

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

BUILDING CAPACITY FOR DECENTRALIZED LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHAD:
CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS AND
THE ROLE OF NONFORMAL ADULT EDUCATION

By

GARY P. LIEBERT

A Dissertation submitted to
the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Degree Awarded
Fall Semester, 2005

Copyright 2005
Gary P. Liebert
All rights reserved

The members of the Committee approve the dissertation of Gary P. Liebert, defended on August 4, 2005.

Peter B. Easton
Professor Directing Dissertation

John K. Mayo
Outside Committee Member

Emanuel Shargel
Committee Member

James H. Cobbe
Committee Member

Approved:

Joseph Beckham, Chair, Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies

The Office of Graduate Studies has verified and approved the above named committee members.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who have helped me on this journey to complete my dissertation. I benefited greatly from the following people (all of whom live outside of Tallahassee) who provided assistance and advice as well as leads for research: Jim Bingen, Jim Alrutz, Richard Maclure, Thea Hilhorst, Trisha Long, Brook Johnson, Suzanne Gervais, Joshua Muskin and Jon Lauglo.

I also want to thank the key informants of my research, who were invaluable to the research process. Most of them live in Africa, and I only met a few in person! Nevertheless, they were very generous with their time and attention, and I hope to somehow pay them back someday. They are (in no particular order): Pere Antoine Berilengar, Allahta Ngariban, Maman Sidikou, Cheickna Toure, Abdoulaye Ndiaye, Amadou Matar Diouf, René Lemarchand, Bobbi L. Gray, Mohamed Ag Akératane, Doug Lehman, Timothée Coulibaly, Woulimata Thiao and Nestor Bongo.

My friends and colleagues have provided me with support, advice and activities to help cope with the day-to-day stresses of writing a dissertation. Several fellow students and I started a support group which was invaluable. In retrospect I can say: it certainly has taken a village for me to finish! I cite several fellow students and colleagues here whose support was invaluable: Mwenene Mukweso, Diane Leiva, Ragas Nang-Yad, Sumedi Nugraha, Pade Zuokemefa, Pat Moran, and Jenny Grill.

My committee members – John Mayo, Jim Cobbe and Manny Shargel – have been helpful and supportive throughout the long process of my dissertation. Manny in particular has been especially supportive and sympathetic.

My major professor, Peter Easton, has been a great inspiration and mentor to me for the last six years. I depended on his support, ideas, encouragement, and humor. I especially appreciate Peter supporting me on a Research Assistantship for several years, which allowed me to accomplish much more than I could have, because the work that we did together often related directly to my dissertation. Working on Peter's projects over the years gave me experience in research and evaluation, an enjoyable work atmosphere, and the occasional trip to Africa.

Several other people at FSU have been very helpful to me, especially in the College of Education, including, Jimmy Pastrano, Amy McKnight, Gwen Johnson and Barbara Palmer (who served on my original prospectus committee).

I wish to especially thank my family for their unending support and interest in my research over the last several years, their encouragement when I needed it, and their financial and emotional contributions to my extended education. I want to thank my father, Gilbert A. Liebert, and my sister, Ann P. Thompson, for their undying support. There are the other members of my extended family, and my good friend Greg Thompson, who were also encouraging and (mostly) interested. Although they all may not often understand exactly what I'm doing, or why, I appreciate that they remained supportive and interested in my studies and research.

Finally I want thank my "coach," Denise Dion. Denise was there when it really counted, starting in 2004, providing encouragement and expertise to help me through the process. Thanks also to Kathleen Smith who originally put me in touch with Denise. Denise provided a strong mentoring spirit that was missing from a previous coaching arrangement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	vi
Abstract.....	vii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	18
3. METHODOLOGY	62
4. CASE STUDIES – CHAD.....	75
5. CASE STUDIES – MALI.....	115
6. CASE STUDIES – SENEGAL	146
7. RESEARCH FINDINGS: PRESENTATION OF POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS AND ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR LOCAL CAPACITY BUILDING.....	171
CONCLUSIONS	195
APPENDICES	203
REFERENCES	207
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	221

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Varieties of Decentralization	25
2. Varieties of Devolution.....	27

ABSTRACT

Despite an era of progress and prosperity in many developing areas around the world, poverty persists as an important challenge to Africa. The UN Economic Commission for Africa (2000) reported that four in ten Africans live in absolute poverty, citing evidence that poverty on the continent is increasing, not decreasing. While this is discouraging, policymakers and other observers hold out hope that Africa can look forward to the future.

The challenges created by economic crisis, government decentralization and the emergence of civil society institutions are evident in the Republic of Chad, a large, mostly arid, landlocked country in the heart of the Africa. Chad has had to face several unique problems after independence in 1960: Civil war, three decades of ethnic warfare, rebel movements and invasions before peace was established; drought and famine; etc. In the 1990s, Chad started to take steps to establish democracy, and a World Bank-financed project to exploit oil reserves have brought new development hopes.

Many African governments no longer provide many services expected of them, due to political and economic events, resulting in functions being devolved to local governments and civil society groups. Under decentralization, Chadians can capitalize on potentials and avoid the dangers by acquiring resources and capacities to manage local-level development functions.

Skills needed for development, however, are in short supply, due to historical deficiencies of the educational system in Chad. Unless new ways are found to cultivate competencies of civil society actors, it is unlikely that decentralization will bring benefits or become more than a bail-out of central authority. Capacity building, through nonformal education and training programs, invests in Africa's people, to develop skills needed for local and national development.

The approach to research was to analyze the context of the problem situation facing Chad – i.e., lack of capacity to capitalize on economic and political decentralization; to identify and examine alternate strategies for capacity building implemented in Africa; and by analysis, to recommend the approaches that seem likely to promote local capacity development in Chad.

The methodology employed was policy research, within a case study framework, with several phases that included: grey literature review; interviews with key informants; and preliminary data analysis disseminated to stakeholders for review (“ground truthing”). Within-case sampling used “snowball” strategies to identify local stakeholder groups in Africa and choose participants from each group for interviews.

The key to data analysis was identifying alternative local capacity building (LCB) strategies in Africa, through selected cases in Chad, Mali and Senegal, and then proposing possible approaches for LCB.

Much of the pioneering work of indigenous nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) concentrates on the "demand side" of development: helping communities articulate their needs; recognizing local and regional development opportunities (in a decentralized environment); and helping amplify that emerging "voice" and mixing technical skills with access to information-age communication, advocacy and networking skills to give power and resources to local people.

African NGOs are important agents for civil society transformation, a micro-level reflection of changes in local governance. Worldwide movements for greater participation in political decision making, transparency, accountability, etc., all have local-level counterparts in the grassroots mobilization efforts of NGOs and partner community-based organizations (CBOs). The groups studied for this research – e.g., CEFOD (in Chad), Kafo Jiginew (in Mali), and Popenguine (in Senegal) – all provided exemplary experiences within the spectrum of collaborations between international donor groups, NGOs and CBOs.

Ultimately, findings demonstrate that national-level (indigenous) NGOs were the key intermediary institutions in local capacity building, promoting multiple levels of intervention between international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), NGOs, and CBOs. This principal finding, as well as a summary of “ground level” best practices in capacity building was also included in this dissertation, were designed for use by policymakers.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

At the beginning of this new millennium, Africa continues to pose challenges for development policy makers. Despite an era of progress and prosperity in many developing areas around the world, poverty persists as an important challenge for Africa. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) reports that four in ten Africans live in absolute poverty, citing evidence that poverty on the continent is increasing, not decreasing (2000, p.1). The lack of “good stories” about Africa combined with typical negative media images – civil strife and war, AIDS and other diseases, drought, etc. – continue to bring into question the possibility of a better life for Africans. Yet many policymakers and other observers hold out hope that Africa can look forward to the future, especially if, as a World Bank report entitled “Can Africa claim the 21st century?” (2000) asserts, the continent invests heavily in its people.

A Continuing Crisis

Sub-Saharan Africa faces many severe problems: young, fast-growing populations (UNECA [2000] predicted that the African population, estimated at 744 million and growing at three per cent annually, will double every 23 years); severe environmental degradation (desertification, pollution, soil erosion, etc.), and a weakening agricultural sector (the International Food Policy Research Institute [1999] reported that Africa “is the only continent where poverty and food security is projected to worsen”); simmering ethnic tensions that frequently erupt in violence; unstable economies based largely on exports and hampered by external debts; over-burdened educational systems and poor school enrollment rates, particularly for girls and women (UNECA [1995] estimated that 65 percent of women over 15 in sub-Saharan Africa are illiterate); high unemployment and underemployment; and emerging and fragile democracies threatened by dictators and current and former military leaders (e.g., the disputed election in Zimbabwe that returned Robert Mugabe to power [CNN, 2002]). According to the United Nations Development Programme (2003a), about 80 percent of the world’s

countries with low “human development indicators” are in Africa, reflected in high population growth rates, low incomes, low literacy rates, and poor life expectancy rates; Africans account for one out of every four poor persons in the world.

The dire conditions described above constitute what could be considered the most important challenge to Africa in the 21st century. Valentine James (1998) asserts that this challenge will require African leaders to “to develop essential policies and management skills necessary to build their nations’ human, economic, social, political and cultural structures so as to take their proper place in global affairs” (p. xv). The important question is how Africa goes about developing those policies and skills.

Despite the current slow development rates in many African countries – 28 African countries are the lowest ranked among 162 countries on the UNDP’s Human Development Index (2001) – some progress was visible on the continent over the last decade. For example, UNECA reports that real GDP growth in Africa averaged four per cent a year in the second half of the 1990s, and several countries experienced double-digit growth (2001a).

While GDP appears to be growing in Africa, the sustainability of this incipient economic development remains fragile, due to the lack of domestic savings, the burden of external debt, and a vulnerability to global economic “shocks” (UNECA, 2001b, p. 1). To this mixed economic outlook must be added potential disruptions and negative impacts to African nations caused by the various scourges noted earlier: disease, severe climatic conditions, inadequate and crumbling infrastructure, civil conflicts, weak governing institutions, etc. These conditions have the heaviest impact on the poor: the UNDP (2003a) reports that while real progress has been made in Africa over the past 50 years and the proportion of people living in poverty has fallen, “since 1990, the number of income-poor people has increased every year in sub-Saharan Africa” (p. 2). The overall picture points to the real possibility that the continent will not reach its target of reducing by half the proportion of its residents living in poverty by 2015, unless economic growth jumps to an average of 7% a year (UNECA, 2001, p. 1).

The current picture of persistent poverty and underdevelopment in Africa underscores the need for a major investment in development – whether from western nations (through foreign aid), private investors, domestic resources or some well thought-out mix of the three (Easton, personal correspondence, 2002). International involvement still has its importance, especially on the part of western governments, donor agencies and bilateral and multilateral development

organizations that historically have played a prominent role in development. Evidence has emerged of a disturbing trend: over the last thirty years, “technical cooperation resources have actually declined for low-income countries, for the Least-Developed Countries (LDCs) and for sub-Saharan Africa... even as those resources increased for the high-income countries, and for Asia and Europe” (UNDP, 2003a, p. 4). The West continues to play a key role in African development, by providing technical assistance and budgetary support. A significant part of this assistance comes in the form of “experts” from the West who dispense the skills and knowledge thought to be essential to run a modern industrial society – with the underlying assumption that developing countries were lacking such capacities and that “outsiders could fill these gaps with quick injections of know-how” (UNDP, 2003a, p. 4).

Although interest in assistance programs, particularly in the U.S., has waned, public opinion is often perceived as negative towards foreign aid programs. But western governments are now seeking a stronger presence in the developing world, in part due to evolving strategies combating global terrorism. U.S. President George W. Bush has proposed increases in foreign aid and in the Peace Corps budget. The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has visited Africa several times and has proposed new development initiatives in Africa, declaring "the reason I'm so passionate about this is that I think we have got the best chance in a generation to make a difference" (CNN, February 2, 2002). But whether these recent pronouncements will result in any significant change in longer-term trends remains to be seen.

There are strong critics in the international development field that assert that the purpose of foreign aid is to promote Western political aims and influence, preserve the unequal relationships between the West and poor countries. Hoy (1998) asserted, for example, that U.S. foreign assistance has historically emphasized military aid and promotion of private enterprise (usually US companies) as the engine of growth and development, with the occasional addition of new buzz-words borrowed from development organizations (e.g., “sustainable development”), which become part of the White House vocabulary (p. 27).

Despite the controversy about the aims of assistance, dialogue and discussion among the international players have led to some significant changes in development strategies, resulting in significant reforms and new directions in the development agenda over the past several years. In the early 1990s, the concept of “human development” emerged. Looking beyond the fixation on economic growth and GDP as the only measures of progress, human development includes “a

broader and more inclusive view of people's capacities – not merely to gain a higher income, but to enlarge their choices, to know more and do more, and to have the health, the skills and the vigour to lead full and satisfying lives” (UNDP, 2002, p. 2). New programs with an emphasis on what the UNDP (2002) calls “results-based management” were established, and new terms (discussed in more length in Chapter Two) for the relationship between donors and recipients surfaced: “partnership,” “ownership,” “policy dialogue,” and “participation” (p. 5).

This emphasis on participation and decentralization of development strategies raises new questions: What kinds of policies and programs will be effective in helping Africans to expand or strengthen capacities for change, growth and participation in the development process? How exactly will governments and donors support such a reorientation with more than just rhetoric?

Skill deficiencies. A policy promoting increased participation at the local level, greater decentralization of development programs, and more effective promotion of grass roots initiatives in Africa would likely bring good results. This kind of policy also requires more skills and competencies from local participants, as assumption of new responsibilities – most of which were previously borne by the state – takes place. While local leaders may be motivated to become more involved and take responsibility for development programs, and may by now be well accustomed to coping with central government shortcomings, many communities have not yet mastered the essential competencies for development management, or at best have only an incomplete understanding of what is needed to assume major responsibility for development programs. Although there are many cases in developing countries considered success stories, the West has not succeeded in enabling the transfer of knowledge necessary to create catalytic change, and “the capacity of local institutions and of countries as a whole has still not appeared adequate to meet the challenges of development” (UNDP, 2002, p. 3).

This lack of skills and abilities at ground level is arguably traceable to a) the inadequacies of the African formal educational system, b) the lack of opportunities for appropriate training at the local level, and c) long-held patterns of discounting or even ignoring indigenous knowledge systems – understandings of human and natural dynamics and methods for working with them that have been developed by African cultures over many years. Summarizing these concerns, UNECA (2001b) maintained that “Africa has yet to produce a critical mass of skilled and highly trained workers capable of initiating and sustaining a dynamic development path. Africa's

capacity to generate knowledge and participate in the knowledge society has continued to decline” (p. 30).

Decentralization: Remedy or Obstacle?

The problem situations described above are further complicated in some instances – and the stakes further raised – by changes in governmental structures and programs in Africa. Government decentralization, both planned and unplanned, has been one of the principal factors in the changing face of African development over the last decade or so. While decentralization experiences are certainly as diverse as the countries on the continent, the continent itself might be viewed as a case study in decentralization, particularly in the way certain broad common denominators – poverty, fragile democratic institutions, weak institutional capacity and scarce resources – are found throughout many countries, and the fact that since the 1980s, “most African countries have started a transfer of power, resources and responsibilities to their subnational governments” (Brosio, 2000). Underlying and driving the decentralization movement are governments that are too poor in resources to provide the usual services that a developing country’s growing population needs and expects.

Elements of decentralization. Decentralization is a transfer of authority from a central government to subordinate governments. Decentralizing decision-making powers and responsibilities to government sub-units can frequently be difficult to evaluate as decision-making can be mixed between layers of government: for example, financial decisions can be centralized, but the provision of public goods decentralized (von Braun & Grote, 2000). In reality, decentralization in practice seems to have had both good and bad effects. On the negative side of the ledger, decentralization has often meant simply a government withdrawal from responsibility for the provision of important services – education, infrastructure maintenance and development, health care, etc. – that were generally thought to be within the state’s domain and are critical to development. On the positive side, the push to decentralize has created a situation where local and civil society groups, including a variety of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs), have been challenged to assume responsibility for meeting local needs and to create an infrastructure that is somewhat closer and more responsive to the needs and wishes of local populations. In response, a wide spectrum of

such groups has sprung up over the past several years throughout Africa and has begun to engage in development projects to fill the void encountered when the state stopped providing services.

Decentralization is a complex phenomenon and assumes a variety of forms, from simple abandonment of public responsibility to strategies of deconcentration, delegation and devolution. For this transfer of authority and responsibility into local hands to have lasting beneficial effects, local actors must have the means and the capacity to take advantage of opportunities and execute the new functions. Decentralization is sometimes misguided and translates into “dumping of responsibilities onto lower levels of government – commonly labelled ‘load-shedding’ – without allocating sufficient resources or strengthening local capacity to undertake these responsibilities” (Cheema & Tabet, 2000, p. 266). The topic is examined more closely in Chapter Two, a review of literature related to the problem statement and research questions. Brosio (2000) asserts that the interests of the poor in Africa are well served “when decentralization renders more efficient the provision of basic local services and starts filling the huge disparities in their provision between the various areas of the same country. To reach this goal, decentralization... should be gradual and closely monitored” (p. 28). Decentralization impacts are often softened by the work of development agencies and NGOs.

The Role of NGOs

Non-governmental organizations have continued to play an important role in development over the past thirty years or so, particularly as part of the growing civil society movements in developing countries. Shaw and Maclean (2001) describe civil society as “the web of voluntary association composed of the various NGOs, human rights groups, cooperatives, unions, media, religious assemblages, professional associations, among others, through which, individuals collectively and voluntarily carry out their social enterprises” (p. 171). The number of “Southern NGOs” – organizations established within developing countries, generally located in the southern hemisphere – could be as high as a million, “with a growth rate far exceeding that of their northern counterparts” (Hoy, 1998, p. 120). Fowler declares that NGOs “directly reach or touch some 15 to 20 per cent of the population in the developing world,” adding, however, that the “scale of their direct outreach and impact on local sustainability is modest at best” (2000, p. 7). Whatever the size and importance of their impact, the overriding common factor among

these organizations is that they seek to establish local, small-scale, direct interventions and relationships in the communities where they work.

Organizational elements of NGOs. Non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations come in many shapes and sizes, of course, and have varying objectives and spheres of intervention: cooperatives for agricultural workers and small business owners in urban areas, civil society organizations and political groups, associations and labor groups representing or supporting workers in the informal sector both in urban and rural settings, purportedly philanthropic (but sometimes very entrepreneurial, for-profit) development organizations created by laid-off government workers, etc. Loosely defined, these organizations are voluntary, membership-based community development groups and supporting networks. They are managed, directed, and usually financed primarily by the members themselves, and they typically pursue member-defined goals (FAO, 2001). Many African NGOs and community-based groups are comprised of people – small business owners, microentrepreneurs, farmers and breeders, artisans and craftspeople, etc. – who have joined together because of shared professional interests. The members of these groups have similar needs in training and education and many groups seek to develop human capacity through training, with the goal of helping their members run their businesses, organizations, or communities more efficiently.

Organizations that are genuinely devoted to developmental goals are also necessarily interested in capacity building – improving the skills and abilities of members – because capacity determines the ability of members to assume new functions in the organization. Capacity development is also important for local organizations to help them benefit from the opportunities – while circumventing the dangers – that the current global economic and political climate is creating. As a consequence, most local and national civil society organizations in the developing world – even those that began as a response to a single specific need – view development as a holistic process and are thus interested in providing the educational and technical support and training that their members and communities need (Hoy, 1998, p. 121).

The Informal Sector: “Decentralization” in the Economic Realm

What development theorists refer to as the “informal sector” of African, Latin American and Asian economies provides an illustrative example of the benefits and costs of decentralization – both intentional and fortuitous – in economic and social terms. The term

describes small businesses and trades that have grown up outside the formal economy and its regulations – most often in the burgeoning urban areas of developing countries, swollen by rural out-migration, but sometimes in the countryside as well. Heterogeneous and diverse, the informal sector encompasses a wide range of economic activities, and people – self-employed workers, small business owners, trainees and apprentices, etc. – working or producing goods and services under many different kinds of production arrangements. The informal economy is characterized by small production units that “operate at a low level of organization, with little or no division between labour and capital” (International Labour Organisation, 1999).

Also called the "people's economy," the informal sector is a major creator of jobs, a source of opportunity, and a safety net, providing opportunities to make a living for more than a billion poor people throughout the world, often under insecure conditions and at a subsistence level (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2002, p. 13). While there is no doubt about the significant global impact of the informal economy, its diversity and scale naturally make it difficult to study and characterize. Despite the small size of its individual units, the informal sector accounts for a large part of economic activity in many African countries, rivaling formal economies in demographic terms. It has been estimated (Schneider, 2000) that the informal economy in Africa accounts for about 44 per cent of overall GDP. The small scale of informal sector enterprises is also reflected in workers’ profiles: most have limited educational backgrounds (typically early school-leavers), few skills and little technical training. Cisse (2000) cited figures from a 1987 survey in Burkina Faso that found that 80 per cent of over 83,000 informal sector workers were uneducated, 16 per cent had received primary education, four per cent had reached secondary school, and less than one percent had reached higher education.

Despite the low levels of educational attainment, informal sector workers have important business or technical skills and abilities that have been learned informally “on-the-job,” or through apprenticeships and training programs. Some workers become proficient in their skills through informal learning. But the consequences of the general lack of skills and regular training opportunities are obvious – workers struggle to enter into wage employment or self employment. Robert Gichira, of the World Bank’s Micro and Small Enterprise Training project, estimates that “about 80 per cent of the informal sector businesses in Africa fail within the first three years due to lack of basic education, managerial and technical skills” (Gichira, 2000).

Educational Deficits at the Local Level

Insufficient capacity at the local level to manage newly decentralized functions – or those simply abandoned by the state – can be traced in part to weaknesses of the educational system in Africa. Some recent progress has been encouraging, however. As a result of increased funding, “in sub-Saharan Africa the primary school net enrollment ratio (the proportion of eligible school-age children who are enrolled, excluding those who are under- or over-age) increased from 54 per cent in 1990 to 60 per cent in 1998” (Harsch, 2000). On the other hand, from a quality perspective, the education and training provided to those who have been able to attend school in Africa often has generally little to do with the development challenges that they face; there is a disconnect between African school curricula and demands for practical skills, now experienced by Africans as decentralization and democratization progress.

This raises the question of where Africans find employment after finishing school. African governments, policymakers and educational researchers are concerned that the formal employment market has become incapable of absorbing the new graduates of schools and universities. King and McGrath point out three principal policy interventions which have been considered to address this problem: “First, the informal sector was increasingly identified as being able to absorb the large, excess numbers of school leavers. Second, a range of training institutions was developed which sought to better prepare those leaving school with the skills needed in the formal sector work place. Third, there has been a trend to take the skill development process backwards into the school in order to ensure that all students receive a degree of preparation for work, otherwise not provided in the academic curriculum” (1997, p. 9). The third option proposed by King and McGrath recognizes at least the need to teach some practical skills. Adding to the state of educational systems in Africa are problems that constrain education budgets: high debt-servicing costs, the HIV/AIDS pandemic (affecting teachers and parents of students), and economic changes due in part to structural adjustment programs.

Critique of formal education in Africa. The formal education system in Africa has often been criticized for its failure to provide citizens with relevant skills and tools to help them prosper in today’s work world, as well as for not achieving anything near universal educational access. Oxfam America (1998) reported that Africa is the only developing region in the world in which school enrollment rates are actually declining, and that “44 million African primary school-aged children do not go to school; that figure is expected to rise to 59 million by the year

2000” (p. 1). For girls, the situation is worse: UNECA (1995) estimated that more than 20 million African girls aged 6-11 years were not in school. In *Africa Recovery*, Novicki reported that female literacy rates are below 30 per cent in nineteen sub-Saharan African countries (1998, p. 2). Donor groups and funding organizations have shown an increasing interest in changing this situation, however. The United Nations Special Initiative for Africa (UNZIA) is focused on basic education programs for Africans, and in 1998 identified fifteen African countries with school enrolment rates of less than 50 per cent (Angola, Burkina Faso, Chad, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal and Somalia) as the targets of its initial program focus (UNZIA, 1998, p. 1). Improving enrollment rates in Africa, especially for girls, will remain an important policy focus for the near future.

Adult and nonformal education. The World Bank (2002) estimated that there are 880 million illiterate adults and youth in the world – about 60 per cent of whom are women. Learners outside the formal education structure (adults and young school-leavers) often turn to “nonformal education” – that is, education and training programs organized by public, private or voluntary organizations to teach basic skills and useful knowledge, but not necessarily leading to any degree or diploma with currency in the formal system.

Adult and nonformal education (ANFE) has the advantage of not being tied to the objectives of the traditional education system. ANFE can be customized for: out-of-school youth wishing to learn a trade; unemployed workers seeking skills for self employment; women heads of household who need training and support to begin small businesses; and workers seeking training and certification to ease access to the formal labor market (Pieck, 2000). Beyond literacy and numeracy – generally the desired outcomes and first objectives of programs – ANFE has other beneficial effects. For example, Lauglo reports that the process of mastering basic literacy skills facilitates further learning, and that “other ‘empowering’ social skills and networks are even more important outcomes than literacy and numeracy acquisition as such” (2001, p. 2).

To address the lack of educational achievement and marketable skills for marginalized and illiterate adults in the vast African informal economic sector, international organizations such as the International Labour Organisation recognize the potential of new services – nonformal training, access to credit, support services to informal sector workers, etc. – given that the informal sector is increasingly viewed as an important source of job growth and as an incubator for small and medium-sized businesses (ILO, 1998).

The Republic of Chad: A Microcosm of Development Problems in Africa

The challenges created by economic crisis, government decentralization and the new emergence of civil society institutions are well exemplified in the Republic of Chad, a large, mostly arid, landlocked country in the heart of the African continent. The country has faced several unique problems, dating back to the 1960s, when most African nations gained independence and enjoyed relative prosperity and growth. Soon after independence from France in 1960, civil strife disrupted development in Chad, and the country endured three decades of ethnic warfare and rebel movements as well as invasions by Libya, before a semblance of peace was finally established in the 1990s. Chad has since taken steps to establish a democratic government; presidential elections were held in 1996 and 2001. The incumbent, Idriss Deby, in office since 1990 after driving out the previous ruler (Hissene Habre), won the election both times (Europa, 2000, pp. 315-318).

To the political situation must be added a brief description of the physical setting. Geographically unique, Chad stretches north to the Sahara Desert and south to the Congo Basin, and is also located at the eastern limit of the Sahel, where the climate works against human habitation. Over the past 30 years, the Sahel region of Africa has been “rocked by drought and famine as rainfall declined to the lowest tabulated level in 100 years and as the Sahara inched its way south” (Schwab, 2001, p. 100). Although Chad has successful agriculture, mostly in the south, much of the country is covered by desert – the northern third of Chad has “negligible rainfall and a sparse scrub vegetation” but is also thought to possess “significant reserves of uranium and other minerals” (Hilling, 2000, p. 312). With only six other countries – also African – listed below it, Chad ranks 155th in the world on the 2001 Human Development Index measuring life expectancy, educational attainment and adjusted real income (UNDP, 2001, p.141). With a per capita income of \$230 and an economy dominated by the agricultural sector (cotton is the major crop and biggest import), Chad is one of the poorest countries in the world (US Energy Information Administration, 2001, p.1). Illiteracy is a problem: the World Bank (2002) estimates that only 30 per cent of Chadian women are literate (p. 2). School enrollment rates for children 6-11 years old in Chad are among the worst in Africa: 36 per cent for boys and only 24 per cent for girls (UNECA, 2001b, p. 52).

New development opportunities for Chad. Despite old challenges that persist, Chad also has a few new opportunities in the new century. Geological explorations confirmed the existence of substantial oil reserves, but Chad is unable to produce or refine oil, and is dependent on fuel imports from Nigeria and Cameroon (EIA, 2001, p.1). The World Bank designed a project to exploit oil reserves, and to send the oil to the West African coast, via the neighboring country of Cameroon. The pipeline project began in the late 1990s and oil began to flow in 2003. The U.S. Energy Information Administration (2001) forecasted production to continue “for 25-30 years, with peak production projected at 225,000 to 250,000 barrels per day” (p. 1). While this new oil era will likely provide new, unprecedented opportunities to address Chad’s poverty and long-standing development needs, there are also fears that as oil flows out and money flows into the country, the government will fail to invest adequately and equitably in national development. Democracy, development and poverty reduction in Chad will suffer if the government misses this opportunity.

Additionally, Chad has experienced both negative and positive effects of decentralization, particularly during the civil war. Government spending on social programs has long been limited, and economic decline and civil strife exacerbated Chad’s public finance difficulties, “relieved only by substantial contributions from both international aid agencies and the country’s allies, notably France and the United States” (Hodgkinson, 2000, p 322). During the war, the government’s inability to provide expected services meant local communities took over some governmental functions. This was particularly true of educational services: because of civil strife, “local communities had assumed many of the [education] ministry's functions, including the construction and maintenance of schools, and payment of teachers' salaries” (Library of Congress, 1988). These public efforts – i.e., “spontaneous” community schools – in the face of unplanned decentralization remains a high point for action by citizens and community groups in Chad. There have been advances in the provision of public finances (Hodgkinson [2000, p. 323] reported the Chadian spending in education and health increased by 30 % in the 1990s), and local communities in Chad can build on a history of organizing for a common cause – in education, healthcare, infrastructure development, etc., while expecting more financial support from N'djamena.

Problem Statement

For Chad, like many other countries in Africa, the central government is no longer able to provide all the services that were traditionally provided. This situation, driven by a series of political and economic events, has resulted in many governmental functions being decentralized or devolved, in a variety of ways (sometimes unplanned), to local governments and civil society actors.

From an economic perspective, this change is directly reflected in the dramatic growth of the informal economy in many African countries over the last twenty to thirty years. From a political perspective, these changes are also reflected in the introduction (or re-introduction) of more decentralized and democratic government structures. This situation has thus both potentials and dangers for the people of Chad – and, in fact, for all those in sub-Saharan Africa who face similar situations. Chadians can only capitalize on the potential and avoid the dangers if they acquire the resources and human capacities necessary to manage development functions at the local level.

It has certainly been demonstrated that local people – even totally unschooled – are capable of learning new skills, making themselves literate in their own language and assuming new responsibilities, if supported in the endeavor. But where is this support to come from in an era when government is severely limited in its intervention capacity and traditional ministries of education have little skill and experience for the kind of cross-sectoral development effort required? Without some reliable means of support, local successes are likely to be limited to those “jewel box” cases where exceptional foreign aid, public or private, creates a favorable micro-climate for change – circumstances that are scarcely replicable on a large scale.

Fortunately, the growth of a variety of African non-governmental organizations creates a new factor in the equation that may have promise for providing the missing link in local capacity development: the proximate “backstopping” and coaching needed to help local people sustain their initiatives and institutionalize them. But relatively little is known about how – and how well – these indigenous NGOs function in support of local initiative and the nature of the nexus between them and the myriad of community-based organizations that emerge to meet specific needs in Africa but often disappear as quickly.

Purpose

The purpose of the research was (a) to analyze the context and causes of the problem situation facing the Republic of Chad – i.e., lack of local capacity to capitalize on the potential of decentralization while avoiding its pitfalls; (b) to examine the role that intermediate NGOs are beginning to play in Chad itself and in two other countries of the Sahelian region: Mali and Senegal; and (c) by analysis and comparison of the roles assumed by these organizations and the strategies they have adopted, to identify approaches most likely to provide the missing support link for local capacity development in African countries that face problems similar to those of Chad.

Research Questions

To achieve the purpose of the dissertation, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What is the state of decentralization in the Republic of Chad at present and what challenges and opportunities is this situation creating for civil society groups (e.g., NGOs and CBOs) throughout the country?
2. What is the nature of the current organizational capacity of these groups, and what are they doing to address the challenges of capacity building for local community development?
3. What solutions and approaches do the experiences and literature on capacity building, local development and nonformal education under similar circumstances (elsewhere in Africa or the developing world), both currently and historically, suggest as lessons and possible guidelines for addressing and resolving the challenge of local capacity building?
4. How is the nexus between indigenous NGOs and community-based groups in Chad, Senegal and Mali beginning to operate and what support is it providing for local capacity building?
5. What new light do the African experiences reviewed cast on the theory of capacity building in developing countries and the role of adult education in it?

Significance of the Research

The results of this policy analysis can have significant ramifications in several ways, including serving as a prompt or catalyst for discussion and debate among scholars, researchers, donor and funding organizations, development workers, elected officials and policymakers, and anyone else interested in the links between development strategies, capacity development, and nonformal education and training in Africa. The study provides research to better inform development policy and funding decisions in Africa, particularly through encouraging support for innovative capacity building programs for NGOs and nonformal adult education programs.

This research also brings new dimensions to a debate that has raged for many years among researchers and development experts concerning effective local interventions and programs to complement broader development strategies for less-developed countries. Development strategies may include, for example, many options not directly related to education and training, including: promoting low-cost credit, new and improved technologies, and more favorable conditions to ensure or develop an “enabling environment” (McGrath & King, 1995) for small business people and micro-entrepreneurs, to create a better climate for growth and development. But the success of particular strategies – promoting local economic development, decentralization or privatization, banking and credit programs, etc. – would still depend largely on the skills and abilities, and education and training levels among the target population, bringing us back to the overall importance of capacity building and the potential role for nonformal education (NFE) in Africa.

Finally, the study’s findings provided lessons from capacity development projects, lessons that will have ramifications for policy choices that local communities and CBOs, African governments, and international NGOs will make, particularly in adult education and NFE programming in Africa. Initial research results were disseminated to all stakeholders (e.g., key informants) for feedback. Disseminating and promoting research results follows the objectives of Majchrzak’s policy research methodology, which seeks to develop “action-oriented recommendations” to solve problems in society (1984, p. 12). Ultimately, by providing findings that compare alternative approaches to addressing capacity building questions in Chad, this research may have a wider impact by generating new policy ideas and options for policymakers, while at the same time providing recommendations for new avenues for further research and experimentation in Chad and throughout Africa.

Limitations and Assumptions

This section identifies possible limitations of the proposed research project. The scope of the research was limited to a review of development projects in Africa, specifically Chad, Mali and Senegal. The research focused on ways to develop capacity for local organizations in Chad through innovative uses of ANFE. The projects studied included capacity building projects directed by local organizations, national groups, or INGOs. This study focused on the projects and studies themselves, including a critical review of the results and conclusions, the methodologies and approaches employed, the real and potential impacts of project results and outcomes. The data included review of documents available through international organizations, as well as interviews with key informants in the U.S. and Africa.

Personal Viewpoint and Bias

My active participation in the FSU ABEL (Advancing Basic Education and Literacy) projects over the past several years, through research, report writing, logistics support, backstopping and other project-related activities in Tallahassee, Florida, as well as field research and collaboration “on the ground” in Africa, were instrumental to the research. My experiences with ABEL led me to believe that a stronger focus on promoting nonformal education programs as a focal point of capacity building efforts would be relevant to locally- or nationally-based groups in Chad interested in building capacity or developing new programs. During the ABEL projects, the FSU team collaborated with African organizations that regularly plan new training programs and/or evaluate existing programs designed for adults. These groups often depend on outside organizations – international NGOs and donors – for funding and support.

Working closely with local and national development organizations in Chad (1996 and 1999), Senegal (2000) and Burkina Faso (2003), I discovered that many groups, especially those community-based groups operating at the grassroots level, offer nonformal education projects that often have far-ranging impacts for skills development and capacity building. Some collaborate with other local groups, monitor and evaluate project results, and disseminate valuable information and research. Other grassroots groups and NGOs appear to operate quietly in a vacuum, unaware of what similar organizations are doing in the way of capacity building within their local communities, much less nationally, regionally or internationally.

Because of these experiences in Chad and Senegal, albeit as an interested, but outside, observer, my hope was that new information and research from local capacity building projects – provided by the stakeholders themselves – would be of interest to development organizations and adult education practitioners throughout Africa, particularly in Chad. Developing more collaborative opportunities for research and expanding the links between NGOs and adult educators at all levels and in multiple countries might also contribute to building a foundation for growth and sustainability for education and development organizations in Africa. The accomplishments of adult nonformal education programs, not only in the past but particularly at the present time, suggest the potentially pivotal role ANFE can play in African development in general and in capacity building in particular.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter develops a literature review and conceptual framework to lay the work for data analysis in the balance of the dissertation. It examines existing research and its significance to the topic; relevant theoretical perspectives from the literature; and key ideas, themes and lines of inquiry pursued during the research process. The order of topics is the following:

- I. International Development and Development in Africa
- II. Theories, Policies and Practices of Decentralization
- III. The Human Factor in Development: From Human Capital to Civil Society
- IV. The Challenge of Capacity Building
- V. Means for Local Capacity Building: The Role of Adult and Nonformal Education
- VI. Summary: The Intersection Between Decentralization, Intermediation and Capacity Building

International Development and Development in Africa

This part of the theoretical framework discusses international development, and in particular, development in Africa. After a brief history of development, an overview of current approaches to development follows. Sustainability issues in development are explored as well.

We live in a world of crushing poverty: while Westerners dwell in peace and relative comfort, millions of our “Third World” neighbors struggle with disease, poor sanitation and underemployment, trying to make ends meet every day. As a response to these inequities, foreign aid programs –embodied in policies of the US and other Western countries as well as the former Soviet block – came into prominence after World War II both to help other countries and regions develop and to secure clients for the first two “worlds”: the competing spheres of capitalism and communism. Finding ways to bridge the gap between rich and poor was the

original stated goal of international development programs, but keeping Cold War rivals in check and guaranteeing access to natural resources were equally important if less often acknowledged ambitions. Economic development strategies took on new importance for Third World governments in the wake of the Cold War, when adherence to one of the two major political blocks could no longer be counted on for patronage. The goals set for development 50 years ago still appear distant but continue to be invoked as the overriding focus of assistance programs described below, while new approaches to development project management bring new hope for longer-lasting and more palpable impacts.

Historical Overview and Current Approaches to Development

“International development” includes a range of programs created by developed countries (in the northern hemisphere, or “West”) to donate money, personnel and expertise to developing countries (also called “the third world,” “less developed countries,” “the South,” etc.). The original philosophy behind aid declared (in a nutshell) that developing nations would experience growth and economic phases similar to those of industrialized countries, and that development depended on the transfer of technological innovations from developed to developing countries (Rogers, 1995). From the post-World War II era into the 1960s, the West was committed to modernization theory, convinced that development was a problem of technical assistance. Newly independent countries would experience economic growth, then social change and other aspects of development would follow; modernization was critiqued by dependency theory, which regarded most development schemes as strategies to perpetuate the structural dependence of countries in the South on the Northern powers, though its proponents did advocate autarkic industrialization (Simon, 2005).

As the original political motivations for aid faded after the end of the cold war and the disappearance of most Communist influence, economic development in developing countries remains the chief aim of international aid, though the recipients have changed. Hira and Parfitt (2004) cite evidence from the World Bank showing that money for aid *loans* now far outweighs grants, and that loans typically go to mid-level developing countries (e.g., Indonesia, China, the former Soviet states) where the US or Europe have strategic interests. Because of the dropping proportion of aid going to the poorest countries, it can be asserted that the US and its partners are more interested in tactical assistance, or economic ties, than poverty alleviation. At the same time, many countries are in debt from past loans, and as Hoy (1998) says, “if development is

truly a goal, multilateral aid must break the vicious cycle of providing new aid to pay for the interest owed on old aid” (p. 138). How African countries will pay off debt (or have it “forgiven”) will have consequences for Africa, Western banks and development institutions.

Phases in development and the limits of technical cooperation. International development approaches followed distinct phases, from a focus on large-capital projects in the 1950s and 1960s, to an emphasis on promoting basic human needs and poverty alleviation, starting in the late 1960s and continuing to the present. As noted, during the Cold War, Western countries offered assistance with the assumption that hungry people in developing countries might turn to Communism and the Soviet bloc if their basic needs were not met.

This assistance, called technical assistance (TA) or technical cooperation (TC), was controlled by Western donor nations and institutions. A typical project cycle emerged: a donor country (through an agency, such as USAID) gave assistance in a specific sector, addressing a specific problem; donor country officials designed a project, and implemented it using mainly outside consultants with some local counterparts trained by the donor agency; the project ended, but local staff lacked capacity, experience and local funding to continue the project; another project was proposed by the donor agency, creating a cycle of dependency (Dobie, 2000). The advertised rationale of TC – following notions of modernization and human capital theories – was that “developing countries lacked skills and abilities – and that outsiders could fill these gaps with quick injections of know-how” (UNDP, 2002, p. 2). Donor-driven technical cooperation is also expensive and dependent on foreign experts. The TC model largely ignores existing capacities in developing countries but is designed to replace them with knowledge produced elsewhere, while promoting an asymmetric donor-recipient relationship – “the belief that it is possible for donors ultimately to control the process and yet consider the recipients to be equal partners” (UNDP, 2002, p. 8).

Given the cycle of dependency and the generally recognized failure of TC-driven aid, a new approach or paradigm began to emerge to restore balance in the aid relationship between donor and recipient countries. The change started in the 1970s, gathered steam in the late 1980s and continues today, recasting development as a “widely participatory process of social change” intended to bring about social and material advances, by helping people in developing nations gain greater control over their environment (Rogers, 1995, p. 127). The effect has been to give the *demand* side of the development equation a bit more prominence and to put somewhat

increased focus on aid recipients and on efforts to nurture local skills through capacity development.

In addition to a focus on participation, it is true, other goals have taken center stage over the past 20 years as well: economic liberalization, small business and micro-enterprise development, support for girls' education and empowerment of women, the use of appropriate and sustainable technologies, environmental conservation and rehabilitation, democratization, and the decentralization of government policies and structures (Hira & Parfitt, 2004; Hoy, 1998).

The rise of NGOs. Aid programs are usually bilateral (transfers of funds from a donor country to a recipient government) or multilateral (transfers from many different countries to international organizations such as the United Nations agencies, etc.). Another aid channel is support given to private non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Non-governmental organizations have become the vehicle of choice to provide basic human needs programs, specialized operations, and support to grassroots groups and community-based partners (building "civil society") in the developing world. Donor agencies such as the World Bank, UN agencies and USAID have been working with international NGOs (INGOs) as contractors, subcontractors or partners, for many years. The rise of NGOs is covered more extensively in the section below on decentralization and intermediation.

Sustainability Through Bottom-Up Approaches

Bottom-up development approaches contrast with top-down, TC approaches in that there is more emphasis on helping people realize their own goals for development, rather than imposing Western goals. Over the last several years, we have seen the start of a paradigm shift in development practice, from something done (in a paternalistic way) to "recipients," to one in which the "donors" and "participants" are partners in the process with a growing mutual respect for each other's point of view and goals and objectives. The purpose of Western aid is now to act more as a cooperative partner in development, helping empower local participants to reach goals created by mutual agreement. In this section, elements of bottom-up approaches – sustainability, partnership, ownership, etc. – are covered in detail.

Sustainability has been identified as a crucial facet in the success of development projects (e.g., Jones, 2000; Nwamuo, 2000; Fowler, 2000a, 2000b; Mohaddin, 1998). The lack of sustainability is a major factor in the failure of many international development projects and the demise of non-governmental organizations. Sustainability refers to 'staying power' for an

organization – all the various institutional elements necessary for a project or group to stay afloat, continue to render service, remain viable or relevant for the long term. These elements clearly include the knowledge, skills and abilities of the organization’s members and the allegiance of its stakeholders as much as its bank accounts or infrastructure (Fowler, 2000b). Everyone wants development and sustainability to go hand in hand, and there are opinions on how to promote institutional capacity building without dependency on outside donor support.

Sustainability is a particular challenge for community-based groups, which may spring up and wither again like grass after seasonal rains; and while the search for funding drives the agendas of many NGOs and CBOs in developing countries, basic organizational capacity and a history of successful project implementation are the hallmarks of durability. Fowler (2000b) asserts that “sustainability is all about a particular type of organisational capacity... *‘insightful agility.’*” In short, to ensure long-term impact, development organizations must be flexible and succeed in adapting to new demands and a changing environment in a purposeful fashion. Experience suggests that one of the best ways of doing so is to develop capacities – in management, training, fundraising, evaluation, etc. – for both individual members and for the organization as a whole.

“Popular participation” was adopted as a strategy by many international NGOs. In the 1980s, the participatory ethos infused the grassroots self-help movement, as NGOs filled the void in services left by retreating state structures hobbled by neoliberal reforms and decentralization movements. In the 1990s, participation was advocated on a larger scale as a tool for policy objectives such as good governance and empowerment. These shifts have obscured conflicting views, summarized by three different approaches: participation as a process (a) *by* the people to whom development projects are aimed (promoting self-determination); (b) *for* the people (with a development agency taking initiative and limiting participation); or (c) *with* the people, an approach that emphasizes mutual learning (Laderchi, 2001, p. 3). The World Bank and other donors are often criticized for promoting participation only as a minor component of development projects, or as a method for silencing or co-opting critics.

