's intellectual interests can serve as incentives, at least temporarily, when financial rewards are lacking.

4. Organization, Structure, and Institutional Considerations

- Developing the capacity to manage sector planning requires a long-term initiative in institution building in order to develop appropriate staffing patterns, management skills, and administrative procedures.
- Changes in policies and planning strategies require corresponding modifications in organizational structure and management arrangements to implement new policy and planning objectives.
- Effective management requires adequate funding. Without access to at least some discretionary resources, managers, become administrators of activities that are controlled outside the institution.
- Technical and organizational emphases should be balanced. Emphasis on technical requirements of planning projects should not occur at the expense of organizational or managerial requirements, and vice versa.

5. Administrative Process Change

- Effective administrative systems are necessary to capitalize on technical capabilities. The effects of improved technical capabilities and organizational streamlining are diminished when the institution lacks adequate administrative systems. Such systems are necessary to provide overall coordination and direction of divisions within the institution.

6. Resource Input Management

- Logistical and commodity requirements for sector planning should be covered by project funds for countries facing severe economic constraints. Such costs need to be fully recognized, and project funds must be available to meet those costs until the host country can assume them.

8. PRACTICAL LESSONS FOR DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT:
THE RONDINELLI SYNTHESIS

Dr. Rondinelli attempted to synthesize the management lessons learned from and the management strategies applied in the six cases in a way that would make it most useful for project designers. Rondinelli's synthesis, summarized below, is divided into the following major categories: policy, design, context, and organization and administration.

8.1 Policy Factors

1. The policies of national governments and international assistance agencies play an important role in identifying problems and opportunities for intervention. Policies play an important role in project design by providing parameters for the definition of goals and purposes and for the selection of inputs and outputs. They reflect and help shape the environment in which the projects will be carried out.

2. Provisions should be made to introduce policy changes in early negotiations with host country governments, in "conditions precedent" to loans, and in performance criteria that must be met before aid funds are released during project implementation.

3. Project designs must be flexible enough to allow for redefinition of the basic strategies for project implementation should national policies change drastically.

4. Projects, in turn, can have a strong influence on government policies and programs. Projects can influence the ways in which government officials think about and deal with problems. Attention should be given in the design and management of projects to ways in which they can bring about policy changes that enhance and sustain the project's outputs.

8.2 Design Factors

1. Project implementation is influenced by AID and host country government procedures for formulating, designing, and approving projects. Project design is clearly affected by government policies and by contextual factors. The failure of project designers to understand these factors adequately can adversely affect a project's outcome. One result can be to restrict the actions of managers and organizations responsible for implementation.

2. To the extent possible, project goals should be kept simple and discrete. Attempts should be made to design a project as an incremental series of tasks that can be accomplished within existing or easily expandable management capacity.

3. When problems or systems that must be dealt with are complex and multifaceted, when discrete interventions cannot be identified in advance of implementation, or when multiple interests cannot easily be accommodated, goals must be defined more broadly and refined incrementally.

4. Most of the factors affecting project implementation, particularly in complex projects, cannot be predicted accurately during the design phase, especially if there is a long time gap between design and activation. Even exhaustive feasibility analyses and comprehensive planning cannot anticipate changes in policy, contextual, and management conditions that will affect the project's outcome. Nor can they accurately identify potential problems and opportunities or predict with certainty the behavior of participants and beneficiaries. Therefore, project designers should provide overall strategies for implementation and leave the choice of tactics to the project's managers who will be held accountable for the results.

5. Designers should attempt to tailor the project as closely as possible to local conditions and needs, even if this reduces the potential for widespread replication.

6. Because inputs cannot always be identified accurately prior to a project's activation, sufficient flexibility must be allowed to change the inputs during implementation as deficiencies or new needs are discovered. Some discretionary funds should be provided to allow project managers to respond to changing needs during implementation.

7. Project designs should not only include inputs that are directly related to the achievement of project outputs, but also those that indirectly affect implementation by establishing the project's legitimacy and creating support among potential participants and beneficiaries.

8. Some inputs should be included that provide quick, visible results in order to meet the immediate needs of participants and beneficiaries, as well as inputs for achieving longer term, more fundamental changes.

8. There should be sufficient flexibility in project designs to allow development managers to adapt and adjust inputs and outputs during implementation after experience has been gained from project activities.

8.3 Contextual Factors

1. National economic and political conditions have a strong impact on implementation. The constraints and opportunities they create must be taken into account by planners and managers.

2. Environmental conditions help shape the perceptions of planners and managers about problems and opportunities during the design phase and throughout implementation.

3. Local social and cultural environments and traditional institutions and practices create parameters within which development managers and technical assistance advisers must work and make changes. Traditional institutions and practices can be obstacles that managers must overcome in order to achieve their goals, or they can be useful vehicles for local participation in development activities.

4. When traditional institutions and practices clash with modern management needs, development managers must make difficult choices about which social and cultural factors they will attempt to change and which they must accommodate.

5. The degree to which host country governments support projects influences their implementation. Where host country support is strong, it usually contributes to more successful

implementation. The lack of support--or, more frequently, weak support--often has deleterious effects, although strong local leadership and effective internal management can sometimes overcome these problems. In the long run, however, projects depend on financial resources, political commitment, personnel, supplies, and other inputs from government agencies. When they are not forthcoming, the capacity of development managers to achieve the project's objectives is undermined. Provisions should be made in the design of projects and in project agreements for identifying the inputs that will be needed from host country organizations and for monitoring their delivery.

6. Environmental and contextual factors often cannot be changed easily. However, they must at least be understood so that projects can be managed effectively within existing constraints and so that appropriate strategies for coping with them can be developed.

8.4 Organizational and Administrative Factors

8.4.1 Organizational Structure

1. The organizational "culture" in African countries rarely conforms to Western images of efficient and rational procedures. Rarely are development projects able to change the local culture sufficiently to enable foreign methods and techniques to work as effectively as outsiders think they should. Organizational structures and arrangements for development management must be clearly understood by development planners and managers before changes are prescribed.

2. An appropriate organizational structure for a project is crucial to its success. In some cases strengthening existing organizations is most effective; in other cases, new or parallel organizations must be created to overcome constraints and obstacles to change.

3. Although some degree of centralization and hierarchy characterizes most development institutions, decentralized organizational structures seem to be more effective in devolving responsibility and authority to levels where decisions should be made, in strengthening administrative capacity at middle levels of management, in keeping organizations more responsive to clients and beneficiaries, and in developing a sense of ownership among project staff and participants. Often decentralized organizations can discern changes in their environment more easily, provide better feedback to top management, and elicit the participation of beneficiaries, especially in remote areas.

4. Organizational and institutional development achieved by strengthening existing or parallel project implementation organizations and by increasing the capacity of beneficiary groups to participate in project planning and implementation is a major determinant of whether benefits are sustained after foreign assistance ends.

5. Organizational changes required to achieve project goals must be deliberately planned and carried out as part of project design and implementation. It cannot be assumed that organizational reforms will occur automatically as the result of policy changes or technical activities.

6. Tradeoffs must often be made in the design phase between the resources that will be devoted to achieving substantive objectives and those that will be committed to achieving management reforms. When strategies are not well developed for both sets of activities, the attention given to one will often be at the expense of the other.

7. Sufficient flexibility must be given to development managers to make changes in organizational structures and institutional arrangements during a project's implementation. Often the impact of organizational structure cannot be accurately predicted during the design phase, and changes in leadership, resources, environment and policies can all affect the efficiency of the project implementing agency.

8. Supportive linkages between project organizations and others in its operating environment are essential for successful implementation. However, project organizations that have a high degree of autonomy and independence in decision-making and control over resources and operations seem to be more successful than those that are under the close control of central bureaucracies. An appropriate balance between independence and accountability must be struck in designing organizational and institutional structures for implementation.

9. Informal networks of cooperation and interaction are as important as formal organizational linkages. Development managers must give adequate attention to informal processes of interaction with higher level bureaucracies, vertical organizations, and beneficiary groups if project objectives are to be achieved effectively.

10. Projects that are located in remote or isolated areas require a large amount of autonomy, independence, and control over their own resources in order to respond effectively to local needs and demands. However, they also need adequate financial, technical, and logistical support from external organizations if they are to operate efficiently under hardship conditions.

11. Coordination among government agencies and private organizations is an essential feature of almost all development projects, but it depends more on the creation of incentives for coordination than on formal requests or orders to cooperate.

12. Sustaining the benefits of development projects depends on building local and national institutions capable of making decisions, allocating and using resources, and managing their own development activities effectively after project implementing organizations terminate their operations. Planning for the transition from temporary project organization to sustainable institution is an important component of development management.

13. The USAID Mission's relationship to the host country project organization should be supervisory and supportive. But if institutional development and sustainability are important goals, then USAID should not attempt to intervene too directly in the ongoing operations. The USAID Missions' role should be to develop a sense of ownership and responsibility in the implementing organization.

8.4.2 Administrative Procedures and Practices

1. Although formal administrative procedures can solve many administrative problems encountered during implementation, they alone cannot ensure a project's success. Their effective use depends in part on an appropriate organizational structure and motivated leadership within the implementing organization.

2. The adoption of new administrative procedures and practices often requires organizational reforms or changes in leadership style, and such a possibility should be assessed before new systems are prescribed.

3. Appropriate informal and indigenous administrative procedures may work as well if not better than formal systems when projects have strong leadership and committed staff.