Participation is not just about learning a methodology, a way of doing things; a formulaic and repetitive application of participatory techniques is self-defeating. Participatory methodologies can only be properly learned and implemented through practice and field application, using on-going training and critical reflection methods, to create the enabling

conditions for good practice (Hira & Profitt, 2004). Ultimately, NGOs must retain flexibility, work to avoid overly-standardized approaches, and adapt participatory practices to meet the needs of each particular context.

One way of promoting collaborative relationships among actors in development that create latitude for increased stakeholder participation is summarized in the current buzzword “partnership.” It describes working relationships between people brought together by common objectives, bonded by long experience of working together, and sustained by common visions (Mohaddin, 1998). Other characteristics associated with partnership include: long-term, shared responsibilities; reciprocal obligation; equality; balance of power; trust and respect; ownership; etc. (Fowler, 2000a; Mohaddin, 1998). Partnership represents a new kind of collaboration, pushing donor groups and developing country NGOs to form more equal and less hierarchical relationships.

Partnership is supplemented by a call for “ownership” – empowering communities to take the initiative and “own” development. Programs encouraging a sense of ownership by target beneficiaries “have clearly performed better than those that did not” (UNDP, 2002, p. 14). Localizing development through empowerment and ownership may be a significant opportunity to transform the development industry. Local ownership would require more accountability structures and processes embedded in the local value system. The ramifications are important for capacity building approaches to community development.

The net effect of these elements of reorientation in development assistance has been a sharp increase in the role of NGOs and what is dubbed “civil society” (and reviewed below) in general. While economic liberalization and globalization continue, official development assistance has declined, both in real terms and in relation to the GDP of African recipients (UNCTAD, 1999). Private donor organizations have stepped in to fill the gap, and NGOs work as the main “go-betweens,” facilitating community collaboration and requests for funding from private agencies in the West. NGOs also help local communities deal with the effects of decentralization; the role of NGOs has evolved from direct intervention to an intermediary role in helping local civil society groups (women’s groups, farmer groups, CBOs, etc.) deal with state and market forces in a decentralized climate.

Theories, Policies and Practices of Decentralization

This section of the literature review explores the complex phenomenon of decentralization, with particular focus on decentralization in developing countries. A definition is offered, as well as descriptions of the many varieties of decentralization. Within the context of decentralization, I discuss the role of civil society groups in development, along with the phenomenon of intermediation, and the final section summarizes the discussion on decentralization in the literature.

A Definition and Typology of Decentralization

Decentralization means transferring authority and responsibilities from higher levels of government (the center) to regional or local levels (the periphery). Uphoff (1997) reminds us that decentralization is not one single thing: “it is best understood as a *rubric* under which are clustered many different, and even different kinds of, arrangements for making and implementing decisions” (p. 2). The impetus to decentralize is the notion that the state, and also development organizations, are overly centralized and top-heavy institutions: their leaders are out of touch, unresponsive and unaccountable; decisions are made without any outside input. The transfer of responsibility and decision making authority from central, higher authority to lower levels should, in theory at least, allow for more tailoring of government efforts to solve local problems, as well as the mobilization of local people and resources to address those problems.

Decentralization is a growing movement in developing countries, though it is in fact a worldwide phenomenon, affecting the industrialized states as well. Out of the 75 developing countries with over five million people, all but 12 have embarked on some form of decentralization in the past two decades (UNDP/POGAR, 2005, ¶ 1). Decentralization has a major impact in framing the international, national and local contexts for capacity building, and as an objective for capacity-building initiatives. Until recently, local governments and their capacity development needs were largely neglected by central governments and donor organizations. As decentralization picks up steam, however, local governments and private organizations will be called upon to build capacity to deal with new governance responsibilities. In an era of increasing participation, there is also the belief that decentralization will improve governance, promote democracy and reduce corruption.

Decentralization has been promoted not only as a means for encouraging democracy but also for poverty reduction (a current focus of interest for the World Bank and other multilateral organizations). Evaluative studies typically find that decentralization has not had the intended effect of reducing poverty (e.g., Jutting, Corsi, & Stockmayer, 2005). The objectives behind the urge to decentralize are often confused with the process itself, and as Von Braun and Grote (2000) point out, “decentralization is an instrument, not a goal in itself, for efficient and participatory governance” and the goals behind the decentralization process must be clearly delineated (p. 2).

Decentralization in practice: the who, what and where of decision-making. Uphoff (1986) proposes that decentralization be understood along two dimensions: *location* (where decisions are made) and *accountability* (to whom decision-makers must answer) (pp. 221-222). Under this framework, decentralization moves in two directions, loosely portrayed in Figure 1 below: public policy decisions are increasingly made in locations outside central government offices, such as in parastatal organizations or at the provincial, district or local level; and those making the decisions are accountable to citizens at lower levels. A move in the first direction (to the right) represents *deconcentration* of authority, such as when provincial assemblies make decisions in the name of the state; when decision-makers are both located non-centrally *and* accountable to local populations, this is called *devolution* (Uphoff, 1997, p. 2).

Presented graphically, deconcentration only moves the locus of decision-making; devolution represents a move in two directions (to the right and down), towards more complete local control, as seen in Figure 1 below (Easton, 1998a; Uphoff, 1986).

		Decisions are made –	
		Centrally	Locally
Decision-makers are responsible –	Centrally	Classical bureaucracy	Deconcentration
	Locally	Delegation	Devolution

Figure 1. Varieties of Decentralization

Deconcentration transfers financial management and decision making responsibility from the center to province or district levels, but control rests with the central government, and local authorities are able to make few autonomous decisions. Litvack (2004) considers deconcentration the weakest (and most frequently used) form of decentralization, entailing shifting responsibilities within different units of government; *delegation* is more extensive, transferring responsibility for decision-making and public functions to semi-autonomous organizations not wholly controlled by the central government, but ultimately accountable to it (¶ 3). Since the central administration gives specific instructions about resource allocation and retains the power of reallocating resources, delegation has some of the characteristics of a “principal-agent relationship,” with the central government as the principal and the local government representatives as the agents (Habibi, et. al. 2001, p. 6).

Devolution. In contrast, *devolution* involves transfer of decision-making authority to local units for provision of services to residents within particular geographic boundaries, and potentially for collecting taxes or securing revenues from other sources. Devolution gives local authorities more political authority and control over resource allocation, but they must be accountable to local constituencies, increasing (in principle) decision-making responsiveness to local needs. Devolution can also be used to transfer power from the state to private groups, for example, in the area of natural resource management, ceding control of national parks or forest reserves to NGOs and local community groups.

Much of this significant variation in devolution strategies can be summed up in a similar two-by-two table that specifies *by whom* and *for whom* decisions are taken: the individual or the collectivity (Figure 2; Uphoff, 1986). Four strategies of devolution emerge: *local governance* (also called “classic devolution”), in which decisions are made by decentralized public bodies in the interests of their own citizens; *philanthropization*, where decisions are made by private individuals (religious associations, donor groups) on behalf of the larger public; *intermediation*, where decisions are made by associational groups like cooperatives and unions on behalf of their own members, providing services ordinarily undertaken by government agencies or local bodies; and *marketization*, where decisions are made by private individuals for their own benefit.

As is evident in the continuum of decentralization characteristics depicted above, devolution – and the versions undertaken by public groups or collectivities in particular – offer both the most opportunities and the most challenges for governments and local groups. When

responsibilities for government services are devolved, local authorities – e.g., officials in cities, village leaders, local councils, etc. – must “ramp up” capacity to take on new functions. When municipalities elect mayors and city councils, raise revenues through local taxation, and assume authority to make investment decisions, the requisite capacities to make local government work are not often in place in many African countries. Local civil society organizations can step into the breach to provide some needed services: nonformal education and training, neighborhood-based health care, support for business people (e.g., loans or grants), etc. national and local NGOs can often provide a source of trained, experienced personnel, for important services.

		Mode of Action: Decisions are made <i>by</i> –	
		Collectivity	Individual(s)
Purpose: Decisions are made <i>for</i> (in the interests of) –	Collectivity	Local governance	Philanthropization
	Individual(s)	Intermediation	Marketization

Figure 2. Varieties of Devolution

Hira and Parfitt assert that devolution (or “complete” decentralization) is a form of *political* decentralization, “since they involve plans to actually move national decision-making to the local level – devolution over a long period of time and decentralization within a foreseeable period” (2004, p. 94). Within the context of this research project, devolution, or “democratic” decentralization (Dalal-Clayton, et. al., 2003), evokes more interest because of its potential to legitimize indigenous institutions and encourage local ownership of development.

Finally, there is another term sometimes associated with decentralization – *divestment*, or the complete transfer of public services and institutions to private companies and firms (often for-profit companies) – which is seen primarily in the context of privatization schemes underway in many Western countries (UNDP/POGAR, 2005, ¶ 3). Privatization includes allowing private companies to take on functions previously reserved for the government and/or contracting or sub-contracting the provision or management of public services.

Which first: Decentralize or build capacity? This discussion brings up an important question for governments and NGOs: decentralize first or build capacity first? The traditional approach is to build capacity before transferring responsibilities or revenues. However, it may be better to do both simultaneously, as decentralization in and of itself acts as an impetus to build local capacity, and can help increase local participation and local government leverage in gaining access to local and national resources; local services are often improved as a result of partnerships across public, private and civil sectors (World Bank, 2005, p. 9).

In addition to supporting local means to deliver services, a devolved environment offers civil society groups an opportunity to set up accountability and monitoring mechanisms, to help ensure improved public sector performance. This points to the necessity of demand-driven approaches to capacity building programs: each community involved in decentralization will have different needs for training and technical help; one-size-fits-all approaches are limited. Training and technical help can often be supplied most efficiently by tapping local NGOs which already have a track record for providing services to local grassroots groups.

Critique of decentralization practices. It is often assumed, by international NGOs in particular, that decentralization programs will necessarily result in local beneficiaries having more direct access to decision making. But shifting control may be a shell game: central governments, donor groups and even the development community can co-opt the decentralization process to serve their own needs, while avoiding meaningful reforms. Encouraging true participation is an ongoing theme of this literature review.

Decentralization schemes that devolve “powers” but not resources can be problematic, short-circuiting any real progress. The power of the purse is often the determining power. While Dillinger and Fay (1999) assert that “finance should follow function” in decentralization, many African nations have devolved a broad range of services to subnational entities without supplying the resources or revenues commensurate with new responsibilities (p.20). The term “resources” typically refers to the financial wherewithal to take on new management responsibilities, but in many African countries human capacities are also lacking when decentralization policies cede new responsibilities to local groups or leaders.

Another weakness of decentralization schemes is the inter-related nature of political, administrative and financial decentralization, possibly resulting in changes that may not be significant or long-lasting in one or more of these areas, and setting up decentralization to fail to

deliver on promises of local authority and autonomy. Hira and Parfitt (2004) point out other limitations: there is a natural predisposition towards centralized government in developing countries; local authority groups tend to lack capacity and training, and have limited abilities to create their own tax bases; local governance structures may not be any more representative, less corrupt or more competent than central governments; and, local authorities may be resistant to assume responsibility for desirable national or international goals, e.g., improving girls' access to education, or changing cultural practices (p. 96). There are also constraints to participation in public affairs. Dalal-Clayton, et. al., (2003) point out that (a) elites tend to participate more and run for office, (b) many community members lack time and energy to invest in local politics, (c) many citizens distrust civil authorities, in both central or decentralized settings, and (d) the State tends to retain control of important issues and resources, in particular, rights over land and natural resources (pp. 161-164). Some limitations mentioned above might be mitigated by more transparency in decentralization schemes: making intended outcomes public encourages competent local leadership and better results.

The Role of Civil Society in Capacity Building: Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)

“Civil society” has become something of a catch-all term for the amalgam of associations, businesses and organized groups that operate outside of government while involving many of its constituents. The most prominent category in this pantheon for the last two or three decades has been “non-governmental organizations” (NGOs), but that concept also tends to be an umbrella term. It is useful to make further distinctions about *types* of NGOs and their different *modi operandi*.

A typology of NGOs: Among NGOs, distinctions are frequently drawn among large international groups (“INGOs”) that operate in several different countries and are supported by both donor governments and multilateral institutions (CARE is a good example); national non-governmental organizations (“NNGOs” or hereafter simply “NGOs”) in developing countries that often depend on INGO support, donor governments and multilateral institutions that furnish funding (e.g., the BRAC organization in Bangladesh); and small, locally-based groups, which include community-based organizations (CBOs), civil society organizations (CSOs) and farmer

cooperatives (FCs), among others and which may collaborate extensively with the larger-gauge organizations. All these groups are described more thoroughly with case studies below.

Groups engaged in development work naturally vary in size, influence, sphere of intervention, history and perspective. Fowler (2000b) makes a further distinction between “non-governmental development organizations” (NGDOs), and CBOs: the former are “formally registered not-for-profit organisations, established to serve third parties, typically but not solely as intermediaries in the international aid system, employing principles and values associated with voluntarism... self-governing within the terms set by existing legislation” (p. 188). In contrast, CBOs are “member-based, mutual benefit organisations that may be formal or informal in nature. Their members are usually the intended beneficiaries of NDGO work” (Fowler, 2000b, p. 188). In sum, NGDOs are intermediary organizations, by and large at the national level in African countries, and CBOs are the small, local, informal organizations in the developing world, particularly in Africa where many local groups have organized loosely around a specific purpose or mutual benefit, but have only limited organizational structures and resources.

Some development practitioners and theorists (e.g., Brown & Kalegaonkar, 1999; Steinberg, 2001) carry distinctions even further, with many different names for intermediary organizations, including: Voluntary Resource Organizations (VROs); Support Organizations and Intermediary Support Organizations (SOs and ISOs); Local Development Agencies (LDAs); Grassroots Support Organizations (GSOs); and even GRINGOs (NGOs with a symbiotic relationship with government). All groups are nonetheless comparable in that they provide support to local and grassroots groups, such as skills training, group-building activities, networking and advocacy, and facilitating communication with government or donor agencies.

Carroll (1992) created his own typology of intermediary organizations, on three levels: (a) grassroots support organizations (GSOs), offering services and support to local groups of disadvantaged households and individuals, through links between beneficiaries and governments and donor groups; (b) MSOs (member support organizations), providing support and linkages to local groups, accountable to membership (an example would be an association of base or local groups, e.g., a labor union of blacksmiths or potters); (c) primary grassroots organizations, which are distinguished from GSOs and MSOs by scope, level, complexity and function; primary groups are the smallest aggregations of individuals that engage in some joint development activity as an expression of collective interest (pp. 9-11). In this typology, GSOs and MSOs

collaborate with grassroots organizations and “operate on the next level above the primary grassroots organizations and seek to assist and support them” (Carroll, p. 11).

These GSOs and MSOs are typically organized almost exclusively around development issues, contrasted with relief or charity NGOs (though charity NGOs may also do development work). In cases from Chad, Mali and Senegal analyzed for this research, elements of Carroll’s typology include intermediation between GSOs (national-level NGOs providing services, e.g., training or help in finding loans) and primary grassroots organizations in neighborhoods or villages. I use “NGO” (the same as Carroll’s GSOs and MSOs) to describe the principal intermediary entity facilitating interaction between donor groups/INGOs and local organizations.

NGO activities span a range of efforts from academic research to advocacy, training, public debates and promotion of community infrastructure projects. NGOs – as the term is used in this research – may be considered “national,” because they operate within (and are an important element of) the institutional framework of developing countries. This distinguishes NGOs from international agencies (e.g., UN agencies) that usually have staff in capitals of developing countries. Sometimes the boundaries are blurred, as when expatriates work with (and sometimes for) NGOs that operate under national legislation, and are financially and legally independent from their sponsoring groups. Most typically, grassroots support organizations concentrate on providing programs and services in working class neighborhoods, rural communities or specific sectors of the urban population (market women, street vendors, cottage industries, artisans, etc.).

Intermediation: The Mechanics of Decentralization in Civil Society

In a sense, decentralization and devolution are not just about transferring powers from the central to the local level. They are about creating the intermediate institutions between center and periphery that break down new powers and functions into manageable chunks while overseeing their distribution and supporting their exercise in a manner that makes the new arrangement sustainable. The varieties of NGOs described above constitute examples of such activity and bring to mind a very relevant body of literature on intermediation.

Financial and social intermediation. By dictionary definition, intermediation means “the act of coming between.” The term is most often used in the economic development lexicon in reference to the insertion of intermediary financial institutions between central banks and local

borrowers. It may be thought of as “the process of taking in money (borrowing) so that it can be made available to individuals or institutions in the form of loans or investment” or, equivalently, “transforming financial assets into more widely preferred types of asset/liability.” There is an entire literature on financial intermediation in development that highlights its importance to economic prosperity (e.g., Mayer and Vives, 1996). This creation of institutional intermediaries is a class market function bringing together sellers and buyers, or agents of supply and demand – who might not otherwise have access to each other – and facilitating their transactions.

The notion of “social intermediation” broadens the meaning and usefulness of the term. It may be defined as “a process in which investments are made in the development of both human resources and institutional capital, with the aim of increasing the self-reliance of marginalized groups, preparing them to engage in formal financial intermediation” (Edgcomb & Barton, 1998, p. vii). In other words, social intermediation is financial intermediation with a capacity-building piece and may target sectors without access to credit structures in order to prepare individuals and groups to participate in banking and credit programs.

Still more broadly, social intermediation may be used to facilitate community organization and decision-making when developing a variety of infrastructure projects in developing countries. In this context, for example, social intermediation is defined as a process whereby communities are enabled to exercise collective action for the implementation and maintenance of water supply and sanitation systems. Social intermediation may be implemented by a variety of types of organizations (consulting firms, NGOs, government agencies, etc.). According to a World Bank (2005) report on water supply and sanitation, the “key functions of social intermediation are to: disseminate complete and impartial information on project rules; communicate responsibilities of various project stakeholders; assist communities to make decisions and organize themselves for improved water and sanitation systems; ensure that community decisions reflect the choice of all (women and men, poor and rich, all ethnic groups, etc.); and assist communities with any capacity building needs so that they can effectively carry out their project responsibilities” (p. 1).

Intermediary institutions collaborate with local organizations to help them benefit from relationships with central governments, international organizations and donor groups, and can facilitate transactions between local groups and the larger entities. They also help facilitate solicitation of funds (e.g., grants and loans) for CBOs. In the context of the research project, the

intermediary institutions studied during data collection were national-level NGOs which received support from INGOs and bilateral agencies, collaborating in turn with grassroots groups in various ways: training, organizational development, soliciting grants and loans, etc.

Understanding the role of intermediation in development. Local groups are often very small, ephemeral entities put together by an individual or group for a specific project and ending when financing (or interest) runs out. Others are permanent institutions with long-term goals and the capacity to find training resources and generate funds for projects. Some local groups may also have institutional links to religious entities, private development agencies or independent, seeking their own funding. There are natural limits to what community-based or local self-help efforts can do, and communities and community groups need support in mobilizing internal resources and gaining access to outside inputs, in order to enhance local capacity to tackle the problems that communities face. External organizations can fill this vital intermediary role by helping local groups build capacity and access resources. Many development strategies in Africa depend on intermediary NGOs to build multiple levels of intervention into development projects, facilitating interaction and collaboration from the international funding organizations down to local CBOs.

As seen in the literature discussed above, there are several different kinds (in name at least) of intermediary support organizations (ISOs), and many offer more than one set of services. The forms of organizational support vary with the history of intervention and current challenges. Brown and Kalegaonkar (1999) identify five broad types of support organizations: associations, alliances and networks; human and organization capacity-building organizations; financial resource organizations; research and information institutes; and intersectoral bridging organizations. The first four types of support organizations are concerned with strengthening capacities within the civil society sector; the last is concerned with building better relations between actors from civil society and from the state. Let's consider in detail the different functions of ISOs, particularly in terms of their relevance to the African NGOs and community groups studied for this project.

One purpose of intermediary support organizations is to provide a forum for NGOs and CBOs to interact with one another. Networks provide structures that facilitate education and discussion, permit shared understandings of development issues to emerge, and encourage coordinating strategies for addressing issues. This networking role builds on social capital in the

community and helps to overcome civil society's fragmentation tendencies by identifying shared concerns and by offering opportunities for mutual education and alliance-building. This kind of networking was in evidence in Chad, Mali and Senegal cases: CBOs often engaged in visits and exchanges with other local and regional groups. The wider use of ICTs (facilitated by NGO technical assistance) could perhaps further develop these networks and alliances. Tostan's campaign (described in Chapter 7) against genital mutilation is an example of this trend – the campaign grew from a few villages into a national phenomenon. Emerging NGO-CBO networks and alliances enable civil society to exert influence beyond individual groups, on a national, regional and international scale, an example of the growing “glocalization” movement.

NGOs and CBOs face scarcities in human resources critical to their ability to expand and improve programs. Many support organizations focus on strengthening the internal capacities of NGOs, addressing a array of issues from strategic thinking to organization development, leadership skills and financial management (Brown & Korten, 1991; Fowler, 1997). Support organizations that offer leadership training, or advice in managing growth, can help NGOs solve their problems of organizational and technical limitations.

Human and organization capacity building initiatives heighten the awareness of local groups to larger issues – and to the potential roles of other sectors – and so have impacts on the narrow focus and the parochialism of civil society actors; by developing shared concepts and languages from common experiences, CSOs may also become less subject to fragmentation and restricted perspectives (Brown & Kalegaonkar, 1999). Training programs, for example, build shared perspectives and understanding across regional and organizational differences.

NGOs as financial resource organizations. The dependence of many NGOs on external resources, the continued concern with 'donor fatigue' outlined above, the periodic threats of government restrictions on external resources, and the growing concern with the sustainability of local initiatives all delineate the importance of establishing sources of support for civil society groups that are nearer their own level.

This intermediary function may include amassing and distributing funds to local organizations, but more often financial support organizations act as a bridge between external resources and local actors, spanning the distance between donors and recipients. Research and information organizations can provide ideas, tools and perspectives grounded in the same values as local actors. Information support organizations provide links to ideas and programs emerging

in different regions and sectors that would otherwise remain inaccessible. They may also transform new ideas to fit local realities or recognize the wider relevance of local innovations.

Intersectoral bridging organizations. Some support organizations act as effective links between civil society and other institutions like government agencies or businesses. Such bridging organizations are critical in an increasingly interdependent world, and civil society organizations are catalysts for such kinds of interorganizational action (Brown, 1993). While relations between NGOs and the state are key factors in many development initiatives, there is evidence that relations with the business community are just as important for sustaining development initiatives. Organizations that span the gaps between civil society and other sectors help local organizations learn how to influence government policies and programs through advocacy. In many regions interest in policy advocacy has escalated dramatically in the last five years, and some civil society organizations have demonstrated new abilities to shape policy.

Called “bridging institutions,” intermediary support organizations have found an important niche by providing a link between the poor and community-based groups in developing countries, their governments, international NGOs, and funding agencies such as the World Bank or UN agencies. Intermediary NGOs help channel development assistance to CBOs, provide technical services and training, and encourage an enabling environment to strengthen local capacities.

NGOs have certain advantages as intermediary agents. Carroll (1992) referred to several advantages of using NGOs: their flexibility, informality, commitment, and participatory style outweighed any disadvantages and made them well suited for development projects aimed at alleviating poverty (p.1). Some advantages come from being more “local” than the INGOs: more field experience; familiarity with local and regional conditions; better rapport with the poor and a clearer understanding of local needs; knowledge of successful, low cost techniques relevant to poverty alleviation; experience in participatory project design, group dynamics and community mobilization (World Bank Institute, 1996b, pp. 1-2). NGOs are good at building “relational” or social capital between local groups and groups from other sectors: they have ties up and down the ladder of interaction, from contacts with grassroots groups at the local level to colleagues at the big donor agencies, and they have a stake in the development process.

NGOs play various intermediary roles in their collaboration with local groups. Regular “upkeep and maintenance” and providing an infrastructure for development (e.g., capacity

building goals) are fundamental to developing social capital and relationships between international funding agencies, national NGOs and local organizations. In the name of efficiency, intermediary NGOs have to do more on less funding, and capacity building within the group often gets neglected. As we have seen from the literature above, however, NGOs play an important role in the development process, and policymakers and donor groups should work to facilitate their activities and nurture their development.

Limitations of national groups as intermediary groups are evident as well: many NGOs have limited expertise, especially in financial and management areas; some NGOs may work in near isolation, with little communication with other NGOs; some NGOs are used to doing small-scale interventions and may not be ready to expand or “ramp up” for bigger programs; etc. (World Bank Institute, 1996b, p. 2). NGOs may also have to work hard to understand the overall context of their funding agencies’ programs, as well as the possible economic and social impacts of local or national intervention programs in their countries (getting the “big” picture). Finally the temptations and risks involved in handling outside funding themselves constitute no small liability. Every developing country is rife with stories of organizations founded for the public good that principally functioned to line the pockets of their own personnel.

Summarizing Decentralization: Value of Capacity Building and Support Organizations

Intermediary support organizations (ISOs) have emerged as important players in development over the last two decades, particularly in those settings characterized by diverse and productive development activities. ISO activities appear to be at least in part responses to internal and external challenges facing civil societies: (a) decentralized environments that put pressures on governments and local institutions; (b) an increasingly interdependent world; and (c) continual challenges to maintain capacity for groups involved in local development.

As a strategy for participatory development, of course, decentralization, like Swiss watches, may be the best or the worst in the world. The devil lies in the details, in how it is worked out and supported. Genuine devolution seems, from the literature reviewed, to offer better conditions for participatory development – but also to require more in the way of local capacity building – than other forms.

The Human Factor in Development

Ideas and practices concerning the role of human actors in economic development in Africa have changed appreciably over the last fifty years. In this section I review relevant theory and experience in the realms of human capital, social capital and civil society (including social and popular movements) that bear on the theme of the research, plus a glimpse at a new concept – “glocalization” – that addresses the new boundary-spanning networks and exchanges between local groups in the North and the South that are affecting development practice.

Human Capital Theory

In the 1960s, during the first “decade of development,” the concept of capital – traditionally embodied in physical or financial factors of production – was extended to include human contributions to the productive process as well. Though rooted in the work of British economists William Petty and Adam Smith, human capital theory was developed in the 1960s by American economists Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker. Becker postulated that since education and training both contribute to production and consume real resources, they should be considered as an investment in the future, undertaken with the purpose of increasing personal income (Becker, 1993). It is an extension of the notion that schools exist to provide students with information and skills for life and the workplace, and a short-term sacrifice of income (while in school) is acceptable given the monetary and non-monetary returns in the future.

Empirical research on the topic of human capital has focused on the relationship between education and wages, due to the availability and abundance of data sources with information on both education and wages over many years, particularly in the US. As a result, human capital theory equates workers’ knowledge levels with levels of formal schooling in estimating economic returns to education for individuals: more schooling leads to higher productivity and macroeconomic growth. Studies showing links between schooling and earnings – e.g., that a college graduate earns more than a high school graduate without any college, or with some college, and a high school graduate earns more than a high school dropout, etc. – have led to the popular view that more schooling inevitably leads to economic success. The increase in school participation rates, accompanied by growth trends in personal incomes in advanced industrial economies lent credence to the theory. Human capital theory has its critics over the years, however.

Critique of human capital theory. Since the 1970s, school enrolment and completion rates have continued to climb in the US while average incomes have stagnated, calling into question the veracity of human capital theory. While the relationship between formal education and better wages was readily established due to available data on schooling, the link between higher compensation and participation in other forms of education and training – e.g., nonformal education, informal learning, on-the-job training, etc. – has been more difficult to establish, and as Frazis and Spletzer (2005) have asserted, will require more longitudinal data. More fundamentally, critics of human capital theory have pointed out that correlation is not causation – i.e., that the association of higher levels of schooling with increased earnings does not demonstrate *ipso facto* either that skills acquired in schooling themselves produce the income gain (education might simply perform a function of “screening” for individuals who are already productive for other reasons) or that increased income is an unequivocal sign of greater productivity (it might simply result from socially-ordained distribution patterns).

In efforts to “retool” human capital theory, its advocates have taken three tacks: (a) suggesting that the *quality* of schooling is the problem, and calling for improved school standards; (b) focusing not on schooling but rather the necessity of lifelong job-related learning to succeed in an increasingly competitive, global environment; and (c) focusing narrowly on the continuing economic benefits for the educated, while also claiming more intangible spin-off benefits of formal schooling (Livingstone, 1997). Attempts to bolster human capital theory would be doomed if, as Livingstone asserted (1997, 1998), the theory fails to account for the growing gap between peoples’ increasing learning efforts and knowledge bases on the one hand, and the shrinking numbers of commensurate jobs on the other hand – the growing numbers of increasingly skilled, yet under- or un-employed persons looms as a critical social problem. Research points to evidence that many citizens’ human capital is “depreciating from underuse”; most workers engage in both nonformal and informal learning activities from which they receive a poor return in terms of compensation or better working conditions (Livingstone, 1997, p 11).

Human capital theory and its relation to African development. The first application of human capital theory in Africa goes back to early ideas (in the 1960s) of modernization and development, stressing the importance of nurturing the citizens in poor societies by providing appropriate education in order to improve economic conditions in underdeveloped nations. Moreover, Odogu (2004) noted that human capital theory, like modernization theory, attributes

the underdevelopment in Africa to elements within the countries themselves rather than elements outside the countries, and both theories agree with Western ideologies of liberalism and democracy; in many developing countries, modernization and human capital theories influenced post-independent governments to rapidly expand education to enhance national development.

There are several problems associated with human capital theory when applied to the African context. First, the disconnect between African formal schooling and availability of jobs is well established (see below). There is also the experience of cultural alienation as a result of educated Africans learning from a largely European curriculum (“academic colonialism”); students who graduate from primary and secondary schools do not go back to the villages, but prefer instead to look for jobs in the formal sector in cities (rural exodus), concentrating skilled labor in cities (Okrah, 2002). Some of most highly educated also move to cities in other African countries or abroad, to the US or Europe. The question remains: how can we build and invest in an African educational system to help all citizens, both in urban and rural settings, build knowledge and skills to address local problems?

Despite the expansion of formal education opportunities, schools in Africa have often been described as failures. One critique has focused on the use of curricula emphasizing skills for jobs in government or the formal economy: the growth of schooling after independence was not matched by the expected increase in formal sector employment. African schools produced many educated but unemployable graduates; ‘educated unemployment’ became a political issue in Africa, and as McGrath (2003) asserted, this led to the introduction of new post-school institutions and programs (e.g., the village polytechnics of Kenya) intended to make school-leavers able to enter labor markets, whether in rural or urban contexts. The regular technical colleges, however, continued to focus on servicing formal industry and expanded in numbers and enrolments, often exceeding the level of growth of formal employment.

This brings up issues of demand-driven versus supply-driven systems of education and training, covered more extensively below in sections on local capacity building its relationship to adult education. Suffice it to say for now that this research project has focused on demand-driven learning, projects where capacity development is paired with tangible opportunities for people to obtain skills, then find employment or other economic opportunities, thus influencing sustainable development at the local level.

Social Capital Theory

The notion of “social capital” focuses on the resources that individuals or groups possess in the form of the networks, relations and institutional capacities that they can draw on. Social capital may be represented, for example, by a set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that encourage cooperation among them. Just like its physical and human counterparts, social capital may contribute greatly to productive activities. While social capital may seem less “tangible” than physical or human capital, investment in social relations nevertheless brings returns in the marketplace, and individuals with the most social capital typically have the highest incomes (Coleman, 1988).

Social capital theory dates back to the 18th and 19th centuries, when James Madison and Alexis de Toqueville emphasized relations between the emerging American democracy and pluralistic associational life. Recent themes focus on the *decline* of social capital in the West, particularly in the US. The prevalence of television and computer games is seen as having a profound privatizing effect which can undercut society’s social capital (Putnam, 1995).

Social capital pushes beyond human capital concepts in that social networks and connections among and between individuals, and the norms of equality, reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from these connections bring benefits to society: a more trustful society, a more efficient economy, and better governance (Putnam, 1993; 1995). The social processes that thrive in these social networks make the connections between investment in human capital and local development possible. Activities such as mentoring, job networking and mutual support combined with high levels of social capacity are seen as factors leading to success in business or education. An example would be mutual support among entrepreneurs to promote self-reliant economic development, without need for government.

While declining in the West, social capital is assumed to be in greater supply in developing countries, and the elements mentioned above – reciprocity, mutual support and social networking, mentoring, etc. – are typically abundant in African settings, facilitating citizen action and the growth of civil society institutions. This research project has focused on the role of African NGOs in encouraging and tapping social capital among local groups to facilitate grassroots development.

Social capital in Africa. The notion of social capital is arguably very applicable to Africa, where traditional culture has placed great emphasis and importance on kinship and

residential networks and on the reinforcement that a framework of traditions and shared norms offer to individuals. In this context, social capital helps materially in getting things done, providing for basic needs at the local level. Relationships within informal networks can be found in households, villages, cities or ethnic groups; these networks also have ties to more formal organizations, such as micro credit institutions, banks, agricultural cooperatives, etc.

Often, the outputs of social capital in Africa are not monetized: they are exchangeable and potentially marketable, but they don't typically involve money and escape the reach of government statisticians – examples of non-monetized goods and services include tending animals or gardens, working together at harvest time, child care, building houses, etc. (Rose, 1997). Nevertheless, these examples recognizing the benefits of social capital represent new ways to build enabling environments for groups to assess local needs and find training or other skills development opportunities, in order to assume new responsibilities – in governance, business development, local environmental protection, etc. – at the local level.

Needs vary according to different contexts, but there are some commonalities in developing local economies with social capital. In a case study involving a local training center in South Africa, Gibb (2005) asserted that two pre-conditions – strong social capital in which to ground local development initiatives, and appropriate skills training linked to the needs of local employers – are “required to generate a form of local economic development which benefits more than a privileged few” (p. 147). This example of building or reinforcing indigenous social capital illustrates the notion of “readiness” (an example of “insightful agility”) of communities that have capacity to take responsibility for more facets of local development.

Social capital helps bridge sociological and economic perspectives in development, providing practitioners with better explanations for the relationships between local economic development, communities and institutions. The message relevant to this study is that a social capital perspective is important to development of capacity building strategies that assist communities to tap existing resources and mobilize other growth-enhancing resources. Social capital does not exist in a political vacuum; it can be used to promote as well as undermine the public good. Capacity development projects should take into account community social networks and social capital, for these networks are one of the primary resources that the poor have in managing risk and vulnerability, and outside agents should complement these resources rather than substitute for them (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

Civil Society

Notions of civil society offer a third way of conceptualizing the role of human actors in development. The term refers broadly to organizations in both urban and rural settings in developing countries: grassroots organizations; neighborhood groups; formal and informal urban business associations; cooperatives of artisans or microentrepreneurs; non-profit intermediary NGOs allied with urban workers or farmers, etc. Bratton (1994) defines civil society as a sphere of social interaction between households and the state, manifest in norms of community cooperation, voluntary associations and public communication networks (p. 2).

The concept of civil society helps in understanding the democratization process in developing countries. “Civil society” remains an ambiguous term, despite its recent prominence in the development literature. Visions of civil society differ according to perspectives of the various stakeholders: governments, businesspeople, non-profit organizations, NGOs, and communities. In general, civil society approaches to development emphasize that organizing at the local level is an important and neglected aspect of development, and that democracy is the best form of government. A civil society development approach looks to the history of community development in the West for inspiration, where local governance once flourished (and perhaps still does in some New England communities), and where civic organizations, non-profits and other kinds of local groups still thrive.

Because social capital is not easily accounted for in money terms, its significance tends to be overlooked in advanced societies, and it remains a more important concept in developing countries, and especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where so much economic activity is not yet fully monetized, and extended family ties are primary (Rose, 1997, ¶ 1). Imbuing these social ideas with economic jargon may be a bit awkward, but it does at least increase the marketability and persuasiveness of the concept of civil society for development project management. Civil society organizations in Africa – NGOs, community-based organizations, grassroots groups, etc. – reflect these societal conditions and help local people negotiate change on their own terms.

Critique of civil society organizations. Along with euphoria in development circles over the potentials of civil society has come some more realistic assessments of the shortcomings of the entities in question. Mitlin (2001) sums up these concerns about civil society groups: a generally male elite dominates leadership positions; few members participate; there is a lack of

involvement in decision-making; members have no common vision or agendas; etc. These are certainly challenging issues for civil society organizations everywhere. Despite these possible shortcomings there is potential for local development impact, when grassroots groups collaborate with intermediary support groups, through sustained organizational development. NGOs may also take on a role of policy making and advocacy in collaboration with local CBOs, working on behalf of several different groups.

Civil society includes as well the phenomenon of social and popular movements: groups of people organized around issues that do not generally fall along traditional lines of economic or political interests. Often, social movement groups are considered as spontaneous organizations that coalesce around a particular issue, with self-organization, high participation levels and roughly democratic decision-making arrangements. Groups may come together over pressing local or national (even international) concerns, such as civil rights, girls education, women's rights, environmental protection, etc., and are typically set up in opposition to conventional political groups, and often the state itself.

In Africa many small groups have aligned themselves with larger groups or networks, because of mutual interest in a particular social movement, such as protecting natural areas or resource endowments in developing countries. Social movements theory is rich in its variety and innovative in theory production, with multiple concepts under the social movement umbrella: collective behavior theory, collective identity, Marxist theory, movement cultures, frame analysis, new social movement theory, resource mobilization theory, social activism (e.g., feminist, anti-poverty, ecological), political process models, utopian theory, etc. Herein lies one important critique of the movement as well. While powerful in ideas, their practice in developing countries often does not fit the theory: European or American organizations typically provide funding and ready-made organizational structures to developing country movements, thus shaping the identities, agendas and actions along the ideas of Western experience and there is a danger that local movements in developing countries will not be able to develop their own identities (Hira & Parfitt, 2004). This might be a concern, for example, with the international NGOs – and their local partner organizations – involved with monitoring oil industry initiatives (e.g., the Chad-Cameroon pipeline) in Africa. It is important that local groups develop their own identities, and choose their own social goals, even if they don't necessarily reflect their partner INGO's goals.

Successful social movements, and indeed development schemes in general, depend on people working to empower themselves, within their own local contexts, and tapping all available resources, including support from local networks, national NGOs and international organizations. The role of indigenous NGOs as support or bridging mechanisms in this process is not to be overlooked, as they help provide the initial glue of sustainability for local groups. The organizational landscape resulting from successful local social movements or self-help development projects may not be familiar to Western NGOs, but it better reflects local conditions and aspirations, as developing societies continue to face new challenges and opportunities in more globalized, democratized and decentralized contexts.

“Glocalization” Movements

All the movements described above occur in an atmosphere of growing globalization – the increasing interdependence of national and local economies. At an International Labour Organisation conference, entitled “The Changing Worlds of Work and Learning,” it was remarked that “despite its growing ubiquity, globalisation remains a controversial concept, and rightfully so. Globalisation has proven to be both beneficial and destructive. The benefits of globalisation are not being equitably shared” (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2002, p. 35). The implication from this assessment is that the effects of globalization can be dangerous to poor people and informal sector workers in developing countries, unless efforts are undertaken to provide skills and training for those groups.

With growing trends of globalization and trade liberalization market reforms, the involvement of other community actors, e.g., private sector or civil society groups, at local, national and international levels, would be enhanced. A key organizational challenge in an era of globalization and decentralization, therefore, is to foster a culture of strategic alliances (building social capital) between the different actors involved in community development. The concept of glocalization offers a new twist on the globalization debate.

What is glocalization? The term derived from a combination of the words “global” and “local.” By definition, the term refers to individuals, organizations or communities that are more inclined to think globally and act locally. Glocalization in a development context refers to a global outlook adapted to local conditions (though the term has also been used in business environments to mean making a global product fit local markets). It is seen by some

organizations as a strategy to reform the excesses of globalization by promoting an equitable balance between the global and local dimensions of international affairs. The Glocal Forum (2003) views the goals of glocalization being (a) to establish a link between the benefits of the global dimension (in terms of technology, information and economics) and local realities, while, (b) “establishing a bottom-up system for the governance of globalization, based on greater equality in the distribution of the resources and on an authentic social and cultural rebirth of disadvantaged populations” (pp. 13-14).

Glocalization theories arise when studying local organizations in diverse contexts – different countries, and different kinds of problems, opportunities, resources, collaborating groups, etc – but with similar kinds of solutions to problems, and often similar results. The literature on glocalization details a convergence of experiences of the various international groups involved, and possible common ground between them and local development groups in Africa studied for this project. One example might be the plight of poor farmers in African countries, growing crops – e.g., cotton or peanuts – for regional and international markets, and facing similar kinds of problems and opportunities because of the global nature of the business: farmers in one or more countries may suddenly face difficult barriers because import laws change in Europe or the US. This example of interconnectedness represents what Gabardi (2000) called “diverse, overlapping fields of global-local linkages... a condition of globalized panlocality” (pp. 33-34).

A convergence of experiences. Interaction between local groups and learning exchanges are increasingly described in the literature. The Groots International organization asserts that local groups are particularly interested in “peer learning exchanges” and sharing documentation on local approaches that : (a) help groups expand their development activities, foster participation, grow, mentor, and link with others; (b) improve community livelihoods, enterprise, marketing, and micro finance strategies; and (c) foster improvements to housing, health facilities, sanitation, water, transport and other infrastructure (Groots International, 2005). This practice of group interaction and exchange through visits and regular interaction was also explored in the case studies below.

Capacity Building

The challenge and problem of capacity building have emerged as a central issue throughout the proceeding sections, insofar as achieving genuine devolution and accentuating the human factor in development both suppose increased capacity to manage new productive activities outside the central echelons of government. Capacity is a complex phenomenon, as evidenced by all the interest manifested in the literature in how to develop it. As we have seen from preceding sections of this chapter, decentralization often creates a climate ready for capacity building in developing countries, because expected services are no longer available. National-level NGOs (and collaborating donor groups) play an important intermediary role in helping communities and CBOs face challenges and take advantage of opportunities as a result of decentralization. Adult and nonformal education also plays an important part in the process. The intersection between decentralization, intermediation and capacity building provide an important framework for rest of the dissertation.

This section explores capacity building (or “capacity development”), focusing on capacity building themes in developing countries and in Africa. A definition is offered, as well as some description of the varieties of capacity building movements.

Capacity: Definitions and Background

Capacity building refers to approaches, strategies and methodologies used by stakeholders – both in developing country organizations and external organizations – to improve performance at the individual, organizational or sector level (Bolger, 2000). Pinning down a definition for capacity building in international development remains elusive. Morgan (1999) asserts that capacity building “is a risky, murky, messy business with unpredictable and unquantifiable outcomes, uncertain methodologies, contested objectives, many unintended consequences, little credit to its champions and long time lags” (p. 1). This provocative assessment serves as a point of departure in an effort to: understand what capacity building means in the context of development; examine how development organizations go about building and reinforcing it; and, gain a better understanding about how research, evaluation and policy review can be used in the context of capacity development programs.

CARE Canada asserts that “capacity development, like many development concepts, is not clearly defined and is used so indiscriminately as to render it meaningless: like ‘good

governance’, ‘civil society’, ‘sustainability’, ‘empowerment’ and even ‘development’ itself, the term has become part of the professional jargon” (Hazleton, 2000, p. 10). Getting beyond the jargon of development is obviously a first critical task in a research project like this. We will begin, therefore, by trying to parse out the basic meaning of the term.

What’s in a term? Definitionally speaking, *capacity* is a measure of the ability or potential to perform a task; in the context of development, capacity includes the ability to implement policies and programs in specific areas relevant to development. *Capacity building* or *capacity development* (terms used interchangeably) would then be any activity – e.g., education and training programs, skills-development workshops, hands-on exercises, etc. – designed to improve, increase or complement that capacity or ability.

The United Nations Development Program (1998, p. 5) defines capacity as the ability of individuals and organizations to perform functions effectively, efficiently and in a sustainable manner. Included in this framework on capacity and its relation to development are three notions: 1) capacity is part of a continuing process; 2) human resources and the ways in which they are utilized are important to capacity development; and 3) the context within which organizations operate will also be a key consideration for development strategies (UNDP, 1994, p. 2). Following this characterization and within a development context, it would follow that capacity building encompasses programs or processes that are designed – with attention to organizational context and current capacities – to improve the abilities of individuals and organizations to perform needed tasks in an effective, efficient and sustainable way.

Capacity building in context. Any discussion of capacity building must be related to broader development goals. As discussed above, the focus of international development has evolved over the years: a major change came when the goal of economic development began to be complemented by other goals. Programs promoting “human development” (beyond what the UNDP calls a “fixation” on economic growth and GDP) surfaced in the 1990s and this concept came to represent programs with “a broader and more inclusive view of people’s capacities – not merely to gain a higher income, but to enlarge their choices, to know more and do more, and to have the health, the skills and the vigour to lead full and satisfying lives” (UNDP, 2002, p. 2). This approach to promote human development was also a step beyond the typical focus of offering external technical assistance to developing countries.

Milèn (2001), for example, suggested three phases for capacity building strategies: (a) a needs assessment to identify capacity gaps, (b) design and implementation of a strategic plan based on the identification of capacity gaps, and (c) monitoring and evaluation, all interlinked and overlapping to form a continuous cycle of capacity building (p. 2). The capacity needs assessment part of the strategy has been typically addressed by international donor agencies through technical cooperation, but more and more capacity needs assessment is now being addressed by intermediary support organizations (e.g. NGOs) in developing countries. As we have seen in the discussion above, resulting trends have led us to rethink TC and aid programs.