4. Internal administrative systems should change as organizations expand, take on new responsibilities, and become proficient in the use of modern administrative procedures and practices.

5. Administrative procedures and practices should provide guidance and direction without controlling in detail every aspect of decision-making. Sufficient latitude must exist to permit managers staff to exercise for creativity and innovativeness in response to change and uncertainty.

Administrative systems must balance flexibility for managers to respond to complex and uncertain conditions with accountability for achieving development goals.

6. Monitoring and feedback are essential to successful project implementation, especially if a learning approach to project design and management is used.

7. AID's administrative requirements can be obstacles to the effective implementation of development projects when standardized practices are indiscriminantly applied in all countries.

8.4.3 Management of Resource Inputs

1. If achievement of project goals is dependent on the distribution of large amounts of supplies and equipment, then appropriate commodity procurement, storage, inventory, and distribution systems must be established quickly if other components of the project are to be implemented effectively.

2. Although some form of financial management system can enhance a development organization's capacity to implement projects, elaborate procedures or Western-style practices are not usually a precondition for success. Some projects are quite successful using indigenous or rudimentary procedures that are sometimes not considered adequate by AID. However, financial management problems can arise from attempts by donor agencies to impose their own accounting and reporting standards.

3. Management of the technology transfer process is important for effective implementation of AID-funded projects because most have a technological component. However, other factors such as leadership, commitment, a sense of ownership, and participation by beneficiaries can be as important--if not more crucial--than the kind of technology that is transferred.

8.4.4 Human Resources Management

1. Strong leadership is a necessary condition for successful project management. Other factors generally cannot compensate for weak or inappropriate leadership. Therefore, before a project is activated serious attention must be given to recruiting and retaining strong leaders for project management positions.

2. The legitimacy, acceptance, and support of a project depend heavily on the motivation, commitment, and responsiveness of project managers to the needs not only of the beneficiaries but also of their own staff and of personnel in other organizations who can support or create obstacles to achieving a project's goals.

3. The degree to which projects and programs are successful in promoting institutional development depends in large measure on whether managers and staff take an active role in managing and controlling the project rather than passively leaving implementation to technical assistance advisers and the donor organization.

4. Different types of leadership styles are appropriate to different situations and phases of a development project or program. In some situations, charismatic, visible, and dynamic leaders are most effective; in others, collegial, low-key, and participatory styles of leadership are most appropriate. Adequate means must be developed to assess leadership impacts on a project during implementation and to replace managers who are not providing appropriate leadership and direction.

5. Leadership must be developed throughout a project implementing organization, not only among top managers or administrators but also among staff. The motivation, commitment, and responsiveness of staff in pursuing development goals depend to a large degree on the incentives offered to act creatively in dealing with problems and exploiting opportunities. Leadership training should be given to managers at various levels of responsibility within implementing units.

6. Participation by relevant government agencies, project staffs, private organizations, and beneficiary groups in the planning and management of development projects not only leads to more successful implementation, but often makes it easier to sustain benefits after external financial and technical assistance ends.

7. Participatory planning and management procedures can foster commitment and a sense of ownership among the major "stakeholders" in development projects and programs. These processes can also yield important information about stakeholders' needs and desires and about the problems and opportunities with which managers must cope.

8. Training is one of the most effective means of increasing managerial capacity for project implementation and of sustaining benefits, but it must be appropriate to local needs and requirements.

9. A wide variety of training modes must be considered in project design and implementation. Informal, short-term, on-the-job, demonstrative, participatory, and formal domestic and overseas educational programs all have advantages and limitations for different groups at different times during the life of a project. Reliance on only formal overseas training may be inappropriate for a wide variety of development managers' needs.

10. Managerial and technical training must be combined if the administrative capacity in implementing organizations is to be improved over the life of a project. Personnel who are trained only in technical specializations often are not adequately prepared to deal with the managerial problems that inevitably arise. Nor are they adequately prepared for the professional mobility and advancement that is often the result of successfully completing technical training.

11. Management training programs should extend beyond the usual exposure to formal systems, procedures, and techniques. They should also develop skills in problem-solving, policy analysis, leadership, learning processes, social and cultural assessment, organizational analysis, informal interaction, negotiation, participatory administration, and other areas that will enhance the ability of managers to cope with the variety of factors that influence the implementation of development activities.

12. Training opportunities should be provided to staff at all levels within development organizations if new behavior and skills are to be institutionalized, as well as to beneficiary and support groups whose behavior and skills affect the implementation of programs and projects.

13. Training programs must be sensitive to the constraints on change arising from local social traditions, culture, politics, and technology in the areas where development managers work. Training that exposes them to new forms of behavior, values, and practices is often ineffective unless organizational changes are made in their home agencies that allow them to apply their newly learned attitudes and skills. Training is most effective when designed in a specific organizational context or combined with organizational development activities.