The UNDP (2002) suggests that there are three mutually interdependent levels in capacity development:

1. *individual*: “enabling individuals to embark on a continuous process of learning” – building on existing knowledge and skills, and extending in new directions;
2. *institutional*: “rather than trying to construct new institutions, . . . governments and donors instead need to seek out existing initiatives,” and encourage their growth;
3. *societal*: “capacities in the society as a whole.” Without opportunities to use and expand capacities, “skills rapidly erode, or become obsolete. And if they find no opportunities locally, trained people will join the brain drain and take their skills overseas” (pp. 9-10).

One “mistaken assumption” of the traditional model of technical cooperation – the asymmetric, unequal relationships between donors and recipients of aid – must be addressed. The UNDP asserts that “the development industry creates *objects* out of development initiatives rather than *partners*” (2002, pp. 10-11). The development bureaucracies tend to exert power in relationships, often just because of their sheer size and complexity, and control of programs rests with donors despite rhetoric about building shared development objectives and illusions of partnership. All these issues have implications for capacity development in Africa.

Localizing Capacity Building

One way to make the notion of capacity building more concrete is to specify the environment to which it applies. In this thesis, we are talking in good part about capacity at the *local* level – i.e., in the lowest and most immediate jurisdictions of social life: communities, neighborhoods, grassroots organizations and businesses. “Local,” of course, depends on context. Uphoff’s (1986) configuration of the strata of decision making defines local into three levels or

sub-divisions: the *locality* (a set of communities having cooperative/commercial relations; the *community* (self-contained residential unit); and, within it, the *group* (self-identified persons with common interests: neighborhoods, families, occupational groups, etc.) (pp. 10-11). Any group found within this three-tiered configuration will be considered “local” for the purposes of this research.

Siri (2002) notes fundamental characteristics of local capacity building: it must be demand-driven; it must be tailored to the expressed needs of community-based organizations (CBOs); and it must transfer skills and knowledge in management and information systems, human resource development, and project implementation and evaluation (p. 9). These characteristics focus on practical outcomes and appear to fit with a participatory approach – described by Capacity.org (2003) as “a people-centered, non-hierarchical development approach to empower, and promote local ownership” (pp. 1-2) – which was generally employed by groups chosen for the case studies below.

The theme of broad-based participation and the promotion of local interests in capacity development projects also runs parallel to the theme of development for transformation. Some researchers (e.g., Bolger, 2000; Morgan, 1998) assert that capacity building projects based on (a) following a locally-driven agenda, (b) an emphasis on on-going learning, (c) long-term investments in support and funding, and (d) integrating activities at various levels to address complex problems, can be instrumental in promoting change and transformation.

Capacity can be viewed as an instrument to facilitate attaining objectives of a system, group or individual. Capacity does not exist on its own, and must be linked to performance and practical outcomes; at the same time, it is never static but part of a dynamic process, requiring frequent renewal and investment. Capacity cannot be forced on an individual or a group, nor simply conceived as financial and technical transfers; it is developed and nurtured using broad-based, participatory processes, characterized by continual learning and training, through collaboration between local groups, NGOs and international groups.

While the goal of capacity building is to enhance skills and abilities, it is also fundamentally about change and transformation at the individual, organization and societal levels, by addressing issues of values, attitudes and conditions in order to create and nurture an enabling environment for sustainable development. Ultimately, as displayed in many of the case studies below, the capacity to be flexible enough to take advantage of new opportunities, and

develop skills to build relationships to cope with change in a globalizing world, is perhaps the most valuable kind of capacity for local organizations, echoing Fowler's theme (reviewed in this chapter) of organizational capacity as 'insightful agility' – the ability to respond to challenges and circumstances to create sustainable, long-term impacts.

Enabling Environments for Capacity Building

If there is a lack of human capacity for certain purposes at local levels, this situation has not come about or persisted for no reason. The environment has not motivated, supported and “enabled” the development of new capacity.

The notion of an “enabling environment” is a key one. It can be defined as the political and regulatory environment around a community that enables that unit or the groups within it to unite, identify its own resources, engage in self-help activities, and become more self-reliant. An enabling environment is also a set of interrelated conditions – e.g., legal, bureaucratic, fiscal, informational, political, social and cultural conditions – that have an impact on the capacity of civil society organizations (NGOs, CBOs, grassroots groups, etc.) and other actors to engage in development processes in a sustained and effective manner. (World Bank, 2004).

Some laws and policies can help create an enabling environment that facilitates – or at least does not impede – peoples' participation in development. Two programs in Madagascar run by the NGO Pact illustrate an enabling environment in the legal or bureaucratic area. Community groups were encouraged to advocate for their own issues and participate in public policy debates at the local, regional and national levels. These groups spearheaded discussion about changes to promote greater transparency in municipal budgets and taxation, and modification of sales taxes on agricultural inputs (Pact, 2004).

Enabling environments and organizational development. Organizations do not exist in a vacuum, but rather in particular environments to which they are closely linked. This environment provides multiple contexts that affect the organization and its performance, and how it operates, and the concept of enabling environments is key to understanding and explaining forces that shape the character and performance of organizations (Lusthaus, et. al., 2002). There are factors outside the organization that influence its structure, performance and, in some cases, its very existence, and these factors combine to create an enabling environment within which individuals and organizations seek to achieve their goals. To facilitate discussion

about the evolving institutional and organizational frameworks around organizations, an IDRC report identified three forces in the enabling environment: the institutions and formal rules of the game, the institutional ethos (largely informal rules of a society), and capabilities (labor, natural resources and geographic assets or limitations) (Lusthaus, et. al., 2002).

Ultimately, this discussion leads to new questions for organizations about their impact on the enabling environment: To what extent can external investment agencies (i.e., international funders) change the enabling environment? Under what conditions would those agencies want to support an organization, or a set of organizations, without investing in creating an enabling environment? What institutional environments enable local stakeholders to manage their resources to promote local capacity development? The literature provides background material on enabling environments for local development. The concept here is addressed mainly in how to provide support to intermediary NGOs, who in turn support CBOs in developing countries.

Means for Local Capacity Building: The Role of Adult and Nonformal Education

How are capacities to be built at the local level? Some competence simply comes from exercising new functions and assuming new responsibilities. As the French saying (often repeated in francophone countries like Chad, Senegal and Mali) goes, “C’est en forgeant qu’on devient forgeron!” It is by working metal that one becomes a blacksmith. But learning is much facilitated by a reliable source of instruction and support. Unhappily, formal schools in francophone West Africa, as we have seen, have traditionally been focused on a classical and distinctly non-vocational curriculum and are rarely open to any one who is “over-aged” anyway. It has typically been the task of government and private-sponsored adult and nonformal education programs to fill the gap and create a source of new learning for those past school age.

Adult and nonformal education (ANFE) encompasses any program promoting learning outside the traditional state-sponsored elementary and secondary school system. Often, ANFE programs target marginalized populations: farmers, informal sector workers, women, school leavers, etc. Nonformal education (NFE), also called “out-of-school” education, developed through the recognition that government-sponsored school-based educational systems were unable to meet all the educational needs of developing countries. According to Colleta and Holsinger, nonformal education “grew out of the realization that universal compulsory schooling, with its high costs and labor-intensive characteristics, is not always the most effective

technology for meeting the diverse needs of postcolonial societies” (1982, p. 146). Because of the perceived benefits of ANFE for adults and out-of-school youth, it has been an important element in development programs for many years.

Adult Education Dimensions of Local Capacity Building

The goal of development – to help people identify, address and solve their own problems – also encourages people to begin taking the initiative to influence and determine their own future in sustainable way. As a means to build capacity for individuals and institutions in developing countries, adult education programs can be used as a programmatic focus. Adult education methodologies figure prominently in nonformal education programs for development around the world. Ewert (1991) has noted that development is a long-term process to address basic problems in developing countries, and that nonformal education strategies emerged as a key part of development programs in response to limitations and problems with earlier models of social change (p. 85).

As an educational practice and as a field of research and inquiry, adult education has sought to differentiate itself from other kinds of teaching and learning. This is particularly evident when adult education is compared to pedagogy, the art and theory of teaching, children in particular. The long time adult educator Malcolm Knowles popularized “andragogy,” the theory of adult learning. While the term has been useful for practitioners in the field of adult education, Merriam and Caffarella note that andragogy “is less of a theory and more of a set of assumptions about adult learners that learners and educators alike can use to strengthen the learning transaction” (1999, p. 286). Those assumptions can nevertheless be of value to developing capacity-building educational programs.

The andragogy model makes five assumptions: 1) adults tend to be self-directed human beings; 2) adults have a reservoir of experiences, a rich resource for learning; 3) the readiness of adults to learn is closely related to the developmental tasks of their social roles; 4) adults are more problem centered than subject centered in learning; 5) adults are motivated to learn by internal rather than external factors (Knowles, 1980, pp. 44-55). Training in development programs often follow adult education concepts – particularly in noting how adults are problem-centered in learning, and using life experiences as a resource to be recognized and developed.

Differentiating Formal, Nonformal and Informal Education.

Formal education is traditional state-sponsored schooling, covering the first twelve years or more of school. *Nonformal* education differs in that: it is not compulsory schooling, it does not necessarily lead to a diploma or formal certificate, and it exists outside the formal school system framework and is not usually state-supported (SIL, 1999). *Informal* education is typically unplanned, unstructured and serendipitous, whereas nonformal education usually follows a structured curriculum, with clear and measurable learning objectives, including regular assessment of knowledge and learning. Informal learning occurs in both formal and nonformal settings. NFE emphasizes skill development in less structured, non-traditional settings, including technical training provided by NGOs, or apprenticeships and other kinds of on-the-job training.

There is obviously much learning, both individually and collectively, that goes on outside formal educational settings. “Nonformal” education settings abound: study groups; staff development workshops; campus participant education programs; associations, collectives or cooperatives; consciousness-raising groups, etc. There is a variety of environments in which “informal” learning can occur, the most common example of which is the on-the-job training that helps individual workers learn their tasks, as well as how to fit into work cultures.

Following on the assumptions about adult learning, Brookfield (1986) identified several commonalities in nonformal learning settings: participants are adults, exploring a field of knowledge, skills, and experiences in a group setting where participants bring their own experiences, skills and knowledge to their learning experiences; the learning process is characterized by participation and respect for individual members and the group; and, the teaching-learning process is subject to continuous negotiation of objectives, methods, and evaluative criteria (pp. 2-3). Many of these commonalities emerged in the case studies below.

Effectiveness of ANFE Programs

Nonformal education programs help adults gain important literacy and vocational skills and lead more fulfilling lives. One policy issue concerns the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of education, particularly traditional schooling versus nonformal education. While funding priorities remain focused on formal education, particularly primary education, the success and cost-effectiveness of ANFE programs could be seen as compelling reasons for more support for these programs.

While some adult basic education (ABE) programs were considered expensive and ineffective, Lauglo (2001) touts research showing that “‘minimum literacy’ is achieved at less cost among the kind of adults and youth who are motivated to take part in ABE, than the cost of 3-4 years of primary schooling” (p. 2). Lauglo enumerated seven reasons why the development community should invest in ABE in Africa: 1) basic education serves as a foundation for improved community conditions; 2) illiterate adults constitute a major barrier to poverty alleviation; 3) “investment in ABE and in primary schooling produces positive synergy” (parents support their children’s education); 4) ABE helps alleviate gender inequities by targeting women; 5) participatory curricula empower the poor and disadvantaged groups; 6) “literate mothers are better able to protect their children’s health”; and 7) literacy and arithmetic skills leads to improved livelihoods (2001, p. 1). These findings support the notion that ABE programs employing local teachers and partnering with local NGOs, using local languages and curricula geared to local needs, etc., help African countries take steps toward local capacity building.

Should ANFE programs claim a higher priority in funding for education? SIL International (1999) asserts that an exclusive focus on formal education in countries with many adult illiterates “creates enormous familial and social dysfunction; reduces parental support in general and parental ability to support the educational process in particular; and, causes long-term economic problems by educating children for work and roles which do not exist” (p. 1). A balanced approach to setting educational priorities, taking the needs of all learners – children, adolescents, young adults, older adults, school dropouts, etc., – should be considered. This diversity of needs and goals impacts the design of ANFE programs for developing countries.

Organizational development: A “virtuous spiral” of learning. All organizations learn, sometimes consciously, sometimes less so, and development organizations are no exception. Fowler (2000b) asserts that organizational learning often starts with the simple interplay between action and reflection, and he takes the learning circle developed by Taylor and turns it into a “learning spiral” concept. The spiral pattern – action, reflection, learning and planning – can be applied to individuals and organizations. The spiral effect comes about as “the next reflection after action has the benefit of being able to look back and ‘down’ on the previous reflection and learning – the process should be cumulative, not circular” (Fowler, p. 137). Fowler’s “virtuous spiral” comprises four elements – performance, reputation, learning, and adaptation – “that feed positively into each other”; this new spiral describes the actions of an agile and successful NGO

as it seeks to learn and gain insights “to produce better impact and enhanced social value, which reinforces a positive reputation, which feeds resources, and so the spiral continues” (Fowler, 2000b, pp. 181-4). One cycle of capacity building activities – assessing needs, building skills and abilities, finding funding opportunities for projects, etc., often leads to new cycles of capacity building activities.

Evidence of ANFE’s Role: The PADLOS Education Study

The PADLOS Education Study (published in 1998) sought to determine how civil society organizations in Africa acquire the skills necessary to assume new development responsibilities – made possible largely as a result of decentralization – and reach higher levels of self-governance. PADLOS, a French acronym for the Sahelian Local Development Support Project, was funded by the Club du Sahel (part of OECD) and involved a group of researchers gathering first-hand data in dozens of sites across five West African countries.

PADLOS focused on the dynamics of how groups assumed responsibility for local development, in a climate of growing decentralization – both top-down (administrative) and bottom-up (initiated by civil society institutions). By looking at activities of indigenous groups, the study analyzed how local people gained skills, spread knowledge, attained some degree of financial self-sufficiency, and institutionalized and adapted development activities to fit local settings and needs (Easton, et. al, 1998a, pp. xv-xvi). Report highlights are offered here, along with implications for LCB in Africa.

The major findings, focusing on how local groups increased participation in local development, provide some important background and context to the dissertation topic. The report cited how West African grassroots organizations assumed new responsibilities and created new institutions. One prominent example (also discussed below in the chapter on Mali) concerned how Malian cotton farmers created agricultural cooperatives and took on new marketing responsibilities after decentralization and changes in the national cotton industry, spurring new business ventures and local investment. Often, there was some quantity of “undiscovered” human capacity – in the form of individuals who had acquired new skills by various means – that enabled local groups to start taking on new responsibilities.

Most success stories studied by PADLOS researchers were *multisectoral* in nature, initiated by new income-generating activities and incorporating those activities in multiple

sectors of the local economy. Finding opportunities for local groups and individuals to use newly acquired skills was important: “The common denominator among successful experiments in local-level assumption of development responsibility seems to lie in the close interweaving of training and the application of knowledge” (Easton, et. al, 1998b, p. 10). The importance of multiple dimensions of local group activities, and the connection between training (usually language/literacy training) and its direct application (using new skills for group management, income-generating ventures, etc.) reinforces the connection between decentralization and capacity building, and also finds root in the case studies studied below.

The important role of external support in starting local groups. The PADLOS research team discovered that most of the groups studied during field work were launched by outside parties; a good number were developed by local actors, and some were of “mixed” origin – started by internal and external initiatives (Easton, et. al, 1998b, p. 11). This observation raised questions about what “local” meant in terms of how groups started. There were essentially only a few “local” groups that did not have that “mixed” quality: many groups that claimed to be indigenous were started by individuals from the region that had actually returned there after an extended stay outside the region; sometimes the impetus for a new group came from an association of community members living elsewhere (witness the numerous West African organizations in Europe which support groups in their native countries).

This issue of local/external impetus for developing new groups also came to the fore in the case studies from all three countries (Chad, Mali and Senegal) during this research project. These themes are explored below in case studies documenting elements of “outside-driven” and “inner-driven” development models for local groups, models which usually include some collaboration with intermediary NGOs. The PADLOS report concluded that support from outside organizations was most effective when it concentrated on creating and sustaining a environment that was favorable to local initiatives, e.g., removing the economic, political and technical obstacles to local capitalization efforts (Easton, et. al, 1998b, p. 15). The ways outside help establishes an enabling environment for local development are also discussed below.

One consistent theme in the PADLOS study’s analysis of how local groups started was the existence of several common elements or “ingredients” crucial to developing local organizations: a favorable environment; perception of a challenge or opportunity; a change agent; and “support and appropriation of the innovation by some respected and/or

institutionalized sector of local society” (Easton, et. al, 1998b, p. 11). The second ingredient – a perception of a challenge or an opportunity – is often key to the process, particularly when local groups have an opening to take on some aspect of local or regional development such as starting their own economic activities, running local schools, managing area natural resources, etc.

PADLOS analysis: New responsibilities for local groups. The report contained analysis of causal factors around assumption of local responsibility for development. The first factor centered on the emergence and further development of the self-governance movement in West Africa, focusing on “a process of local ‘capitalization’ along five convergent dimensions” – physical/ecological, financial, institutional, intellectual and cultural – which are closely interrelated and interdependent (Easton, et. al, 1998b, pp. 11-12). For example, intellectual and technical capitalization concerns how local citizens go about acquiring new knowledge and skills, and applying those skills in practical ways (e.g., managing new ecotourism activities), which can lead to new skill needs and new cycles of capacity development.

Opportunities for training and/or literacy instruction for participants are often missing from development initiatives, and this missing element impacts on local people’s ability to assume new responsibilities. At the same time, while we know that local people don’t start from a “blank slate” in terms of skills and educational levels, we often don’t know much about the human resource capabilities in local African settings.

An assessment of existing local training “systems” (both figuratively and latent) for the PADLOS project in West Africa displayed an astonishing variety of local knowledge and skills upon which local groups can rely when taking on new responsibilities. Based on the local data, “the rough outlines of what might be called a ‘local human resources development system’” began to emerge, a multifaceted system that remains largely uncoordinated (Easton, et. al, 1998a, p. 65). Elements of this system included: formal primary schools; Koranic and Bible schools; networks of migration (a two-way exchange between rural areas and urban centers); literacy training and nonformal basic education (often more available than formal primary schooling); short-term technical training; and traditional education and knowledge. This informal human resource development system shows the considerable diversity in human resources available at the local level in the communities studied.

The report demonstrated that it was typically literacy and nonformal education programs – organized by NGOs, the state, religious institutions or the communities themselves – that

served as an “homogenizer” of human resources, and “as a retraining system to enable primary school dropouts, Koranic students and returned émigrés to refresh and update their skills, learn to apply them to the practical concerns of the community, association or enterprise,” and develop a common set of technical tools (Easton, et. al, 1998a, p. 75).

The democratic challenge and development of a new social contract. When local groups start new activities and assume new functions, they need to expand training opportunities and develop new leaders in a more democratic fashion. The local groups and associations studied by PADLOS may constitute “an important testing ground for African modes of democracy, and a source of lessons” for society – participants will seek “increasingly sophisticated professional training” to perform managerial functions and learn to run their groups more democratically and transparently (Easton, et. al, 1998b, pp. 12-14).

The PADLOS report also asserted that a *new social contract* – i.e., new relationships among the various social groups – was necessary for local governance initiatives to succeed: “The need to mobilize all the skills required by a new development activity often pushes local associations to transcend barriers of age, gender and social status which previously appeared impermeable” (Easton, et. al, 1998b, p. 14). Developing these kinds of new relationships is an important key to local development given the diversity of stakeholders in many African settings.

PADLOS conclusions. The rest of the PADLOS-Education report focused on the dynamics of skill mobilization and capacity building at the local level. Several themes are described briefly here. As discussed above, one major theme concerns the discovery of a “hidden” human resource system where successful local organizations used all means at their disposal – sometimes latent human resources – to build knowledge and skill bases. People involved with organizations brought with them various competencies developed through eclectic education and training backgrounds: primary and secondary schooling, religious training, nonformal education, technical/extension training, and traditional African education. This brings up the notion of the importance of finding ways of tapping all resources and (often undiscovered) capacities in community settings.

Literacy and NFE programs bring out diverse and latent human resources, preparing people for new responsibilities. These programs are generally successful when following three imperatives: (a) a dovetailing of training and application; (b) real prospective employment possibilities in the wings; and, (c) culturally innovative and critical learning instructional

methods, akin to “conscientization” (Easton, et. al, 1998b, p. 18). Any kind of training must have the possibility of direct application – preferably in a work setting – using an adult education pedagogy (andragogy) that is meaningful to participants.

Cross-pollination of efforts. The best self-sufficiency and community governance experiences resulted from a synergy among different elements of local capitalization, and close collaboration between trainers and developers – the coupling of training and productive investment were critical to successful local self-governance strategies (Easton, et. al, 1998b, pp. 17-18). This synergy among different elements reinforces the notion that providing training without a plan for finding financial resources for starting new economic enterprises is a poor development strategy. At the same time, there is still a gap between educational systems at the community level, and development agencies and programs. Local educators and trainers don’t typically think in terms of adapting their programs “to the ‘pedagogy’ inherent in the assumption of new responsibilities by their learners’ (Easton, et. al, 1998a, p. xxvi). Local actors will readily learn new skills and take on new responsibilities, as long as available training addresses the specific technical areas for management needs.

The PADLOS report ends by echoing discussion (touched on above) regarding the creation of enabling environments for development, and concluding that it is actually impossible to *make* a community literate: “One can only *create the conditions under which that group becomes literate, trains, or educates itself* – and then support the new initiatives by furnishing appropriate backup and helping resolve the blockages that emerge ‘upstream and downstream’ from the efforts of local actors. That role of facilitation and support is nonetheless a highly demanding one” (Easton, et. al, 1998b, p. 18). The PADLOS policy implications are striking and point to the important role NGOs play in hands-on collaboration with local African groups.

Summary: The Intersection Between Decentralization, Intermediation and Capacity Building

Capacity building in development has often been portrayed in terms consistent with TC practices: developing countries can benefit from quick injections of capacity – e.g. expertise and know-how – to help countries implement decentralization plans. Local capacity building is typically overlooked in the discussion. There is very little information on LCB in the capacity building or development literature, even though the concept appears central to strategies of many

international development organizations. This may be a question of perceived demand: many local communities in the developing world do not perceive a need to build capacity, until an opportunity presents itself. The community schools in Chad are an example of how local people perceived an important need (basic schooling) and then found resources and built capacities to address that need, all within a context of unplanned decentralization.

There is good evidence that it is only within a “devolved” environment – where local communities have authority to make decisions, along with resources to implement them – that capacity building as a development strategy can be effective. Capacity needs arise through the effects of decentralization, as a consequence of new local economic or other productive activities, or efforts to replace the services once provided by the state. When governments or the large international development agencies are unable to provide for intermediary services to local communities facing needs or opportunities, then NGOs can and often do step in and help fill those needs.

In recent years, there has been growing interest in decentralization as an avenue for reform and development. As seen in the discussion of the literature above, decentralization in developing countries – in particular, planned or intentional decentralization (either top-down or bottom-up decentralization), accidental or *de facto* decentralization, or some combination of all these forms – has intensified in recent years, particularly in Africa.

In the case of devolution, where local actors have access to both power and resources, forces can join to create an enabling environment for local groups to engage in new activities, develop resources and build enterprises, that lead to sustainable local development. A favorable environment created through devolution may not be enough for people to take over local development. Some kind of training process, e.g., capacity building, may be necessary.

The capacity building process is sometimes limited by supply factors such as resources – i.e., human resources. Human capital theory stresses the importance in investment in education and training to provide people with new skills, and ultimately, more successful lives. The formal educational system in Africa, however, has not succeeded in imparting usable skills, and even as enrolments rise, “overeducated unemployment” is a problem.

Going beyond human capital theory, ideas such as social capital, civil society and social movements – which seem to transcend boundaries and local contexts – have been important to the African context, as they are grounded in societal structures and values such as familial

obligations, social networks, expectations, reciprocity and trustworthiness. Social movements are alive and well and active in promoting the convergence between dynamic organizations, motivated people and innovative ideas within a glocalized development framework. At the same time, these concepts of social capital or civil society movements are all part of supply-side factors. How are supply and demand successfully brought together?

Demand for new skill acquisition at the local level only comes about when people engage in new communal activities, activities that require capacities that exceed the current levels of expertise in the community. Often, there are latent human capacities in developing country settings that can be “discovered” and tapped for local development, and NGOs can again fill that intermediary role by providing for appropriate nonformal education and training programs for adults. In addition to ISOs, local actors are also aided by the variety of local training resources (seen in the PADLOS report) available, as well as returned émigrés and other community groups.

Overall, this literature review has addressed the theoretical background for participatory, bottom-up approaches to develop sustainable capacity building initiatives to help local people to assume responsibility for economic activities, governance, education and other needed services. The “rubber-meets-the-road” experiences are presented through case studies in Chad, Mali and Senegal, with examples from the field to illustrate models described in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach to the research project, a description of the data collection framework, the sample selection strategy, procedures for data collection and analysis, means for ensuring data validity and reliability, and the project timeline.

Methodological Approach To Research

The purpose of the research was to identify elements of capacity building strategies that would likely prove valuable in addressing challenges in local development in Chad. The initial three research questions focus on the current capacity of civil society organizations in the country – e.g., nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs) and farmer groups, – the challenges and opportunities created for them by the decentralization or evacuation of many of the traditional functions of the State, and the strategies that these organizations have found to develop their own capacities. The final two research questions asked what can be learned from models and strategies for local capacity development that have been tried under similar circumstances in Mali and Senegal – and more broadly in African countries generally -- and the lessons they hold for the Chadian case.

Fundamental Options

The methodological approach for the dissertation is *policy research*. This method applies scholarly research procedures to assist stakeholders in facing real problems – with the goal of providing relevant background information, research results and policy options to policymakers, leaders and other stakeholders – and can produce insights and data of practical importance.

Majchrzak (1984) describes policy research as “the process of conducting research on, or analysis of, a fundamental social problem in order to provide policymakers with pragmatic,

action-oriented recommendations for alleviating the problem” (p. 12). It is a research methodology designed to address and help solve practical problems in today’s world, where difficult problems are often pervasive, complex and intertwined. Because of this practical focus, using a policy research methodology often requires research and analysis in more than one discipline and may entail the involvement of researchers and stakeholders representing different backgrounds, professions and philosophies.

Majchrzak (1984) outlines the basic steps of the policy research approach:

- identification and definition of the problem;
- preparation (gathering information and research on the context of the problem, including current and past approaches to addressing it);
- conceptualization and analysis of the problem to be researched;
- development of research questions and research strategies;
- recommendations and analysis of potential solutions for the problem; and
- communication of study results (p. 20).

This sequence of steps in policy research provides a useful outline for the methodology though it underplays slightly a step that will be very important in the present research. That is the “analysis of potential solutions for the problem,” which will entail in this dissertation inventory and close examination of alternate strategies embodied in experiences throughout neighboring countries. This sequence is much like the “eightfold path” of policy analysis prescribed by contemporary researchers of that tradition, like Bardach (2000, Part I), which includes defining the problem, assembling evidence, constructing alternatives, selecting criteria, projecting outcomes, examining trade-offs, deciding and telling the story. In fact, policy research of the kind advocated by Majchrzak and developed in this thesis differs principally from the tradition of policy analysis by the incorporation of live case study material, in a manner more recently advocated by Pal (2005).

Policy research shares commonalities with other methodologies of planning and social science inquiry. Weimer and Vining (1992) attempt to clarify the distinction between policy *research* and policy *analysis*. The main difference, they suggest, concerns client orientation: typically, policy researchers are less tied to public policymakers than policy analysts, who often collaborate directly with decision makers; policy researchers view themselves “primarily as members of an academic discipline,” and some academics are as concerned with the possible

publication of their work as with its use in policymaking (p. 5). This at least makes the point that there is more latitude in policy research, because the practitioner is less tied to the requirements and wishes of power brokers.

Advantages of policy research. This kind of policy-oriented research, in contrast to basic or fundamental research to extend the frontiers of knowledge, seeks to inform policy decisions, monitor implementation or effects of policy, or evaluate its effects (Nisbet, 1999, p. 64). Ultimately, a policy research project provides a wide range of actors with fresh information on choices and directions to pursue in policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation, and policy revision. It may therefore provide indirect support for “bottom-up” development programs that accommodate local interests and needs (Weimer & Vining, 1992, p. 341). This policy research orientation can also help policymakers design policies and programs for diverse circumstances and audiences.

In summary, the goal of this research was to provide data to shed light on alternative solutions to the challenges for Chad described in Chapter 1, as well as recommendations for new strategies that might influence the direction of Chadian local development, all within a context of decentralization, democratization and globalization. To that end, policy research was chosen as a suitable methodology to address the dissertation purpose and research questions.

Research Design

The general form and sequence of research procedures used for this study may be described as follows. While based on Majchrzak, it incorporates elements from Pal and from Winer and Vining.

- 1) description of the problem situation in Chad and its context throughout Africa;
- 2) attempted causal analysis (i.e., identifying the factors that contribute to creating and maintaining the problem), supported by relevant conceptual literature and precedents from previous case studies;
- 3) selection of interesting and successful alternate experiences in comparable circumstances, drawn from case studies and examined in the hope they provide data and “clues” to potential solutions;
- 4) analysis of these clues and data to identify essential elements of – and insights into – possible solutions for the problem situation identified in Chad;

5) assemblage of conclusions and recommendations to policymakers and other stakeholders regarding the direction, or “tack,” to take in regard to solving the problem situation of the study, based on the analysis performed.

Across these various “steps” in policy research, however, are posed some of the traditional concerns seen with any research design: building a data collection framework, sample selection, data analysis strategies, and maintenance of validity and reliability in inquiry. Each of these concerns is discussed below.

Sample Selection

While research may not always unfold according to plan, it is certainly best to have thought out before hand the possible stages of research so that coherence and practical issues have been addressed (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p. 90). To set the parameters for data collection for this project, a sample plan was established as a template for the study’s data collection framework, including identifying potential sources of data, such as individuals and organizations involved in development in the West African countries concerned.

Key informants proved an invaluable resource and source of support for this research project. Key informants in the West provided an *entrée* to establishing contact with other knowledgeable parties and development stakeholders in Africa. Interviews with key informants also provided “thicker” data from individuals with different (and convergent) perspectives on capacity building issues. It is clear that the participation of these key informants made the study possible and it is hoped that the findings and recommendations will be of value to them.

Data sampling framework. An essential element of the data sampling framework was the development of a *list of organizations* to be contacted about participating in the study. These organizations ranged from international NGOs to small, locally-based CBOs in Africa. Using these parameters, I chose several INGOs, like CLUSA, CARE, World Learning and Catholic Relief Services, based in the US, and several African NGOs or CBOs, such as APRODEPIT (a rural organization based in Sarh, Chad), to contact regarding further study. During initial contact, I identified relevant sources of data available at these organizations: background reports and grey literature; descriptions of development programs; field reports and evaluations; etc.

At the same time, I compiled a list of individual stakeholders, practitioners and academics to be interviewed here in the United States and Europe – people who had experience

with the problem focus of the study in Chad or elsewhere in West Africa. Initial contacts gave me a sense of the level of interest in the topic and willingness to participate in the study. I chose particular individuals for further discussion and interviews based on the success of these initial contacts. Those retained as key informants included Richard Maclure of the University of Ottawa (a researcher with the Educational Research Network for West and Central Africa – ERNWACA); Rene Lemarchand, Professor Emeritus at University of Florida; Simon McGrath, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh; Doug Lehman, consultant at the World Bank; and Beryl Levinger, a longtime consultant on capacity development in education.

Interviews with US- or Europe-based informants were conducted in person (the preferred method), through e-mail or by phone. These interviews helped me to identify an important number of alternate development experiences throughout West Africa that were potentially relevant to the problem situation in Chad, as well as leads for additional informants on location in Africa. Subsequent interviews were conducted (by phone or e-mail) with development stakeholders in Chad, Mali and Senegal. Most of the latter interviewees were identified through snowball sampling (see below) with the original key informants based in the US.

Sampling strategy. In policy research studies, sampling may be needed at more than one level. It typically concerns (a) selection of stakeholders and interviewees knowledgeable about the problem situation from whom data may be collected; (b) selection of the alternate cases to be investigated as exemplars of possible solutions; and (c) identification of the documentation to be consulted regarding each. In many respects, the “sampling” procedure employed by a policy researcher must be like that of an investigative reporter, though more systematic.

Selection of case studies is particularly critical. Case studies can be effective tools for policy research because they can offer a more global view of a situation. They also “provide a more complete understanding of a complex situation, identify unintended consequences, and examine the process of policy implementation, which is useful for future policy choices” (McMillan & Schumacher, 1997, p. 567). There are different types of case study, varying according to the needs of the researcher. Merriam (1998) identifies three different types of case study: (a) descriptive (narrative accounts); (b) interpretive (developing conceptual categories inductively in order to examine initial assumptions); and (c) evaluative (explaining and judging). The research project did not fit so easily into any one of these categories, but tended toward Merriam’s evaluative case study.

Within any case, there are numerous decisions to be made regarding: sites to visit, events or activities to be observed, people to interview, documents to be examined and analyzed, etc. (Merriam, 1998, p. 65). Data could not be gathered on all the people, documents or activities in the case, so a smaller selection of stakeholders and interviewees – a sampling within the case – was made first.

The alternate cases and information sources came from the literature review, through a stratified and purposive sampling of sources of literature, documents, written material and other resource media, etc. The interview phase of data collection, aided by snowball or networking methods of finding key informants, led to more alternate cases – cases that appeared to have the most relevance to the problem situation in Chad – to pursue. The interviews were preceded by snowball sampling to identify groups and organizations, projects and programs of organizations, and informants and stakeholders. The key informant interviews focused on a limited number of in-depth interviews with selected individuals with special knowledge or status, chosen because they have access to information generally unavailable to the researcher (McMillan & Schumacher, 1997, p. 448). Key informants for this project included stakeholders in the development field who provided insights (via interviews) and documents of relevance.

The sampling methods at the case level also contained some elements of Brinkerhoff's (2003) Success Case Method. This method is designed to discover how organizations are working by studying successful cases, proceeding from the premise that successes (and successful adopters of new initiatives) can be replicated by other individuals and groups. The FAO uses a variation of the method called Success Case Replication in developing countries to (a) locate successful farmers or entrepreneurs, and (b) have them “replicate” their successes by training their fellow farmers or entrepreneurs (2000). The sampling used for this project pointed me in the direction of successful cases of capacity building in Africa. One unsuccessful case in Chad also proved important in providing instructive results.

Snowball sampling. Key informant interviews led to new interview leads, producing a snowball effect. Snowball sampling (also called “chain” or “network” sampling) is a purposeful sampling method that allows researchers to identify informants and cases of interest by contacting “people who know people who know people who know people who know what cases are information-rich” (Patton, 1990, p. 182). According to McMillan and Schumacher (1997) “network sampling is frequently used for in-depth interview studies”; each participant or group

to be included in the study is “nominated” by a preceding group or individual as appropriate for the study (pp. 398-399). Snowball sampling led me to groups, individuals and new data to address the problem situation described in Chapter One.

Data Collection

The data required for this research project concerned on the one hand the problem situation as defined and delimited for this project – the challenges of local capacity-building in Chad – and on the other, the dynamics of the other model cases of capacity development in comparable contexts. They consist essentially of “stories” and evaluations of relevant training and local development experience in the countries concerned -- principally Chad, Mali and Senegal – as well as expert and stakeholder reflection on it. In each category, the principal sources of information were available documentation (published and “grey” literature) and interviews with key informants. In addition, my own experience in the field in Chad offered a modicum of field study data, and participant observation, as sources of insight. Specifics on data sources and strategies (and “instrumentation”) to collect information from them are discussed below.

Document analysis of the problem situation. I used the literature available – on capacity building, growth and development of nongovernmental organizations, nonformal education, participatory research methods, dissemination of research results, etc. – and information and summaries of capacity development projects, to set the parameters of target areas for data collection. There may be some drawbacks to using available research and project or agency documentation (“grey literature”) in a policy research study, such as the “vintage” of the data. In the case of Chad, however, interest in the current oil pipeline project there has led international organizations to shine a spotlight on the country, to see if Chadians can make oil-financed development work for the good of the country.

My personal experiences in Chad, from two short-term research projects in 1996 and 1999, also served in the data collection process, in two ways: (a) I was able to use field notes from 1996 and 1999 to shape initial data collection strategies; and (b) my experiences were also useful to identify important individuals and organizations – as potential data sources – to be contacted for follow-up data collection in Chad in 2004.

Snowball sampling at work. The framework for data collection (explained above) gave shape to a data collection procedure that relied heavily on the “snowball” method. In this process, a first set of insights – working hypotheses, ideas and intuition – emerge from initial data collection, and these are then used in making choices about subsequent directions to take and which studies, programs, organizations and/or individuals to target in the remaining phases of work (Patton, 1990). After initial study and analysis of data gleaned through the snowball process, I concentrated on trends across research studies for further review, using the model above to compare capacity development approaches employed by different organizations.

The next step was to conduct interviews with key informants representing organizations engaged in research and projects designed to develop capacity for CBOs. Before doing interviews, it was necessary to identify and make contact with organizations that engage in projects of interest – capacity building and nonformal education in Africa – and then to set up meetings with representatives of these organizations who are familiar with the projects. These interviews were augmented by follow-up questions through written, oral and email communications.

A focus on learning about alternate cases and models of capacity development – from Chad and other countries in Africa – was an essential part of both the literature review and interview phases. Snowball sampling was effective in that it yielded data and new leads about alternate cases of capacity building projects to address the problem situation in Chad.

Interview approaches. An interview instrument was designed at the outset [See Appendix], but it incorporated built-in flexibility in order to allow the researcher to take advantage of new lines of inquiry that developed in the course of the study. Among approaches to interviewing described by Patton (1990), I adopted the informal conversational mode, plus the semi-structured method with a general interview guide. The open-ended questions of the former allow the interviewer to be exploratory, highly responsive and adaptable. The advantage of the semi-structured general interview guide is that it makes good use of the limited time available in an interview situation. A structured, or standardized approach might include, for example, asking the same questions in the same order, which helps to limit interviewer effects and bias (McMillan & Schumacher, 1997, p. 447). Both approaches were used in this project.

The initial plan for data collection evolved into a two-part strategy that included interviews with US-based key informants on the one hand, and with capacity development

stakeholders in Africa on the other. For the interviews with US-based informants, I made use of the informal conversational interview. A more structured, standardized approach was used for the interviews with the African stakeholders – a set of questions developed from the main research questions that were asked in the same order. Both types of interviews were tape recorded, accompanied by notes, and typed up immediately afterwards using a word processor. Translations from French to English were made as necessary. Interview instruments are included in the dissertation appendices.

Implementation of the key informant/stakeholder interview approaches involved the following steps:

- 1) compilation of list of key informants, in the US and in Africa
- 2) contacting key informants in the US to set up interviews
- 3) conducting initial open-ended interviews in the US with key informants (in person and by phone)
- 4) preliminary analysis of initial interviews to develop data themes and prepare for second phase of interviews with African stakeholders
- 5) identifying and tracking down stakeholders in Africa, with help from key informants in the US (snowball sampling)
- 6) identifying appropriate means for interviews with African stakeholders (e.g., by phone or by e-mail)
- 7) creating a more structured interview format, following themes and using questions developed from the main research questions
- 8) creating an interview format in French
- 9) interviewing African stakeholders and key informants
- 10) continuing with data analysis and theme development
- 11) conducting follow-up interviews, as necessary
- 12) organizing data analysis following emerging themes and generating preliminary findings
- 13) disseminating an initial summary of preliminary findings to selected key informants and stakeholders in the US and Africa (a member-checking or “ground-truthing” exercise)
- 14) final write-up of data results, analysis and conclusions, following re-tooled and expanded themes

Data Analysis

Data analysis includes in fact two related concerns: (a) how the data that have been collected are processed and analyzed; and (b) how the analysis is verified, cross-checked and validated (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). Data analysis began during the early research phase, as tentative themes drawn from literature data and initial interviews with stakeholders were formulated. The study design followed an emergent pattern, where sources of information, questions to be asked, the path of inquiry, etc., evolved over time. The data were analyzed as they were collected. The initial write-up detailed emerging themes as well as the evidence for them. This process continued throughout data collection.

Collaborative Action Research Methods.

Miles and Huberman's (1994) collaborative action research strategy influenced the choice of methodology of this dissertation. This method calls for researchers to work closely with participants in order to "transform the social environment through a process of critical inquiry—to act upon the world, rather than being acted on" (p. 9). I chose this method because I intended to share results with stakeholders and to encourage their participation and input.

The initial focus in data analysis was to establish a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and causal relationships of the problem situation in Chad. Figuring strongly in this task were the literature review and initial interviews with Washington-area informants. The next step was to explore alternate capacity development models and identify elements in alternative settings similar to the setting in Chad. Interviews using the snowball strategy with African stakeholders provided data on alternate models, and follow-up research was pursued in snowball fashion.

Comparing the problem situation in Chad with the alternate cases was the last and most important step. The goal was to provide data and recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders interested in capacity building strategies in Chad and in Africa. While there are natural questions about the generalizability of data across different situations, this study and its conclusions provided some fuel for policy discussions and possible changes in development policy for Africa.

Ensuring Validity and Reliability

Cohen, Manion and Morrision suggest that validity issues in qualitative research are best “addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness or objectivity of the researcher” (2000, p. 105). The reliability issue – or the replicability of results – is, Merriam notes, less important in qualitative inquiry than demonstration that the research conclusions are consistent with the data collected (1998, pp. 205-6).

The variety of the resources tapped during data collection helped to enhance both reliability and validity. Triangulation, or obtaining results through comparison of data on the same topic different subjects and so angles of vision, increased the likelihood of arriving at valid conclusions. For example, the comparison of information and viewpoints on successful capacity building strategies from different interviewees provided multiple perspectives and helped to ensure validity. The participants in the interviews were also involved in verifying aspects of data analysis and the themes that emerged. The latter step, “participant review” (McMillan & Schumacher, 1997, p. 407) was employed to check validity; this is what Merriam (1998, p. 205) describes as a part of a participatory or collaborative research mode.

Reflective Journal

I also kept a reflective journal of my own thoughts and observations during the data collection process to aid awareness of evolving impressions of the research themes – capacity building and development in Chad – and changing expectations and possible biases. The journal was also helpful for clarifying ideas, assumptions and potentially changing conclusions throughout the research project.

Project Timeline

The research project proceeded in several overlapping steps, necessarily limited by time and resource constraints (particularly in terms of travel for data collection).

Literature Review

The examination of the literature began straight away and continued throughout the project. It was not limited to upfront review as is often the case in traditional or quantitative

dissertations. The literature review facilitated (a) the search for projects that would be examined in depth, (b) the search for possible interview subjects (both organizations and key informants within organizations), and (c) preliminary formulation of the data collection instrumentation (e.g., interview format and questions).

Past experiences in gathering literature on development education topics made it clear that some of the most relevant material would be found in “grey” format – i.e., located in agency documents and office publications and accessible mainly through direct contact with staff members or site visits to the organizations involved. Much literature from US-based organizations was available through internet sites or through direct contact with the organizations.

Data Collection

The first step was making contact with international development organizations. Though the bulk of these were US-based, I also communicated with groups in Africa and in Europe. After initial contact and some preliminary discussions, the next phase was to set up interviews with representatives who are responsible for capacity building projects and are familiar with nonformal education strategies. More in-depth interviews with informants in international development followed this initial contact phase. A “field trip” to Washington, DC, where many large NGOs, think tanks and consultants are located, facilitated the early interview stages.

Finding key informants in Africa took more work, partly because of the lack of travel opportunities and difficulties in initiating and maintaining contact with stakeholders, given the limitations in information and communication technologies. An alternative to face-to-face contact was to conduct interviews via electronic mail or by telephone with African stakeholders. Using e-mail was sometimes the most practical method for interviews, but phone interviews with stakeholders in Africa were also conducted, often because using e-mail was unfeasible. (See Appendix for details on contact and interviews with stakeholders.)

Data Analysis

Data analysis began during the initial phase of document gathering, interviews and discussion. Snowball sampling itself was one dimension of data analysis, since it offered an opportunity to apply insights from earlier phases of work to the mapping of subsequent ones. A

data coding and analysis plan was designed during data collection, using the general framework proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994), by creating codes (with a provisional, “start list” of codes), further defining codes, and using reflective notes during the write-up (pp. 55-68). The codes served to set analysis parameters to facilitate the write up of findings regarding the five original research questions.

Limitations and Potentials

There are limitations to any policy research study, and in particular for this project, the restrictions on time and money limited the data collection phase. It was not possible to return to the African countries concerned for final collection of data and most information had to be gotten through interviews or second-hand sources. In fact, an opportunity for a short-term field study in Chad, proposed through a program that sends international education consultants to Africa as volunteer trainers in capacity development, was scuttled two weeks before departure by the collaborating NGO, because of an internal accounting error. The hope is, of course, that the research produced relevant findings and conclusions, despite these restrictions, and that these conclusions and recommendations will lead to new research opportunities.