14. Training provided early in the life of development projects should be aimed at improving the capacity of host country personnel to take responsibility for project management and for internal training.

15. Long-term overseas training should be carefully planned to meet the needs of indigenous development organizations and carefully monitored by the donor agencies and

leaders of the organizations from which the trainees come. Periodic visits and frequent correspondence by top-level managers, periodic progress reports from trainees, and assessments from the institutions providing the training are all effective means of supervising and monitoring the training of personnel in overseas programs.

16. Training programs should be designed to ensure that they contribute to institution building as well as to individual professional development.

17. High turnover rates among staff and leaders seriously weaken project implementation. Stability in personnel assignments of technical assistance advisers, project staff, and host country counterparts is essential for effective project management. Financial, professional, and career mobility incentives must be designed into a project if it is to be able to recruit and retain good staff. Innovations such as dual technical and administrative promotion and pay tracks may be necessary to keep good technical and managerial staff.

18. Special attention must be given to providing adequate resources, facilities, and inducements to attract and retain good staff in projects located in remote or isolated rural areas.

9. PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF A DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK

The results of this study suggest a framework for analyzing development management. There are several reasons why this framework should be explicitly delineated. First, the findings and lesson of the case studies constitute little more than individual insights on unique experiences unless the lessons can be systematically compared. An overall framework will help clarify the assumptions and implications about the role of management that are only implicit in the cases. Second, by using a framework in examining the lessons of the case studies, these lessons can then be used to refine the framework further, to make its details more accurate, and to show how the parts fit together to make the whole framework work. Third, the framework can be used to organize the findings of the African case studies and to structure evaluation studies in other developing regions. This would extend the value of the African cases as sources of more general insight into project management approaches.

This proposed framework contains five sets of management "factors" that have proven to be dominant in the management of development projects in Africa. In addition, five crosscutting "themes" are proposed that characterize the dynamics of the

management process in developing countries. Within this system of factors and themes are guidelines for management strategies appropriate to particular projects. It is also possible to categorize interventions that have been used to enhance the capacity of country managers and institutions to carry out the management strategy.

9.1 Management Factors Included in a Project Management Strategy

The essential contribution of this study is to the creation of a framework of management factors that articulate well with one another. Not all parts are equally important, and some factors affect project management differently in different projects. A principal lesson is that development managers must be aware of and cope with all factors, at least to some degree. All the factors and the relationships among them should be given some attention. The five sets of management factors are discussed below.

9.1.1 Program Policy and Project Design

Country program and project managers are ordinarily given basic policy mandates or project design goals to carry out. Project managers must, however, reconfirm these policies, and, in almost all cases, they have some discretion over how these mandates and project goals will be implemented locally. There is, therefore, an important set of development management factors relating to redesigning, reshaping, and redirecting the original mandate when preparing the project implementation plan. The following are four subfactors of this process:

- Defining problems, forming long-term policies, and establishing priorities and short-term targets
- Determining goals, purposes, objectives, and benchmarks
- Determining the nature, feasibility, and availability of resources for interventions
- Developing and maintaining commitment to goals and objectives

9.1.2 Leadership, Management Style, Personnel Resource Management

Central to program and project management is the style of the managers, their manner of relating to others, and their ability to energize staff and mobilize supporters outside of the organization. Development takes place in cultural settings where value systems are often different from our own. Strategies for changing local behaviors, therefore, require special attention. Local managers--their reactions and performance--must be addressed. The major subfactors are the following:

- Leadership identification
- Management staff roles, relationships, and responsibilities
- Incentives, reward systems, and penalties
- Negotiating techniques and conflict resolution
- Local problem-solving approaches
- Control and influence
- Political support

9.1.3 Organizational and Institutional Arrangements

This set of management factors addresses how an organization is structured to deliver its services or perform its activities. How hierarchical is the organization to be, for example, or how decentralized? Is it organized around specializations or around more general-purpose units? Managers usually have some influence over not only the internal organizational structures but also the relationships of their organization to the external structures that support it. This requires consideration of the formal and informal working relationships among organizations to which the project relates. At the very least, managers of development projects have to decide whether and how a project should be implemented at the national, regional, or local level and how the project should be linked to private and community organizations. The management subfactors are the following:

- Linkages with external organizations for coordination
- Institutional capabilities, program roles, and responsibilities
- Internal project organizational structure, functions, and priorities
- Authority and decision-making

9.1.4 Internal Administrative Processes, Operations, and Systems

Once project objectives have been established and the resources to carry them out have been obtained, once a structure of functions that relates these objectives has been defined, and once people have been recruited and trained to work within the structure, it then becomes necessary to establish procedures and processes to help people and structural units to interface with one another. The management processes important to include in this process are the following:

- Financial resource issues and techniques, including budgeting, accounting, and auditing
- Commodity, supply, and logistics management
- Purchasing and other contract management
- Data collection, reporting, information flows, and internal control mechanisms
- Monitoring and evaluation

9.1.5 Local Contextual Factors Affecting Project Success

There are factors outside the boundaries of the development project that provide the intellectual, policy, and physical settings within which the project operates. These contextual and environmental factors are usually beyond the control of the manager, but the manager must consider them in order to make internal adjustments to project components. The manager must ensure that the project is appropriate to these contextual factors and works within or around any contextual constraints rather than head on. Our study indicates, unfortunately, that American experts working overseas are often more concerned with AID's own management needs and tend to be insufficiently sensitive to local contextual needs. The framework proposed herein gives explicit attention to at least the following contextual factors:

- Project technology
- Geography, climate, and other physical environments
- Economic situation and resource availability
- Sociocultural and historical influences

- Donor policies, procedures, and capabilities
- Political system and philosophy

9.2 Management Dynamics and Crosscutting Themes Included in a Management Strategy

There are dynamics to the management of agricultural and rural development projects in African countries that have an impact on the management factors mentioned above and that may make the management requirements of these projects somewhat different from those of other sectoral development activities in other developing countries. A major management system improvement proposed in the original scope of work for the field studies is the addition of dynamic crosscutting themes to the system. Five themes have been identified.

9.2.1 Short-term Productivity versus Long-Term Sustainability

Contradictions may exist between the need for short-term production or delivery of goods and services and the need for longer term viability or sustainability of institutions that provide these goods and services. That is, should the project management strategy be to achieve quick, productive goals or to achieve longer term, indigenous capacity and institution building? Perhaps the former strategy should be followed during the early stages of the project and the latter strategy toward the end of the project. Alternatively, two separate projects might be developed--first an institution-building project to establish a research and training institute and then a project, to improve production and marketing. Whatever the strategy, it must be explicitly understood and taken into account in applying the management factors mentioned above. For example, it might be decided, as in Project North Shaba in Zaire, to provide a production-oriented seed specialist because the project strategy at that time was to achieve quick production. If, on the other hand, the strategy was to achieve an institution-building goal, a research-oriented agronomist might be recruited. That is, the relevant management factors would be applied differently depending on the dynamics of the relevant set of interests, that is production or sustainability.

9.2.2 Simple or Mixed Goals and Benefits

Tension exists between trying to create a management strategy around clear and simple goals and the awareness of the existence in the real world of multiple goals and multiple

benefits. A central element of classical management theory is goals definition. Development management, however, is a complicated, multidimensional process. Development projects are often designed with limited information about local conditions, particularly about competition among participants and beneficiaries. Development projects take place in societies undergoing rapid change. Therefore, while Western development management attempts to maximize certainty of goals and benefits, management, in the complexity of a developing society, must maximize flexibility of project design, particularly with respect to its goals and benefits. This dynamic in certain countries of Africa might suggest the design of a project with a broad-based, horizontal authority structure that recognizes differences in local and tribal patterns, rather than one which introduced a more typical Western, top-down, hierarchical organizational structure. The organizational level from which a project is principally directed might also affect its management strategy. That is, a project directed by an African government from its capital might follow a more typical Western structure. A project directed at the field level, however, where local participation is more critical, might follow a local structure with diffuse goals, longer time frames, and mixed benefits more attuned to local perceptions that may not yet be clearly understood by project designers and managers.

9.2.3 Influence of the Informal and Traditional

A recurrent theme in all the cases is the importance of informal processes for getting things done. Successful managers in Africa recognized and used the informal systems. Informal, from a classical management perspective, may not, of course, be informal from an anthropological perspective in Africa. In a classical management sense, informal channels are those management factors that lie outside explicit organizational channels. Communications channels, meeting places, financial decisions, records in keeping, and policy recommendations, for example, outside the established hierarchies dominated the activities in all six project cases. This must be taken into account by designers and managers in establishing the management strategy for African development projects.

9.2.4 Direction and Participation

One myth of development management in Africa has been that of the "uninformed peasant" and the "incompetent local official." This myth has too often led to a management strategy that does not develop local legitimacy, provide local

leadership, or secure maximum participation of local beneficiaries. However, no matter how laudatory the substantive purpose of the project may appear to be and no matter how efficient the management factors are in a theoretical Western sense, the project may fail because of lack of local participation, particularly after donor assistance terminates. The colonial, tribal, and racial history in Africa requires a project direction that builds a sense of local ownership, participation, and commitment. This dynamic theme must particularly be taken into account when considering management strategies for human resources and leadership factors.

9.2.5 Stakeholder Risks and Priorities

Ideally, the success of a project would increase total benefits so that all stakeholders could be winners. Sometimes, however, total benefits will be insufficient or irregular. In these cases, some stakeholders might be losers. Concomitant, therefore, to maximizing project benefits is the need to develop strategies to reduce risks for key stakeholders. Five of the six case studies contained elements of this process. In one project, for example, local decision-makers were able to distance themselves from politically unpopular, but technically necessary, decisions by attributing them to the project. The short-term strategy was to use the project as a scapegoat in order to initiate some fundamental changes in local resource management. The more socially and politically central are the changes the project seeks to achieve, the greater is the need for such risk reduction. The distribution of power in the local setting will also affect risk. The more important the project is in a high-risk setting the greater will be the requirement for attention to risk reduction. The disruptive nature of much policy reform and institution building, for example, requires a heightened perception of both the potential benefits and the potential risks of change and, therefore, the need for risk reduction as part of the project management strategy.

10. APPLICATION OF APPROPRIATE DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Section 9 contains the factors and dynamic themes that make up the management framework proposed by this study. Table 3 presents a matrix based on these elements of the framework. A project designer or manager can review the framework and determine the factors or crosscutting themes that may apply to a project. Using this information, the manager can review the lessons learned in the syntheses or in the project managers

Table 3. Framework for Development Management Analysis:
Factors and Crosscutting Themes

Cross Cutting Dynamic Themes					
Management Factor	Productivity vs. Sustainability	Goals & Benefits	Informal & Traditional	Direction & Participation	Stakeholder Risks
Program Policy & Project Design					
Leadership, Style, & Personnel Management					
Organizational & Institutional Arrangements					
Administrative Processes and Operations					
Contextual and Environmental Factors					

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guide and examine the strategies that might apply to the project. The lessons learned material is, of course, only a guide. The project designer, ultimately, must analyze the project and determine how to apply the lessons. Effective design and project implementation involve good judgment in interpreting and applying available information. The designer or manager has a guide to help determine what management factors, themes, and interventions should be considered.

This tool will be even more useful for Africa if additional cases are studied in Africa and the lessons added to the grid.

11. MANAGEMENT ENHANCEMENT INTERVENTIONS

This study has had two major thrusts. The first was to understand and make suggestions on management strategies that could be incorporated into project design to help the project achieve its substantive objectives. Sections 8-10 focused on this first emphasis. But projects are not simply substantive ends in themselves; they are also opportunities for improving the capacity of host country personnel and institutions to efficiently and effectively manage these activities. The second thrust of this study relates to those interventions taken to strengthen the human and institutional capacities of the host country. Interventions are concerned particularly with improving institutional capacity so that a project can be sustained after donor funding ends. This section of the report addresses the second thrust.

When part of the project goal is to enhance or improve management capacity, those in charge of the interventions will need to spend more time working with host officials to increase their skills. Although this may dilute substantive outcomes and result in a longer time to achieve substantive goals, it will lead, ultimately, to more sustained development.

For many, capacity building is simply equated with training. Certainly training in its various forms is an important element of capacity building. But there are other management interventions, as well. One, of course, is technical improvement. The substantive activities of the technical assistance staff as well as their management roles influence management improvement activity. If primarily technical, but not management, assistance is offered, the effects may be different than if both are provided. Similarly, when external technical assistance staff actually perform a task rather than help or train local personnel do it, the outcome will not be the same. Thus, the management improvement potential of technical assistance efforts should also be considered.

A third potential intervention is more committed participation by leadership and beneficiaries. That is, the nature of leadership and beneficiary participation effects the management strategy. Whose capacity to continue the project is being built? Without clarifying the leadership and participatory element of a management strategy, it is hard to know whether the training or technical assistance elements are directed at the appropriate position, person, or function.

These three potentials for management capacity building--training, technical assistance, and leadership and participation--have a human emphasis; that is, they focus on people. But management takes place within organizational and institutional settings. George Honadle, in his synthesis for this study, notes at least two other potential capacity-building interventions that have organizational and institutional thrusts.

The first intervention is through policy change. Economic policies can affect the rewards and risks attached to alternative actions. They can support, inhibit, or be neutral to management efforts. Honadle sees economic policy change and management enhancement working together in a mutually supportive role. Improving management performance may require lightening, removing, or changing the burdens imposed by inappropriate policies.

Another potential organizational intervention is improvement of institutional structure and administrative processes. Without some measure of discretion, control of resources, effective communication links, or authority resulting from improved legitimacy, it is difficult for even the most experienced, well-trained manager to lead. The right skills imparted to the right person in the wrong organizational unit without the right authority or supporting administration process may have little effect on performance.