As far as practical outcomes of this research are concerned, policy studies can provide much-needed analysis of problems, but may not necessarily have an impact on policy for reasons too complex for in-depth discussion here. As McMillan and Schumacher (1997) point out, “policy analysis cannot *correct* a problem, but it can identify strengths and weaknesses, highlight the accomplishments, expose faulty areas, and focus on realistic policy alternatives” (p. 574). As an example of the potential benefits of policy research methods, however, this study may enable those interested in these policy areas to share new ideas, information and strategies, perhaps leading to more innovative thinking and decision-making to meet current needs as well as anticipating future trends.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDIES – CHAD

Introduction

This chapter of the study deals with assessing alternate experiences in capacity building to provide potential solutions for the problem situation in Chad. The study's goal was to provide analysis and recommendations for policymakers and other stakeholders interested in capacity building strategies in Chad, focusing on configurations necessary for an "enabling environment" for local capacity development.

The research questions are addressed through analysis of experiences of NGOs, grassroots organizations and community-based groups in Chad, in sectors such as natural resource management, small business development and adult education and literacy. The first part of the chapter reviews the background and context of the problem situation. The next part addresses decentralization in Chad, and the role of Chadian civil society in tackling development issues through capacity building. The rest of the chapter provides analysis and key findings for addressing and resolving the problems experienced in Chad. To that end, five cases about Chadian community-based organizations, with four different non-governmental organizations involved, are presented and analyzed. At the end of the chapter, there is an analysis summary.

Context for Local Capacity Building Movements in Chad

Chad joined the world's oil producers when the Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline project came on-line in 2003, but it remains one of the world's poorest countries. Chad, the fifth largest country in Africa, bridges north and central Africa and is the largest land-locked country in the world without rail access to the ocean; its capital is about 1500 kilometers from the nearest seaport in Cameroon (Whiteman, 1988, p. 5). The Population Reference Bureau (2004) estimated Chad's population at 9.5 million, with 44% of its population under 15 years of age, a

growth rate of 3.2%, and a life expectancy rate of 49 years (47 for men, 51 for women), exceeding by two years the average for Central Africa (p. 5).

Development in Chad is set amidst a backdrop of drought, rebellions, ethnic turmoil, civil wars and periodic intervention by outside forces since its independence in 1960, and it is only in the last several years that has Chad experienced any extended period of calm. Chad is now stable, with elections and the same president since 1996. While N'djamena is a growing metropolis, Chad remains predominantly rural, with most of the population dependent on agriculture and natural resources for survival.

While the violence and strife of Chad's first 30 years of independence were not on the scale of similar experiences in Liberia, Rwanda or Somalia, the armed struggles affected all areas of life, and "uncovered and exacerbated the deep-rooted historical forces at work in postcolonial Chad" (Buijtenhuijs, 1998, p. 21). Forces include a country divided in three parts – desert covering much of its northern region, Sahelian conditions in the center, and savannah in the south; as well as religious affiliations (a slim majority of Muslims and the rest divided between Christians and animists) that mirror ethnic distinctions between north and south (Whiteman, 1988). Geographic and ethnic diversities continue to pose challenges for nation building.

Whiteman (1988) summarized one of the biggest root challenges: "Chad's dilemma since independence has thus been how peoples as unlike as the Sara and Toubou, or even the Sara and the peoples of the central zone, can live together in a national entity, given the strong cultural and religious differences" (p. 5). Since independence, power has moved from the far south of Chad to the far north and now back a bit, settling towards the northeast with the ascension of the current president, Idriss Deby, "the last in long line of Chadian warlords" (Rake, 2001, p. 50). Although Deby was accused of fraud in presidential and parliamentary elections, he appears to be firmly in power now after being elected in 1996 and re-elected in 2001.

New Opportunities – the Oil Pipeline Project and Chadian ‘Petro-Dollars’

Chad has recently been "blessed" with an oil boom: the Chad-Cameroon Oil and Pipeline Project came on-line in 2003. The World Bank sponsored the multi-billion dollar project, building a 1,000 kilometer underground pipeline to carry oil from Chad to the Cameroonian port of Kribi. The project involves oil companies, the governments of Chad and Cameroon, a host of other international actors, and is widely portrayed as a model for

responsible oil development, a means to encourage new economic growth and help poor people gain a better life.

Catholic Relief Services (2003) called this project “the most significant, and most closely watched, experiment designed to change the pattern of the ‘oil curse’ and promote poverty reduction through targeted use of oil revenues” (p. 60). Whether Chad avoids the “curse” depends on whether new revenues are used for constructive development and poverty alleviation; there are precedents against success. Peak production of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline began in 2004 and it is expected that a billion barrels of oil will be drawn from Chad over 25 years, bringing revenues of at least \$2.5 billion and as much as \$6 billion (depending on production and the fluctuating price of oil); Cameroon’s share – through transit fees – was estimated to be \$500 million (CRS, 2003, p.60). Would this amount of revenue be worth the money invested (not only by the World Bank and the oil companies, but also by each country involved), the difficulties in pipeline and infrastructure construction, the potential for ecological disaster, and the scrutiny of the various multinational agencies involved as well as national and international civil society and human rights groups?

The money flowing into the government’s coffers will be mind-boggling, bringing an opportunity to use new oil revenues responsibly. To do this, Chad will have to avoid the experiences of other African oil booms that failed to help ease poverty in any significant way. The stakes for Chad are clear, but if the past is any predictor, development failures in other oil-dependent economies warn that petrodollars do not necessarily reduce poverty; in some cases, they have exacerbated poverty. If this oil boom is to be different from previous ones, where countries like Nigeria, Angola and Congo-Brazzaville failed to convert oil wealth into poverty reduction, then officials and policymakers must manage oil resources to benefit ordinary Africans.

Chad-Cameroon pipeline project – model for development? The Chad oil revenue management plan – unique among oil-producing African nations – was conceived as a new development model. Chad’s plan set up, by law, a system to ensure that 80% of the revenues would go to projects benefiting all Chadians, in five priority sectors: education, health and social services, rural development, infrastructure, and environmental and water resources. In addition, ten percent would be set aside for the post-oil future, a “Fund for Future Generations.” Key to the plan is the joint government-civil society Revenue Oversight Committee set up to verify

government compliance with the revenue management law and account for and authorize the disbursement of funds from special accounts (CRS, 2003, p. 70).

The system is not without flaws: the oversight committee was embarrassed when the Chadian government used initial revenues to buy military hardware. Oversight and monitoring by political observers and NGOs are keys to transparency, and this will also create needs for new capacities for local and national groups in Chad interested in following the revenue and spending streams. Petroleum production in Chad is now the major force behind economic growth, and the country has experienced high economic growth rates over the past several years, largely due to foreign investments related to pipeline construction. According to the US Energy Information Administration (2004), GDP in Chad grew nearly ten percent in 2003, and per capita income is expected to double by 2005; at the same time, the Chadian government continues to borrow money and collaborates with the IMF on debt relief programs (p. 2).

Summing up: Opportunities for long-term development in Chad. Given the impetus of the pipeline, there are now better prospects for Chadian development, particularly if the government spends revenues in an equitable way, promoting needed national and local development. Civil society organizations look to “gear up” and build capacity to participate in the development boom almost certain to happen in the near future. This represents a potentially major turning point for Chad. The road ahead will not be easy for civil society groups. Capacity building case studies and interactions between NGOs and local groups are explored below, providing examples of how local groups assume new responsibilities for development. The cases reflect the realities facing most Chadians today as well as the development challenges and opportunities.

Decentralization in Africa: the Chadian Experience

This section follows on the theoretical perspectives and history of decentralization presented in Chapter Two. In an era of fiscal belt-tightening and structural adjustment, development policies focus increasingly on decentralization, democratization, and local governance in Africa. Fass & Desloovere (2004) assert that most African governments are “incapable of delivering durable social, economic, or political progress to the majority of citizens,” and it follows that these countries will need profound structural changes (instead of “cosmetic decentralization”) to develop broad-based participatory democracies (p. 155). Chad,

however, has a history of decentralized local governance, dating back to the civil war. To address the first research question, Chadian decentralization experiences are presented here.

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been supporting Chad's government for many years. Since the mid-1990s, the Chadian government has negotiated agreements with the IMF to implement programs in administrative decentralization, government capacity and institution building, and civil service reform. A 1999 agreement with the IMF proclaimed that administrative decentralization would be "a central element of the government's policy for improving the delivery of public services to the population" in Chad (IMF, ¶33).

One impetus to promote local development in Chad is the revenue management plan (the Petroleum Revenues Management Law, or PRML) requiring that 80% of revenues be allocated to projects to benefit the entire population in health, education, rural development, etc. The remaining 20% is divided between government expenditures (15%) and a special supplement (5%) to the Doba region, where the pipeline infrastructure is located (US Energy Information Administration, 2004, p. 4). As funds become available, national and local groups will have opportunities to be included in development projects, and many groups will have to build capacity to participate.

In a multifaceted program instituted by the World Bank in 2004, a participatory funding mechanism was proposed to support local groups and decentralized authorities in Chad build capacity for managing programs in education, health and infrastructure development. The Local Development Program Support Project, a collaboration between the World Bank and the Chadian government, proposed to: (a) provide matching grants to cofinance projects proposed by CBOs, or decentralized local government entities; (b) support capacity building for local stakeholders, and strengthen technical and organizational capacities at the community level; (c) encourage decentralization policy implementation; and, (d) provide management support for project activities and ensure availability of funds (World Bank, 2005). This project provides an incentive for local development organizations to propose collaborative projects, and participate in a grand capacity building enterprise.

Chadian NGOs will also be well situated to offer services in monitoring and evaluation, accounting, and administrative support for new development projects. Another impetus for local NGOs to improve capacity for development projects will come from collaboration with various

international NGOs and donor groups involved in Chad's experiment in decentralization and democratic development.

Chadian Education Sector – Nonformal Education and “Spontaneous” Schools

Chad has had a long history of self-reliance in the provision of education, as war and civil strife made schooling difficult in Chad for many years. There is the celebrated and well-established phenomenon of “spontaneous” schools in rural Chad: local people created and staffed schools when the central government could not provide for basic education. In some areas, parent associations (APEs) have been responsible for local schools for many years. Some community schools have gained official recognition and receive support from the Ministry of Education; others continue to be responsible for all aspects of local schooling.

Destabilized by 30 years of civil conflict and neglect, Chad's central government was unable to offer many consistent services. During that time, Chadians managed to build one of Africa's most decentralized systems of public services in areas such as health and education. Because of the lack of government schools, villagers wanted to provide for education, and so they organized among themselves to build schools, raised funds through locally designed and managed tax systems, and developed linkages with other communities doing similar projects to “exchange experiences and ideas and to lobby the center for technical assistance”; by 1998, these communities were providing 1/3 of the country's schools (Wunsch & Olowu, 2004, p. 246). Thus was born what came to be known as the “spontaneous” school phenomenon in Chad. The Chadian education ministry used that term to distinguish them from schools within the state system; ultimately, parent groups who created and maintained these schools rejected the term, preferring to call them “community” schools (Fass & Desloovere, 2004, p. 166.). Whatever the name, these locally-run schools were unique in Africa.

Community schools offered Chadians an unprecedented opportunity to participate in local governance and decision-making. How did Chadians manage to build their own schools, accomplishing this unique feat of local governance? In most cases, villagers set up a small committee (typically including literates, if possible) to take charge of the school on behalf of the community: the school committee groups became known as APEs, taken from the French acronym meaning Parent-Student Association. The APEs hired teachers, built schools and classrooms, collected tuition, set curriculum, etc., and ran the schools with little or no input from

the state ministry of education. As might be expected, financing community schooling was often a sticking point. Besides a system of collecting both tuition (from parents of students) and cash levies (paid by all village households), communities experimented with other financing methods, such as: selling crops to raise money, increasing student-teacher ratios, joining with other villages to combine schools, and soliciting for outside technical assistance (Fass & Desloovere, 2004, pp. 166-167). The creativity in these local financing methods is quite amazing, providing insights into the significance of the Chadian community school experience.

Significance of Chadian community schools. The spontaneous school movement in Chad has been responsible for building and staffing hundreds of classrooms throughout the country. A key informant, Doug Lehman, asserted that the *majority* of the classrooms in rural areas in Chad came from the community school movement, and that the best way to support community schools would be to avoid discouraging the movement, and by providing communities flexibility to find solutions to local problems (personal communication, 2002). Another key informant at the World Bank, Maman Sidikou, told me that the Bank had for years recognized the power of the community initiatives in Chadian education, and has sought to provide more technical assistance to the APEs to help them and their communities build capacity to operate the schools, and to regularize school curricula (personal communication, 2002).

The community school phenomenon in Chad shows how devolution (unplanned fiscal decentralization in this case) afforded communities opportunities to take responsibility for public services, ultimately forcing a new (and inventive) experiment in local control and governance. It is an example of how Chadian communities reacted in the face of an opportunity or problem: a perception of local needs (e.g., schooling), an unresponsive central government, a belief in the value of education and its benefits to communities, and consensus for a decision to dedicate the human and financial resources necessary to make the community's dreams come true.

Other "bottom up" community development efforts – in the provision of health care, infrastructure development, water supplies, agriculture, etc. – have followed the community school model throughout Chad, and the model itself might be promoted for use by other communities and self-help groups in Africa to take on related problems and opportunities. The Chadian community school experience, while meeting some basic community needs, does not entail development of capacity beyond financing and staffing local schools, and it does not contribute greatly to local development in terms of promoting local governance or meeting other

basic community needs. It may be an admirable model, but at the same time, and as described in the literature review, there are always natural limits to what local communities and small groups can do in terms of building human, physical, social and financial capital to develop new development activities. NGOs acting as intermediary organizations can step in and help in this process. To address local problems more comprehensively, many self-help groups in Chad collaborate with national NGOs, which in turn work in partnership with international organizations, and these collaborations form the basis of the case studies in this chapter.

NGO Sector in Chad

The NGO sector in Chad appears to be small compared to other African countries. Although there are not many national organizations, several have been active for many years (particularly those associated with the Catholic church), even when the country was unstable during civil war. Chad's NGO community has grown in the past several years, and will likely continue to do so as an expected influx of petro-dollars and funds from national and international donor groups encourage organizations to expand or create more local projects.

During a research project there in 1999, I saw a list published in 1997 by FONGT, the Chadian Federation of NGOs, with names of nine N'djamena-based organizations. Our team found a few more active groups, a total of 13, with program activities in N'djamena and throughout the country. Information about local CBOs – associations, *groupements*, cooperatives, etc. – was also difficult to find; the assistance of key informants was invaluable in that respect. The national-level NGOs that served as key informants for this research were encountered during extended visits to Chad in 1996 and 1999.

These precedents for local action and self-sufficiency in Chad provide the backdrop for local development in Chad, and given the challenges that remain in the new millennium, the importance of intermediary support from international NGOs and bilateral organizations to local people and organizations in their efforts to help themselves, through capacity development programs combining educational, technical and organizational interventions to empower local people to control their own economic, political and social environments.

Summing up, this history of self-reliance in the provision of local services provides an important backdrop to the opportunities (particularly through new oil-funded projects and development initiatives funded by INGOs) that Chadian civil society organizations hope to

exploit in the coming years. The case study part of the chapter begins in the next section. Five cases documenting and analyzing Chadian NGOs and their collaboration with local self-help groups are presented below.

Université Populaire – ANFE and Capacity Building Programs

Université Populaire (Popular or People’s University) is an NGO based in N’djamen. Called “UP,” this organization has worked in adult and nonformal education (ANFE) since 1994, by assisting smaller community-based organizations (CBOs) in urban neighborhoods in need of capacity building. In 1999, I met the UP director, Mr. Allahta Ngariban, and had several discussions about the organization’s training and outreach activities during my stay in Chad. Since then we have carried on an infrequent exchange, via e-mail, and phone calls, and data gathered through these exchanges are pertinent to this case study, revealing how a small development organization started with a few local projects and gradually grew into an intermediary NGO in collaboration with both international funders and local groups.

UP could be considered a model of how a Chadian intermediary NGO provides nonformal education and training and support for small self-help organizations in N’djamen, using both local funding and financing from international donor groups. The UP’s website describes several different services offered to local groups: planning, training, sensitization campaigns, technical support, monitoring and evaluation, etc., organized under five outreach programs – Support for Self-Help Organizations; Savings and Credit; Communication for Development; Literacy; and Support for Community Initiatives (Université Populaire, 2004b). Mr. Allahta asserted that interactions with local groups require a multi-pronged approach combining aspects of UP’s outreach programs (personal communication, October, 2004).

UP’s Partnerships with Local and International Groups

UP is a small group with about ten Chadian employees who provide training and technical support to local groups. UP receives support from both public and private agencies. Some funds go directly to local partners, who solicit outside funding with UP’s assistance. UP’s principal funders (providing financial and technical assistance to UP and their partners) include:

- DED (German Development Service)
- The German Embassy

- Bread for the World
- Cordaid, a private Dutch organization
- IIZ/DVV (German Adult Education Association)
- SWISSAID, the Swiss development agency (Université Populaire, 2004b).

UP also has many technical and institutional partners, in Chad and in other countries.

These partners include: *Association pour la Promotion des Initiatives Communautaires Africaines* (APICA/Cameroon); *Centre Africain de Formation pour le Développement* (CENAFOD/Guinea); the Mayor's office in N'djamena; *Centre d'Étude et de Recherche pour le Dynamisme des Organisations* (CERDO/Chad); and *Jeunesse et Développement du Mali* (Malian Youth and Development Organization). As an example of UP's collaboration with international bilateral organizations, DED has provided financial support to UP for several years, and has sent a few German technical assistants to work in N'djamena on a short-term basis.

UP's collaboration with IIZ/DVV – Support for local groups. The IIZ/DVV also has programs to assist self-help groups in Chad, by supporting intermediary NGOs like UP and direct support to local groups. Adult literacy training programs in Africa is a focus of research for IIZ/DVV. In programs where literacy is the lead component versus programs with a focus on community development, health education or self-help efforts, one study found that the most promising approaches were those that “combine the development of livelihood skills with inbuilt literacy components” (IIZ/DVV, 2002, p. 13). This meshes with UP's focus on multidimensional approaches to development.

Livelihood skills development is a focus of IIZ/DVV's programs, as seen by the German group's support for intermediary organizations like UP, especially in the latter's efforts to provide skills training for local groups. IIZ/DVV's research demonstrating the success of hands-on skills training also points to the need for national NGOs to involve local CBOs in developing ANFE programs that are relevant to the lives and vocational interests of beneficiaries. Emphasizing practical outcomes also shows the importance of local capacity building strategies as part of sustainable, long-term development programs, and this is the focus of UP's programs.

UP's Philosophy: Focus on Dialogue and Consciousness-Raising

UP has also started promoting innovative educational outreach programs, through a more public means. The *Université Populaire* was, as IIZ/DVV (1999) put it, “brave enough to try out

a social innovation: a form of open dialogue through public debates on current issues such as decentralization” (p. 10). These debates in N'djamena, in the form of round table discussions (called *auditoriums*), invite discussants who are knowledgeable about or affected by, the discussion themes, including various local actors: ministry officials, representatives from donor organizations, local NGO leaders, representatives from CBOs, etc. (personal communication, 1999-2004). The UP public debates were supported by IIZ/DVV and Cordaid, a Dutch organization, and topics included the effects of the Chadian oil revenues on development, and the impact of regional and international trade talks, such as the Cotonou Agreement (personal communication, October, 2004). The sponsorship of local debates and discussions shows UP's interest in outreach programs, and recognition that raising public awareness through education is an important part of the development process.

Focus on empowering local groups. This kind of innovation has been at the heart of UP's philosophy from the beginning. Mr. Allahta explained that one of UP's goals in working with local organizations was to not only provide skills training and support, but also to promote literacy programs combining consciousness-raising activities and active discussion, similar to the philosophy of Brazilian nonformal educator Paulo Freire (expressed in his term *conscientização*), who worked to educate and empower Latin American peasants (personal communication, September, 1999). UP's approach allows members of self-help groups to take an active role in training, so they can begin to understand and articulate their own needs in training.

At the time of my stay in Chad, UP was providing training and support to seven women's self-help groups, with 164 total members. These groups included entrepreneurs with similar economic interests, such as vegetable growers, fish sellers and market traders. UP offers a three-year support program to groups, in areas such as: advice and training on group management practices; savings and credit programs; local environmental impact studies; functional literacy; and funding for group and individual microenterprise projects (personal communication, September, 1999). UP's efforts were beginning to come to fruition with several local groups.

The consciousness-raising approach also influences the way UP sets up its working relationships with local self-help groups. Before beginning a collaboration with a group, UP engages the local group in a needs assessment exercise as facilitators lead the group members through several extensive “mini-workshops” to discuss a) individual and organizational needs, b) group strengths and weaknesses, c) problems and conflicts faced in their everyday lives, and d)

possible solutions to problems and proposed training topics (personal communication, 1999-2004). This method of consciousness-raising, attention to group goals and building group cohesion, combined with local debates to raise awareness of development issues, may be UP's most significant innovation in the Chadian NGOs sector. UP's collaboration with groups includes training in transparent accounting practices and organizational development. In addition, the UP director spoke strongly of encouraging local groups to train themselves in any area of need (e.g., women members teaching each other); this approach helps groups become more self-sufficient and sustainable in the long term (personal communication, 1999-2004).

Monitoring and assessment. UP's collaborative methods also comprise yearly evaluations with each of the self-help groups to verify progress and re-visit goals, objectives and the overall vision set by the group members themselves. Evaluation exercises, through regular follow-up meetings, provide a stimulus to build better group cohesion and goal setting practices, and supply project monitoring data for UP's staff (personal communication, 2004).

Case One: UP and the Fishmongers Association in N'djamena

In 1999, I joined an ABEL research team that visited a group of *poissonnières* (women fish vendors-entrepreneurs) who had rented a small office near a marketplace in N'djamena. The fish marketers and their group – called *Groupement des Femmes Vendeuses de Poisson au Marché de N'djamena*, or GFVPMN – had experienced success through communal projects centered around the retail fish business. Their group wanted to improve its organizational capabilities and also incomes and living conditions. Every member contributed to a savings account for group projects, and Allahta reported that the group projects and savings account had created an atmosphere of solidarity and communal learning: the women were building capacity for collective activities while acquiring new skills for their own individual businesses (personal communication, September, 1999).

As an example of group action in response to a problem, the N'djamena vendors confronted a logistics predicament, perhaps not unique to the fish markets of any large African city. Typically, the fishermen from the nearby Chari river delivered their catches to the vendors in the morning, to be sold throughout the day. To keep their products fresh for the late afternoon markets, there was a continual challenge with finding the means of cooling the fish – the women did not have regular access to ice – after the early market. With UP's support and guidance, the

women's group members discussed their needs and studied the possibilities, and decided to purchase a freezer for their fish. Using the freezer a few hours a day provided the women with a means to quickly cool the fish after the midday market so that it would be fresher for the early evening market. They could also use ice to keep fish cool or for other uses. They kept the freezer in the group's rented office space.

The vendors had come together to confront a problem and learned how to make a communal decision and purchase that benefited all of them. Using the freezer, however, created new technical challenges. First they had to save money for its purchase. Each woman dedicated a small portion of daily earnings (e.g., proceeds from the sale of one or two fish) to the group account. This necessitated more accounting skills to set up a system of dues and maintain a group savings account. They took UP's courses in group management and also worked with UP to make a formal request from the German development agency for additional funding for the freezer purchase (Allahta, personal communication, 1999-2004). Using the freezer helped with fish sales, as the women had less wasted product. They also produced ice for cooling fish and for selling in small quantities.

UP's capacity building focus took a more comprehensive angle with the GFVPMN group. In addition to courses in accounting and group management, UP provided literacy courses. The women typically used Chadian Arabic – the business *lingua franca* in N'djamena – in the market. Many were illiterate in their native languages (e.g., N'Gambaye and other southern dialects) also used in the market or in their homes. The women took literacy courses in N'Gambaye, and after attaining some competency in reading and writing, UP provided a transition to studying French, spoken in rudimentary fashion by many market vendors (personal communication, October, 2004). Some of the group's literate women began teaching the illiterates to read and write in N'Gambaye as well.

A Sequence of Local Capacity Building Activities

As our group of researchers had learned during visits to GFVPMN's office, and through subsequent communications with the UP director, UP's capacity building approach had fostered accumulative learning experiences, common for UP's self-help groups: new capacities lead to new needs and interests, and opportunities to build other capacities through self-help strategies (personal communication, 1999-2004). A pattern developed for local groups that collaborate

with UP: offering multiple capacity building activities over time to build skills and competencies for the local group, in “snowball” fashion. This pattern is an important feature of the NGO-CBO collaboration process.

To this point, UP’s programs have been portrayed mainly as successful in helping local groups. As a postscript, further data collection during the past two years provided a more mixed – but more realistic – picture in regards to one of UP’s client groups. While initial collaboration with women’s fishmonger group (GFVPMN) had been successful – e.g., providing training, and assistance in working together to buy a freezer – the UP-GFVPMN collaboration had not realized its potential. In fact, UP had decided to no longer support the group, which had become inactive in the interim. The end of the collaboration between the groups nevertheless provided data for reflective learning experiences.

Analyzing the failed collaboration with GFVPMN. The reasons for the GFVPMN group’s difficulties were numerous and diverse – described as “both internal and external problems” – which combined to discourage and dishearten the group members (Allahta, personal communication, 2003-2004). One major problem – outside the women’s control – was that the women were having trouble maintaining both their market space and their rented office space.

The group lost use of their preferred market space; the new market space provided by municipal authorities was less convenient to the group’s office. It became impossible to use the freezer to store fish because of inconsistent and increasingly expensive electrical service, and an increase in rent on the group’s office space. The women tried to deal with the problem of their group being disrupted, all the while running their own businesses, but they eventually cut back on group activities and moved out of the office (Allahta, personal communication, 2003-2004). Circumstances outside of the group’s control were compounded by internal problems.

Université Populaire staff members worked to help the women’s group sort out internal disruptions, through facilitation of regular group meetings, but over time some problems became insurmountable. The group’s organizational structure began to fail: poor attendance at meetings, poor participation in group activities, dwindling dues collections, etc. Many group members began to concentrate exclusively on their own individual businesses, to the detriment of group activities, and donations to the group account (maintained previously by contributing proceeds from the sale of one fish per day, per member) dropped. This abandonment of group objectives

was not a good sign: as Allahta pointed out, “you don’t have a group unless everyone invests in the communal activities of the group” (personal communication, 2004).

The GFVPMN started having trouble paying bills and maintaining the stocks of goods they would purchase as a group (mainly for domestic consumption): corn, sorghum and other cereal grains. Questions were raised about transparency and accountability in the collection and use of group funds, largely because the women vendors had not received sufficient instruction in accounting or bookkeeping (personal communication, 2004). Despite the training provided to the women through UP, most never attained sufficient money management skills to maintain accurate books, either for themselves or for the group, and this added to the internal tensions.

Ultimately, GFVPMN members became demoralized about their situation, particularly when efforts to shore up the group business were unsuccessful. To that end, UP set up a visit to a local fishermen’s cooperative near N’djamena, to facilitate an exchange, and to see if there were common business interests between the two groups. A proposed agreement with the cooperative to supply fish directly to the fish vendors (to reduce “middleman” fees) fell through after lengthy negotiations. This was the “final straw,” and the UP-GFVPMN collaboration was put on hold.

In reflection on the experience, Allahta, the UP director, attributed at least part of the failed partnership on the local group’s lack of full commitment to group interests and long-term goals, and an absence of a common vision for the group (personal communication, 2004). It was also clear in retrospect that while they had made a good start in building capacity, through literacy and management training facilitated by UP, starting with collaborative activities in 1999, the women’s group would likely continue to rely on UP’s assistance and opportunities for additional follow-up training and continuing education. At the time of my last contact with Allahta in 2004, UP had not had any recent communication with the group and was waiting for the women fish vendors to take steps to restart the collaboration.

Case Two: A More Recent UP Success Story – UP and AMIFEL

While the collaboration between the women’s group GFVPMN and UP provided excellent data for this research project, it was not the most uplifting learning experience in the final analysis. There was another more recent success story as UP began a collaboration within the last year with a different group of women in N’djamena who have collaborated on a new business venture, making a nutritional supplement for infants and children. This group of women

came to UP with interest in starting a business, and UP's facilitators helped the women a) choose a product to market, b) develop a business plan and c) contact representatives of government agencies to provide them with technical assistance and training necessary to manufacture the product with locally available inputs (Allahta, personal communication, 2004).

The group is called AMIFEL (*Amicale des femmes leles*), and it is composed of 24 women from southern Chad who now live in N'djamena (the group's name means Association of *Lele* Women). Demand for their nutritional product is limited, and the women only manufacture it when they receive pre-paid orders. But the business has been successful so far, with enough product orders to keep the women busy working as a group one or two days a week.

Technical Support and Financing for AMIFEL's Programs

AMIFEL has benefited from UP's technical assistance and adapted some traditional credit systems to fund activities. The group raised money for their project by collecting monthly individual contributions, and by preparing a formal request (with UP support) to the German Development Agency for equipment purchases. UP also has provided loans to purchase materials to make the nutritional product, contingent on establishing repayment schedules as well as work schedules that mandate equal participation of all members; this loan program was described as a work in progress after an evaluation, as some members worked less than others during the twice-weekly production sessions (personal communication, 2004).

AMIFEL has also used their version of the traditional African *tontine* to raise funds for the business. The *tontine* is a credit association technique in which members contribute regularly to a communal fund (a credit circle or rotating fund) and members can make requests for one-time grants (e.g., for a family emergency) or funds can be redistributed as needed, as loans or grants (Nwana, 1996, p. 16). By use of their *tontine* and loans, AMIFEL has taken steps to establish its business on solid footing, with hopes for future growth. AMIFEL's members hope to expand production and marketing in the near future, and they have plans to create a local day care center to offer day care for children (addressing an ongoing concern of the group's working mothers) as well as an outlet for sales of their nutritional supplement. Their immediate need is to provide a babysitting service to help the working mothers in the group; the day care center remains a long-term goal, and according to Allahta, AMIFEL is beginning to consider the skills and other resources necessary to attain their future goals (personal communication, 2004).

Summarizing the UP-AMIFEL collaboration, the women of AMIFEL face challenges in keeping members motivated and involved (i.e., putting in equal time) in the production of their nutritional supplement, while promoting a sense of commitment to the group's long-term plans for a child day care center. While the group develops, each member must run their own businesses (typically as small retail shop owners) and juggle their various domestic duties.

Reviewing UP's Local Capacity Building Programs

Université Populaire programs have provided support for capacity building for individuals and organizations in the local community. UP provides group management training, needs assessment and goal setting exercises, and funding opportunities for self-help groups in N'djamena, such as AMIFEL and GFVPMN.

Collaborations with GFVPMN and AMIFEL

Data collection over the past few years provided current information on the progress, or in this case, the collapse, of UP's collaboration with the fish vendors. The new data put a different spin on the UP case study: the promise shown during my 1999 field trip did not ultimately pan out. UP stopped collaborating with the fish vendors' group, but the hope is that the short-lived relationship with GFVPMN will prove to be a learning experience for both groups, with lessons on how to build more successful and sustainable collaborations between intermediary NGOs and local groups.

The GFVPMN-UP collaboration could be considered, as is said often in the adult learning field, a "learning experience." UP director Allahta said that he and his organization had learned important lessons from the experience with GFVPMN, including the value of (a) maintaining effective communication with partner groups, (b) more rigorous progress monitoring and (c) the need to actively revisit and refine short-term and long-term goals that are created in collaboration with partner groups (personal communication, 2004). These kinds of experiences or lessons are valuable for UP in its continuing role as an intermediary support organization, with future impacts on collaborations with other local groups in Chad.

On the other hand, the ongoing collaboration between UP and the AMIFEL women's group provides a hopeful example of how an intermediary organization promotes local capacity building, through multidimensional approaches to development. It remains to be seen whether

AMIFEL will continue to build on current successes and develop the capacity to strengthen their group business and realize their ultimate dream of a day care-cum-nutrition center.

Summing Up: The Promise of UP's Capacity Building Efforts

In conclusion, UP puts its own experiences to work – through a continual learning process – by collaborating closely with grassroots groups to promote local development in Chad. Convinced of the value of collective action and “conscientization” efforts in N'djamena, UP plans on expanding the organization's intermediary activities with local organizations. UP will work to:

- continue collaborations with international funding groups,
- build on current partnerships with local self-help organizations and seek contacts to establish new ones,
- and refine the collaboration model in place, with particular attention to creating shared interests (between the CBOs, intermediary NGOs and funding groups), visions and goals for sustainable local development.

The UP case represents how intermediary organizations can assist in bottom-up local development. Following Uphoff's classification of devolution, UP collaborates with local self-help groups to intermediate on behalf of stakeholders who wish to put together resources and efforts to develop capital beyond which any individual could muster. While the first case study (the GFVPMN) proved less-than-successful after several years of collaboration, because of a lack of both social capital and a common vision for the group, the promise of the second case study (AMIFEL) shows the importance of continued support from the group's collaborating NGO, Université Populaire. These experiences show the significance of intermediary support organizations like UP, as the starting place for training, advice and advocacy in the local development process.

The next case study concerns local training and development activities supported by the CEFOD center in N'djamena.

CEFOD – an Organization Offering Training to Urban Organizations

CEFOD is a training and library-media center affiliated with the Catholic church in Chad. CEFOD, or *Centre d'Étude et de Formation pour le Développement*, is a center for dialogue, study and training in N'djamena, open to all Chadians, with the goal of promoting the social, political and economic evolution of the country (CEFOD, 2004). CEFOD is one of the country's preeminent development institutions, known for its well-equipped library and meeting facilities. Known for years throughout Chad as a focal point for learning about development issues, CEFOD is an example of the important supporting links for local development, an intermediary organization using training for outreach and support to grassroots groups.

CEFOD was created in the late 1960s, and its library opened in 1969. The library, a focal point for development research, was closed during the unrest between 1979 and 1984, but managed to escape the destruction of the civil war. Since 1989, CEFOD has published many works from different fields, a judicial review, a quarterly review of current events called "Chad and Culture" (available online as well as in bookstores in Chad), as well as maintaining an important documentation center (built in 1990), training facilities and a modern amphitheater (CEFOD, 2004). Besides the library, documentation center and publishing house, CEFOD also has a media department which produces educational radio and TV programs.

CEFOD receives funding from the Chadian archdiocese as well as from international donor groups. CEFOD also works closely with local NGOs and CBOs in N'djamena as well as in Moundou and Sarh (e.g., the regionally-based development organization, BELACD), and has collaborated with Catholic Relief Services (CRS) on various projects in Chad. For example, CRS has a program called "Justice and Peace," and CEFOD has participated; CRS supports one national and seven Diocesan "Justice and Peace Commissions" in Chad (CRS, 2004).

Funding for CEFOD Training Programs

CEFOD helps students find assistance for training. Fees are about \$500 for a six-month training course, and recognizing this may be difficult for many local adults, CEFOD takes a different approach to support. The students themselves must come up a portion of the fees, generally ten percent, then CEFOD asks local and international institutions – the French embassy, and international church organizations such as Cordaid and Misereor (a German organization) – to provide the bulk of funding to support adults who want to take CEFOD's

training programs, making up the difference (Bérilengar, personal communication, 2005). Often one organization will support several students at a time.

CEFOD's approach to training. Antoine Bérilengar, CEFOD Information Director and adult education trainer, explained that providing capacity building training programs for local organizations – programs popular with small organizations, e.g., groups of informal sector entrepreneurs – is a major focus of his organization's outreach activities. CEFOD's training focuses on project and financial management, and the social, political and economic analysis of the current environment in Chad for grassroots groups (personal communication, 2004). CBOs like CEFOD training programs because they focus on local concerns and provide tools and skills to: assess organizational strengths and weaknesses; analyze and understand the social, economic and political environment (to take advantage of new opportunities); and avoid potential organizational pitfalls (Bérilengar, personal communication, 2004).

CEFOD's trainers assess needs of adult learners who seek training. Bérilengar asserted that training needs generally fell into three categories: (a) literacy – reading and writing in their native languages, and basic competency in French; (b) bookkeeping – basic math skills for keeping track of money and maintaining a ledger; and (c) advocacy skills for local entrepreneurs and groups of entrepreneurs – “learning to defend their rights and interests,” working with potential funding groups, dealing with government authorities and understanding local rules and regulations, taxes, etc. (personal communication, 2004). In addition to specialized training, CEFOD has offered the same training courses for several years to CBO members: one course focuses on financial aspects for civil society groups – bookkeeping and accounting; the other course concerns the technical side of organizational development – management, group projects, project funding, capacity development, etc. Bérilengar reported that there are several trainers available within CEFOD (and from the university and other organizations) to deliver courses, and CEFOD collaborates with the Catholic University of Yaoundé (in Cameroon) to provide more trainers and to improve and update the curricula (personal communication, 2004-05).

The intent is to provide relevant, up-to-date, experiential education and training that members of local groups can readily use. Adult education courses are offered to 40-50 students on a yearly basis, and are popular in the NGO-CBO community. Advertising (through newspapers, radio and by word of mouth) and recruitment begin in June, courses start in September and run six months; students are chosen partly on the basis of potential benefit to the

groups the students represent (Bérlengar, personal communication, 2004-05). This follows the philosophy of each student teaching others.

Case Three: CEFOD and Collaboration with Local Groups

One example of CEFOD's collaboration are the regular training courses offered to members of local groups in N'djamena. CEFOD's training department collaborates with a local association, called CELIAF (*Cellule de liaisons pour des associations féminines*), which works as a sort of umbrella group for several grassroots groups of business owners from the informal economy; through CELIAF, Bérlengar makes sure that the groups are aware of training opportunities available at CEFOD, and the groups often send a few members to be trained (Bérlengar, personal communication, 2004). Ideally, those trained would then share the skills and information with others in their groups.

One group in CELIAF is called *Said Al Awine*, and this group has begun to assume more responsibility for training and capacity development. The women make value-added products like dried or smoked fish, meat products, and beauty products using local shea butter (*l'huile de carité*). They started their collaboration with CEFOD a few years ago when group members came to CEFOD for training. The adult education courses are offered late in the afternoon, e.g., 4-6 p.m., to accommodate the schedules of working adults (often the only available time for Chadian working women), though despite this accommodation some participants have trouble with consistent attendance due to business and domestic duties (Bérlengar, personal communication, 2004).

CEFOD's Approach to Training for Capacity Building for Local Groups

The women's group (*Said Al Awine*) started by working with CEFOD on a needs-assessment exercise, to identify capacity and training needs. The women decided to send a few members to CEFOD for management training; the plan was that those members would in turn train the other members. The needs assessment pointed to two particular training areas that interest this group a) business issues – management training, accounting, and marketing strategies, and b) health issues – maternal health, birth spacing, sexually transmitted diseases, etc. All training activities are generally financed by group dues (this works best when the members are plentiful and active), though they do benefit from support from CEFOD's

international partners as well as training offered by other organizations (Bérilengar, personal communication, 2004). CEFOD also provides training on health and nutrition issues, and has published reports and books on these topics, available in the library.

In respect to building group management capacity, the biggest need for the *Said Al Awine* women is being able to manage internal funds that are gathered through regular dues and the occasional one-time contributions. To promote open books and transparent accounting practices, Bérilengar says that the group would like to see more members trained in basic bookkeeping – the goal is to promote “financial literacy” so that all members can understand how their ledgers (*cahiers de compte*) work, and use them on a regular basis for managing group finances and their own small businesses (personal communication, 2004).

As the women become more proficient in bookkeeping and group management, they hope to make requests (with help from CEFOD) for funding from outside funding groups to help with bigger projects. Receiving external assistance would also likely require these local groups to learn more sophisticated accounting skills to meet donor monitoring requirements, and no doubt create other needs for the group, in areas such as communication technologies, leadership skills, building partnerships through collaboration, advocacy, etc., new needs and activities that would necessitate new capacity building strategies. As an intermediary organization used to collaborating with civil society organizations in Chad, CEFOD appears to be well placed to help organizations like this one find what it needs to facilitate capacity development.

Providing training to “defend” local interests. The group’s interest in learning advocacy skills came out in another context, briefly mentioned above: the need to “defend” individual or group interests. Both Bérilengar and the *Said Al Awine* women’s group described this particular need, as competition is obviously intense in the informal sector and small business owners feel a need to protect and build their individual businesses and group activities, as well as avoid unfair business practices and the occasional unscrupulous government official (personal communication, 2004). The women in the group also expressed an interest in meeting and collaborating with like-minded business owners, and perhaps forming a coalition or group of groups similar to the ones described here (e.g., CELIAF). This model of helping local groups by technical training combined with training to develop advocacy skills certainly fits with CEFOD’s (and the Catholic church’s) mission and the interest of both in promoting social justice, equality and prosperity for the working poor in developing countries like Chad.

Analyzing CEFOD's approach brings up a final point, expressed by CEFOD's Bérilengar regarding self-help groups: he also reported that there is clearly a strong need expressed by the indigenous groups to build capacity for association and collaboration with other groups, and to develop "group values" among all members, encouraging solidarity within the group (personal communication, 2004). This facet of the capacity building theme, i.e., an intermediary organization helping CBOs develop capacity for various social aspects of organizational development – "group building" at the micro level – has also been observed in some of the other cases for this project, and explored below.

Summarizing CEFOD program success. As often seen in the training focus for local capacity development, studied for this research project, the practice of building capacity is not solely a matter of finding someone, e.g., an NGO, to teach new techniques in a certain field or business, in a "one-off" fashion. Capacity building also involves a more longer-term process of collaboration between the intermediary organization – the national NGO, i.e., CEFOD – and local groups: engaging in needs assessment by listening to local group members, encouraging them to discuss and then elucidate their group's vision and long-term goals, helping group members understand the skills and knowledge needed to achieve their goals, and collaborating on devising plans to provide for training and assistance to realize their goals.

In the case of Chad, the CEFOD organization is recognized as playing an important intermediary support role that focuses on offering training to members of local Chadian organizations, in areas relevant to organizational development, capacity and sustainability. In the final analysis, there is evidence that CEFOD's brokering or collaboration role is important to the capacity building support structure for CBOs in Chad, but CEFOD's role may not be as far reaching as some of the other intermediary organizations studied for this project. Nevertheless, CEFOD's programs to train and, in particular, develop advocacy skills to help groups "defend" themselves, are critical to local collective enterprises as they struggle to remain viable in competitive and challenging circumstances.

As an example of an intermediary organization that takes on a more collaborative, and more intensive relationship with local groups, the next organization to be examined here is the ATED organization in N'djamena, a group with a personal connection to CEFOD.

Case Four: ATED – a New Intermediary Organization in N'djamena

The Chadian Association for Education and Development – ATED, *Association Tchadienne pour l'Education & le Développement* – is a fairly new organization working with local grassroots groups in N'djamena. ATED supports initiatives of local development groups, and is an example of an intermediary NGO in Chad that has focused on tapping external (mainly international) funding for collaboration with local groups. Working primarily in one particular neighborhood of N'djamena – Waliya, just outside the city's limits, ATED targets local women's groups that seek support and collaborative activities. The organization has been active since 2003, and according to its director, Allaodjingar Noubata, currently collaborates with three local groups: *Espoir*, *Djossikilnan*, and a group of small animal breeders, known as GER (personal communication, 2004-05). ATED is a group of 80 dedicated individuals (divided equally among women and men) that has developed into an intermediary organization in Chad successfully facilitating collaboration between grassroots groups and international donor organizations.

ATED has collaborated with CEFOD; it just so happens that Mr. Noubata also works as an employee for CEFOD, in the same department as Antoine Bérilengar. Both Noubata and Bérilengar consider ATED as completely independent from CEFOD (personal communication, 2004-05). It may be possible that ATED and Mr. Noubata have benefited from their association with CEFOD, particularly in being better situated to request backing from various funder groups (see below). For the time being, the organization concentrates its energies on one area in the capital city but has plans to expand activities throughout Chad.

Local, national and international funding efforts. Noubata and CEFOD's Bérilengar reported that ATED has received funding grants from several international groups, including:

- the German development agency (to help purchase a power generator to light literacy classrooms in the evening),
- the European Union, through its European Development Fund (EDF) Microfinance programs (for funding of classroom construction),
- the John Paul II Foundation (for project start-up costs for the literacy center),
- the US embassy in N'djamena (for a grant of 2 million francs CFA – about \$4000 – to build school desks and chairs) and
- the UNDP for information and communication technology support (personal communication, 2004-05).

This would seem an impressive list of collaborative funders for an organization only a few years old. Mr. Noubata's connection to CEFOD may have helped facilitate funding.

ATED's efforts to involve local groups in fundraising are evidence of a development philosophy that seeks to integrate local and international funding streams. For local development projects in the Waliya neighborhood of N'djamena, Noubata explained that international funders (like the EU's EDF program) usually require that the local group furnish at least a portion (e.g., 25%) of the proposed project's funds in order to receive outside support; he confirmed that 25% of ATED's funding to build a local community school came from local sources and 75% came from outside funding organizations (personal communication, 2004). The same school also benefited from a grant from the US embassy to build school desks and chairs, using local materials and craftsmen, and is now in use all day, offering primary school classes for nearly 200 girls in the morning, and adult literacy classes in the afternoon for local women (Noubata, personal communication, 2004-05).

ATED's approach to development. ATED's approach to development is shown through its collaboration with local groups. Community-based local groups in Chad typically face the same basic sorts of problems – a lack of resources and funds, skills and abilities, etc. – and they also face the same sorts of challenges: finding ways to manage available resources; locate new resources; learn new skills to build individual and institutional capacity; develop and maintain a competent and transparent organizational structure; etc. In the case of the local groups that ATED supports, Noubata and his organization measure progress toward sustainability by how the local group operates, including how the group a) builds up group funds; b) creates a climate for transparent decision making; c) displays evidence of shared risks among group members; and d) promotes the diversity of the group's programs and activities (personal communication, 2004). In the final analysis, a local group's capacity to manage its material, financial and human resources while keeping its goals in sight remains an important indicator of success.

There are four principal components to ATED's local development programs, including:

- a basic education program, focusing on schooling for girls and the establishment of community schools in urban or rural settings;

- literacy programs (and local actions to raise awareness of literacy needs) – the target group for literacy is working women, who are encouraged to help pay for their literacy classes;
- income-generating programs, including
 - value-added processing of local products (soap, food products, etc.)
 - tailoring and dressmaking
 - other small businesses; and
- development of an information and documentation center (still in the works), to help local group members find resources and information on literacy training and other practical matters such as health maintenance issues (Noubata, personal communication, 2004).

ATED also stresses encouraging exchanges and dialogue with other organizations, and the use of community facilities (e.g., CEFOD’s campus) for that purpose; these dialogues and exchanges also provide ATED more opportunities to support local groups as they engage in capacity assessment, goal setting, planning, etc. (Noubata, personal communication, 2004). This intermediary function of facilitating exchange between local groups appears to be an emerging theme in the research, seen also in the UP and CEFOD cases.

ATED collaborates with three groups in N’djamena: *Espoir*, *Djossikilnan*, and GER. For this study, ATED’s collaboration with *Espoir* will be highlighted. *Espoir* is a women’s group, principally involved in the development of local food products.

Collaboration with a local group, *Espoir*. ATED’s dealings with *Espoir* take the form of support for development activities, particularly in the area of building organizational capacities. In ways similar to other organizations, *Espoir* started when a few businesswomen in the neighborhood began to talk to each other about problems with their businesses, next brought in other women in similar circumstances to continue the dialogue, and then decided to hold a meeting where the organization was born (Noubata, personal communication, 2004-05). Local groups often become “official” (recognized by the state) by submitting the necessary information (written statutes or by-laws) to local authorities. As to funding for group activities, most groups start by collecting membership fees or dues. Some groups also seek outside funds, from local or international organizations; this is where *Espoir* began its collaboration with ATED.

Espoir sought to collaborate with ATED in order a) to exchange experiences with other groups; b) to undertake communal or group projects; and c) because they expressed the willingness to undertake actions in areas where group approaches would be useful (Noubata, personal communication, 2004-05). The collaboration between ATED and *Espoir* remains in its early stages for the present time, but the groups have regular meetings where activities are discussed, agreed upon and then carried out. Indeed, ATED was instrumental in helping its partner CBOs develop group capacity by establishing operating procedures for their own meetings:

- a group leader calls a meeting to discuss a problem or need among group members
- the problem is discussed at the meeting; sometimes one member or an outside source will be asked to deliver a short presentation (*exposé*) on the problem;
- the problem or need and its possible solutions are discussed; a decision is made;
- the decision is presented to the intermediary organization ATED for input and support
- a plan of action is started (Noubata, personal communication, 2004-05).

Analysis of ATED's Programs: Successes, Learning Experiences and Future Prospects

An analysis of ATED's interventions to this date shows progress and promise. One short-term impact of ATED's collaboration with *Espoir* and the other groups has been the success in promoting literacy training among the women members of the local groups. Noubata said "Women are finally starting to read, write and count, and wish to further increase their knowledge, but the association lacks the means to establish more advanced course levels" (personal communication, 2005). ATED has so far played an intermediary role by helping the three local groups find literacy training opportunities; the People's University (UP) in N'djamena provided support through organizational management training to *Espoir* and *GER*, and also provided micro-credits to the women of *Espoir*.

ATED's Noubata would like to use media to spread new ideas, raise awareness and sensitize local groups to important issues, and says it is important to use media to "quickly change (group) mentality, by using video cassettes to "show what is going on in the outside world and in this way the group members would be able to understand and change (their) mentality" (personal communication, 2005). ATED intends to use audio-visual means to raise the level of political, social and economic participation its partner groups, but is currently

constrained by its limited financial resources. They are planning to buy a video projector and they would show video cassettes on development to the public, and make video programs about their own activities and the local environment, with the goal of orienting their partner groups (e.g., *Espoir*) towards an international development outlook.

ATED is considering asking for external funds for the media project. ATED does not ask CEFOD for funds, though it seems clear that having Noubata as an employee at CEFOD – with its library, documentation center and advanced media facilities – makes it easier for ATED to acquire the know-how and expertise required for media production to facilitate their outreach and dissemination efforts.

Mr. Noubata reported that ATED and its collaborating organizations recognize obstacles to progress: limited local training opportunities, inadequate group infrastructures, the lack of steady funding for group activities, the challenges inherent in maintaining group momentum (with few visible signs of progress), and high illiteracy rates among women members (personal communication, 2004-05). ATED continues to support projects and seek outside funding to implement them. As an intermediary group, ATED has developed an impressive track record for finding funds for local projects, and the local groups have also experienced success. The media project that ATED's Noubata described (above) would certainly have the potential to expand their outreach efforts as well as the extent of their impact on local development. The next case concerns an intermediary group in southern Chad with an environmental and agricultural (fish farming) focus.

Case Five: Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Chad – APRODEPIT

APRODEPIT is a natural resource management and aquaculture NGO based in Sarh, in southern Chad. I first encountered this organization while doing research in southern Chad in 1996; APRODEPIT was by far the most interesting organization studied during data collection for the research project (on training needs for adults in the informal economy), successful in developing local fish farming projects, and far-ranging in its outreach and activities in the region. APRODEPIT has been an active local Chadian NGO for many years, and recently, a more visible one, as the story of its aquaculture programs becomes more well known to the outside world. The APRODEPIT case study illustrates how a development organization started with a few local projects and gradually built capacity for wider-ranging projects, ultimately becoming an effective intermediary NGO collaborating with both international funders and local groups.

With headquarters in Sarh, a city on the Chari river, close to the border of Central African Republic, APRODEPIT – an acronym for *Association pour la Promotion des Ressources des Organisations de Défense de l'Environnement et de la Pisciculture Intégrée au Tchad* (Association for the Promotion and Development of Integrated Pisciculture in Chad) – has been recognized as a national NGO since 1992, though neither of the lists of Chadian NGOs mentioned above included it. APRODEPIT is a well known NGO in southern Chad, and governmental officials and aquaculture groups point to the group as a model partner in efforts to build local capacity for sustainable self-managed development in Chad (Pokorny, 2004). Above all, APRODEPIT is an example of a successful community-based development organization that began in the 1980s as one man's idea of combining a traditional way of life in the region – fishing – with modern ideas. Mr. Kosse Malla, the group's founder, started on his own with self-funded projects, then formed a small group that took on a few local fish farming projects, but with time the organization grew to include hundreds of fishermen in the area, all the while promoting sustainable fishing methods, and diversifying beyond fishing to include other development activities that involve whole communities.

APRODEPIT's Development Approach: Action to Avert Ecological Disaster

The impetus for many of Malla's projects came from a very real environmental and economic challenge in southern Chad, one with multiple causes and effects. Starting in the mid

1980s, fishermen began to make nets with smaller and smaller mesh, in an effort to catch a dwindling supply of fish in the Chari river basin. It soon became obvious to locals that overfishing had the potential to destroy the regional fish market, a major part of the local economy, and an important source of protein for families. Fishing has long been an important part of the cultural and economic fabric of the region, and Malla decided to meld local knowledge and fishing practices with new ideas to address the challenge of averting ecological and economic disaster in the region.

Malla established a small fish breeding project in Bongor, where he was then living. Some years before, he had received specialized training in fish breeding, through Peace Corps programs and on his own, and in 1985 he and his wife began putting aside about 25 percent of their own household budget to finance a pilot project, and with the help of a single employee, he dug two ponds with about 600 square meters in total surface area and stocked them with about 3,000 young tilapia, a fish with rapid growth and breeding characteristics (Pokorny, 2004). These were the fish Malla showed to amazed villagers after ponds were drained months later – the fish had grown to market size. The initial accomplishment of his fish pond demonstration efforts led to the formation of a small aquaculture organization that included Mr. Malla's family and 11 other families, later incorporated as APRODEPIT.

After early successes, the group moved from Bongor to Sarh, a larger city (also in southern Chad), and the initial group of 12 families granted control of the organization to a formalized structure that today includes a board of directors and several advisory committees (Pokorny, 2004). Soon, as word spread, Malla was helping build fish ponds all over the southern Chad region, teaching local people about his updated fish farming methods.

Building on small successes, Malla decided to promote his new aquaculture, or fish farming, methods in Chad, as a means of economic development and ecological sustainability in the region. Through a low-tech method of dissemination by word-of-mouth, other communities in the Chari river area heard about and became interested in the organization's fish farming successes, wanted to participate, and now hundreds of local groups collaborate with APRODEPIT and follow its fishing methods.

During a field visit to Sarh, Mr. Malla told me about a major event in many local communities – the “weigh-in” of fish after draining ponds built by villagers – and how these events had turned in large public spectacles, complete with visiting government officials making

speeches and enthusiastic spectators (personal communication, 1996). These public events contributed to the organization's success in building upon existing local fishing capacities, combining traditional knowledge and techniques with modern, intensive fish-pond methods.

APRODEPIT's philosophy is one of self-help. When a village expresses an interest in fish farming, the NGO provides training to help the villagers with the technical side of the business as well as advice on finding resources for more and bigger projects. A cycle of capacity development emerges: after developing aquaculture activities, the villagers often seek ways to address other local needs. As Malla explained, "they start with fish farming, and they harvest the fish. Then they realize they have more money but their children aren't educated. So they decide to create a community school. Next, perhaps, they realize they have a problem with health. So we assist with health education. And by following this system, the village gradually raises itself up" (Pokorny, 2004). The approach employed by APRODEPIT became more multi-faceted over time, including new activities and food businesses other than fish.

In this way, APRODEPIT has grown, collaborating with over a hundred local groups in the Sarh region. About two-thirds are men's groups, mostly engaged in some sort of fishing-related activity, but also over 20 men's groups were experimenting with organic agriculture, and 11 were growing fruit trees (Pokorny, 2004). The rest of the local groups (about one-third) are women's groups, primarily focusing on developing marketing for value-added fish products – cured, dried and smoked fish, etc. – and these products are now being sold in markets as far away as the capital, N'djamena (Bongo, personal communication, 2004).

There is a philosophy at work in the organization that is openly progressive and egalitarian: "APRODEPIT takes a distinctive approach to development that emphasizes the equality of women and men, environmental protection, systematic growth, and above all else, close consultation with the local community" (Pokorny, 2004). Collaboration with local communities also focuses on training needs, e.g., literacy and bookkeeping classes (for both genders) are considered important for promoting sustainable local group management (Bongo, personal communication, October, 2004). The local communities have developed projects for both women and men: gardening and composting, reforestation, and wildlife protection. But fishing is APRODEPIT's main interest, and interest in protecting local fish stocks also helps other animals in the Chari river basin.

New Projects: a Forest Reserve, Ecotourism and Protecting the Hippo and Manatee

APRODEPIT helped villagers create protected fishing zones along the Chari, monitored by the fishermen and villagers themselves; the protected areas cover the shoreline near five villages in the Waltama area. The hippopotamus is also native to the area's rivers. Villagers noticed that there were fewer hippos in the Moyen-Chari area than before, just as fish stocks were falling. APRODEPIT's outreach awareness programs targeted villages near hippo habitat, explaining that, where hippos flourished there would also be more fish.

With the assistance of APRODEPIT field managers, local people were trained in wildlife protection techniques, and set up signs along 20 kilometers of river shoreline declaring a wildlife protection zone, where hunting was prohibited (Bongo, personal communication, 2004). This intervention protected the animals: the hippopotamus population has increased as a result, and in a cycle of increasing benefits, protecting hippos also helps the fish, as insects feed on hippo manure, increasing potential food for the fish. It was estimated that only a handful of hippos remained in the Moyen-Chari rivers; now their numbers range upwards of 200 or more, and villagers appreciate their presence in strengthening fish stocks and for attracting tourists (personal communication, 1996 & 2004). Local manatees were also under threat.

The West African manatee (*lamantin* in French) is also found in the area, but its existence is threatened by the detrimental effects of hunting practices and habitat destruction. APRODEPIT helped organize local seminars to discuss possible actions to support the manatees. An organization called *Les Amis du Lamantin* (Friends of the Manatee), was formed by locals, an effective first step in manatee conservation (Bongo, personal communication, October, 2004). Village-based education efforts have been employed to encourage local people to help protect the manatees and their wetland habitat.

Both the hippos and manatees figure into new projects to promote exotic wildlife. Both Malla and current director, Nestor Bongo, spoke of plans to encourage an "ecotourism" industry in the Moyen-Chari area, and to create sustainable economic development for area villagers (personal communication, 1996 & 2004). It is hoped that tourists from Europe and N'djamena will be interested in viewing these animals in their natural habitat; some ecotourists do visit the area now but facilities are limited. New ecotourism business will no doubt necessitate building new or updating facilities (camps, hotels or lodges, restaurants, etc.) and thus a new round of capacity building – in an area quite different from aquaculture – would then begin.

APRODEPIT's Approach to Organizational Development and Funding

The organization has 16 staff members in Sarh, most of whom are involved in local sensitization (outreach and education) and training efforts. Over the years, APRODEPIT has received financial support from various international organizations:

- French Cooperation Agency (*La Coopération française*) for administration needs,
- Care International
- The Bahá'í Office for Social and Economic Development (OSED)
- Oxfam International

Of particular note is the close relationship APRODEPIT has enjoyed with Bahá'í organizations in other countries (particularly in Canada), through support and exchange over many years, and the way that Mr. Malla was clearly influenced by Bahá'í religious principles in setting up his organization (personal communication, 1996-2004). The importance of Bahá'í religious principles is also evident in the organization's values, described above. APRODEPIT remains a small group, but with grander hopes. There is interest in providing technical support for upcoming initiatives to protect the Manda National Park in Chad, a multi-million dollar environmental project supported by GEF and UNDP (Bongo, personal communication, 2004).

Typically, new projects start when a local group of villagers are motivated to approach APRODEPIT to become involved in a fishing project. After years of intervention in southern Chad, APRODEPIT's successes are well known in the area, and they are currently working with about 100 local groups, with over 5,000 total members in the Moyen-Chari area (personal communication, 2004). Through an informal information diffusion model, villages or groups interested in collaborating with APRODEPIT hear about the new fishing practices from other groups or villages that have collaborated with APRODEPIT.

Keys to APRODEPIT's approach are the local outreach and public awareness campaigns. The first step is to "sensitize" local communities to critical conditions: environmental degradation, the long-term impacts and non-sustainability of existing fishing practices, and the necessity of changing practices to protect nature and ensure the availability of natural resources, such as the most important resource, fish. Bongo said "we must manage the available resources in a way that guarantees local food security, and this is why we have put more emphasis on local agricultural activities, including an expanding aquaculture plan to protect our current fish stocks

for local consumption needs” (personal communication, 2004). Through awareness campaigns, villagers recognize the importance of adapting their fishing methods to ensure the future sustainability of native fish stocks.

Project implementation with local groups - traditional and modern fishing methods.

After sensitization, APRODEPIT and the local group engage in a needs assessment for project feasibility, and begin to plan the new project (Bongo, personal communication, 2004). After project planning, the local group is trained – using hands-on techniques and demonstrations – in sustainable fishing methods (building on both traditional and modern fishing methods), and the techniques are then employed on a wider scale.

The local group is encouraged by APRODEPIT to develop some of their own resources for the project, and to start a small pilot project. After this initial generation of project resources, often from raising money through group dues or the sale of fish, APRODEPIT helps local groups tap into funding opportunities, typically from outside donor groups, to provide needed materials for more aquaculture activities and wildlife protection (Bongo, personal communication, 2004). Outside donors include international NGOs (listed above).

Often a larger group (a cooperative, or *union*) of local groups is established, for example, the Waltama Union, to make proposals to the donor groups to fund the same kind of project for several groups or villages at the same time (Bongo, personal communication, 2004). The groups within the larger union are also more involved in project development, collaborating hand in hand with APRODEPIT, with each of the groups in the union participating in decision-making through representatives who meet regularly.

An Example of the APRODEPIT Method in Action

APRODEPIT helped local fishers affiliated with the Waltama Union to identify suitable sites in ponds and shallow streams to try out techniques to help fish grow faster. To “grow” market-sized fish in shallow branches of the region’s rivers, fishermen begin by blocking river branches during the dry (low water level) season, so fish can be “fattened” and then “harvested” in shallow pools. Contained behind fences, the fish are fed by villagers over a period of five to six months – using grain wastes from local millet wine (“*bili-bili*”) fabrication, and crop residues; there is no fishing during that time, and at the end of the fattening period, the fish have grown to market size (Bongo, personal communication, 2004). When the mature fish are grown

and ready to be caught, the fishers are encouraged to fish with nets with large holes, to catch only the mature fish, allowing small fish to escape and grow larger during the next season.

APRODEPIT's methods help preserve local knowledge and techniques. This updated method helps to reestablish a more natural fishing cycle, where fully-grown fish are caught and the immature fish are allowed to grow larger and reproduce, ensuring the survival of the species, and creating favorable conditions for local groups to make a living from fishing. It is also a good example of building capacity in an important local industry by combining traditional and modern fishing techniques. In sum, APRODEPIT works to combine local knowledge in fishing with new methods through awareness-raising efforts, combined with hands-on training, and indigenous and outside funding, to create a more sustainable local fishing enterprise.

Challenges Facing APRODEPIT

Mr. Malla's sudden passing. In October, 2004, APRODEPIT's administrator Nestor Bongo, told me that Mr. Kosse Malla, the group's charismatic leader and founder, had been killed in an automobile accident near Sarh (personal communication). Despite this huge loss, I was told that APRODEPIT's activities would carry on, with transition to new leadership. For example, APRODEPIT is seeking to develop a regional cooperative with local groups to produce value-added fish products to be marketed outside of the Sarh region. Although the fish processing techniques (drying and smoking fish) are well established in the region, Mr. Bongo stated that infrastructure constraints – poor highways serving metropolitan areas and lack of access to markets – are limitations to this initiative (personal communication, October, 2004).

APRODEPIT does not currently have an internet site or regular access to e-mail, and phone service in the interior of the country can be inconsistent, making communication with the outside world difficult. Mr. Bongo acknowledged this concern, and said the group was interested in setting up a website in the near future for communications (personal communication, 2004). In the meantime, inadequate services makes contact with like-minded development organizations difficult, and APRODEPIT's success story is not widely known.

Through a process of several different organizational steps and different outreach programs, this intermediary organization has encouraged local capacity development through collaboration with local groups. The key elements of APRODEPIT's approach are: (a) needs assessment – helping local groups recognize problems and opportunities in fishing and

conservation of natural resources; (b) learning and disseminating new or updated aquaculture techniques – e.g., recognizing and building on traditional knowledge in fishing and wildlife management; (c) sustainable management practices – helping local groups establish sustainable project management practices; and, (d) innovative funding techniques – helping local groups marshal local resources first, and then finding donors to support bigger projects (start small, then think bigger). New business ideas and developing new economic activities at the village and regional level are also vital, and lead to new rounds of capacity building.

In summary, APRODEPIT has been shown to be an effective organization in taking local self-help philosophies to scale. Inspired by the founder's vision of an aquaculture Mecca in southern Chad, APRODEPIT recognized a two-fold challenge and opportunity: build more sustainable fishing practices, and protect the local environment for all species. They took steps to meet those challenges by building on existing capacities – e.g., traditional fishing practices – by learning more sustainable and ecologically sound practices and starting other business activities, as well as learning new methods to monitor protected zones for fishing and for hippopotamuses and manatees. Villagers collaborating with APRODEPIT used new techniques in aquaculture and environmental protection and collaborated with an indigenous organization, led by a knowledgeable and charismatic leader, with support from international organizations.

APRODEPIT currently faces new challenges: sustaining and growing the organization after the passing of their founder; helping local villages maintain current momentum in their aquaculture and wildlife protection projects; and looking to the future by developing new projects such as (a) marketing value-added fish products outside of the Sarh region, (b) other agricultural activities, and (c) building infrastructure for the budding ecotourism industry in the region. To date, APRODEPIT has played an exemplary intermediary role between international funding organizations and local groups, rejuvenating the local fishing industry while protecting the environment of the region and building hopes for future prosperity.

Analysis and Lessons Learned – Collaboration Between Intermediary NGOs and Grassroots Organizations in Chad

This chapter began with a description of the context of development in Chad, following on details from previous chapters, particularly Chapters One and Two. That unique context is important to the case studies and analysis presented in this chapter. Summarizing the current

situation in Chad, (a) the country is emerging into a new era of development and democracy after three decades of difficult times; (b) institutions are generally weak and the infrastructure is poorly developed; (c) there are just a handful of active civil society and non-governmental organizations, despite the fact that Chad has a long history of successful local collective citizen action (e.g., the spontaneous/community schools), particularly in decentralized and difficult circumstances (such as civil strife and drought); and (d) now that the country is more stable, Chadians have higher expectations for development, growth and prosperity, expectations fueled by revenues from the pipeline project.

As in many other African countries, the Chadian state is less involved in some administrative areas previously in the hands of government ministries, through a process of decentralization and neglect that has lasted many years. Despite neglect, Chadian community schools, run by local parent associations, are examples of community action in the face of this de facto decentralization or devolution. The continuing impacts of decentralization (now planned in coordination with the World Bank and IMF), coupled with new oil revenues slated for poverty eradication, will create opportunities for local grassroots groups to expand activities in Chad.

Summarizing the case studies analyzed above in this chapter, national NGOs such as Université Populaire, CEFOD and APRODEPIT support local stakeholders in their efforts to form small groups and combine their own resources, energies and calories, creating physical, social and financial capital beyond what any individual could create. The key factor for development and capacity building for local groups, as first described in the literature review, is a mix of social and financial intermediation, as provided by the national NGOs in Chad. These NGOs act as intermediary links between local groups, the government and international funders, providing a key to successful community development and collective action in areas such as small business development, environmental protection and adult literacy programs.

It remains to be seen what kind of impact the oil revenues will have on the state's plans for development in Chad. For many years small business people in Chad (particularly entrepreneurs in the informal economy) have both benefited and suffered from the government's largely hands-off stance (and de facto decentralization), but now entrepreneurs, businesses and the general public expect improvements in local and national infrastructure, one of the priority sectors scheduled for attention under Chad's oil revenue management plan.

The Chadian NGO sector has had successes in promoting local development, and has an important role to play in helping to fill the gap between expectations and reality in the new oil-driven economy. As seen from the cases analyzed above, Chadian NGOs can be important keys to the country's continued development. They support local organizations by providing advocacy, training and technical support, and fill an important role as intermediaries between international funding organizations or donor agencies and grassroots groups, facilitating collaboration on a national and international scale.

Local Capacity Building in Chad: Bottom-Up Approaches

The literature review demonstrated that top-down approaches to development do not work well and are, in any event, not sustainable. As the local groups described above strive to develop the capital – financial, physical, social and intellectual capital – necessary to get their organizations off the ground, intermediary NGOs engage in local and national development *with* people, providing support, advocacy, training and opportunities for more funding.

This chapter began with contextual information about the promise of using new oil revenues for poverty alleviation as well as a description of the “spontaneous” schools in Chad. While analysis of the experience of community schools in Chad provides an important (even unprecedented) model of local development in Africa under decentralized circumstances, the cases in this chapter display the possibilities of local development at a more advanced level, because the collaborating intermediary NGOs described and analyzed above are providing essential support for grassroots groups to develop and use valuable new skills in literacy, accounting, marketing, and group governance.

In the five cases above, certain themes emerged as key aspects, or enabling conditions, for local development and capacity building: (a) a climate of collaboration and partnership between intermediary national organizations and local groups; (b) the creativity to finance projects through a combination of local self-funding (within the CBOs) and outside funding (from national or international donor organizations), facilitated by the national NGOs; (c) a commitment to group processes to build social capital, and capacity for group action; (d) a focus on strengthening existing capacities and combining traditional and modern knowledge in multiple sectors (e.g., fishing, agriculture, small business development, or women's groups); and (e) the availability of strong leadership and initiative at the local level.

These key conditions lend themselves to establishing and maintaining an enabling environment in which local organizations can build group capacity while creating – with the help of collaborating intermediary NGOs – more opportunities for self-funded, self-managed and sustainable local development throughout Chad.

Elements of the collaborative process. Often, as part of the NGO-CBO collaborative process, a mutually reinforcing cycle of capacity building activities emerges: developing one kind of capacity in response to a challenge or opportunity often leads to new needs and developing more capacities in “snowball” fashion, and new opportunities for collaboration between various groups emerge. Essential elements of the process are communication, exchange and partnerships, with intermediary NGOs, and between the local groups themselves (e.g., UP and ATED working with the same CBOs in N'djamena). This communication, exchange and partnerships are proceeding to the point where some “cross fertilization” of ideas is taking place between local groups. The UP public debates (*auditoriums*) can act as a vehicle to promote this cross fertilization between CBOs, NGOs, government officials and local citizens.

The interaction between the intermediary organizations and local groups in Chad also reinforces the importance of paying attention to essential elements of the group development process: (a) the value of building mutual trust between the supporting NGOs and their CBO partners; and (b) the benefits of hands on, communal efforts, promoting the idea of higher returns in local development realized from working together in a group, instead of as individuals. Using the group development process has helped intermediary NGOs (such as UP, CEFOD and APRODEPIT) in Chad successfully promote local development, in concert with local groups and international donors.

The Chadian NGOs helped local groups tap a multitude of funding sources, combining both local and outside funding for development projects. One way NGOs do this is helping local groups make outside funding requests – e.g., UP’s assistance to AMIFEL in asking the German Development Agency for equipment grants. Also of note is how intermediary organizations such as APRODEPIT, ATED and CEFOD encouraged local groups to participate in developing funding opportunities to pay for some of their training; indeed some programs require a certain proportion of local funds before projects start. This theme is picked up in the chapters that follow, particularly as part of the “CLUSA approach” (in Mali) to local capacity development.

The benefits of a comprehensive development philosophy. Intermediary organizations in Chad successfully engaged local groups in activities – organizational development, literacy training, building on local knowledge and learning new skills, interaction with other groups and within communities, etc. – reflecting a multidimensional approach to development. These activities demonstrate an approach to realize sustainable, long-term benefits beyond one-dimensional programs, a “sum-is-greater-than-its-parts” approach to local development. This theme is picked up again in chapters analyzing cases in Mali and Senegal.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDIES – MALI

Introduction

This chapter assesses capacity building experiences in Mali to find potential solutions for the problem situation in Chad described in Chapter One. The research goal was to provide recommendations for policymakers and other stakeholders interested in capacity building strategies in Chad and in Africa. The four Mali cases address the research questions through analysis of experiences of NGOs, grassroots organizations and community-based groups in the following sectors (with some overlap): agriculture, microfinance, and natural resource management. The experiences of two INGOs and four different NGOs are represented in the case studies. At the end of the chapter, analysis and lessons learned are presented.

Analysis of the cases focused primarily on mapping out the necessary elements for local level capacity building. Although the settings for each case in Mali were different, there were many commonalities across the various programs for identifying the key ingredients for capacity development efforts. In each case study, capacity development efforts in Mali are characterized by a chain of interaction between local groups, national NGOs and international organizations.

Capacity Building for Local Groups in Mali

The cases in this chapter concern local groups engaged in grassroots development and capacity building. The groups build capacity through association with national-level NGOs, which in turn work together with international NGOs and funding organizations. These capacity building activities take place in a context of decentralization and democratization, underway in Mali for many years. In this evolving climate, the important question remains as to how Malians acquire the knowledge, skills and wherewithal to take more responsibility for capacity building to promote local development, governance and economic growth. The following background information on Mali will set the scene for discussion of selected capacity building case studies.

Background Information: Mali's Recent History

Mali is the eighth largest country in north-west Africa. Considered one of the ten poorest countries in the world, land-locked Mali has about 11 million inhabitants and a population growth rate of 2.8%; only about 30% of Malians are literate, and life expectancy rates for both males and females are 47 years (US Department of State, 2004). Mali was governed by a dictatorship (after a military coup) for many years until its overthrow in 1991. After the end of the dictatorship, Mali moved towards democracy: free elections were held in 1992, a new constitution was established in the same year, and Alpha Oumar Konare became President. More recently, elections were held in 2002, and retired General Amadou Toumani Toure, former head of state during Mali's transition period (1991-92), became the country's second democratically-elected President and was inaugurated on June 8, 2002 (US Department of State, 2004). Today Mali is considered a stable, multi-party democratic republic, with regular elections.

Democracy and Decentralized Administrative Structures in Mali

Like many francophone countries in Africa, Mali inherited a centralized administrative structure after independence. The democratic transformation in Mali (an exceptional change in Africa) has come a long way since 30 years of one-party rule. Efforts to decentralize administrative structures have advanced more quickly in Mali than in other African countries, but shortcomings persist in the transfer of resources (Bertelsmann Stiftung. (2004). As part of the peace process after the revolution in 1991, decentralization led to the creation of administrative villages, each with elected municipal councils and mayors (Boukhari, 2001, p. 3). Mali is now divided into eight regions and the capital district of Bamako, each under the authority of an appointed high commissioner. Each region consists of five to nine districts (called *cercles*), administered by *préfets* (chief administrators), and the cercles are divided into *communes* (village-level governments), which, in turn, are divided into villages or quarters.

Decentralization in Mali started in earnest after elections and establishment of a new constitution in the 1990s, with the creation of sub-national entities governed by elected councils, and the transfer of some decision-making powers from Bamako to the regional level. Following the elections of local level councillors in 1999, over 700 village governments were created and are supported by deconcentrated government departments, specially created regional bodies

(*centres de conseil communaux*), NGOs, and the private sector (SNV Mali & CEDELO Mali, 2004, p. 11). As Koné (1999) noted, decentralization in rural Mali is interpreted as "power returning home," within a context in which traditional power sources dominate in the villages (p. 11). Decentralization and democratization experiences in Mali have led to a profound change in relations between the government and its citizens, and now elected leaders, the private sector and CSOs at the national and local levels must respond more effectively to local needs.

Obstacles to decentralization and development: Capacity and literacy gaps. As the analysis from the literature in Chapter Two indicated, decentralization efforts are often hampered by inadequate capacity at the local level. While decentralization has brought new levels of democratization, a constraint to the progress of decentralization in Mali is the current low capacity of local officials and decision makers (CIESIN, 2004; SNV Mali & CEDELO Mali, 2004). A transference of responsibility from the center to decentralized institutions will not, in itself, empower local actors; they must have the requisite resources (typically gained through devolution), along with capacities and skills.

As addressed in Chapter Two, nonformal adult education programs are one way to address these gaps but literacy rates remain weak in Mali, impacting future development. ANFE programs in developing countries often fail to adequately address the practical learning needs of local villagers or urban residents. While Mali has had many different literacy programs for many years (and was generally thought to be a leader in promoting functional literacy), there are fewer now than before, partly due to criticisms of literacy programs as ineffective and irrelevant (Bingen, 2004, p.15). A critique of Bambara literacy programs in Mali in the 1990s came to similar conclusions: in considering a possible transfer of development responsibility to the local level, particularly in cotton industry management, the critique reported the required numbers of "newly-literates" simply did not exist in Mali, even after many years of literacy training programs, making any decentralization plans even more problematic (Dombrowsky, Dumestre & Simonis, 1993, p. 189). Another recent study of the cotton-growing areas of Mali pointed to an ongoing need for new literacy programs, and in particular a review of training methods and curricula, as the current content of the adult literacy program offered in this region "does not respond to the needs of the villagers" (Koné, 1999, p. 12). Capacity and literacy gaps are notable in Malian civil society, particularly in agriculture development and natural resource management, and these gaps are explored below.

Malian NGOs and CBOs in the Agriculture Sector

The Malian economy is largely based on agriculture, which is dependent on the Niger river, flowing nearly the length of the country, between Bamako and Mopti, and extending south to the borders of Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso. Mali has three distinct climates: most agriculture is in the south, the rainiest region, providing farmers with arable land through seasonal flooding from the Niger river. The main food crops are millet, rice, sorghum and corn; peanuts, cotton and sugar cane are also produced for export, but cotton is Mali's main export (Freedom from Hunger, 2004). Most working Malians (about 80%) are employed in the agricultural sector, which in turn contributes 45% of the country's GDP (FAO, 2003; SUCO, 2004). Small farmers engaged in subsistence farming, especially in cotton, account for most of the agriculture production in Mali (CIESIN, 2004, p. 2). Given the importance of Malian farming, the cases and data analysis below focus largely on agricultural organizations.

In recent years, periods of drought, combined with fluctuations in commodity prices and uncertainty in world markets have proved difficult for farmers throughout the Sahel, particularly for cotton producers. There have been other challenges. Recent "invasions" of crop-destroying locusts in West Africa have threatened agriculture in the region, as locust swarms arrived in Mauritania, Mali and Niger in 2004 and moved east, threatening export crops throughout the Sahel (FAO, 2004). There are human migration patterns common in Africa: Mali experiences a rural exodus from the south to the cities at the end of the rainy season (lasting less than six months), and an over-concentration of economic, educational, and health opportunities in the cities, particularly in Bamako. These trends lead to increasing urbanization: between 1976 and 1987, the population in Mali grew by 1.8% annually, but more dramatically (by 4.2% annually) in the Bamako district (N'Djim, 1998).

Despite these challenges, agriculture – and in particular cotton farming – is very important to Mali, and the southern agricultural region has a long history of developing successful grassroots farmer organizations, some of which were created after the democratization and decentralization process took hold in the early 1990s, after the overthrow of the Traoré regime. As many of the southern Mali community-based groups examined below are involved in some aspect of cotton farming, background information about the Malian cotton industry follows here, setting the scene for analysis of local capacity development programs.

Cotton Marketing: the Dominance of the Malian Cotton Marketing Board (CMDT)

The CMDT (*Compagnie Malienne du Développement des Textiles*) is a quasi-governmental cotton manufacturing company in Mali. There is a high level of integration between production, ginning and marketing activities in the cotton industry in Mali, and the CMDT is central to this process; cotton accounts for almost one-half of Malian export earnings (Bingen, 1998, p. 270). The CMDT was created in the 1970s by the Malian government and the French parastatal *Compagnie Francaise pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles* (CFDT), which operated in several of France's former colonies in Africa.

The CMDT maintains a tightly organized system of control over the peasant farmers growing the cotton, which has helped the company find success in the international cotton market over the past 30 years. The CMDT enjoys a near-total monopoly (controlling 98% of output) of Mali's cotton processing and marketing. As most Malian farmer organizations are involved in the cotton industry, the CMDT continues to figure prominently in any discussion of cotton processing and marketing and many grassroots groups in related sectors such as microfinance and natural resource management also have connections to cotton in Mali.

Reform of Malian cotton management programs. There are challenges facing Malian cotton sector groups. The Malian Extension Service is important to smooth running of the cotton production process, though it was generally seen in recent years that structural reform of cotton extension services would be necessary to address growers' changing needs (Bingen, 1998). Reform of cotton extension is driven by recognition of several problems: (a) the traditional, top-down management system has become too costly, (b) it is no longer responsive to the needs of most growers (many believed they no longer needed the close supervision of cotton production under CMDT's system), and (c) significant reorganization is necessary to deal with declines in soil fertility (degradation) and cotton productivity (Bingen & Dembele, 2002, p. 1). A new approach to cotton extension, marketing and rural development is sought by many Malian actors, in light of global forces beyond the control of farmers: fluctuations in world cotton prices and competition due to continued subsidies to cotton farmers in developed countries.

A new, decentralized approach to cotton management would rely on village- and regional-level structures already in place. The Malian government and CMDT decided years ago to involve cotton farmers through the village associations (AVs) in southern Mali, including

soliciting input into the decision-making process, as well as engaging the thousands of village-based CMDT agents. These agents provide agricultural advisory services to help farmers – especially longstanding cotton growers – diversify crop production and to promote other income generating activities such as livestock production, honey and tamarind collection, and food processing, in order to become “real farm businesses” (Bingen & Dembele, 2002, p. 2-3).

A decentralized approach was also part of CMDT’s plans to privatize services (beginning in the late 1980s), particularly in agricultural development and natural resource management, and involving more national and local NGOs in service delivery (Roncoli, et. al., 2003, p. 14). The challenges resulting from decentralization and privatization strategies require strengthening village farmer associations, establishing advisory service centers, and training advisory service representatives in the villages, with the goal of putting the cotton management structure on more of a business footing (Bingen & Dembele, 2002, p. 2). Reform of the cotton extension system thus mirrors the general context of decentralized development programs in Mali, and typical capacity development questions arise – how do you train farmer groups to take on cotton industry management? What about organizational funding issues? These questions mirror the research topic of best ways to help citizens take on responsibility for local development.

Structures supporting regional and local development. There are several support structures that provide training, development assistance and governance advice to Malian village associations. On a regional scale, there is the well-funded organization ROPPA (Network of Farmers’ Organizations and Agricultural Producers of West Africa), created in 2000 as the official lobbying body for smallholder family farmers in 10 countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Togo and Senegal (Mistowa, 2005). Supported by several external donors and partners, ROPPA provides capacity development programs for African farmer groups (*organisations paysannes*, or OPs) to improve farming practice and living conditions in West Africa (ROPPA, 2003). ROPPA offers training for thousands of local groups, while representing the interests of small farmers across the region in discussions with politicians and policymakers at the international level, e.g., the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) forum. ROPPA’s impacts at the local level are limited.

The Chamber of Agriculture was established in Mali about ten years ago as a legally recognized body representing agricultural interests. The Chamber, along with the Permanent Assembly of the Chambers (APCAM), have earned a reputation for representing a broad range

of agricultural interests in discussions with government ministries and administrators at the local, regional and national levels (Bingen, 2003, March, p. 8). In contrast to OPs (farmer groups), the Chamber is not a membership organization but supports both individual farmers and professional interests in the agricultural, forestry and livestock sectors. While the Chamber has played an important role in the emergence of the farmers' movement in Mali, Bingen (2003, March) points out that the democracy and decentralization movements now afoot mean very little to most Malians in rural areas, unless their interests are truly represented in professional organizations (like the Chamber) and unless they can hold government technical services and agencies responsible for speaking on their behalf (pp. 10-11). The needs of Mali's fledgling democratic movement – building capacity for advocacy, lobbying and participation to keep leaders accountable – implies more training needs.

Training has become an integral part of Malian cotton extension system reform, and extension advisors receive one year of training before being assigned to support 30 to 40 AVs; local farmer organizations have also received training through marketing and functional literacy programs (Bingen & Dembele, 2002, p. 2). As a mark of increasing self-sufficiency, many OPs have a permanent literacy instructor positions, often filled by neo-literates from the community, and paid out of group funds (Easton, et. al., 1998). Training is also available through local centers.

A key ingredient in this decentralized system was the establishment of service centers in southern Mali to provide managerial and organizational support in financial matters to local leaders and farmer organizations. These centers receive financial support from CMDT and from outside groups (with oversight by the Federation of Village Associations of southern Mali), and operate as “second-tier” organizations offering technical support to civil society organizations (Easton, et. al., 1999, p. 3). In addition, the town of Koutiala, in the heart of the agricultural region of southern Mali, participates in the Community Multimedia Centre program (initiated by UNESCO), combining local-language community radio with access to internet and related technologies, enabling remote communities to handle and produce information, and helping local leaders and elected officials stay informed and avoid isolation (UNESCO, 2004, p. 10). These multimedia centers can also act as an important source of education and training, as well as aspiring networks for local culture and community life.

Cotton sector organizations face challenges to help members to assume a stronger role in cotton industry management. Any cotton sector reform movements are limited by capacity gaps: Bingen and Dembele (2002) reported that “relations between the centers and village associations continue to be seriously constrained by the overall low level of literacy” among area farmers (p. 3). While there are some training structures in place, a continuing challenge concerns how local groups develop management capacity within democratic structures (e.g., building participation and establishing effective accountability measures) to empower group members to assume more responsibilities and practice self-governance. As one example, the microfinance program described below is involved in cotton farming communities, helping individuals and local groups become more self-sufficient. Kafo Jiginew is an indigenous banking organization focusing on loans to cotton farmers, while also adding important educational aspects to its outreach portfolio.

The Malian Agricultural Microfinance Sector: Kafo Jiginew

A federation of credit unions, Kafo Jiginew is the largest microfinance institution in Mali. Formed in 1988 in southern Mali, Kafo Jiginew’s operations remain closely aligned with agricultural sector needs. A close relationship with CMDT allows Kafo Jiginew to perform an important task in the cotton industry, i.e., lending money to farmers to cover startup costs, while guaranteeing repayment through CMDT after harvest. Loans to farmers are Kafo Jiginew’s most important service, and its geographic service area includes all of the Sikasso region and the cotton-producing zones in the Ségou and Koulikoro regions, with headquarters in Koutiala.

Considered a success in microfinance circles, Kafo plays a key intermediary role in the Malian microfinance sector by working hand in hand with a host of international, national and local actors. In December, 1996, Kafo had more than 46,000 members organized through 74 different credit unions, all with excellent loan repayment rates (Freedom from Hunger, 2004). Fully managed and owned by Malian members, staff and board, Kafo Jiginew reached financial self-sufficiency in 1998, and now oversees nearly 68,000 savings accounts valued at over \$4.2 million (Bellanet, 2004). More recently, Kafo has reached out to women and poorer clients.

One major challenge for Kafo has been in addressing needs in other areas, e.g., community health, business development, nutrition, etc. Kafo incorporated a comprehensive adult education program within its regional microfinance loan programs by providing both loans

and educational programs for its members – in particular its women members. The program was achieved through a collaboration with an intermediary support organization in the US.

Partnership: Kafo Jiginew and Freedom from Hunger

An American NGO, Freedom from Hunger (FFH), has been working with the Kafo Jiginew and Nyèsigiso credit unions in southern Mali for several years. FFH’s program, “Credit with Education,” reaches poor women in Mali (and in other countries) by providing women with small loans along with weekly health and nutrition classes. The program rationale was the desire to serve the neediest clients, rather than better-off customers. Credit with Education was designed by FFH in collaboration with existing credit unions and credit union federations in Mali to serve poor women with group-based lending and savings services, combined with low-cost, high-impact education sessions in nutrition, health and business (Stack & Thys, 2000, p. 1). This analysis focuses on how FFH works as an intermediary support organization with Kafo Jiginew.

Malian women microentrepreneurs are often integrated into cotton/agriculture sector economies, and FFH promotes loan programs to overcome a lack of credit opportunities(a major barrier to business success). Credit with Education begins first with the village banking methodology of promoting self-managed credit associations, helping women accumulate savings and providing guarantees for each other’s loans. Within the credit association, women form small groups (“Solidarity Groups”), and collaborate on making individual loan requests; loans are usually about \$50 (Dunford & Denman, 2000, p. 38). Following the village banking model used in other developing countries (e.g., the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh), members receive a loan at the beginning of a loan cycle, and each borrower is expected to make repayment each week until loans are paid back. No one in the group can secure a second loan until all women in the group have paid off their initial loans. There is strong motivation for cooperation in the group, and this model of loan repayment clearly seeks to benefit from the social capital – built through social networks, group expectations, obligations, trust, etc. – that is found in typical village settings in Mali.

Credit with Education adult nonformal education program. What distinguishes Credit with Education from a simple credit program is its emphasis on nonformal education. When borrowers make repayments on their loans during the credit association’s weekly meeting, “the women participate in nonformal learning sessions... in areas such as: Credit Association

management, selling and marketing techniques, business planning, financial management, diarrhea prevention and management, breastfeeding, infant and child feeding, immunizations, family planning, and HIV/AIDS prevention and community management” (FFH, 2003, ¶ 4). The educational sessions create dialogue for behavior change for the women and their families.

Credit with Education currently reaches about 200,000 women in rural areas in Mali and other developing countries, and FFH’s research showed that the program increases income and savings for women participants, enhances health and nutrition knowledge and practices, and improves household food security and children’s nutrition (Dunford & Denman, 2000, p. i). This program helps meet both the business demands of a large financial service organization as well as a commitment to improving the health and nutrition of the poor in Mali.