11.1 The Honadle Approach

Table 4, summarizes George Honadle's synthesis report. It groups the five potential management enhancement interventions. Using the table, Honadle compares and contrasts approaches implicit in the six field case studies. His framework allows an assessment of the complementarities and contradictions of enhancement interventions. It is offered as part of our development management framework, which focuses on management enhancement interventions.

insert table 4

insert table 4

11.2 The White Approach

Dr. White's synthesis concentrated on management improvement interventions. She focused on how training, technical assistance, and financial transfers were used in the six case study projects to enhance leadership and to improve the ability of host managers to design projects and establish organizations capable of sustaining project benefits.

11.2.1 Using Project Interventions To Enhance Leadership

The factor considered most critical by White in explaining success in the six cases was the improvement of local leadership. One intervention strategy is to have expatriate staff model effective leadership. The cases illustrate that modeling of effective leadership and management styles can be done by expatriates working within the host country institutions and by those with less formal involvement in the host institution. She cited the Senegal case, in which expatriates were integrated into host country institutions and worked under their counterparts.

She also cited the Lesotho project, in which expatriate staff remained more independent, assuming certain jobs within the Ministry while regular staff were away being trained. When the trainees returned, the expatriates became advisers and worked with the newly trained officials as counterparts. Ministry officials reported learning such subtle approaches as how to use influence creatively, how to explore alternative solutions to a problem, and how to use formal and informal channels. These are aspects of management that would be hard to teach in more formal training sessions or as part of a technical assistance package.

Several of the projects did offer management training as part of their intervention strategy. Officials in the Lesotho project believed that management training would introduce participants to a more assertive management style, one that inculcated the habit of exploring alternative avenues for solving problems. Such training might help future managers learn how to take the initiative, plan ahead, and have confidence in their decisions. Most of those who had been given training had progressed to management positions. They said that the management training they received had proved particularly useful.

11.2.2 Interventions To Improve the Capacity of Host Institutions To Design Development Activities

The cases provide examples of how interventions can be used to improve host capacity for project design. Interventions need to be designed to take management implication into consideration. Evaluators in the Kenya and Liberia cases both noted that management issues were not considered in the original project design. As a result, in Liberia, a new data system was set up without first considering whether the management requirements were within the capacity of the Ministry. White made the point that policy dialogue and ample resources are not sufficient guarantees of successful implementation. She said that some organizations are better equipped managerially and are more committed than others to conduct a project. The emphasis in project design should be on formally studying management strengths and weaknesses of organizations rather than on making uninformed judgments about the merits of country management. The purpose of such an assessment would be to tailor the project management strategy to the strengths of the organization and supplement it where needed.

In projects designed to improve management capacity, a longer time frame than the normal project life of 5-10 years should be considered. White noted in her discussion of the Kenya case, that if it is critical to achieve results within a short time, then it is probably better strategy to operate the project within the existing management system than to try to make basic institutional changes to the system. Conversely, if improving management is critical and the project is concerned with longer term development and sustaining an institution, then a longer project time frame is necessary.

Donors often debate whether interventions should be carefully planned or whether they should be left fairly open-ended. The evaluations of these six cases provide some tentative lessons. The evaluators of the Kenya project believe that preliminary designs are useful if they are tailored to the tasks of a project. The projects in Senegal and Zaire illustrate instances in which original designs were altered as project managers gained new information from their interactions with the community. In these cases, interventions were designed to be flexible and gave managers an opportunity to adapt and to learn from their experiences.

Another intervention might be to establish demonstration activities. For example, instead of promoting a particular approach, technical assistance can be designed to offer a series of prototypes from which local personnel can choose the method(s) most appropriate to their situation. Prototype

grazing units, for example, were used in Lesotho; in Zaire, demonstration fields worked far better than direct efforts at organizing participants; in Senegal, demonstrations by an expatriate technician proved effective.

A fourth way that interventions can assist in building host capacity for project design is by using the interventions as an opportunity to raise policy issues with host governments. Policies related to a given intervention can affect its success. The project may provide an opportunity to talk with host officials about policy alternatives. Policy dialogues can be conducted both at the national level, over issues such as price supports, and at local levels, over local issues such as loan repayments.

11.2.3 The Role of Interventions in Designing Institutions To Sustain Project Benefits

Interventions for improving management need to encourage host institutions to grapple with the issue of long-term project sustainability. The cases provide several instances in which sustainability was considered a prime goal of institution-building development efforts. The project in Senegal, for example, worked to improve private sector organizations preparatory to turning the project's credit activities over to them. AID had directed the Government to make this transition to the private sector. Managers worried whether the private sector would support the goals of the credit program to provide credit to poorer farmers. Consequently, project managers provided incentives to private organizations to get them to combine development goals with profit making. They gave their support to those private organizations that promised to assist all farmers with credit, rather than only those who were the best credit risks.