Impact assessment of Kafo Jiginew’s Credit with Education program. Freedom from Hunger and SEEP (Small Enterprise Education and Development Network) sought to measure Credit with Education impacts in 1998, through the Assessing the Impacts of Microenterprise Services (AIMS) project (funded by USAID). A client impact survey was employed to collect data, and given to three different groups of Kafo Jiginew clients: one-year clients, two-year clients, and new clients. Data were analyzed to assess impacts of Credit with Education and to improve program services in Mali. The survey analysis showed that “positive program impact” was detected at four different levels: (a) microenterprise level, (b) household level, (c) individual level, and (d) community level (MkNelly & Lippold, 1998b, pp. viii-ix). Survey results showed that the Kafo-FFH loan and education program was a multidimensional learning experience where program clients gained many benefits: improved business management abilities, increased capability to deal with crisis or economic difficulty, a sense of empowerment, and prospects for assumption of greater leadership roles in the community.

The impact assessment findings bring up challenges and potential opportunities, as Kafo works with FFH to develop the Credit with Education program. One finding concerned building capacity within Kafo Jiginew to manage the assessment process that is required by FFH. Nine local staff members were trained by FFH and SEEP facilitators in the use of data collection and assessment tools that local practitioners could use without additional or external help. While the training assessment was positive, and the data collection experience successful, “it was clear that certain organizational infrastructure and considerable commitment, skill and administrative support are required for the assessment to be successfully carried out” (MkNelly & Lippold,

1998a, p. ix). This assessment indicates the need for continual support to develop capacity building program. For Kafo staff already engaged in the day-to-day running of a credit union federation, how can they “gear up” for monitoring and evaluation activities: developing survey instruments; training interviewers; conducting interviews; analyzing data, etc, without support?

A microfinance programming trend is to target a better off (“up market”) clientele instead of “going down market” to serve the poorest of the poor. On the other hand, serving the poor is FFH’s main focus: studies based on poverty assessments in Mali showed the Credit with Education program was reaching over 10,000 poor and “food insecure” credit union clients (Stack & Thys, 2000, p. 10). This expansion creates new capacity needs, and as FFH helps Kafo expand its loan-education programs, training and follow-up training cycles will follow.

Capacity building cycles help feed organizational growth. As Kafo Jiginew reaches new markets and clients, its staff needs will grow. One way for Kafo Jiginew to improve efficiency and cut costs is to hire newly-literate women, women who already have the experience of being successful borrowers and business owners (by keeping good financial records), and who already have a track record of building trust and relationships with fellow women entrepreneurs. In a Kafo Jiginew staff assessment, Stack & Thys (2000) reported that “women field agents selected from the groups’ management committees performed as well or better than field agents from the city with a high school education” (p. 11). Credit with Education provides loans, education, and opportunities for poor people with an entrepreneurial spirit to build capacity – e.g. knowledge and skills – for a better life. This program also has long-term potential to empower participants to take on new development functions and responsibilities, and by hiring neo-literate local women, create new employment opportunities.

Lessons Learned from FFH’s Collaboration with Kafo Jiginew

The Credit with Education program shows the importance of multidimensional, “add-on” development programs for local beneficiaries. This program – a collaboration between Kafo Jiginew and the intermediary support group FFH – takes as a starting point the idea that microfinance projects alone will not address the root causes of poverty. There is a need to develop service agencies or a combination of programs, to help Malians in areas such as health, skills training, business support, etc., with both public and private funding. In the meantime, Credit with Education helps fill the gap by offering essential services to the poor, where few

services are currently available. The program is focused on providing loans to poor women, through the Kafo Jiginew banking network, with the important innovation of adding non-financial programs employing nonformal education techniques to promote literacy and behavior changes in areas such as: nutrition, child-care practices, family planning, disease prevention, etc.; themes that go beyond improving business skills. This multifaceted program has reached thousands of poor people, bringing successes beyond the sum of the individual program parts.

As growing numbers of newly-literate women (with training and practical experiences through Kafo Jiginew-FFH programs) develop their own businesses, take on new roles within the Kafo organization (e.g., program evaluation), providing local communities with a bigger base of capable individuals for other local development initiatives. Beneficiaries learn skills appropriate to their employment/business needs: Credit with Education builds knowledge and capacities in real-life, day-to-day settings, a good example of demand-driven ANFE practices.

Credit with Education demonstrates the powerful linking role that intermediary support groups like FFH can play in promoting local development. In every case where this program has been used successfully, the INGO (e.g., FFH) collaborated with a national-level NGO (Kafo) for program implementation. This experience demonstrates how exogenous international development implement programs designed to be used in various contexts in developing countries (e.g., a program combining credit and savings services with ANFE to address community needs), and how INGOs also depend upon teamwork and technical support from local or national NGOs. Kafo Jiginew has the advantage of understanding local and regional conditions and needs, as well as a history of successful microfinance program implementation. On the other hand, Kafo also depends upon FFH's expertise and training to help its local staff members get "up to speed" quickly for new program implementation. This collaborative capacity-development partnership may be a good model for other developing country settings.

Credit with Education combines grassroots microfinance programs with ANFE and training in an efficient, cost-effective manner. The multidimensional services offered by Credit with Education leads to a greater range of positive local level impacts and synergies of impact for the Malian women entrepreneurs involved, from learning skills to run small businesses to benefits for family health. The synergy of impacts concept – i.e., that the combined effects of intervention programs are greater than the sum of the individual effects – will be explored further throughout the dissertation, particularly in analysis of the Tostan program in Senegal.

The “CLUSA Approach” to Local Development in Mali

CLUSA (known in the US as the National Cooperative Business Association, or NCBA) is an international NGO and partner to local development in many African countries, including Mali. CLUSA’s methods of promoting and supporting cooperatives and group businesses – member-owned and democratically-operated private sector enterprises – have been honed over years of interaction with local organizations in developing countries, particularly in Africa. The “CLUSA Approach” is based on the idea that clients (program beneficiaries) should take initiative and make decisions, and that “CLUSA’s role should be one of providing its clients with training in analytical, problem solving, and entrepreneurial skills and *not* instructions on the whats, whens, or hows of local development” (CLUSA, 2002, p. 1). Three Malian NGOs that collaborate with CLUSA are offered as cases below, including analysis of interactions between the NGOs and local groups receiving technical support.

Mali can be viewed as an important proving ground for CLUSA’s international programs and methods; the elements of its development philosophy and interactions with national intermediary organizations and local groups are explored below. CLUSA’s (2002) philosophy and approach to development includes the following steps:

- The local community organization chooses the business or service activity to undertake
- Training is done at the local level, in the local language (to encourage full participation), and training is practical – learning by doing – emphasizing the skills necessary to manage the chosen business or service, including (a) cost benefit analysis, (b) market analysis, and (c) the development of accounting and financial management systems
- CLUSA does not subsidize the enterprise or service activities of its clients and expects the local organizations to pay at least a part of the cost of training
- CLUSA emphasizes program sustainability: at the organization level, training focuses on planning business and service development on a long term, sustainable basis; at the project level, field trainers are encouraged to form their own NGOs to gain contracts to provide assistance to grassroots groups after the initial CLUSA program ends (p. 2).

CLUSA’s Mali program, the Village Association Business Development Program, is impressive: over 17,000 members of village associations or village enterprises and 4,433 trainers (68% women) have been trained; village associations/enterprises have implemented over 2,000

locally-managed and profitable economic activities and borrowed \$12.2 million from banks over a ten-year period, with a 98% repayment rate; and the same associations/enterprises used the profits from their businesses to leverage capital and raise nearly \$2 million for health facilities, schools, literacy centers, etc., in 277 project villages (CLUSA-NCBA, 2001, p. 1). Results from Mali are comparable with CLUSA programs in other countries.

CLUSA's record for encouraging local development is well established, though there are always implementation challenges. A key informant during data collection for this project, Jim Alrutz of CLUSA-NCBA (in the Washington office), reported that while many grassroots community groups in Mali and Senegal are successful, some continue to operate without a clear strategic plan, and the donor-funded capacity-building programs for grassroots groups need to emphasize how to conduct strategic planning, how to ensure organizational sustainability and how to promote a working relationship between the community organizations and the national or international technical service providers (personal communication, 2003). These gaps illustrate the importance of building and maintaining social capital up and down the intervention "ladder" to develop collaborative partnerships for intermediary support for local organizations.

Collaborative partnerships entail a strong commitment from all parties, as well as regular opportunities for training and organizational development. An analysis of requirements for the CLUSA approach shows that local groups in developing countries typically need some initial training and follow-up training in order to develop organizational capacity and program sustainability to which Alrutz referred; these groups then rely upon the intermediary NGOs for training, technical support and outside funding opportunities. CLUSA's interactions with intermediary organizations in these areas are explored below.

The CLUSA Approach at the Local Level: CBO and NGO Collaboration in Mali

CLUSA's approach to development includes an important step: country-level field trainers collaborating with CLUSA on local training projects are encouraged to begin their own private organizations to provide ongoing services – in management training, literacy, advocacy development, etc. – to local CBOs. This helps maintain program cohesion and encourages sustainability. In Mali, several groups – e.g., ACOD, INAGEF and SABA – were formed during collaboration with CLUSA on past development projects, and these national-level NGOs

collaborate directly with local, grassroots groups in Mali. In addition to funding from CLUSA, national NGOs also receive some support directly from USAID to implement local projects.

Three different experiences of collaboration between CLUSA, intermediary national organizations and local grassroots groups are described below. The first example concerns ACOD, a Malian NGO using the CLUSA approach in collaboration with the Farakala farmer cooperative. In this case, an intermediary organization's assistance to local groups illustrates some of the keys to successful efforts in organizational development and local capacity building.

ACOD and Farakala – A Local Farmer-Managed Organization

The Agricultural-Pastoral Association of Farakala (*Association Agropastorale de Farakala*, or AAPF) was formed in 1994 in the town of Farakala, near Sikasso, in southern Mali. Its members are professional cattle herders and cereal crop producers who take out loans from Kafo Jiginew to support and expand their businesses. Interestingly, AAPF was not considered a successful group until a Malian NGO, ACOD (*Association Conseil pour le Développement*, or Development Consultants Association), began to work with AAPF to improve management practices. The Farakala case demonstrates CLUSA-NCBA's efforts to promote capacity building for farmer organizations, village organizations and cooperatives, via training programs and technical support offered by an intermediary partner, ACOD.

The first major challenge for AAPF-Farakala Cooperative was to address its lack of organizational development: "since 1994, this association of about 80 heads of households had been unable to make any progress toward achieving their collectively identified objectives" in marketing cotton and other agricultural projects (Bingen, 2003, p. 1). ACOD worked closely with AAPF to complete a needs assessment and develop new objectives for the group and the community. The needs assessment pointed to the necessity of improving management practices: the lack of management skills and the general low level of literacy among AAPF members hindered the group's ability to maintain standardized financial records, conduct business and undertake new activities. In response to the needs assessment, the cooperative allocated some earnings to hire a teacher for local functional literacy classes for illiterate members (Bingen, 2003, p. 7). The group has worked to establish a budget, but deficiencies in literacy and numeracy (i.e., reading and writing, bookkeeping) skills remain a concern as the Farakala group seeks new business opportunities and ways to build sustainability.

In addition to literacy training, ACOD assisted in developing loan proposals and helped AAPF set up conservation farming study plots to test the feasibility of cereal marketing enterprises (CLUSA-NCBA, 2002, p. 1). These agricultural business activities reflect a group – member owned and managed – that has realized profits and brought benefits to the community. ACOD’s intermediary collaboration with AAPF was crucial to this change in fortune.

ACOD is one of four Malian NGOs receiving core operating support through a USAID cooperative agreement with CLUSA to develop capacity to provide training and advisory services for farmer enterprises and community organizations in Mali. ACOD’s approach, modeled after CLUSA’s capacity building philosophy, is based on the principle of guided self-learning and discovery: an “active, participant-driven approach where trainers use role-playing, group work and simulation exercises to help community organizations identify and solve problems collectively in ways that become empowering for both the group and its individual members” (Bingen, 2003, p. 9). To establish its partnership with AAPF, ACOD 1) received intermediary support from CLUSA, and 2) created formal contracts (e.g., to provide training) directly with AAPF.

The Farakala transition from lean early years to a successful, officially-registered local NGO, illustrates the potential of the empowering training and advisory approach used by ACOD, modeled in turn after CLUSA’s sustainable development philosophy. Because of the changes experienced after ACOD’s initial intervention, the AAPF cooperative became more cohesive and its members decided to build new cattle fattening and cereals marketing enterprises, and secured loans with Kafo Jiginew and another lender to build facilities for these projects. According to ACOD’s case study, after taking out loans over a five-year period, Agricultural-Pastoral Association of Farakala had 1) established a 100% loan repayment rate; 2) realized profits from cattle marketing activities, for both the group and individual members; and 3) reinvested earnings back into business operations, e.g., building a new feed lot (CLUSA-NCBA, 2002, p. 2). The case study provided encouraging results from ACOD’s partnership with AAPF-Farakala, validating their collaborative development approach.

In addition, because of the Farakala group’s success, “influential cooperative members successfully lobbied Kafo Jiginew to open an office in Farakala” providing easier access to loans and banking services (Bingen, 2003, p. 11). The impact from group activities was regional as

well as the cooperative now receives visits from representatives from other villages in the region who want to learn about the Farakala success story.

The AAPF group is now seeking bigger loans to expand its already profitable cattle-fattening business. As it grows, the Farakala cooperative may find it difficult to finance upgraded cattle fattening operations using microcredit agencies, as small banks are not used to making mid-sized loans. Echoing this concern, Bingen (2003) asserted there is “a ‘missing middle’ category of credit that needs to be more easily and competitively available at the local level if groups like the Farakala Cooperative are going to play a more significant role in agricultural and rural development” (p. 12). There is a continuing challenge of maintaining long-term development initiatives for groups like AAPF, because of limited literacy and business management capacity at the village level. Training needs are discussed during AAPF cooperative meetings, and some training is provided for at the local level using indigenous resources; other training must be provided by outside groups, e.g., ACOD and the cooperative’s other partner organizations (M. Akeratane, personal communication, 2004). In spite of this success story, building local capacity for training and local development remains a long-term goal for AAPF.

AAPF has taken important steps to develop an internal structure to monitor progress towards group goals. A key informant in the Malian Cultural Ministry, Mohamed Akeratane, reported that AAPF has developed new institutional management capacity. AAPF collects data and creates reports detailing ongoing and future group business activities, revisits its group action plan on an annual basis, develops budgets for agricultural ventures (that use mostly internal funding) and maintains collaborative relationships with other local groups, NGOs, and government ministries (2004, personal communication). As the group looks for new agribusiness opportunities (e.g., a cattle fattening business), AAPF will have new capacity needs, but they have made a good start with ACOD’s intermediary help and use of the CLUSA approach.

Lessons Learned from the CLUSA-ACOD-AAPF Collaboration

Strengthening local capacity for development in Farakala remains an ongoing project. The AAPF, however, has begun to develop sustainable institutions to support training activities, business development, community improvements, farming, etc. As discussed above in the FFH Credit with Education program, the scope of activities (beyond microfinance programs,

organizational development, business training, etc.) point to possible synergies of impact for these local groups and communities,.

In addition to training received from ACOD, analysis shows that the following factors were important to AAPF's success:

- Conducting an initial intervention in needs assessment, as provided by ACOD;
- Creating an enabling environment for growth and development through training in management practices and organizational development (again provided by ACOD);
- Establishing feasible goals for agricultural business activities, finding loans to support them, and monitoring progress towards goals;
- Taking collective action to build group ownership of the cooperative, through increasing community participation;
- Working towards self-financing of local development activities;
- Learning communication skills (for working with other local groups and NGOs) and upgrading their advocacy expertise (e.g., collaborating with intermediary NGOs, negotiating with Kafo Jiginew or government officials, etc.)

Essential to AAPF's success was its collaboration with ACOD; important to ACOD's outreach activities was its partnership with CLUSA. Indeed, CLUSA considers one measure of sustainability the ability of its partner NGOs to continue beyond the initial CLUSA-NGO collaboration, by finding new funding opportunities through partnerships with local groups, governments and international donors (CLUSA-NCBA, 2001, p. 4). Local groups like AAPF are also beginning to develop new means of financial support, through their business activities and through procurement of loans, grants and technical assistance from external donors.

The analysis of the Farakala case study also brings up the question about the impetus for capacity building for local development – e.g., as either externally- or internally-driven programs. The CLUSA model seen at work in the AAPF-ACOD case – a mixture of externally- and internally-driven development, facilitated by a national-level intermediary support organization, also with external support – shows how a local group can prosper with multiple levels of support. One long-term measure of progress and sustainability will be the level to which local organizations like the Farakala cooperative can assume responsibility for group facilitation functions, organizational development and service delivery (e.g. training) in the coming years.

Another CLUSA Partner Working with Local Groups – INAGEF

Like ACOD, INAGEF is a Malian NGOs partnering with CLUSA and local grassroots groups in southern Mali, concentrating its activities in the Koulikoro region. [INAGEF is an acronym for African Institute for Management and Training (*Institut Africain de Gestion et de Formation*)]. INAGEF has also received support from RTI (Research Triangle Institute) to provide management training for local officials and civil society leaders in rural Mali.

In the last few years, INAGEF has responded to requests from groups of village associations that had established collective business associations (known as GIEs) in the region managed by the Upper Niger River Valley Office (*Office de la Haute Vallée du Niger*, or OHVN) to create a local umbrella economic cooperative. INAGEF collaborated with the regional umbrella group, called UGOA, as it sought to consolidate orders for inputs (seeds, fertilizer, pesticides, sprayers, etc.) to help small farmers negotiate lower prices and reduced distribution costs with suppliers, and generate collective profits and national attention (Bingen, 2004, pp. 1-2). At the same time that UGOA got off the ground, the cotton marketing company CMDT started to disengage from the agricultural input supply sector. After initial success supplying members with farm inputs in the 2002-2003 agricultural year, UGOA took on new member GIEs (the GIES partner in turn with village associations) and expanded input supply activities in 2003-2004.

This case study shows how several factors in community-based enterprise development practices influenced UGOA's performance, including: 1) shaping the institutional environment – e.g., farmers' penchant for collective action, long-term donor funding of technical assistance, and favorable legislation and regulations; 2) building capacity for problem solving and negotiation; 3) creating collective commercial activities and community-generated capital; 4) fostering community leadership and sound business management practices; and 5) encouraging the continued supportive role of government agencies (Bingen, 2004, pp. 3-7). Details about these factors serve as lessons for developing successful community organizations.

The institutional environment surrounding projects is important in any development context. What made UGOA's situation different was evidence of program continuity over many years – made possible through long-term funding commitments from USAID – as INAGEF technical field personnel were able to concentrate on building relationships and trust with local farmers, who in turn learned new advocacy skills to work with representatives of the

decentralized local government structures, in place since the 1990s (Bingen, 2004, p. 4). As seen in other contexts, the continuing regulatory changes from decentralization policies created new advocacy opportunities for farmers, which in turn required new capacities (in problem-solving strategies, advocacy, lobbying, etc.), making the continued collaboration between the local groups and the intermediary NGOs even more important.

The necessity of problem solving and negotiation capacities was borne out by implementation of INAGEF's local development strategies to develop a sense of ownership and responsibility among their partner community organizations. Literacy skills are important to any training program, but training in problem solving and negotiation skills in this setting was particularly dependent on a core group of local Malians who had Bambara (and sometimes French) language abilities. Developing problem solving and negotiation skills (and Bambara literacy) was described as "truly liberating" for local groups in Mali (Bingen, 2004, p. 6).

Developing collective activities and relying on community capital was a key component of the CLUSA-INAGEF strategy in collaboration with UGOA. Relying on UGOA's own capital to attract additional investment for successful community projects proved a strategy that drew interest from other village organizations: the UGOA balance sheet for 2002 showed successful business activities that generated profits for the cooperative, providing agricultural inputs to members at costs that were lower than the prevailing market, with a loan repayment rate of nearly 100 percent (Bingen, 2004, pp. 8, 11). Although UGOA's percentage of the input market is quite small, its loan repayment rate was much better than CMDT's rates, solidifying its stature as a bottom-up cooperative with good business practices.

UGOA is a loosely organized business cooperative engaged in learning experiences and confronting new challenges in organizational management and learning. Learning in the group occurs on two interrelated levels: among the member GIEs, as they become skilled at communicating and disseminating basic information among their members; and at the UGOA organizational level, by promoting new business ideas, skills and business acumen among members (Bingen, 2004, p. 9). Learning to communicate effectively can be challenging, given the literacy and management capacities of many of UGOA's member GIEs and AVs. This challenge is seen in the difficulties UGOA faces in handling communication campaigns to inform their farmer members about decisions that affect them as well as information about the group's goals, objectives and accomplishments.

The capacity building model at work for UGOA has seen its share of successes and limitations. For example, a local GIE called *Funtun* was recognized as the most successful in the OHVN, particularly in the area of developing collective organizational experience and skills, and was hailed as a model for how one set of group skills, acquired to achieve one task in the agricultural sector (e.g., in cotton marketing), can be adapted and transferred to other areas (e.g., cereals marketing) in the same sector. Bingen (2004) points out that when the capacity or ability to adapt skills is achieved by a group, “it also usually indicates that a group recognizes its lack of capacity. For example, while a group’s economic activities may be successful, the group may not have the capacity to translate these successes into advocacy and policy influence” (p. 16). Although members of local organizations are beginning to see the fruits of their capacity development efforts, effective capacity building remains a continuous process on multiple levels.

The UGOA case represents an interesting model for developing cooperative business structures that bring enhanced community benefits. Bingen (2004) reported that villagers involved through their village associations and the GIEs discovered the advantages of working together and carrying out collective projects that “develop individual interests and skills without compromising valued community-based relationships” (p. 16). Analyzing the relationship between UGOA and the village associations showed that one key element of the enabling environment was recognizing the power of collective action at the local level, particularly when villagers have opportunities to learn new skills and put them to use (e.g., start new economic activities together), thus building economic and social capital at the community level.

New Challenges and Opportunities for UGOA

UGOA faces new challenges in the future, not the least of which are pressures from outside agricultural markets, seemingly beyond control of farmers in Mali. African cotton farmers have been suffering over the past several years from plummeting cotton prices, and the West African cotton industry remains in crisis: five countries (Mali, Burkina Faso, Bénin, Chad and Sénégal) have created the African Association of Cotton Producers to fight what it calls unfair practices (e.g., subsidizing farmers) in the United States and Europe (ICTSD, 2005, ¶1). The cotton pricing issue is complex and complicated, calling for coordination at international levels. Capacity building for local groups offers at least the possibility that farmers themselves

can participate in these high-level discussions, e.g., by lobbying policymakers, finding advocates to represent them, or speaking out directly.

There is also the possible decision by some African cotton farmers to begin using the controversial genetically-modified (GM) crops like Bt cotton or food crops (already in use in Western countries). International agrochemical companies and the US government (through USAID) are interested in introducing GM crops into Mali, but according to *Grain* (2004), “local farmers and the general public are in the dark” in Mali about the conversion to Bt cotton, and its long-term implications for Mali’s number one export.

CLUSA-INAGEF-UGOA collaboration: Results and lessons learned. UGOA has had an impressive start as a cooperative farmer organization in Mali: it grew from eight to 12 GIEs (collective business associations) in about two years’ time, encompassing over 100 AVs within the GIEs (25% of which have been created since 1999), and representing nearly 5,000 Malian farmers altogether (Bingen, 2004, p. 18). While this growth is impressive, the group will have to continue to address many on-going and future issues (as noted above) to remain viable.

The main objective behind developing the UGOA cooperative was to enhance the collective capacity of cotton farmers to buy agricultural inputs, taking advantage of opportunities through a more decentralized cotton industry, and thus directly challenging CMDT’s rationale that justifies its near monopoly and control of an integrated cotton sector. All in all, UGOA’s members still represent only a small portion of the cotton industry, but the organization’s success symbolizes a potential new way of running the agricultural input market, with local groups involved in cotton industry management. This relatively young organization will have to work hard to be sustainable, and UGOA’s long-term sustainability will depend on several factors including, (a) determining the best kind of organizational status within Mali’s government and policy environment structures for the cooperative, given the different kinds of enterprises that UGOA represents; (b) redefining traditional roles in the agricultural supply market; (c) working out a support service arrangement between INAGEF and UGOA (e.g., INAGEF provides some free consulting services to UGOA, as part of its ongoing commitment to developing grassroots cooperatives); and (d) continuing to provide training and other services to new AVs when they join the organization, just as the older member AVs experienced when they joined UGOA (Bingen, 2004, pp. 14-15). These four factors are important to the viability of UGOA’s development model, and evoke questions of long-term sustainability for the organization.

Developing a new support service arrangement between INAGEF and UGOA is also crucial to sustainability of this intermediary intervention model for local capacity building in Mali. The CLUSA philosophy dictates that the local organizations pay at least a part of the cost of training. If the local group cannot maintain its current advantageous relationship with the national NGO (i.e., having INAGEF subsidize some of the costs for personnel assigned to help UGOA), and find alternative ways to fund its training and support programs, where would they turn for needed services? This issue may have the biggest impact on the training and capacity building model used to develop UGOA, and it also demonstrates the importance of the intermediary support structures already in place in the CLUSA-national NGO-local CBO model.

Finally, capacity development in the agricultural sector is important beyond short-/mid-term returns for all Malian actors. Global agriculture conditions help create uncertainties in African markets, and in Mali in particular (given its big cotton industry), with possible trickle-down impacts for thousands of small farmers. Agriculture market insecurities increase the value of building local-level capacity to develop community-based economic activities; sustainable local organizations must be nimble-toed and flexible, maintaining an “insightful agility” while scanning the horizon for new opportunities, within agriculture or within other sectors.

SABA – An Intermediary Organization Working with CLUSA and Local Groups

SABA is another Malian NGOs that has partnered with CLUSA and collaborated with local groups in southern Mali. The group’s name, SABA (*Solidarité pour l'Auto-promotion à la Base*), is an acronym that translates to Solidarity for Grassroots Self-Promotion. The national-level organization, created in 1995, works with grassroots groups, promoting a culture of self-sufficiency to help them assume responsibility for local projects in education, health, natural resource management, community organization, financial resources management, etc. (SABA, 2004). SABA works with local groups on projects that address felt needs of local communities, helping them find training and financing for their projects. SABA receives funding from USAID, like other groups connected with CLUSA, and encourages its local partner organizations to fund their own projects through group dues, one-time contributions, bank loans, start-up funds from development organizations, etc. (Coulibaly, personal communication, 2004). This collaboration has been successful so far but there are questions of sustainability, such as whether the local groups can continue their projects without becoming dependent on SABA’s assistance.

A key informant for this research, Timothée Coulibaly (director of SABA in Bamako), explained the organization's partnerships with local groups. When facing a challenge or problem, Coulibaly (2004) said local groups often take action by seeking out a partner organization (e.g., SABA) to help with the technical resources, training or funding support necessary to address the problem; for training, a hands-on approach is generally preferred by both SABA and the local groups: "learning new knowledge and skills, and the practical application of the new knowledge and skills go hand in hand" (personal communication). SABA's training focus also helps target the kinds of knowledge required to help local groups build capacity.

The new knowledge and skills that local groups learn are based on a curriculum that reinforces traditional knowledge; sometimes it is also simply a question of validating older wisdom and practices, as SABA recognizes that adult learners bring many skills, abilities and experiences to any learning situation and do not start from a *tabula rasa* orientation (Coulibaly, personal communication, 2004). The director also detailed SABA's interaction with local groups, which began in 1999, including steps in the training and collaboration process, demonstrating collaboration between an intermediary organization and a small local group.

Tiénel is located in the Diafarabé zone, in the heart of the Niger Central Delta between Ségou and Mopti, about 500 kilometers from Bamako. A women's group in Tiénel is involved with sheep herding and wool production, and the Tiénel women approached SABA to work on capacity building processes for the group. Here are the steps that SABA took with the group:

- At the beginning of the collaboration, SABA led the Tiénel group through a "diagnostic" process to establish needs and develop a plan of action;
- The diagnostic process identified needs for the Tiénel group in the following areas
 - Developing organizational management skills, to build a more "modern" organization (e.g., setting up a more formalized group structure)
 - Building institutional relationship skills for communication and correspondence, advocacy and negotiations (particularly with government officials)
 - Building functional literacy skills
 - Learning financial management skills: accounting, marketing, feasibility studies
 - Upgrading technical skills related to animal husbandry: sanitation, hygiene, disease and nutrition

- SABA’s training program then designed training programs to address specific areas of need as identified by the Tiénel group (Coulibaly, personal communication, 2004).

The Tiénel group members took training courses in local languages offered by SABA and also took steps to promote internal capacity building: after training, group members who were trained taught other members in turn, to help prepare them to work as leaders or more active members. The Tiénel group also engaged in exchange visits with neighboring villages, to learn about activities of other groups and to develop new clientele. Coulibaly explained that SABA helped facilitate this exchange, so that groups from both villages could share ideas about similar projects developed in response to particular needs or opportunities, and “exchange concrete experiences with each other – a more hands-on learning approach than sitting in a classroom” (personal communication, 2004). The exchanges were also useful to facilitate regular communication between local groups, and community learning.

Over the past few years, Tiénel has created a climate for successful local businesses. The Tiénel women’s group came together to form a wool production cooperative of 35 members to address common problems of wool marketing: poor sales, lack of accounting skills, unsold merchandise, etc. With SABA’s assistance and training, the group improved management and marketing skills and began a new relationship with two other local *groupements* that were interested in buying their wool to make clothing (Coulibaly, personal communication, 2004).

Tiénel-SABA-CLUSA Project Collaboration: Results and Lessons Learned

Summing up, SABA is an intermediary NGOs in Mali that works with local groups by employing elements of the CLUSA development approach. A needs assessment exercise with the Tiénel women’s group was the first step, and after establishing needs, and skills required to meet them, hands-on training was provided by SABA. To promote sustainability, local group members teach each other needed skills. To tap local resources (and build social capital), Tiénel members visited with other local groups to share project experiences. These methods ensure that capacity building is sustainable, and that local groups will remain in communication with each other and with SABA. SABA’s programs demonstrate an approach utilizing outside assistance and training, offered by an INGO, to support SABA’s own capacity development; SABA in turn promotes local development by supporting self-help initiatives (started by groups like the Tiénel women’s group), creating a chain of capacity building and sustainable local development.

Overall Analysis and Lessons Learned – Capacity Development in Mali

This chapter of case studies in Mali focused on elaborating the key ingredients for local-level capacity building to address the problem situation in Chad as described in Chapter One. A brief review of the development context in Mali, including details about the ongoing decentralization and democratization initiatives, is presented here. The two principal approaches to developing capacity in this chapter are then compared, in relation to the cases studies that described interactions between four NGOs and their local group counterparts. Finally, the rudiments of effective and sustainable approaches to capacity development – ingredients of an enabling environment for local development in Mali – are summarized in the final section.

The development context in Mali is unique in that many organizations – particularly groups catering to farmers’ needs – have been involved as major actors in local development for many years, especially in southern Mali. This chapter’s cases demonstrated how Malian NGOs collaborate with local groups to develop capacity for change, after new government policies have created a more decentralized climate in Mali, particularly for sectors that are typically within the purview of government ministries in other developing countries. For example, the Malian state has for several years had a hands-off policy in the procurement of inputs, production, processing and marketing of the country’s agricultural sector – these functions now reside more at the local level, often with the farmer groups and organizations described above.

The effects of ongoing decentralization and democratization movements in Mali have provided more opportunities for grassroots groups to manage economic development, especially in areas (e.g., agriculture) that directly affect daily lives, and, as seen in the case studies above, these groups are partnering with national NGOs to build local capacity. As was described at length in Chapter Two, it is typically within a more devolved setting that local communities in Mali are beginning to assume authority to make decisions about development that affects local citizens. While opportunities for managing economic functions at the local level have increased, so have capacity needs. Capacity needs, as well as the need for resources (an important part of the equation), are often addressed in collaboration with intermediary groups such as the national NGOs portrayed above.

The case describing UGOA and its collaboration with INAGEF (and UGOA’s evolving relationship with the cotton marketing company, CMDT) is an example of an encouraging

development phenomenon in Mali: farmers joining together to develop new sources of agricultural inputs, with opportunities to put skills gained from training – in literacy and numeracy, business management, advocacy and negotiation, etc. – to immediate use, to benefit their organizations and communities.

The case studies in this chapter – Credit with Education-Kafo Jiginew, ACOD-Farakala, INAGEF-UGOA, and SABA-Tiénel involved four different Malian NGOs, further grouped by the two INGOs – FFH and CLUSA – that provided support and the frameworks or development approaches for the capacity building programs analyzed above:. A chain of intermediation and intervention was evident in the relationships between local groups and national-level NGOs in Mali. Responsibility for new functions – local governance, starting businesses, managing farms, running credit organizations, community natural resource management, etc. – requires new capacity, and local groups discussed here have successfully developed it, with the crucial support of intermediary NGOs. Those intermediary NGOs are in turn supported by the two international development organizations. While this multilevel intermediation and intervention model has proven successful in the cases analyzed here, capacity building remains an on-going concern for local Malian organizations because the lack of management skills and the low levels of adult literacy often handicap business expansion or limit development of new projects by local groups. The lack of resources in a decentralized climate, as well as the limited number of opportunities for local communities to use new capacities for new communal activities, also provide continual challenges for sustainable local development. It is also apparent that for Malian grassroots groups, this ongoing chain of collaboration between local organizations, intermediary national organizations and their international partners is critical to continued successful local capacity development efforts.

Comparison of Capacity Building Approaches Used in Mali: FFH and CLUSA

The development philosophies of two international NGOs – CLUSA and FFH – working in Mali are briefly contrasted here. Both approaches share some commonalities, chief among them a comprehensive and multidimensional development philosophy that focuses on organizational development, literacy training, new management techniques, and building on local knowledge and skills.

The CLUSA approach, seen above in three case studies in Mali, has proven successful in promoting sustainable local development. The three cases support an intermediation and intervention model where an outside source of funding helps provide funding, training and capacity development opportunities for national NGOs; the national NGOs in turn collaborate with local groups (which employ mostly self-funded initiatives combined with training support from NGOs and some outside donor help), creating local development opportunities through a chain of needs assessment, training and capacity building.

A worldwide phenomenon, FFH's education-credit program combines financial sustainability programs with "best practices" for poverty alleviation. Credit with Education delivers nonformal learning experiences in family health, nutrition, household food security, and family planning. FFH's program involves the participation of an established national intermediary NGO (Kafo Jiginew), which has an extended network of offices and programs. This multidimensional development approach, with "add-on" educational programs for local beneficiaries, contrasts with typical "top-down" technical cooperation programs. FFH's approach, built on development of local social capital, aids in creating an enabling environment for a variety of beneficial effects, including valuable synergies of impact and snowball effects for program participants in Malian communities.

In terms of impacts on the poor, and helping grassroots groups build capacity for local development, neither of the approaches discussed above is inherently superior. The CLUSA and FFH philosophies are valuable in helping local groups take advantage of opportunities that come with decentralization and democratization. With new skills gained through training, and access to credit programs or funding, indigenous organizations ultimately promote local responses to local challenges. While both program approaches might be considered at first glance as examples of "outside-driven" development, dependent upon funding from international sources, these cases actually present more of a hybrid model of integrated development. FFH and CLUSA help local groups build capacity – through intermediary support from two organizations "higher up" on the intervention ladder (i.e., the national NGO and the INGO) – by providing the means to gain new skills in business, group management, literacy, health, advocacy, etc.

Other important questions about training approaches to capacity development arise: How will local groups assume greater responsibility for development without a long-term commitment to building local literacy and skills-development programs? The CLUSA approach focuses on

training that is relevant and demand-driven, using local languages and targeting economic activities of interest to the local community. This method would seem to be adaptable to many different contexts because of the “buy-in” needed from program beneficiaries and the emphasis on learning the skills and aptitudes necessary to manage the business or service that the stakeholders have chosen. CLUSA also helps facilitate commitments to program sustainability through its intermediary assistance to national-level NGOs.

FFH’s program of combining microcredit programs with educational programs that address issues relevant to participants also represents a useful model of nonformal education delivery. The Credit with Education program also has the added advantage of addressing the needs of an important (and sometimes neglected) stakeholder group in international development – women in developing countries – in areas important to families, such as nutrition, children’s health, and family planning. For either approach, questions of long-term sustainability and commitment remain, but the programs on the ground have proved successful to date.

An enabling environment for capacity development in Mali. In either capacity development model described above, the elements of a sustainable approach, applicable to many contexts throughout Africa, emphasized hands-on, practical training, addressing expressed needs (i.e., demand-driven training) and using local languages and themes. The Credit with Education program promoted by Freedom from Hunger promotes demand-driven adult nonformal education practice. In these ANFE settings, care should be taken to bring into play participatory education strategies – building on the social capital and informal networks already active in community settings – to ensure that literacy programs and other training curricula meet expressed desires of local groups. With successful ANFE programs, local self-help groups will experience a capitalizing effect – e.g., by being able to employ neo-literates in management or training positions within their organizations, or by encouraging the creation or growth of local member businesses – ultimately providing new resources for more self-help initiatives and economic development programs.

Many local organizations in Mali are promoting communication within their own organizations as well as exchange and dialogue between self-help organizations and the various other actors involved in their sector: local and regional groups, government ministries, bi-lateral aid agencies, international development organizations, etc. The need to communicate and exchange experiences was made clear by case studies involving local agricultural groups and the

NGOs that support them (e.g., the AAPF-ACOD collaboration). In the settings described above, good communication policies: (a) help promote effective information dissemination for group members, (b) provide groups with new ideas and opportunities through exchange and dialogue, and (c) help keep groups in touch with like-minded organizations, such as national and international intermediary entities that can provide technical support and funding opportunities. As part of a growing global “glocalization” movement, building capacities in communications is important to developing community-based development initiatives, as local people link with similar grassroots organizations in their local area, region or even in other countries, through the technical support of their intermediary national and international NGOs.

The issue of funding and finances for development projects – whether provided for locally (internal funding) or with assistance from national and or and international NGOs (external funding) – always raises questions of project feasibility and sustainability. As seen with CLUSA’s partner NGOs in Mali, the benefits of capacity building programs to local organizations were clear. There are concerns about dependency on continued funding commitments (i.e., through USAID) to the intermediary NGOs, and the best ways of supporting intermediary groups and financing local projects.

CLUSA requires some degree of local project self-funding, and this seems a good approach to encourage sustainability for development projects. Further research might shed light on the effectiveness of technical assistance from the CLUSA partner groups – SABA, ACOD or INAGEF – in building capacities to support (i.e., find long-term funding for) local programs and initiatives. As an example of a largely self-funded organization, the UGOA organization has made a good start in terms of program and financial sustainability, which may be easier for this group to do given the size and strength of the Malian cotton industry. For many local groups in Mali and Africa, sustainability will depend on finding ways of combining internal and external funding, training and support to strengthen local income-generating activities, as well as working to develop successful (e.g., popular, profitable, with multilevel impacts) communal and community-based projects that are grounded in the values and social fabric of local communities.

Summing up the Mali cases. Finally, the success of group advocacy initiatives – critical to the development of government and NGO policies helpful to local organizations in decentralized settings – also rests on continued capacity development. Many of the Malian groups studied here, particularly the agricultural organizations, will face new challenges in the

future – pressures from a globalized economy (seen in today’s depressed and volatile cotton markets), environmental degradation and population stresses, ongoing political resistance, new needs in education, training and technology (especially in new information technologies, etc.) – and the ability to communicate, network and advocate on behalf of group interests will become more and more important.

It will be interesting to see whether the groups studied in this chapter will continue their successes, and develop new (individual and group) capacities, all the while sharing experiences with other like-minded groups in Mali and other countries, and communicating results to help impact capacity building policy and practice in Mali and throughout Africa. Even if the international funding organizations left Mali, it is hoped the intermediary NGOs described above would continue to help local, member-directed groups develop the literacy, business, managerial and civil society tools to help them to participate in (and even dictate) local development.

CHAPTER SIX

SENEGAL CASE STUDIES

Introduction

This chapter assesses alternate experiences in capacity building in Senegal, experiences that provide illustrative data and potential solutions for the problem situation in Chad in Chapter One. Comparing the problem situation in Chad with the case studies in capacity development from Chad, Mali and Senegal was the last step of the research, and the focus of the last two research questions, with the objective of offering recommendations for policymakers and other stakeholders interested in capacity building strategies in Chad and in Africa.

This chapter focuses on data and analysis about several grassroots organizations and community-based groups in Senegal, in sectors such as natural resource management and adult and nonformal education and literacy. The three organizations below are analyzed as separate cases, and each group's experience contains some elements of the collaborative intervention model seen in the first two sets of case studies, i.e., capacity building activities supported by a chain of interaction between local, national and international organizations. After description and detailed analysis of the case studies, with attention to establishing elements of local level capacity building (an enabling environment) in Senegal, overall findings are presented at the end of the chapter, referring back to the research questions regarding alternate development experiences as possible solutions to the problem situation in Chad.

Capacity Building for Local Groups in Senegal

Senegal is on the far western tip of West Africa, its savanna plains wedged in between the desert of Mauritania and the forests of Guinea. One of the better off countries in the region in GDP rankings, with a per capita GDP of about \$500, Senegal is still one of the poorest countries in the world. With a population of nearly 11 million, an overall life expectancy rate of 56 years (55 for men, 57 for women), Senegal has an annual population growth rate of 2.6% with

44% of inhabitants under 15 years of age (Population Reference Bureau, 2004, p. 5).

Predominantly Muslim, Senegal is viewed as a stable country with a recent history of democratic elections. Like many countries in West Africa, Senegal is still mainly rural: most people outside the cities depend on agriculture and natural resources for economic survival. Senegal's economy is dominated by the agricultural sector (farming, animal breeding, forest exploitation, fishing, etc.) which occupies more than 60% of the population, but weak modernization of agriculture practices as well as uncertain climatic conditions have led to a fall in productivity, accompanied by strong pressure on the environment and natural resources (FAO, 2001).

Democratization and Decentralization in Senegal

Like many other African countries, Senegal has undertaken decentralization programs for many years. At the same time, Senegal has taken more recent steps towards democracy, instituting a multi-party system and holding legislative and presidential elections. All in all, Senegal represents hopes for progress in West Africa, as a founder of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), as one of the few African countries that Freedom House has ranked as "free," and in contrast to countries like Cote D'Ivoire (torn by recent civil strife), a stable country in an increasingly unstable region (Freedom House, 2003).

As Vengroff (2000) has pointed out, Senegal is an interesting case in incremental decentralization, with changes at the urban level, changes to rural organization and administration, the dismantling of parastatal regional development organizations, the deconcentration of central government ministries and services, the creation of regional councils, and the "downloading" of many important functions (including health and education) to decentralized units in the national system (p. 2). This downloading form of decentralization can be viewed as decentralization in name only: it is devolution of responsibility for functions and services without providing appropriate resources.

As discussed in Chapter Two, devolution without resources can be problematic for organizations in developing communities. Nevertheless, as decentralization and democratization efforts continue, local community-based groups civil society groups will have key roles to play in Senegal's development, particularly in collaboration with intermediary national-level NGOs. Three cases of capacity development are described and analyzed below, describing NGOs and local Senegalese organizations in predominantly rural surroundings.

Adult and Nonformal Education Sector in Senegal – Tostan

Tostan is an international non-governmental organization based in Senegal, with a mission to empower local African communities to take charge of their own development. Its predominant focus is on women's rights and human rights. Tostan means "breakthrough" in Wolof, a language native to Senegal and Gambia, and the group's development efforts could be described as breaking through cultural barriers. Tostan was started in 1991 by American development worker and former Peace Corps volunteer, Molly Melching, and is registered as an international 501 (c)(3) NGO incorporated in the United States. Tostan's education program was founded on the belief that every citizen has the potential to catalyze community change when provided with learning that is accessible, relevant and adaptable; to that end, Tostan's adult education modules are taught using native languages, and cover topics such as democracy, human rights, hygiene and health, and basic math and literacy (Tostan, 2004b). In advanced literacy classes, women participants are taught writing, reading and arithmetic, all with direct applications, such as composing newspaper articles and campaign speeches for elections (Otis, 2003). Originally based in Senegal, Tostan has since expanded to other countries in the region, with recent projects in Mali and Sudan.

In West Africa, Tostan works in over 400 villages in all regions of Senegal and Guinea, and reaches about 25,000 participants directly in the two countries. The Tostan website (2004b) projected that its activities – emphasizing sharing knowledge with other community members – would also have an indirect impact on over 150,000 villagers in the two countries. Tostan collaborates with several NGOs, and has received funding from international agencies such as Unicef, American Jewish World Service and USAID.

The Tostan Basic Education Program – Adult and Nonformal Education

Tostan's educational focus started with creating effective nonformal education (NFE) and literacy programs for Senegalese women, based on local learning styles. The Tostan curriculum was designed in "a highly participatory and iterative manner" that broke with traditional approaches to literacy, evolving into a model that uses a problem-solving methodology based on the women's own perceptions and prioritization of their needs (Easton, Monkman & Miles, 2003, p. 447). The goal of Tostan's educational program is not only to acquire literacy and

numeracy/math skills, but also to improve life skills and encourage learners' confidence in their abilities to improve living conditions in their homes and villages.

The Tostan has developed an 18-month literacy program, comprised of six learning modules, presented in 24 two-hour sessions. Based on work schedules, the learners choose convenient days and times for classes, which meet three times a week. This flexible scheduling is essential to promoting sustained learning as it gives learners the time needed to assimilate new knowledge. Literacy is woven throughout the lessons, and there are also specific modules on hygiene, immunization, leadership skills and project management techniques. Describing its basic training program (called the "Village Empowerment Program"), Tostan (2004c) says its educational approach is:

- holistic;
- participatory;
- culturally-sensitive and learner-based (using participatory techniques based on African oral traditions);
- organized by a "Zonal Approach" (with selected villages acting as Tostan centers for neighboring villages);
- demand-driven (i.e., villages approach Tostan to ask for services); and
- sustainable (pp. 7-8).

The Tostan approach to teaching math illustrates some of the hands-on methodologies described above. Focusing on practical skills used in community development, Tostan trainers emphasize mathematical language and logic, presenting math concepts "with real world skills as a goal" (International Literacy Explorer, 1999, p. 2). This approach contrasts with other ANFE programs that often fail to address the need for practical skills used in daily life.

In local villages, Tostan's model establishes "Community Management Committees" (CMCs) to coordinate community outreach activities. CMCs are comprised of 15 local, democratically elected villagers who receive training to manage village classes, lead social mobilization activities (such as village and intervillage meetings), monitor ongoing community development projects, and initiate new program activities (Tostan, 2004c). Local participants from the CMCs form the link between the community, Tostan, local elected officials and other stakeholders, and this organizational structure helps ensure that the effects of Tostan's program are sustained beyond the typical life of an intervention program.

Analyzing Tostan Project Results: Unforeseen Beneficial Effects

As described above, Tostan's educational programs are also a means of spreading knowledge beyond the original participants and of encouraging broader discussions across society. Villagers in the program learn how to teach others, presenting information learned to family members, neighbors and friends, through an "organized diffusion model" (Tostan, 2004c). Tostan's method of fostering such a "multiplier effect" of practical information across several villages through basic literacy courses proved crucial to the development of new training modules in human rights and women's health (Easton, Monkman & Miles, 2003, p. 447).

Human rights and women's health proved to be popular topics, and the lessons and information were disseminated by word of mouth to other villages. Eventually one topic from the women's health module – female genital cutting (FGC), a traditional practice in many parts of Africa – became the hottest topic in local communities, despite taboos on raising sensitive cultural issues in public settings. Tostan participants discussed FGC (also called female genital mutilation) in their villages, established consensus for action, and joined together to end this long-time cultural practice. With involvement of local religious and government leaders, many villages throughout Senegal – again, through a multiplier or "snowball" process of providing experience, information and means for action – were successful in banning the practice.

A Tostan project story: Saam Njaay village. Saam Njaay, a village of some 300 Tostan literacy program participants, was in the spotlight a few years ago when Hillary Rodham Clinton visited there. When Molly Melching moved to Saam Njaay, women informed her that they were interested in improving family health, milling of grain, sanitation, etc. They established a "baby-weighing" program (*pèse-bébé*) to monitor child growth, and building on the contribution of materials by an international philanthropic organization and the support of their husbands, the women of Saam Njaay extended the program to more than 15 other villages in the region, where pregnant women and mothers of young infants could visit the infirmary for medical visits and consultations (Easton, 1998). The group gradually expanded health functions to encompass a complete system of preventive medicine, first aid, and referrals to the regional dispensary as needed. Local health personnel maintained such detailed consultation files over the years that it was possible to conduct a statistical analysis retracing the incidence and evolution of infantile disease in the zone (Easton, 1998). Literacy skills learned through the Tostan program were invaluable to the research and outreach process in Saam Njaay.

During field studies for PADLOS-Education, local women themselves explained how Tostan provided previously unavailable educational opportunities in the village. Before Molly Melching's arrival in Saam Njaay, no women could read or write in either French or their mother tongue, Wolof. The village women had initial discussions with Melching about priority needs in literacy: (a) writing letters; (b) using reading and math skills to understand documents associated with sale of peanut and millet crops; and (c) finding work "in town" where skills in French were thought to be necessary (Tostan, 2004a). This initial needs assessment led to development of literacy programs to meet local needs.

Results of education and capacity building efforts. At Melching's urging, the participants started literacy courses in Wolof to help them reach their first two goals. The women were enthusiastic learners, and after just four or five months, most could read a bit and write letters. The Saam Njaay women discovered that literacy gave them new confidence, and they recognized that literacy skills were necessary to success in other areas. Many women used their new budget and management skills in their businesses or family budgeting practices (Easton, 1998). As mentioned above, the women's involvement in the study of infantile disease also displayed the important use of newly acquired skills.

The Saam Njaay women demonstrated the success of the Tostan program in Senegal as well as valuable lessons about how to set up development projects in Africa. The lessons are presented here in the form of key conditions important to capacity building success in village settings like Saam Njaay:

- The importance of involving local participants in planning their own learning activities;
- The use of self-empowering training curricula to encourage active learner participation, with opportunities for hands-on, "real-world" applications of learning;
- The recognition that it is best to start at the grassroots level with local women as participants, because of the synergy of program impacts – described as a "multiplier" effect, building from one village to another – in developing capacity in communities and throughout the region, leading to more significant overall project results; and
- The benefits of a local-national-international development structure: while starting small is important, having a national (and international) structure for Tostan's programs also helps to encourage a more wide-spread synergy of impacts, as well as a ready-made organization promoting social change in not just one village but hundreds.

An example of the multiplier effects and widespread benefits would be the growing prohibition of FGC in Senegal and other countries, and how Tostan's intermediary efforts led to this accomplishment. This phenomenon is explored more in the next section.

Tostan's Biggest Success Story – Ending FGC in Senegal

Tostan's biggest success has probably come in the area of changing social practices, epitomized by its role in ending female genital cutting (FGC) throughout Senegal. With recent public successes in ending the practice – witness the president of Senegal outlawing all forms of FGC in 2000, and reports last year of over 1,200 villages abandoning FGC since 1997 – it is estimated that this practice will be completely eliminated in less than five years (Tostan, 2003).

Melching was surprised by the success of Tostan's programs, because, by her own admission, she never set out to eradicate female genital mutilation in Senegal (Otis, 2003). These unforeseen benefits attest to the power of the training model, where issues of most interest to local program participants are engaged and acted upon. Typical analysis of Tostan's success tends to focus on the public (and emotional) issue of FGC, not considering Tostan's long-professed mission of helping people to help themselves, by focusing on democracy, human rights, and problem solving. Melching (2004c) stated that Tostan participants take on projects that the *village itself* decides are significant and important. Participants then teach friends and relatives, villages teach other villages, reaching hundreds more. This process constitutes an important organized diffusion model – a model we hope will contribute to an improved paradigm for community development (p. 3).

This model of training diffusion – “each one teach one” – clearly works in tandem with the strong social capital that exists in the communities where Tostan works. The fact that participants chose to tackle sensitive cultural issues like human rights, or health issues (like FGC), also indicates the existence of social capital and cohesion in the community. That so many leaders and politicians are now “jumping on the bandwagon” in efforts to ban FGC surely demonstrates Tostan's power to tap social capital as well as the various civil society and communication networks working in Africa and around the world. Tostan is working to finalize its educational curriculum, and will facilitate its replication throughout Africa in the near future (Otis, 2003). This curriculum and self-help philosophy have worked in Senegal and Tostan intends to replicate the model elsewhere in Africa.

Summarizing the Tostan Model – Facing New Challenges

Tostan's nonformal education programs foster literacy and engage participants in real-world issues such as ending FGC, a centuries-old cultural practice now viewed by many Africans and most Westerners as barbaric. The impetus behind Tostan's development came from Molly Melching, an American development worker and long-time resident in Senegal. Tostan could thus be described as an example of an "outside-driven" development model.

Questions could be raised as to sustainability, given the model seems to depend quite heavily on Melching's skills, energy and charisma, as well as volunteer efforts and outside funding. Nevertheless, because of its extensive track record in Senegal and in other countries, Tostan's success is starting to make a strong argument for the potential long-term impact of its education and development programs in Africa. In addition, given (a) Tostan's national and international presence, (b) the participation of thousands of villagers in Senegal, (c) the group's structural innovations – e.g., the Community Management Committees – and (d) Tostan's demand-driven education and capacity building programs, Tostan appears to be sustainable and indeed may be considered a replicable model.

In the final analysis, as opposed to either an outside-driven or inner-driven model, Tostan seems rather to employ a mixed development model, in two ways: by employing thousands of local participants, community-based organizational structures and national staff "on the ground"; and by nurturing a large international organization and emergent infrastructure which benefit from Melching's talents in program development and fund-raising, as well as from a growing international interest (an example of the "glocalization" effect) in the important social and cultural issues Tostan has promoted in Senegal. Tostan's programs demonstrate the complex chain of interaction and intermediation between local, national and international organizations when developing replicable capacity building models. In contrast, two cases follow below with slightly different capacity building models – more of an "inside-driven" version of intervention and development – that was initiated by local Senegalese actors, although with some outside intermediary help.

Natural Resource Management Sector in Senegal: Developing Effective Local Management Programs

Although Senegal's economic growth over the past several years has been encouraging, most inhabitants work in the agricultural sector and are subject to economic cycles, market downturns and ecological problems like droughts and insect invasions. Senegal's natural resource potential is also subject to factors that have a negative impact on production and soil fertility: (a) pressures from increasing population, b) low technology levels for agriculture production systems, (c) weak natural resource management (NRM) and conservation policies, (d) poor coordination among government departments in the natural resource sector, and e) limited government resources and centralized, top-down decision making (Barro, 1998, p. 1).

The cumulative effects of these factors have resulted in losses in agricultural production and incomes, and increased migration from rural areas to cities. Statistics on land degradation in Senegal are startling: between 1980 and 1990, 7.5% of Senegal's vegetation cover disappeared; salt intrusion continued to take productive land; and agriculture production dropped by 0.2% per year between 1979 and 1992 (Barro, 1998, p. 2). Livestock and poultry account for half of agricultural income and the country is self-sufficient in meat production, but production levels in staple crops such as corn, millet or sorghum are stagnant or declining, and Senegal now imports more than 35% of its food requirements (EcoFair Foundation, 1997). Along the Atlantic coastal region, fishing continues to play an important role in Senegal's economy, employing thousands of people who engage in a delicate balancing act to earn a living while not over-fishing.

Community-based natural resource management can be an excellent strategy for managing local resources when local communities are involved in the process of natural resource identification, planning and management. Below are two examples of projects demonstrating two different CBNRM approaches, the first focused primarily on environmental protection and the second concentrated mainly on promoting regional agricultural production; both cases are examples of community development that helps protect local or regional nature preserves. Analysis of the two cases shows some similarities in capacity development approaches, with a few important differences.

Popenguine Nature Reserve: Empowering Local Women to Protect the Environment

The Popenguine Nature Reserve is a Senegalese success story in sustainable community-based natural resource management, a project initiated by an innovative group of local women. For nearly 20 years, the women of Popenguine have taken an active role in local resource management and community development, expanding activities beyond environmental protection programs.

The beginning of the Popenguine Nature Reserve (*Reserve Naturelle de Popenguine*) dates back to the early 1980s, when the government set aside land for a reserve to protect endangered birds along Senegal's "Little Coast" (*Petite Côte*), about 45 kilometers south of Dakar. The local women's group associated with the reserve was started in 1988, when a group of 100 women – and one man (who happened to be present when the group first met) – spontaneously created the RFPPN (*Regroupement des Femmes de Popenguine pour la Protection de la Nature*, the Popenguine Women's Nature Protection Group) as a response to concerns about degradation of the local environment and a desire to attract environmental tourism to benefit the local population (Easton, 1999b, p.1; Aissaoui, 1996, p. 1). Thus began the history of grassroots intervention in natural resource management along one part of the Atlantic coast of Senegal.

The RFPPN started when one woman, Woulimata Thiao, mobilized women from Popenguine and surrounding areas to reclaim and protect nature under assault from coastal erosion, land degradation and human activities. The organization they created was not typical for Senegalese women in the area who are generally expected to focus on domestic duties in their traditional society; they were perceived as wasting time and were dismissed as "crazy" and even "lazy" (Quist-Arcton, 2003, p. 1; Billy-Globe, 2003, p. 1). It wasn't long, however, before critics saw that the group's activities were benefiting both the environment and the community.

The group started by planting thousands of native trees (many started in the group's own nursery) in the nature preserve in order to rebuild habitat and encourage the return of native animals and birds. Emboldened by their initial accomplishments in reforestation, the RFPPN women joined with eight other villages to form a larger, new regional group – COPRONAT – dedicated to protecting natural resources in a larger area encompassing 100 square kilometers, which became known as Ker Cupaam Community Space, "Cupaam" being the name of a local spirit who guides coastal fishermen (Easton, 1999b, p. 1; Global Partnership on Forest

Landscape Restoration, 2003, p. 1). Today, the Ker Cupaam initiative continues to improve the environment – e.g., addressing erosion problems by erecting stone barriers and building small dams – while working to raise local living standards with various economic activities, such as: sustainable forestry projects; environmentally-friendly ecotourism; a nursery with fruit trees and ornamentals; small businesses; and gardening and composting projects. Just in the past few years, the Popenguine area has been declared an “ecovillage” and it is part of a Senegalese and global network of hundreds of other ecovillages, adding new business opportunities through environmental tourism.

How these rural women, with little technical expertise or any particular environmental aptitude, became the driving force behind a ground-breaking movement to fight local environmental degradation while promoting tourism and an improved standard of living remains a worthy question, one whose answer may serve as a model to other African communities. A published case study on the Popenguine-Ker Cupaam group by Paul Ndiaye for a series on sustainable development and community-based natural resource management asserts that the Popenguine story has significant implications for policymakers, scientists and technical agents, as this program sets a management precedent unique to Senegal (1998, p. 3). This case study describes how the Popenguine women took action in the face of ecological challenges to protect resources and promote new economic activities in the region.

Environmental Challenges Facing Popenguine

The Popenguine women’s group took on the challenge to protect their environment – halting soil and water degradation, fighting forest and coastal erosion, restoring biodiversity, etc. – while also improving the local standard of living by introducing new economic activities such as building nurseries, providing job training for making clothing (using the batik dyeing process) and other businesses, and establishing an ecovillage to attract tourism. Most of their business activities grew out of environmental protection interests. The Popenguine organization continues to face challenges, but the group’s history, and the group’s efforts over the years, provide clues as to how to develop an effective, sustainable development project at the local level in Senegal. Some of the information on capacity building efforts discussed below came from an interview with key informant Ms. Woulimata Thiao, the woman who started the organization.

How did the Popenguine group assume responsibility for local development and what skills and abilities were needed? Popenguine clearly benefited from the presence of a dedicated, charismatic leader: Woulimata Thiao, the woman regarded as the catalyst for community action. The group started because of the commitment of the women who created the group in 1988, as well as the intersection of several factors unique to Ker Cupaam: the leader (Thiao) was not contested in her position; the group was interested in improving technical capacities; and above all, the group was founded on respect for voluntarism, willing to engage in activities with no immediate economic advantage for individual members (Ndiaye, 1998, pp. 5-6). The group's members served without remuneration and few had income-producing activities.

The original group of women also had at least some latent capacities before the project began, particularly some formal schooling. Ms. Thiao stated that the women were "fortunate" to have had some elementary schooling and that most participants were literate, taking advantage of education opportunities offered by a local Catholic mission (Personal communication, 2004). Both before and after the organization was started, there were opportunities for training and education in agriculture and forestry through the presence of Peace Corps volunteers and USAID programs in the area. It is clear that the group did likely benefit from having formal educational backgrounds and some capacity for learning, even before the project started, and that the group's members were accustomed to hard work.

While some activities required new abilities, learned through training, the Popenguine women attacked local problems with traditional methods and familiar tools – shovels, hoes and wheelbarrows – for use in the forest, on the beaches, or in the mangrove swamps. Group members had always been farmers and fishers, so learning new technical information for managing the biological diversity of the area was not too difficult a task (Thiao, personal communication, 2004). The women's backgrounds and existing capacities converged with their resources and energies when faced with new challenges and opportunities for local development.

Ker Cupaam-Popenguine is a practical, working laboratory where everyone can learn. Literacy and family health classes (taught in the local language) are available, and there are also hands-on courses in environmental education and management, as well as income-generating activities: making handicrafts, dyeing (batik), sewing and knitting, jewelry, horticulture (fruits), fish curing and chicken production, etc. (Thiao, personal communication, 2004). The group continues to scan the horizon for new development opportunities.

New Challenges, New Approaches to Learn New Skills and Abilities

While Popenguine exemplifies good local environmental stewardship, and management of natural resources, the organization also found new opportunities for local development and businesses. In response, the group has diversified its approach over the years, going beyond environmental protection and now encompassing three new areas: (a) microcredit and banking, (b) tourism and training infrastructure, and (c) youth employment.

Microcredit helped fund local entrepreneurial activities such as family vegetable plots, nurseries, cereal banks, ecotourism infrastructure and budding private sanitation services for collection and separation of domestic wastes (providing public health benefits as well as good compost for vegetable plots). Credit is accessible to local women with small businesses through a revolving credit system; these funds, by the way, are *not* made available to the village men (Quist-Arcton, 2003, p. 2). Popenguine's founder, Woulimata Thiao, stated that credit is the most important factor in helping women build their small businesses to fight poverty at the local level: "it builds confidence and knowledge, and there is training available with the revolving credit programs" (Personal communication, 2004). Credit opportunities also work to give locals a stronger sense of participation.

Developing regional eco-tourism businesses. Tourism and training infrastructure has developed over time as the success of the women's group and the ecovillage designation has created an interest – both in Senegal and from the outside – in the Popenguine program. Tourists and visiting delegations (sometimes seeking advice) can now take advantage of comfortable accommodations in a tourist camp. Popenguine shares its story with visitors through the new Center for Training in Ecological Management, and Ms. Thiao travels regularly to neighboring villages to train other leaders as the ecovillage is considered a model for other ecovillage initiatives in Senegal (Easton, 1999b, p. 3; GEN-Senegal, 2004, p. 2). The ecotourism business remains a work-in-progress due to the typical vagaries of the international travel sector and the lack of complementary tourism activities in the area, e.g., tours and (multilingual) tour guides, arts and crafts, shopping, etc.

The nascent ecotourism industry in the Popenguine area and contacts and visits from other similar organizations also keep the organization in touch with trends in these areas, expanding their reservoir of innovative ideas. Ms. Thiao herself has taken several trips abroad

(once to the Amazon, and twice to the US) to participate in international environmental meetings and share the story of Popenguine, and she believes travel and exchange are excellent ways to learn and build individual and group capacities, by “learning about what is going on in other places” (Thiao, personal communication, 2004). Travel and exchange help disseminate the Popenguine story more widely, providing benefits for both local residents and outside organizations interested in capacity building for CBNRM and ecotourism projects.

Engaging the youth of Popenguine. By creating youth employment opportunities, the Popenguine community slowed out-migration of school leavers from the rural areas while attacking the equally common problem of employment shortages throughout Senegal. Young volunteers are indispensable to the project, as they: learn new skills in ecomanagement and ecotourism, often graduating to new jobs in these capacities; and help manage the Reserve – specifically taking on various physical tasks such as maintaining pedestrian tracks in the forest, construction of anti-erosion embankments, rehabilitation of the nearby Somone Lagoon mangroves, etc. (Ndiaye, 1998, p. 11). National park personnel trained young people in other tasks, and it is the young volunteers that welcome and lead visiting Senegalese youth on nature hikes in the Reserve, described as an “open-air laboratory” to develop environmentally-sensitized “eco-citizens” (Billy-Globe, 2003, p. 2). Both boys and girls are involved as guides and forest guardians. Through regular training programs, local youth are groomed to take over other duties at Popenguine as the members of the original women’s group begin to take on a less active role in program management (Thiao, personal communication, 2004). Local youth are already involved and indoctrinated into the group’s philosophy and methods and are viewed by the community as the guardians of Popenguine’s future and local project activities.

The Ker Cupaam organization also benefited from a training program supported by the European Commission in the following areas: horticulture and gardening techniques, nursery and forestry management, sanitation training, and local environmental protection; over 100 of the local women volunteers were able, within a two-year time span, to take eight week-long courses in those technical areas, and were also instructed to teach others in turn, creating a multiplier effect (Grain, 2002). This outside support has been particularly helpful to Ker Cupaam and its projects.

Lessons Learned: What Makes Popenguine Successful?

When the *dames-natures* (nature women) of Popenguine established RFPPN, they courageously went against the grain of traditional roles for women in this culture, using their knowledge and initiative to begin the work of environmental restoration in their community. After initial success, they then expanded their environmental and income-generating activities, bringing in other groups and building a larger organization (COPRONAT/Ker Cupaam), and spreading the word about their success, they were also capitalizing on their latent capacities, and refining the good management practices they had established from the beginning. In summary, Popenguine is an excellent example of locally-driven development, assisted by (some) outside support and funding, provided by mainly international intermediary organizations. It is clear as well that the group benefited from strong leadership and some pre-existing capacities and skills.

Leadership and social capital. The dynamic personalities involved in the group, and the charismatic leadership of Ms. Thiao, might raise a question of whether these qualities are prerequisites for local development groups in Africa. Even with strong leadership, the success of the Popenguine group has clearly been due to the collective efforts of the 1,500 plus women who are part of Ker Cupaam, and their efforts to develop skills and find resources for their projects. The success of the organization can also be attributed in part to the obvious benefits gained from tapping the reservoir of social capital in the Popenguine community before the group got started. The Popenguine phenomenon illustrates the necessity (discussed in Chapter Two) of meeting certain pre-conditions – i.e., developing strong social capital and providing for appropriate skills training linked to local needs – in order to create the environment for inclusive, widespread economic development that benefits many local citizens.

The list of Popenguine projects over the years is quite impressive, including setting up the Reserve Management Council, building a fence around the Reserve, constructing dams, setting up a *vigilance* group to monitor prawn fishing, and launching an environmental newspaper. The group benefited from partnerships and funding with various outside organizations, such as ORSTOM, USAID, Peace Corps and UNDP, among others.

Enabling conditions for local change. Several factors within the Popenguine context created an enabling environment for the grassroots change. These enabling factors included:

- Proximity – the protected area in question was close by, ensuring an interest in its welfare as well as facilitating activities without long absences from homes

- Capable leaders and group cohesion – Ms. Thiao and other women leaders were aware of local problems and were motivated to act. Dynamic personalities probably were also an element in the group’s early success, and group members – with ethnic and gender unity – were solidly behind Thiao
- Harnessing existing capacity – the core group of women had a significant level of latent capacity before the project started: most of the women had been to school and were literate, and were also skilled in areas related to the challenges (e.g., farming and fishing)
- Training opportunities– the Popenguine group also benefited from training opportunities: with the Peace Corps, the European Commission and national park personnel
- Institutional relationships – as mentioned above, the group developed good working relationships with governmental and international agencies and had the support of the relevant environmental ministries when they started helping manage the forest reserve
- Transparency in management – the group openly discussed actions to take, members were willing to volunteer time and efforts, all working for the good of the community.

Regarding transparency, Ndiaye (1998) seems to view the first women leaders in near divine terms for having the “discipline to avoid immediately dividing up the first fruits as if they were booty” (p. 15). This benevolent attitude is in contrast to other development projects that sometimes falter because local participants failed to see the benefits of collective action for the community, or because project leaders looted communal funds.

Gaps and program weaknesses in Popenguine. After nearly 20 years, the Popenguine project is successful, but some areas of institutional weakness remain: (a) there is a continual need for literacy and new technical trainers (Ndiaye, 1998, p. 12); (b) land pressures – the Market Garden cannot expand due to lack of space; and (c) group communications and facilitation of group meetings – inter-organizational communications and contacts with other groups and outside organizations are weak. On the technical side, the group has no website nor regular access to e-mail, complicating information dissemination efforts; coordinating meetings in all eight project villages is problematic: some groups do not receive organizational information in a timely fashion (Woulimata, personal communication, 2004; Grain, 2003). Finally, financing and project funding remain concerns – while development in Popenguine is generally self-supporting, the group often makes requests of NGOs to fund projects. (Note: a

project to fund a stakeholder assessment of the Ker Cupaam Reserve, identifying lessons to be applied in Senegal, was approved by the World Bank in 2004.)

Analysis and Conclusions About Popenguine

In the final analysis, there is good evidence that Popenguine has been successful for many years, and given the breadth of current projects, and the organizational structure and management in place, will continue to be so in the future. Analysis shows that the following elements of the Popenguine project have potential universality of application for capacity development efforts:

- Involvement of local stakeholders – a participatory approach involving local communities was used from the beginning to address common concerns
- Identifying local expertise and capacity – the Popenguine women had some latent capacities to address local challenges, and also sought to learn and gain more capacities
- Wide-ranging and “progressive” results – the uniqueness of Popenguine can be viewed as a progression: from spontaneous to sustainable initiatives; from hands-on to planned actions; from local to regional (and even international?) spheres of operation; and from concern for the local environment to interest in local and regional financial and social development (Ndiaye, 1998, p. 13)
- Capitalization of efforts – current and future “payoffs” as the Popenguine women see fruits of their labors: institutional, financial and cultural capital built up over many years
- Benefits of collection action of all citizens (young and old) – Popenguine participants understand the value of working on projects for the whole community, including a focus on involving younger community members for sustainability and continuity
- Model for development in Africa – the Popenguine project could serve as a replicable “inner-driven” development model: how to move from concern or challenge to action and sustainability, and showing how local people, with some latent capacities, tap sources of local, national and international support to achieve effective local development
- Dissemination and outreach for synergy of impacts – the next step could be to disseminate widely information about successful projects at Popenguine, widening the circles of impact and influence. In addition, Popenguine’s outreach efforts (i.e. participation in international environmental meetings) mirrors the “glocalization”

movement described in Chapter Two, by helping people link with similar grassroots organizations in their local area, region or even in other countries

Capacity Development in the Agriculture and Natural Resource Management Sectors: the Yungar Story

The Yungar case study concerns a group of 13 villages near the town of Fimela, in the Fatick region, not far from the Atlantic coast of southern Senegal, that formed an association for CBNRM and agriculture development. The Yungar grassroots organization, named after a word meaning “group” in the Serere language, began several years ago when local people began to take an active interest in management of the nearby Samba Dia “Biosphere” nature reserve. Agriculture, livestock raising and gathering of forest resources, such as palm trees, are the mainstays for earning a living in the region. The local *rônier* palm tree is used for a variety of agricultural needs – for food and medicinal uses, for making palm wine, and also for use in construction, for furniture and as textile material, etc. (FAO, 2002, p. 22). Local villagers wanted to use land in the nature reserve for the purpose of palm tree production, and for growing garden crops. These *rônier* palm trees are considered very valuable to the local economy, but they are also slow-growing, so villagers were well aware of the implications of over-harvesting without replanting efforts.

The Yungar association initially worked with villagers to begin negotiations with the Senegalese government to allow *rônier* cultivation in the reserve; with the help of FAO training, the villagers learned to plant and harvest the trees that previously were typically only cut down, and profits were recycled into new forestry conservation activities (Amadou Diouf, personal communication, 2004). While villagers previously knew how to use the palm trees (indeed, they use nearly all parts of it), they began to build capacity to sustainably manage the *rônier* forests in the reserve. Yungar association members needed access to microcredit to finance their palm tree nurseries, and UNDP – through a small grant program – helped villagers get started with financing and new forest management strategies, and villagers then began to change agricultural practices from *harvesting* trees to tree *cultivation*.

In conversations with a key informant, Amadou Diouf of IUCN (The World Conservation Union), it became clear that the Yungar group had benefited from some pre-existing capacity among some group members, particularly in terms of formal educational

backgrounds. The villagers generally fell into four educational groups or levels: (a) a handful of locals with secondary school diplomas; (b) a few more who had finished primary school; (c) the largest group that had attended primary school, or the local Coranic schools, for at least a few years; and (d) another fairly large group that had never attended school (Diouf, personal communication, 2004). The Yungar group was initially organized by two local men who had finished secondary school and moved away to live in the city for a few years, but later returned to the rural setting, bringing with them an aspiration to mobilize the local communities to develop capacity for self-managed development.

To understand the accomplishments of the Yungar association, the background and characteristics of the group's two founders, Famara Basse and Karamokho Djame, must be examined. As Mr. Diouf explained, the Yungar association was an excellent example of how two people returned to their rural home with education, skills, contacts, interest in local development, and, above all, a sense of vision about what a local organization could accomplish, combining local skills and talents with some outside funding and technical expertise to start local development projects (personal communication, 2004). The men were charismatic leaders who inspired confidence and trust in the villagers, and they both were among the few locals with strong educational backgrounds (with secondary school diplomas), and ideas about how to get development started.

Basse and Djame succeeded first in organizing the locals into village "action committees" to lobby the government for agriculture concessions within the reserve, an initial success which set into motion a chain of capacity building experiences in Yungar. Besides working to protect and cultivate the palm forest in the local reserve, to benefit local farmers, the Yungar group has also pursued diversification of community economic activities. Today there are regular functional literacy training courses in local languages (Wolof and Serere), which are prerequisites to the management and bookkeeping courses. The business training has been a big help to area small business owners ("*petits commercants*"), and artisans and service personnel in the up-and-coming local tourism trade (Diouf, personal communication, 2004). While some training is provided for by local resources – e.g. native language literacy courses are run with local teachers and trainers – much of the technical training is contracted through collaboration with Senegalese national NGOs, which in turn receive support from INGOs and other funders. At the same time, there are continuing needs in training for the Yungar organization: training and

re-training in nursery techniques; forest management and reforestation training; management for the eco-tourism infrastructure, etc.; which will need to be addressed by the group in the future.

Activities at Yungar benefited from funding from outside agencies such as FAO and the GEF-UNDP small-grants fund. This support was short-term (e.g., the UNDP project lasted about two years), however, and activities now are almost entirely self-supported – outside training support being one exception – through the local savings organization and village association (Diouf, personal communication, 2004). Yungar leaders continue to look for new opportunities for grants and collaborations with other organizations, and business prospects related to the nature reserve. Proceeds from current communal business activities (e.g., the local eco-tourism services) are divided between three areas of priority: 1) upkeep of the biosphere nature reserve; 2) salaries for reserve personnel; and 3) investments in local infrastructure, such as schools, health clinics, tourism facilities, etc. (Diouf, personal communication, 2004). The history of self funding of activities at Yungar is an example of the success of its locally-driven development model, benefiting at the same time from some outside opportunities.

Similar to youth involvement at Popenguine, young people in Yungar are recruited to work as eco-guides for the nature reserve. The youth also work with local adults in the village tourist *campement*, which, along with new restaurants, shops, etc., was set up to offer tourists basic services during the eco-tourism season which runs from late fall through spring, attracting Europeans escaping winter. Ten of the young eco-guides, who had completed secondary schooling, were chosen to be trained more extensively at the Senegalese hotel school in Dakar, in hopes of pursuing careers in tourism (Diouf, personal communication, 2004). The eco-guides are now back in Yungar.

Assessment of Outcomes at Yungar

Other elements of the Yungar case are discussed in this section, including an analysis of the unique development model at work, and factors which led to the organization's success.

An important factor in developing capacity within the Yungar association was the initiative of the organization's founders, and the importance of outreach and sensitization of local populations who came to regard their *rônier* forests in a new light, as something to be exploited but also managed and protected at the same time for future generations. Using the nature reserve in this new way led to increased interest in building capacity for other economic activities such

as local tourism, in a similar way to what other Senegalese communities (e.g., Popenguine) located near nature reserves or sensitive coastal areas had experienced.

Local ownership of the development project in Yungar was encouraged through: (a) responding to locally identified needs and priorities for agriculture and natural resource management, (b) building on existing local capacity, developed with support and technical assistance from outside agencies (e.g., international organizations like FAO, GEF-UNDP), and (c) employing a development approach which was responsive, flexible and largely hands-on, with project planning done by local Senegalese leaders.

Given the development model that is in place now in Yungar, it is expected that as local capacity to manage natural resources and the eco-tourism industry improves in the region, that these initial successes will in turn create new opportunities and other needs, and then more capacity building activities.

In the final assessment, Yungar is a good example of locally-driven development and capacity building, working with a mixture of community resources and appropriate outside technical support and funding from international groups, tapping existing or latent local capacities to take action in response to indigenous needs, and creating a sustainable agro-forestry initiative that protects the environment while encouraging new regional business opportunities in the form of eco-tourism.

Analysis and Lessons Learned – Local Capacity Development in Senegal

The final section of this chapter addresses analysis and lessons learned across all the cases described above. The three programs described above have experienced success in promoting local development and capacity building in the face of new challenges and opportunities. At the same time, there are continuing needs (in training, funding, developing infrastructure, communications and outreach, etc.) for each of these organizations that raise inevitable questions about sustainability. Summaries and conclusions about the experiences from these local groups in Senegal in capacity building and development follow here.

The context for local development in Senegal is distinctive in that some organizations – particularly Tostan and the Popenguine organization – have been around for many years, involved as major actors in local development, often in concert with, and funded by, international NGOs. The cases presented in this chapter demonstrated how Senegalese groups

collaborate with other organizations to develop capacity for change at the local level, within a more decentralized environment. Ongoing movements to decentralize services and functions in Senegal offer more opportunities for small groups like the ones described above to manage local economic development, particularly in areas that affect daily life, e.g., natural resource management, agriculture and literacy.

At the end of this section, the key conditions for local capacity building and collaboration between community groups, NGOs and international organizations in Senegal, particularly in a climate of decentralization or devolution, are explored at length.

Comparison of Local Capacity Building Strategies in Senegal

This section addresses analysis of the local capacity building experiences in Senegal described above. The first part compares the Popenguine and Yungar cases.

Comparing the Popenguine and Yungar cases. The Popenguine and Yungar cases have similarities in that both have focused first on CBNRM capacity-building activities. Also, in both the Popenguine and the Yungar cases, conditions emerged that have proven important keys to local development and capacity building in Senegal: (a) the availability of strong leadership at the local level; (b) a climate of collaboration and partnership between local groups, intermediary national organizations and international organizations; (c) a commitment to investing in group processes to build capacity for group action, building on local capital to strengthen existing capacities and combining traditional and modern knowledge; and (d) a blend of local (from within in the group) and outside funding (sometimes from international NGOs). These conditions lend themselves to establishing an enabling environment in which local organizations can improve capacity to assume responsibility for local development while building, with the help of the collaborating intermediary groups, more self-managed, self-funded and sustainable programs.

Uniqueness of the Tostan case. The Tostan case shares some characteristics with the other two cases, particularly in the organization's commitment to group processes to build capacity for community action and focusing on local ANFE programs. The Tostan model of education and capacity development outlined above can be viewed as a model for participatory, self-empowering projects that directly implicate local participants in planning their own learning activities. Tostan's educational programs are comprehensive in nature, encouraging active learner participation, and offering opportunities for "real-life" applications of learning. Tostan's

programs are slightly different from the other two cases in that practical applications of learning moved into cultural areas that eventually led to actions threatening the traditional status quo in Senegal. This difference was clearly seen in the synergy of impacts that resulted when one important cultural issue that arose during the development of Tostan's educational program – i.e., female genital cutting – took center stage (indeed, an international stage), and became the organization's biggest success ever. By helping to discourage the traditional practice of FGC in Senegal, and encouraging discussion of other sensitive issues, Tostan's innovative information diffusion model could be considered elsewhere in Africa for capacity development programs.

The Tostan case is also different from the other two Senegalese cases in that Tostan was started by an interested outside party from the US, Molly Melching. Tostan is an example of initial outside-driven development that has taken on a life of its own as a mixed development model, by developing effective local and national organizational structures (e.g., the Community Management Committees) that have the capacity to be sustainable in the long term, particularly with intermediary support from Ms. Melching's collaborating international funders.

At the same time, it must be noted that the Popenguine group shares an important similarity with Tostan in that the women who started Ker Cupaam became trailblazers in Senegal – perhaps not intentionally – by challenging traditional roles for Senegalese women, merely by taking the initiative to start a local development organization. These kinds of local initiatives place organizations like Tostan and Popenguine squarely within an international glocalization movement, particularly in the ways their programs – and the causes they champion, such as the rights of local farmers or fisherman, local control of natural resource management, women's rights, etc. – intersect with the interests of other grassroots organizations and NGOs in Africa and in other parts of the developing world.

In many ways, all three of the Senegalese cases described and analyzed here can be viewed as potential models for capacity development initiatives, as well as for community action that also addresses cultural shortcomings.

Key Conditions for Local Capacity Building in Senegal

This section frames the local capacity building experiences in Senegal by drawing from the data analysis above to elicit key conditions applicable to local capacity building strategies in Africa. Each key condition is discussed in relation to data from the three cases above.

Leadership – the importance of leadership is clear in the development of these organizations. In the story of Tostan, the group depended on the initiative and interests of its founder, an American woman. In the cases of Popenguine and Yungar, strong local leadership had a positive impact in helping the group begin to address local environmental concerns. There is the question of whether, in the case of Popenguine, for example, a group can rely too heavily on a charismatic leader like Ms. Thiao, and whether the group is sustainable beyond her participation. Popenguine seeks to mitigate this factor by involving local youth in the project. In the Tostan example, the organization has built a strong national and grassroots structure in Senegal (and in other countries), perhaps in part to alleviate concerns that the organization depends too much on Ms. Melching’s presence.

Collective action – understanding the merits of collective action and working together for a common purpose, balancing individual and group interests, was shown to be an important prerequisite for developing local group capacity. This was seen particularly in the Popenguine women’s group, and in Tostan. Group collective action is typically built on the next key condition, local group ownership.

Local group ownership – the success of collective action can help build group ownership, and ownership is built on active group participation. Both Popenguine and Yungar are excellent examples of successful local group ownership. One important conclusion drawn from the story of Tostan’s women’s groups is that the groups are successful in building upon the local social capital available to develop group cohesion and group capital and a widespread sense of ownership. In the case of Tostan, many local groups were able to build on collective experiences to coalesce around addressing important social and cultural issues, issues that were previously considered taboo in Senegalese society.

Latent capacities – it is also clear that the groups cited here already had some measure of skills and capacities before they decided to take action. Sometimes this group capacity is expressed in terms of important local knowledge, seen in the Popenguine and Yungar cases, as group members were aware of local environmental problems and the necessary actions to take to address those problems. Popenguine group members in particular benefited from local opportunities for formal education and nonformal training. The Yungar group was started by leaders who returned to the village from the city and who were able to tap latent local capacities. At the same time, both these two groups also took the initiative to find opportunities for

additional training, to build capacity, and sought outside support and funding. In the Tostan case, the group built on latent capacities and also the latent interest and desire to address important cultural and social conditions in Senegalese society.

In sum, all the key conditions spelled out above help local organizations benefit from a climate of decentralization and growing democratization in Senegal. Clearly, the local projects and initiatives described in the three case studies will profit from a more devolved environment, where local groups are empowered (and have access to resources) to take responsibility for development and engage in new activities at the community level. But, as seen from the cases above, an enabling environment may not be sufficient for truly sustainable local development: local groups may need intermediary help – e.g., training, advocacy, loans or grants, etc. – that is typically available from NGOs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESEARCH FINDINGS: PRESENTATION OF POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS AND ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR LOCAL CAPACITY BUILDING

Introduction

In this penultimate chapter, I present the main findings of the dissertation, returning to the theoretical framework developed in Chapter Two and assessing its usefulness for answering the research questions. The purpose of the research was to analyze and understand the nature of capacity building problems in Chad, to assess the usefulness of available theories in addressing these issues and to provide policy recommendations for local capacity building strategies.

This chapter provides findings from analysis of data gathered about projects that were successful in African settings to serve as models of “best practice” for capacity policy-making in Chad. The analyses from the three successive data chapters preceding this chapter were synthesized and reanalyzed to yield new insights for the fundamental questions posed by the research. A summary of best practices in capacity building is also included in this chapter, as well as an exploration of key conditions necessary to promote capacity building.

The framework of this chapter includes three main sections with several sub-sections:

- I. Summary of substantive findings addressing the research questions
 - a. Decentralization in Chad: challenges and opportunities for civil society groups
 - b. Principal needs of Chadian groups seeking responsibility for local development
 - c. Analysis of the current organizational capacity of such groups
 - d. Lessons drawn from alternate capacity building experiences in Mali and Senegal
 - e. Theoretical implications of findings for capacity building in developing countries and for the role of adult education in supporting capacity building
- II. Practical lessons learned about capacity building – a sample of best practices from the case studies
- III. Summary of analysis and keys to capacity building

A Summary of the Substantive Findings

I begin this section by recalling the research questions, as laid out in the introductory chapter. Findings for each question are presented briefly in turn, with illustrations from the case studies, where pertinent.

Question 1) What is the state of decentralization in the Republic of Chad at present and what challenges and opportunities is this situation creating for civil society groups (e.g., NGOs and CBOs) throughout the country?

A brief summary of decentralization theory (from Chapter Two) sets the framework for analysis of data to answer this question. Decentralization is the transfer of political or administrative responsibility and authority from central to regional or local levels. In practice, decentralization proceeds on a continuum where decision-making powers and resources to implement decisions are shifted from the capital to regional entities and/or local communities; devolution is the ultimate form of decentralization, where local authorities have more control over resource allocation, with a corresponding increase in accountability to local constituencies. A much-touted theme of government reform, decentralization has been encouraged by donors as a prescription for stimulating local dynamism and growth in developing countries. At the same time, in some countries (including Chad), decentralization has too often simply meant central government withdrawal from responsibility for the provision of important services – e.g., education, infrastructure development, and health care – without a corresponding increase of responsibility and resources at the local level necessary to provide services.

Decentralization without resources, or the means to procure them, has created situations in Africa where local civil society groups, including a variety of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs), have started providing needed services. These groups created infrastructure, programs and services which are responsive to local needs, while tapping local, national and international resources to fund their activities. Many groups have sprung up over the past three decades in Africa, engaging in multifaceted development projects in an effort to fill the void in government services.

A country which has witnessed many changes since the civil war ended and (relative) peace was established in the early 1990s, Chad now faces opportunities and challenges unprecedented the 45 years since independence: an ongoing oil boom, bringing extraordinary

new revenues into government coffers; an experiment in democracy that started in the 1990s; weak government institutions and ongoing decentralization; a limited number of active civil society organizations; and the possibility of increased levels of foreign assistance through international development initiatives.

Chad's de facto government decentralization during the civil war years has now been supplanted by official decentralization policies established in coordination with the World Bank and IMF. As noted in Chapter Four, during negotiations for the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project, the World Bank created a management plan several years ago to be used by the Chadian government as a framework for spending new oil revenues. Decentralization schemes figure prominently under the management plan, as well as under a newer program called the Local Development Program Support Project, which will provide help to local groups and decentralized authorities to fund regional and local capacity development projects. In short, government decentralization in Chad is beginning to move to a more structured process, bringing the real possibility that power and resources will begin to shift from central authorities to decentralized entities and civil society organizations.

Chadians already understand the effects of unplanned decentralization. When the government could not provide expected services during the years of civil strife, Chadians were able to provide for some needs, as seen by the "spontaneous," or community, schools that sprang up, mostly in rural areas. When the central government could not provide for education, local Chadians in rural areas financed, built and staffed village schools. In many instances, local school associations (called APEs) have continued to run schools independently for many years, while other APEs are now receiving support and gaining recognition from the Ministry of Education in N'djamena as partners in local educational administration.

Challenges and opportunities for decentralization in Chad. Given this background, data analysis suggests new approaches to local capacity building (LCB) in Chad. Precedents for local action and self-sufficiency in Chad – seen in the case studies of local APEs and CBOs presented in the data chapters – provide a strong framework for continued local and national development in Chad, particularly within a more devolved governmental setting. Given opportunities in the coming years in Chad due to the current development context, intermediary support provided by national-level NGOs to local organizations – through innovative capacity

development programs – will be essential to empower local stakeholders to assume control over their economic, political and social environments.

All contextual elements noted in this section lend themselves to a re-examination of development policies in Chad (and elsewhere in Africa). If LCB is to work on a larger scale, policymakers can start by: (a) encouraging efforts to devolve government functions to local authorities and community groups, (b) supplying support for citizens and local groups to take on responsibility for development functions; (c) influencing the recasting of development aid policies, away from technical assistance to a focus on participation and partnership, demand-driven training and sustainable development programs; and, (d) recognizing (and disseminating research about) successful examples of how local citizens have taken on development in their own communities – through community governance plans, training and capacity development initiatives, small business support and loans, etc. As was asserted in the literature review, the first element – devolution – offers the most challenges and opportunities for local governments and community-based groups when it is implemented as part of decentralization plans.

Question 2) What is the nature of the current organizational capacity of these groups (in Chad), and what are they doing to address the challenges of capacity building for local community development?