Another intervention to sustain project benefits is to train local community organizations to assume the activity. Frequently, local agencies and communities fail to continue project benefits after assistance is over, even when they find those benefits of value. The reason can be as simple as a failure to make plans to have the local organization maintain the project or the failure to provide local organizations with a sufficient stake in or sense of ownership of the project to continue it. One such intervention was tried in Zaire, where project authorities offered technical assistance and training to local organizations so that they could continue the project after donor funding ended.

11.2.4 Interventions To Improve Internal Administrative Processes

The cases document that training and technical assistance to improve internal administration are important, but that certain approaches are more useful than others. For example, the evaluators note the need for more training in areas where changes or new technologies are being introduced. They cite the Senegal project, which had a sound accounting system but which was not implemented well because the staff were not trained to use it. The cases document that training in general skills is of limited value and that hands-on or job-related training would be more useful. Training that is closely related to the tasks that staff are asked to do is more successful than general skills training. Such training should be offered on-site, should join teams of people from the same organization to focus together on their tasks, and should relate the training and technical assistance to problems in the immediate local setting.

The evaluators suggested an important qualification to the kinds of training usually offered. Evaluators of the Senegal, Liberia, and Niger cases noted that those who are trained also need followup support. Without such followup support, the initial investment in training can be lost.

A third lesson is that training should be monitored to determine how much is being learned or how effective the training is. In the Kenya case, several faculty members of Egerton College were sent to the United States for training. The College management staff made a particular effort to visit them. As a result, the training was far more effective than is often the case. The evaluators in the Niger case mentioned that it would have been useful had management been able to verify whether field agents had actually learned anything from their training.

Several interventions were designed to improve local financial management systems. Project units and host program agencies often had limited financial management capability. Projects found training to be useful for improving local accounting and budgetary skills. At the same time, AID often imposed complex financial regulations of its own that had little to do with project sustainability. The dilemma is illustrated by the Niger case. Local project accounting was admittedly poor. USAID felt that changes in local credit, inventory, and distribution operations were necessary. However, the evaluators believed that the financial management improvements designed to accommodate AID's internal and congressional reporting needs were more rigorous than the needs within Niger's administration. Training of Niger financial managers in AID

requirements absorbed a great amount of staff time, eclipsed other institutional development needs, did not lead to a more successful project, and will probably not be sustained after AID assistance was terminated.

Another strategy is for AID, to directly assume some of the financial management tasks. The evidence of the value of this approach is mixed. In Lesotho, the project retained its elementary local bookkeeping practices for local currency. The USAID Mission carried out more rigorous accounting and reporting procedures, rather than imposing them on the project. In Kenya, most of the financial problems derived from purchases for which AID was responsible rather than local procedures managed by local authorities. In Senegal, a three-tier system was set up: AID spent and accounted for one part of the funds, the Regional Development Authority spent and accounted for part, and the local project office had discretion over and accounted for a fund to purchase small local items. Limiting local training for local financial management needs was probably the most efficient action.

Just as the Rondinelli synthesis provides us with a guide for management strategies, so the Honadle synthesis and the White discussion provide us with useful guidance on potential management improvement interventions. And, just as we proposed additional work based on the Rondinelli synthesis, additional work could also be done based on the Honadle synthesis. Specifically, more attention could be given to other potential capacity- building interventions such as on-the-job and apprenticeship training, formal education, orientation and briefings, new organizational forms more appropriate to developing countries, and direct hiring of staff with the necessary skills when local skills are not available.

12. SUGGESTED NEXT STEPS

This CDIE evaluation series has documented the current state-of-the-art of development management in Africa. But the work is not over. The CDIE evaluation indicates the continued need for a coordinated, agencywide, initiative to improve in-country management by local personnel and institutions of AID and other donor-funded development projects. An ongoing program would include the following:

1. Continue to sensitize all levels of AID and host government personnel to development management issues.

- Distribute the case studies, synthesis reports, computer study, and related material.

- Arrange presentations for senior AID staff in Washington and at field posts.
2. Hold workshops in the field with African managers to test, introduce, and improve the framework on development management.
- Encourage and expand training programs for AID, contractor, and host country project managers on the subject of development management and the results of the CDIE evaluation.
3. Prepare and distribute an agency policy statement on development management that takes into account the results of this evaluation.
4. Further refine and prepare operationally useful tools from the work so far completed such as a
- synthesis on financial management
 - a project managers reference program management
5. Restate and enforce agency instructions that AID Project Papers contain a formal management and institutional analysis before the project can be approved.
6. Carry out and support additional studies, evaluations, and research:
- Continue the study of development management into Latin America Asia, and the Near East
 - Study the community resource management approach now being fostered in Asia
 - Evaluate and study management institutes and other management training programs
 - Carry out special study of management factors that affect on the sustainability of development projects

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