The data collection phase of the research helped provide answers to this question. The indigenous NGO sector in Chad remains small, with a handful of active groups. Most Chadian NGOs are engaged in development work in the major cities, but some NGOs, like the aquaculture organization APRODEPIT, are active in rural areas. A few of the largest Chadian organizations are associated with the Catholic church, e.g., CEFOD and BELLACD (described in Chapter Four), and active in both rural and urban settings. CEFOD, APRODEPIT and Université Populaire collaborate directly with community-based organizations, which face capacity shortcomings necessary to manage new development functions at the local (e.g., neighborhood or village) level in Chad.

Local development challenges in Chad are analyzed next. With the influx of petro-dollars expected over many years and possible increases in funds from national and international donor groups interested in promoting Chadian development, the NGO sector faces important “scaling up” challenges for their own organizations as well as for helping partners – local self-help groups

– to develop capacity to grow and participate in more local projects. These local organizations are interested in taking on development challenges, but capacity and training gaps prevent them from playing a more significant role in local development in Chad. This is why relationships with intermediary support organizations, i.e., national-level NGOs, are so important to development. To illustrate findings, a brief summary of one relationship in Chad is provided.

Université Populaire: Addressing Challenges in Collaboration with Local Groups

As described in the chapter on Chad, Université Populaire (UP) provides training and support to local self-help groups in N'djamena, such as neighborhood groups of women entrepreneurs: a summary follows here. When collaborating with local groups, UP's facilitators conduct needs assessment exercises to discuss learning and organizational needs, strengths and weaknesses of the group, problems and conflicts that group members encounter in their everyday lives, and possible solutions to problems as well as potential training topics for the group. This method, combining consciousness-raising, focusing attention on group goals and building group cohesion, was UP's most innovative contribution to development of the Chadian NGOs sector.

The success of UP's methods are described in detail in the data chapter above; at the same time, the *failed* collaboration between UP and the GFVPMN group of women fish marketers in N'djamena clearly illustrated the continuing needs and challenges these groups encounter in attempts to assume more responsibility for local development. The UP and GFVPMN partnership brought opportunities for the latter group through capacity building activities: needs assessment exercises, an organizational development plan, management training and literacy programs, a group savings account, access to local and international funding, loans and grants, etc., all facilitated by UP, an intermediary support institution.

In the end, however, the UP-GFVPMN alliance was less than successful because of several factors, both within and beyond GFVPMN's control. There are lessons for both the local group and for the intermediary group (UP), and as a result of this experience, UP has recognized the importance of continual communication with partner groups and the need to actively monitor progress towards group goals – short-term, medium-term and long-term goals – that are created in collaboration with their partner CBOs. These kinds of lessons should be helpful to UP in its continuing role as an intermediary support organization in Chad, with both current and future impacts on collaboration with other local groups in Chad.

As seen in the literature review, organizational issues – capacity development, needs assessment, group processes (e.g., building group ownership), developing leadership, fostering participation and shared group responsibilities, long-term sustainability, etc., remain important challenges to all local groups analyzed for this research. An important kind of organizational capacity is what Fowler (2000b) called “insightful agility”: for long-term impact, organizations must develop the best organizational qualities and be flexible to adapt to new demands and a changing environment, all the while scanning the horizon for new opportunities. To provide a short answer to Question Three, it is clear from analysis of the case studies that developing the insightful agility necessary for long-term sustainability remains a work in progress for local groups in Chad. More analysis to answer the question follows next.

As seen by the case studies, strong organizational capacities and a history of successful project execution are the starting points to seek opportunities for new projects and funding. These management-organizational issues – key to an enabling environment for capacity building – are discussed in detail below, in the section on best practices. In Chad, many local groups still experience limited capacity for local community development initiatives. At the same time, these groups recognize the importance of partnering with NGOs to deal with the challenges of capacity building. Collaborating with intermediary support organizations helps CBOs deal with needs in organizational development, training, funding (e.g., grants or loans), outreach and interaction with other groups and within communities and regions, etc.

The Challenge of Funding LCB in Africa

Funding for local group activities remains perhaps the biggest challenge for NGOs and CBOs. The Chadian NGOs studied above helped their partner groups take advantage of multitude funding sources, combining local and outside funding for development projects. NGOs are helping local groups make outside funding requests – e.g., UP’s assistance to AMIFEL in asking the German Development Agency for grants to buy equipment. Another way of providing for funding was seen in how intermediary organizations such as ATED and CEFOD encouraged local groups develop their own self-help funding opportunities (similar to the CLUSA approach) to pay for their training; indeed some programs require a proportion of local funds. That theme was expanded upon in the chapters about local capacity development in other

countries. Indeed, the analysis of local capacity development experiences in Chad, Mali and Senegal provided possible lessons about how to address capacity building challenges in Chad.

Summarizing the answer to Question Two, NGOs and CBOs in Chad continue to face scaling up challenges as they work towards assuming responsibility for local development. With oil industry growth in Chad, and mandated government spending on social programs, the Chadian NGO sector will have more opportunities to participate in local development; scaling up pressures will favor those organizations that have successful track records and the ability to gear up and expand while maintaining a watchful eye for new projects, new collaborations, and new funding streams. A table summarizing case study data on capacity building in Chad – including development challenges facing Chadian groups and innovative results for both NGOs and CBOs – follows here.

**Table 1. Data Summary: Local Capacity Building in Chad – Intervention and Intermediation
A “Vertical Slice” of Development Organizations from Funders to Intermediary Groups to CBOs**

	<i>Organizational levels</i>					<i>Challenges/Opportunities and Results</i>	
	<i>International donors and funding agencies</i>	<i>International NGOs</i>	<i>Intermediary national-level NGOs</i>	<i>Umbrella groups (district or city level)</i>	<i>Local grassroots groups – CBOs, associations</i>	<i>Development challenge or opportunity</i>	<i>Results and innovative practices</i>
<i>Case 1</i>	IIZ/DVV, SwissAid, German Embassy	CORDAID, Bread for the World, Eirene, CSI, CENAFOD	Université Populaire		GFVPMN (women’s fishmonger group)	Help build stronger group and women’s businesses	Successful LCB, the UP debates, the “failure” of UP-GFVPMN collaboration
<i>Case 2</i>	IIZ/DVV, SwissAid, German Embassy	CORDAID, Bread for the World, Eirene, CSI, CENAFOD	Université Populaire		AMIFEL (women’s self-help group)	Develop new business ideas, build child care center	Intermediary help for funding and technical assistance, group building
<i>Case 3</i>	USAID	Catholic Relief Services	CEFOD	CELIAF	Local urban groups, e.g., Said Al Wine	Capacity building for local groups; literacy skills; “defend” CBO group interests	Intermediary support for organizational development, funding for training, group interaction
<i>Case 4</i>	UNDP, EU, DED	US Embassy, CEFOD	ATED		Espoir	Literacy training, income-generating training, local media project	Literacy training for women and girls, facilitating funding for other local groups
<i>Case 5</i>	French Development Agency, GEF-UNDP		APRODEPIT	Waltama (association of local groups)	Village fishing groups, urban groups (in Sarh)	Protect fish stocks and animals, create job opportunities, eco-tourism	Model for grassroots NRM, local/regional capacity building, new ecotourism businesses

Question 3) What solutions and approaches do the experiences and literature on capacity building, local development and nonformal education under similar circumstances (elsewhere in Africa or the developing world), both currently and historically, suggest as lessons and possible guidelines for addressing and resolving the problems experienced in Chad?

Answering the last two research questions proved the most important methodological challenge of the research project, requiring an exploration of capacity development cases in Africa, and by employing extensive data analysis, offering strategies and lessons for addressing capacity gaps for local groups in Chad. The answer to Question 3 has three subsections: (a) reviewing the concept of capacity building; (b); reassessing experiential findings and evolving conceptions of LCB; and (c) as the final “payoff,” offering capacity building lessons for Chad.

The Concept of Capacity Building

Capacity building is often cited as a crucial constraint to development, but pinning down its meaning can be difficult: from a theoretical viewpoint, “capacity building” remains all things to all people. In its basic form, capacity is the ability of an individual, an organization or a broader system to perform some function. Capacity building, then, is a process through which people are provided tools to transform their environments – on physical, socioeconomic, cultural and political scales – for their own well-being and the advancement of society. In short, capacity building is all about empowering people to take control of their lives.

Taking things a step further, the research addressed the issue (particularly in Chapter Two) regarding what “local” capacity building really is about. Much of the capacity building literature is primarily concerned with *government* capacity at national and local levels; this is a natural focus, given the interest in decentralization projects that focus on transferring authority to sub-levels of government. The term continues to be discussed in the literature, growing beyond strictly capacity building for government.

In the meantime, “local” capacity – for grassroots organizations, neighborhood groups, farmer or peasant associations, etc. – often gets short shrift in the literature. Uphoff’s (1986) configuration of levels of decision making as a way of defining “local” proved a good framework for analyzing local capacity. Uphoff uses three levels (locality, community, and group) as local levels: most of the organizations studied for this research fit into the latter two

levels. At the same time, CBOs collaborating with small groups are also reaching “down” into the local sub-levels – i.e., household and individual levels – for capacity building.

The data cases for this research provided examples of the LCB phenomenon. All the NGOs studied in the cases worked on multiple local levels. A good example of this trend would be the Popenguine organization in Senegal. A handful of capable individuals organized a group to address local and regional environmental concerns. After some initial success, the group spread from one village to the next within the locality on the Senegalese coast, with positive impacts for many communities, reaching all communities of the coastal district area. Today, the Popenguine group helps run the regional nature preserve, trains residents for both environmental preservation and new business ventures in the area, involves local youth in project management and in local businesses, and is gaining an international reputation as a result of its budding ecotourism industry. When themes from the literature review were compared with findings from the case studies above, the process invoked reflections about what is really “local” about local capacity building. The wide-ranging, multi-sectoral success story in the Popenguine case shows how local capacity building can provide a strong focus for regional development and be truly “glocal” at the same time.

Experiential Findings: Evolving Conceptions of Local Capacity Building in Africa

This study sought to illustrate models to improve capacity building for African development, particularly for local organizations in Chad. The impetus to establish the elements of capacity building and local capacity building (LCB) was the initial focus of the research. Next, by carefully analyzing LCB strategies used in other African settings, and by comparison of the key elements discovered in these alternative cases with the situation in Chad, this research process led to recommendations for certain development approaches to be considered in Chad.

The first hypothesis derived from early data analysis was that capacity development in Africa was a phenomenon driven either by dynamic local individuals or by outside (i.e., Western) development organizations. This conception of capacity development was ultimately seen as simplistic; indeed, analyses from the LCB cases in Africa were more complex, prompting new interpretations of capacity development processes. These two capacity building approaches appeared less neatly defined and often overlapping. The evidence pointed to a new conception of LCB: there really were no “pure” examples of either model, and local capacity development

typically occurred through a hybridized blending of both endogenous (“inner-driven”) and exogenous (“outside-driven”) approaches. In addition to the evolving conceptions of LCB, successful capacity development experiences analyzed for this project tended to involve local players who started with a background of skills and abilities – gained through education, training, business experiences, etc. – and leadership qualities sufficient to “get the ball rolling” in their communities, and begin projects addressing crucial needs or challenges in the region.

Cases concerning organizations like Yungar, Popenguine and APRODEPIT demonstrate some of these qualities. These three groups were started under similar circumstances by visionary leaders who involved the community in facing pressing ecological challenges. After marshalling manpower and resources at the local level to address the challenges, their initial successes – starting new community-based forest management businesses (Yungar), building on traditional knowledge to develop profitable fish farms (APRODEPIT), or protecting local agriculture and coastal environments (Popenguine) – led the groups to seek out intermediary organizations (e.g., national NGOs or international donor groups) to help with building capacity to expand beyond one village or one project. All three of these groups are also interested in collaboration with outside organizations to build environmental networks and develop ecotourism business opportunities.

The critical link: NGOs as intermediate institutions in local capacity building. After analysis of these capacity building experiences in Africa, the central finding drawn from the cases was that capacity development was characterized by multiple levels of intervention, with *intermediary support organizations* playing the key facilitation role for intervention and collaboration between international funders, governments, NGOs and local groups.

This updated conception of local capacity development is built on data from interventions in the field that demonstrate that intermediary organizations (e.g., country-level NGOs in Africa) act as the collaborating link between local groups and bilateral and multinational funding organizations. Because the capacity development process hinges on this phenomenon of interaction and intervention between various levels of organizations, it behooves policymakers to bear in mind the lessons of these experiences, and how local groups collaborate with national NGOs (taking into consideration contextual differences), when encouraging local capacity building strategies and policies.

These new relationships were made clear by experiences in the data chapters, such as the interactions and collaborations – on multiple levels – going up, down and between development organizations. In Chad, this was evidenced by interactions between (a) NGOs (like Université Populaire), (b) international funding partners (e.g., the German Development Service and Swiss Aid) and (c) target or beneficiary organizations, e.g., grassroots groups such as the fish vendors (GFVPMN) or the women’s group AMIFEL. Building on the concept of multiple intervention levels, national-level NGOs are essential intermediary organizations for LCB.

Capacity Building Lessons for Chad

This section develops the concept of intermediary support organizations – as seen in the case studies in Chapters 4-6 – to provide examples of capacity building lessons to address current challenges for local organizations in Chad. Some of the cases are explored below, in terms of potential capacity building models for wider use in Chad.

One example of a capacity development model for Chad would be the CLUSA approach (seen in the Mali cases), a model with success in promoting sustainable local development in several African countries. Viewed as an example of exogenous development directed by an international NGO, the CLUSA approach nevertheless is effective in promoting national- and local-level input and collaboration for development projects. Besides local-level input into project development, local African groups are contributing to project funding streams. The CLUSA approach is a good example in that it emphasizes group participation through self-funding: local beneficiaries are asked to pay for at least part of the cost of training they receive as part of a development initiative.

There are multiple levels of intervention between CLUSA and local groups in Mali, and the model depends largely on intermediary organizations – national-level NGOs (started by former CLUSA field trainers) that are supported by outside funding (e.g., USAID contracts), and which in turn support local-level groups through training and capacity building.

In a similar fashion, analysis of experiences of groups such as Popenguine or APRODEPIT, and the particular contexts present at the beginning of action – (a) challenges or opportunities for local action (environmental concerns or a business opportunity); (b) initiatives started at the local level by knowledgeable, motivated and charismatic leaders often with expertise and education gained outside the region; and (c) indigenous development groups

supported by training, collaboration and funding from intermediary groups (both national and international) – demonstrate that these groups are also examples of the hybrid/intermediary development model.

Building capacity through multiple levels of intervention. Following on these examples of mixed, intermediary models of local development is the notion that capacity building happens on multiple levels. As cited above, the CLUSA approach demonstrates the necessity of building institutional viability at all levels: local community groups, intermediary national NGOs, and international NGOs and funding organizations.

The Université Populaire case in Chad demonstrates a vertical model of intervention, with interaction and collaboration between international funding groups (e.g., IIZ/DVV), national-level NGOs such as UP, local groups in N'djamena (the fishmongers group and AMIFEL, the women's self-help group), and small business owners and entrepreneurs at the micro level in city neighborhoods. Ultimately, this vertical intervention model appears to have a better chance at sustainability than the more typical top-down development project (directed by an international agency, with expatriate personnel and outside expertise), or even a bottom-up program (using local participants and expertise but also with usually limited funding).

Summary of Development Approaches: Implications for Policymakers in Chad

The case examples in the data chapters display ways to develop exemplary programs with an effective capacity building focus. There are clear advantages in employing a comprehensive approach to capacity development, particularly the well-established programs and projects supported by the larger INGOs such as CLUSA, FFH and Tostan. These three organizations have spent years planning and developing wide-ranging field programs, targeting impacts in multiple programmatic areas at the local and national level, and leading to outcomes which often lead to a synergy of beneficial effects for program participants. The CLUSA approach – direct participation, self-funded projects, hands-on training, etc., with the goal of sustainability – is perhaps the best example of a comprehensive model for policymakers to consider in Chad.

As Chad enters a new era of petro dollars, it is important that international agencies and policymakers continue to support and collaborate with Chadian intermediary groups – national and local NGOs – to “ramp up” development activities in collaboration with local groups. This support for intermediary and grassroots organizations is particularly important, given possibly

unrealistic hopes for oil-driven development in Chad, leading to disappointment if hoped-for change – e.g., more responsive government institutions, investment in development ventures, improvements in public infrastructure, etc. – fails to meet public expectations. Chadian NGOs and local groups can help bridge the gap between expectations and reality, by focusing on their experience and core expertise: providing education and training, microcredit and business development, health care, interaction/exchange with CBOs, etc., as the country (hopefully) uses its new oil economy to improve the lives of all its citizens.

Question 4) How is the nexus between indigenous NGOs and community-based groups in Chad, Senegal and Mali beginning to operate and what support is it providing for local capacity building?

Answering this research question followed closely on the previous question’s answer. The first section picks up on the question of local capacity building, and how data from the case studies addressed the question of how collaboration between NGOs and community-based groups (CBOs) is taking place. Advantageous elements of using NGOs as facilitators for local development are also discussed. The answer to Question 4 concludes with a section on possibilities for new connections between NGOs and community-based groups in Africa, and how the experiences in the case studies serve as models for “glocal” development policy.

Local Capacity Building: Case Study Data on Intermediary Organizations

The data clearly illustrated the relationship between LCB and NGOs, and how there are advantages of employing NGOs to promote local capacity building. As introduced in Chapter Two, in the section on intermediary organizations in development, there are indications NGOs can be effective agents to build capacity for local growth and development. The cases studies of intermediary NGOs analyzed above provided examples of ways to facilitate local level capacity building. NGOs such as ACOD and CEFOD partner with international organizations to channel resources and services (such as training or technical assistance) to partner CBOs. As seen in case studies of APRODEPIT and Tostan, go-between groups – because of extensive local connections and familiarity with “ground-level” realities – are well equipped to reach under-represented populations: urban self-help groups, rural poor, women’s groups, and ethnic minorities.

Intermediary groups have other beneficial qualities: NGOs are flexible in project settings (particularly more so than international agencies), by adapting project designs to better fit local needs, and employing lower-cost interventions and local staff. They provide timely advice and assistance adapted to the local context. As intermediaries, NGOs facilitate transfers of assistance or loans. There is also the advocacy role that NGOs often play on behalf of local umbrella groups, representing the collective interests of several like-minded community or neighborhood groups, helping CBOs defend their own interests and gain legitimacy. The latter role was exemplified by APRODEPIT in its collaboration with fishermen in southern Chad.

This flexibility, and willingness to engage in small-scale projects, can be both a strength and a weakness for NGOs. One example would be the current arrangement between INAGEF, the Malian NGO, and its local partner, UGOA. While these two groups have a successful collaborative partnership, there is also a weak aspect to their relationship: a *paid* contract for future technical support services would help INAGEF reduce its free services to UGOA, thus providing the framework for a more sustainable local project. The collaborative relationship between INAGEF and UGOA, built on trust and social capital, can help make this happen.

Because they are often less encumbered by bureaucracy than larger organizations or their governmental counterparts, NGOs can integrate work across functions more easily, rather than be restricted to a single type of development activity. Important to the NGO-CBO collaboration are the relationships of trust built among constituencies, and dedication to the processes of participatory decision making. These strengths enable NGOs to address sensitive issues in the community, with input from local groups.

Finally, intermediary NGOs offer many other qualities important to the local capacity development process. NGOs often collaborate with INGOs and CBOs to work as catalysts for change, through diffusion of new ideas and innovations at national and international levels. Non-governmental groups can also work to influence policy and legislation on multiple layers of government, as well as within NGO and international networks.

Growing Connections: INGOs, NGOs and Community-Based Groups in Africa

This final section for Question 4 provides reflections on the growing connections between international donor groups, NGOs at the national level, and CBOs operating in urban and rural areas in Africa.

The analysis in Chapter 2 reminded how traditional development programs – and the NGO implementing them – have typically concentrated on the "supply side": delivering services (e.g., training), providing new development initiatives, building infrastructure, or assisting official bodies to spread their own programs (and agendas). Much of the literature and pioneering work of indigenous NGOs now concentrates on what is called the "demand side": helping communities articulate their own concerns and needs as well as recognizing local and regional development opportunities (particularly in a decentralized environment), helping negotiate with official bodies in order to amplify that emerging "voice," and mixing technical operational skills with access to information-age communication, advocacy and networking skills to give more power and resources to local people.

NGOs are becoming important agents for civil society transformation. This attention to the development demand side is a micro-level reflection of changes in local governance. Worldwide movements for greater participation in political decision making, transparency, accountability, freedom of expression, etc., all have their counterparts at the local level in the grassroots mobilization efforts of NGOs and partner CBOs. The groups studied for this research – UP, CEFOD, Kafo Jiginew, Popenguine, Tostan, etc., provided exemplary experiences and data on the full spectrum of interventions and collaborations between INGOs, NGOs and community-based groups. All these groups are also involved in the increasing glocalization of capacity building. As members of local groups continue to reach out to and connect with similar grassroots organizations in their local area, region or even in other countries, the technical and financial support of their intermediary national NGOs will remain a critical part of the capacity development process. The implications of the nexus between indigenous NGOs and community-based groups in Chad, Senegal and Mali, and the growing glocalization movement are discussed at length in the final chapter.

Question 5) What new light do the African experiences reviewed cast on the theory of capacity building in developing countries and the role of adult education in it?

Finding answers to this last research question allowed for more direct consideration of the theoretical implications inherent in the research project, particularly regarding capacity building and adult or nonformal education.

Reconceptualizing “Local” Capacity Building

One conclusion after initial data analysis concerned whether it would be necessary to reconfigure original conceptions about “local” capacity building, following themes that emerged from data analysis. For example, while it is generally understood that capacities – skills, abilities, educational achievement, other resources, etc. – of targeted audiences (e.g., grassroots group members and other local stakeholders) can have a significant impact on the success and outcomes of particular projects and on development in general, the notion of *local* capacity needs was not studied or even considered in depth until fairly recently.

The review of local capacity development models in Africa also gave impetus to re-framing the research. Thrown into the mix is the phenomenon of the reciprocal nature of the interactions and communications between local, national and international actors. From analysis of the case studies, there is a clearly flow of people, information and ideas between and across

- villages and cities, even countries;
- economic sectors – traditional (e.g. farming) and modern, formal and informal, etc.;
- learning models – traditional education models, ANFE, organizational development, etc.

This flow of information, people, and development models, and its impact upon capacity building strategies is reflected in the concept “glocalization,” introduced in Chapter Two and discussed below as it relates to capacity development models analyzed for this project.

Conceptions about LCB were ultimately too simplistic: local capacity building turns out to be a complicated phenomenon that is less “local” than originally conceived. The analysis and findings in this chapter indicate that capacity building actually takes place on multiple levels, with local groups, intermediary groups (e.g., national-level NGOs), and the outside INGOs and multilateral agencies all participating, and with an interactive, two-way flow between groups rather than a top-down (one-way) flow of information and resources.

Findings from the data analysis indicate that local capacity is more than just a question of describing a particular set of actors at the local level engaged in acquiring new knowledge, skills and capacities. To sustain local development, it appears necessary to nurture a whole range of intermediate institutions – for example, national development organizations (e.g., SABA in Mali, APRODEPIT in Chad, Tostan in Senegal) – that are supported by international funding organizations and that collaborate in turn with the local groups, to provide services to local people and helping create an enabling environment for enhanced local capacity.

New collaborations between local and intermediate groups in the field. For that reason, even while it is difficult to grasp what is happening at ground level, it is apparent that a number of intermediate institutions are being created, developed and sustained (as witnessed by the multiple levels of collaboration in the case studies) in African countries. These intermediate organizations are bolstered through the interaction between (a) international or bilateral funding organizations (like USAID and the UN agencies), (b) international development organizations (like the American organizations FFH, Tostan and CLUSA), (c) intermediate African NGOs (such as APRODEPIT, SABA or ACOD), (d) regional umbrella groups or large farmer's cooperatives (like Farakala in Mali and Yungar in Senegal), and (e) local village or community cooperatives and neighborhood associations (like the women's fish monger group, *Espoir* and the AMIFEL groups in Chad). The development and maintenance of these intermediary structures have direct repercussions for African policymakers interested in promoting local capacity development.

LCB and Implications for Nonformal Adult Education

The case studies provide implications about ANFE practice to promote LCB in Chad. Adult learners need opportunities to pursue education and training, and all organizations – government, donor groups, NGOs, etc. – can help in providing them. ANFE organizations need to include needs assessment in their planning models, and involve learners in developing realistic training goals to make sure that their curricula meet the needs of learners. As PADLOS project research demonstrated, training must provide learners with links to direct application of learning: practical skills and knowledge, self-governance opportunities, prospects for “conscientizing” or empowering the community, and possibilities for jobs or self-employment. Many of the groups studied here have made progress in these directions for NFE practice.

Lessons Learned: Best Capacity Building Practices

Lessons from capacity building experiences of local groups in Chad, Mali and Senegal are presented in this section as *key conditions* for local capacity building and collaboration between NGOs and community groups. These conditions are elements of an enabling environment for LCB, which thrives in a climate of devolution. Creating and sustaining an

enabling environment for development is a responsibility shared by government agencies, international donor groups, national NGOs, etc., to help local groups build self-help capacity.

Promoting LCB Best Practices in Africa – Lessons from the Case Studies

Commitment to collaboration in capacity building projects. A strong level of commitment on both sides of the equation – (a) the supporting intermediary organization, and (b) the local group – is important to the capacity development process. This commitment is exhibited through collaborative actions such as helping the CBO with needs assessment, training, and finding new funding opportunities. A process to build social capital for both groups is essential to developing this kind of commitment.

NGOs tend to pick as partners local groups that have some basic level of motivation for action (often by waiting for groups to approach them), and a sense of direction. On the other side, a local group wants to partner with an experienced NGO that will dedicate time and resources to their needs. This two-way commitment to collaboration was seen frequently in the interactions between NGOs and local groups discussed in the data chapters: there were successful examples of commitment, like the relationships between CLUSA, ACOD and Farakala in Mali; and less successful examples e.g., the lack of commitment between UP and the women's group GFVPMN in Chad.

Regular needs assessment. All intervention programs depend in some way on an effective diagnostic process to assess local group needs, strengths and weaknesses, all the while developing organizational vision and communal goals. NGOs can help CBOs in this needs assessment process, and as we see from UP's and Tostan's methods, working closely with local groups helps them understand local needs and be a part of the process, which in turn affects their own organizational development. Needs assessment is clearly not a one-time event, but must be continual, or at least regular (e.g., once or twice a year).

Collective action. The merits of collective action are clearly seen in the data chapters, following a common pattern of actions for local level groups: (a) taking initiative to address a problem (or taking advantage of a new opportunity such as an emerging tourism market) that affects a group or community, (b) creating new groups or bolstering an existing organization (e.g., women's self-help groups in Chad, environmental associations in Senegal, farmers' groups

in Mali, etc.), (c) deciding on local action and then working together for a common purpose, and (d) balancing individual and group and community interests.

All these elements of collective action – seen particularly in the case of Farakala in Mali, where villagers (with the help of an intermediary NGO) joined together for a common purpose and develop more opportunities to learn new skills and start new businesses together – appear to be important prerequisites for developing successful local groups and group capacity development in general in Africa.

Group ownership. Collective action helps build group ownership, and ownership is built on social capital and group participation. This sense of ownership – member “buy in” regarding the organization’s purpose and goals – was an important element for groups in the data chapters. One conclusion drawn from the case of the UP organization’s failed collaboration with the Chadian women’s group, is that the fish vendors’ group (GFVPMN) had not built sufficient group cohesion or enough group capital to develop a widespread sense of ownership and commitment to the group process, dooming the group to failure. On the other hand, local Senegalese groups partnering with Tostan clearly have a high level of group buy in and commitment to collective action.

Effective leadership. The importance of leadership to group development in the case studies is clear. In the case of the women’s fish vendors group in Chad, the lack of leadership likely had a negative impact on the group’s sustainability. Having strong leaders (e.g., Popenguine’s Woulimata in Senegal) are important to getting groups started; leaders are essential to building group cohesion for local- and even national-level NGOs. There are questions about how some of these groups will sustain themselves when a strong, charismatic and popular leader is no longer there to lead. In the case of APRODEPIT, the group’s founder and technical innovator recently died suddenly, and the organization will have to find new leadership to continue the founder’s work and vision. These are questions that many local groups will face in the near future, as old leaders retire and new leaders come to the fore.

While it is important to have strong leadership, local group leaders should also promote the active participation of all group members to help decentralize group participation and decision making. Encouraging group members to learn leadership skills also ensures smoother transitions during inevitable changes in leadership over time. Spreading responsibilities among group members also fosters a more democratic approach to management, and encourages

members to assume more group responsibilities and learn skills. In the Popenguine case, the organization has made a commitment to involving young people in the day-to-day management of the local forest preserve. This commitment to youth involvement helps provide employment opportunities as well as ensuring continuity in group leadership for the Popenguine group.

Innovative practices in funding and group finances. As seen above by all of the NGOs and community groups in the data analysis, financing local development activities remains an important, and often problematic, part of the local capacity development equation. The NGOs and CBOs have used various innovative practices to fund organizational activities: self-funded projects, variations on traditional African credit associations and schemes (e.g., *tontines*), other local funding opportunities (from NGOs or embassies), collaborative relationships with other NGOs and funding groups, formal requests for grants from international NGOs or donor agencies (facilitated by intermediary organizations), etc.

Analysis shows the importance of small organizations taking some initial, first steps to begin to organize and fund themselves, e.g., raising funds among group members for initial activities (through group dues, one-time contributions or regular deposits to a group savings account) to demonstrate the group's capacity to handle some basic level of financial commitment before taking bigger steps, i.e., taking out loans or asking donor groups for funding. This commitment to self-funding is a cornerstone of the CLUSA philosophy, practiced also by CLUSA's partners in Mali (intermediary NGOs such as INAGEF, SABA, ACOD, etc.), and important to sustainable local development.

Funding for small local organizations typically ends up as a mix between internal and external sources. Finding a mix of funding sources also reinforces the importance of the intermediary collaborative relationship between CBOs and nongovernmental organizations. These innovative funding patterns illustrate the necessity of developing organizational, adaptability and flexibility skills (echoing Fowler's "insightful agility" characteristics) to maximize opportunities for partnerships and outside funding. In addition, transparency and public accountability always need to be part of group decision-making policies and financial management strategies. Finally, it must be added that interest in financing local development activities, and even interest in starting local groups, is dependent upon an environment at the local level – typically a devolved environment – where citizens feel some measure of

empowerment, have developed social capital and see opportunities to make decisions about development in the community.

Communication. As alluded to above, regular communication is vital to local groups on several different levels. There is internal communication that occurs within a group and between group members, and external, or inter-group, communication between groups. Both are important, and dependent on group capacity levels. Internal communication is highly dependent on the skills of the responsible parties to synthesize information, often from external sources, and then disseminate it to members at large. These same leaders also often responsible for communication with outside organizations – government agencies, funding groups, other NGOs and CBOs, etc. – to ensure that their group is an integral part of the local or national development environment.

Communication is also essential to promoting working relationships between community organizations; efforts in informal networking for information-sharing can be important. The importance of communications was seen particularly in the local dissemination campaigns established by Tostan, as program participants shared information and knowledge with others. On the other hand, APRODEPIT's capacity for external communication was limited, but the organization was still successful in becoming a major regional force in development and aquaculture programs.

Summary of Analysis and Keys to Capacity Building

This chapter put forward the main findings of the research, following the theoretical framework developed in Chapter Two. These findings addressed the purpose of the research, which was to analyze the makeup of capacity building problems in Chad, to assess the usefulness of available theories and to provide policy recommendations for LCB strategies. A brief review of answers to the five research questions is presented here.

Review of Answers to the Research Questions

The first two research questions addressed decentralization in Chad, and opportunities for NGOs and CBOs within an oil-based economy. Chad is now undergoing a more structured decentralization, different from the unplanned decentralization that led to the development of “spontaneous” schools. The upshot is that with proceeds from recent oil development, and new

programs supported by international aid agencies, there are both opportunities and challenges for civil society organizations to play a stronger role in local development, particularly if the Chadian government continues to decentralize and devolve authority and resources to local levels, and if collaboration and partnership between INGOs, intermediary NGOs and CBOs becomes a more common approach to development in Chad.

Capacity in Chadian civil society is limited and there are few Chadian NGOs. Funding for local initiatives is always challenging, but some local groups – in collaboration with Chadian NGOs – have made strides in this area; self-funding models (e.g., the CLUSA approach) are used effectively by some Chadian CBOs, and some are able to tap outside donor funds as well, with intermediary assistance from Chadian NGOs.

The third and fourth research questions concerned cases and literature experiences addressing local capacity building approaches in other settings that might be employed in Chad. The findings show that the NGOs studied for this research – in Chad, Mali and Senegal – are critical to local capacity building because they work as linking intermediary organizations, in collaboration with both international donor groups and local-level beneficiaries: community groups, households and individuals. NGOs are well equipped to act as intermediaries because of successful track records, funding sources, flexibility in project management and familiarity with local contexts. NGOs that collaborate with local groups to promote community participation, hands-on training addressing learner needs, and self-funding opportunities (and loans and grants) can help Chad address the challenges and opportunities of a new age of development.

The last research question addressed the theory of capacity building and the role of adult education. “Local” capacity building is an evolving concept, and as seen by the cases and the concept of glocalization, capacity building takes place on multiple levels, between donors (at the “top”), INGOs, national-level NGOs, regional or umbrella groups, and local community organizations. These changes have implications for ANFE practice: training is driven by needs assessment and new opportunities for direct application of learning. New skills and abilities are needed to take advantage of newly devolved governmental environments, self-governance opportunities, responsibilities for local or regional natural resource management, and new jobs or self-employment possibilities. These opportunities lead to new challenges and new needs, and the capacity-building cycle continues; adult education has an important role to play in the process.

Capacity Building Lessons – Best Practices from the Case Studies

This chapter also provided findings from data analysis about development projects that were successful in Chad, Mali and Senegal that might serve as models of “best practice” for future capacity policy-making in Chad. Those findings were offered in the form of key conditions for promoting local capacity building, including:

- a commitment to collaboration;
- regular needs assessment;
- collective action and group ownership;
- effective leadership;
- innovative funding practices; and
- communication.

The next chapter follows by offering final conclusions about the research findings, as well as recommendations for future research.

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

In this final chapter, I reflect upon the research process, presenting conclusions and implications from analysis of findings in the preceding chapter. I review the theoretical and practical consequences of the findings within the most important research themes: best practices in capacity building; communication and diffusion of research results;

I conclude the chapter with sections on recommendations for future research in this area and overall reflections and experiences from the research process.

The framework of this chapter includes:

- I. Conclusions from analysis of the research findings
- II. Communication of recommendations of best capacity building practices in Africa
- III. Recommendations for future research
- IV. Reflections and experiences from the research process

Conclusions from Analysis of the Research Findings

The case study methodology that I adopted for this research provided a rich picture of capacity building programs in three different African countries. In this concluding section of the report, I present those conclusions that seem most significant in the light of evidence from the cases presented in the three data chapters, and findings from the preceding chapter.

The findings suggest that the original research problem is a multifaceted problem, with a number of contributing causes, and important contextual elements that must be recognized. As such, there are no simple “silver bullet” solutions; rather there is a series of interlocking aspects to the problem of local development in Chad, and multiple ways of developing capacity to overcome them.

The next several sections present the main conclusions of the research, and as such, all of these sections are considered as policy recommendations for researchers interested in capacity building in Chad and in other African countries.

The Importance of Intermediary Groups in Local Capacity Building

Analysis of findings regarding the capacity development processes in the case studies above led to the most significant conclusion: capacity building is generally categorized by multiple levels of intervention, with intermediary organizations – NGOs at the national level – playing a key facilitation role between international funders and local groups.

Because of this phenomenon of intermediation and intervention between various organizations in capacity development structures, it behooves policymakers to study the experiences of local groups which collaborate with national-level NGOs (taking into consideration contextual differences and environments), when establishing local capacity building strategies and policies. The key conditions for local capacity building, presented in the preceding chapter, also have impacts on the creation of development policies, and in the area of program development and the role of nonformal adult education in local programs.

Synergy of Program Impacts through Multi-pronged Approaches

Another conclusion drawn from the research findings concerns the multidimensional and multi-sectoral approaches adopted by the most successful intervention or development programs, leading to a synergy of positive impacts at the local and national levels. A combination of services provided by national-level intermediary organizations – usually focused on some practical aspects of capacity building (literacy classes, business-related training, community discussions, loans or grants, technical assistance, etc.) often leads to a greater range of positive impacts. As experiences with local groups in the data chapters attest, these multidimensional approaches lead to a synergistic effect of benefits, aided by NGO dissemination and communication strategies, at local, regional and international levels.

In this research project, there were several examples of successful program interventions leading to a “multiplier” (or snowball) effect for local programs, moving from one group or village to another, helping expand program effects and build capacity throughout the country and beyond. A prime example was the Tostan program in Senegal. The synergy of program effects eventually “snowballed” into more significant overall impacts on a national and international scale, e.g., the dissemination of learning from village to village (an outcome of training strategies), the ongoing discussions about formerly taboo health care issues, and, most

importantly, local, regional and national action to change traditional practices. The biggest Tostan success story (and one described as an unforeseen consequence of the group's philosophy of a learner-centered training curriculum) was, of course, a social movement that has fueled momentum to abandon the harmful practice of FGC in Senegal and other African countries.

Going “Glocal” with Capacity Building Efforts in Africa

Following an important finding drawn from the data analysis, that capacity building is categorized by multiple levels of intervention, with NGOs acting as intermediaries to local development, another interesting conclusion was that intermediary NGOs studied here (along with their CBO partners) are part of a growing “glocal” campaign to promote capacity building both locally and worldwide. While it must be recognized that some conclusions about glocalization are based more on theoretical possibilities rather than the empirical data found through examination of the alternate cases in the data chapters, the concept nevertheless has potential as a unifying approach to capacity development, worthy of further research (see below).

“Glocalization” refers to a new kind of relationship between local and global realms, made possible by the wider use of information and communication technologies. Emerging glocal relationships challenge traditional power structures – the global economy, the nation-state, the knowledge industry, etc. – in favor of developing global-local linkages across boundaries of time, space, language and culture. This emerging glocalization also highlights the growing interactions between groups in diverse settings, and how the change agent providing the impetus to address local problems or opportunities is often someone who returns to a rural setting armed with skills, contacts and a vision for community development.

The Yungar case in particular demonstrates a glocal approach. Yungar's two founders had joined the out-migration to the city, but returned to their home villages with education, skills, and a vision about what community organizations could accomplish, when opportunities became available. The Yungar case has much in common with similar projects in other countries (e.g., Tostan or APRODEPIT) as it does with local projects within its home region, or in Senegal. Summing up, it is clear that the capacity development model described above – with multiple levels of intervention and the support of intermediary organizations – also fits with a glocalized approach to capacity development, and should be promoted by policymakers.

Building Local and National Sustainability through Exchanges and Informal Visits

As was seen through the experiences of the grassroots groups in the data chapters, interaction and informal visits between groups – within a larger, national umbrella organization (for example, Tostan and its many local “chapters”); within a region or a city (between CEFOD, UP and their collaborating grassroots groups in N'djamena); or even on an international scale (between Popenguine and similar environmental groups) – helped organizations connect to a wider network of organizations, sharing similar concerns, experiences and knowledge. These interactions help build social capital between groups and across borders.

Local organizations – e.g., Popenguine, APRODEPIT and Farakala, documented in the case studies above have exchanged with other groups, and would no doubt benefit from more opportunities to interact with organizations, at conferences and by use of ICTs. This need to communicate and exchange was made clear by the case study involving the AAPF-ACOD collaboration in Mali, and the necessity for communication policies to promote effective information dissemination within the local group (AAPF), provide new ideas and opportunities through exchange, and keep groups connected with similar local organizations as well as with intermediary groups – such as ACOD and their funding agencies – that can provide continued technical support and funding opportunities.

Building capacity in communications – e.g., providing for internet and e-mail, and even reliable phone service – is important to the success of community-based development initiatives. As local people and groups reach out and link with similar grassroots organizations in their region or in other countries, they will need technical support from their intermediary national and international partners. These “peer learning exchanges” help groups share innovations in development approaches, and foster more participation in local communities.

Communication of Recommendations of Best Capacity Building Practices in Africa

An important part of the original research agenda was to foster communication of results to improve policy and practice on a broader canvas; this remains a partially-realized goal, but hopefully the groups studied here will be able to share success stories through increasing use of ICTs (information and communication technologies) and other means of communication, e.g., informal visits between groups. There are limitations to using ICTs in Africa, particularly in communications between and among scholars and practitioners living in many countries in

Africa, due to current technology constraints. The latter was made clear by case studies about African groups such as Popenguine or APRODEPIT which had no real access to ICTs, thus limiting their abilities to connect with similar organizations in Africa or internationally. The expansion of ICT provision directly impacts a new development phenomenon occurring on a world-wide scale, glocalization.

Recommendations for Further Research

This section extends policy implications by making recommendations for future research. For example, follow-up research with key informants, local groups and the national NGOs in this study would facilitate further exploration of the development models and enabling conditions mentioned in this chapter, providing more data on questions raised by this project.

LCB as a Program Focus in Multiple Sectors

Opportunities to study what seems to be an emerging field in development, i.e., local capacity building, would be welcome. It might be a good idea to investigate LCB in conjunction with researchers and practitioners in fields other than education, such as agriculture, micro business development, labor law, natural resource management, communication technologies, etc. There are many possible avenues for future study, and collaboration, and I hope to look at all of them more closely. Through the methodologies employed, this project has brought much satisfaction through exchanges with development practitioners and organizations throughout Africa and it would be valuable to continue this line of research by engaging (as much as possible) the local groups to promote a regular exchange of ideas about local capacity building in Chad and across Africa.

Researching glocalization concepts in relation to LCB. Some of the grassroots organizations studied above (e.g., APRODEPIT, Popenguine, Yungar), started because of the impetus of dynamic individuals with an “émigré” background; some are now connected to other groups through a global environmental and ecotourism network. While these groups are examples of the glocal phenomenon at work, these cases also show limits to the glocal communication approach. The glocalization movement would appear to be dependent on the feasibility of local groups to engage in visits and exchanges (either in person or “virtually,” through e-mail or internet) with other groups. In the case of organizations linked to natural

resource management projects, most visits occur typically within a country or region, but some local groups are often able to tap into a global network, limited only by their access to ICTs.

Access to ICTs remains a critical concern for dissemination of research as well as for facilitating glocalization. Several of the organizations (e.g., APRODEPIT) had limited or no access to communication technologies, and this impacted on their ability to spread information about their projects and connect and collaborate with similar organizations. There are a few encouraging stories, however. The CEFOD and ATED groups in Chad collaborate with many community-based groups that are just starting to take advantage of the possibilities of the internet, e-mail, and even visual media, typically available in large cities in Africa.

These kinds of limitations bring up several questions about this line of inquiry – i.e., the glocalization movement as a vehicle (and a metaphor) for capacity development – that could be investigated further through new research. Do local groups in Africa naturally feel an affinity with local groups in other countries? What are their experiences in developing communication networks? Do they feel connected to a wider social movement focused on developing local-global connections in commerce, governance and economic development? Research on these kinds of glocal questions would perhaps provide ways to link these research findings and conclusions to a wider debate and discussion on issues such as: promoting democracy, farmers' rights, environmental protection, global equity, women's rights, and even the future of the planet.

Reflections on Experiences from the Research Process

In regards to answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of the project, several reflections came out of the data collection and analysis experience. The first concerns a procedural, or logistic, impact of the research method employed, and how I was able to work around certain constraints regarding data collection. Other reflections are offered below.

Reflections on Data Collection Strategies

The snowball sampling method (described in Chapter Three) of finding new key informants through other key informants and previous contacts in Africa for data collection worked out well for this study. The major constraint for this methodology (mentioned before) were limits upon communications between the US and Africa: poor telephone service, and the lack of access to ICTs (particularly e-mail) for many African organizations. I was able to

overcome these problems by using a variety of stratagems (described in Chapter Three and below), and the snowball method was invaluable to the research process, by putting me in touch with a succession of key informants.

Early experiences made it clear that collecting data on local level experiences would be complicated because of the difficulty of “getting down” to the grassroots level in Africa: you can only reach a limited number of individuals and sites, often under a special set of circumstances (e.g., contacts and key informants with inadequate access to phones, internet or e-mail). The opportunity to do any long-term field data collection in Chad did not present itself. In a previous project in Chad in 1999, I established contacts, and conducted initial research, in collaboration with APRODEPIT and Université Populaire. The UP director, Mr. Allahta, suggested further collaboration, to develop nonformal education strategies for training local groups: could you stay a year or two to build a new program? Can you procure funding to support your stay? Although I made efforts to that end (e.g., the short-term visit possibility mentioned above), further direct collaboration with UP was not possible. We communicated at a distance, and data was gathered through telephone and e-mail interviews and exchanges over the past two years with the key informants of the study, in both the US and Africa, including Mr. Allahta of UP.

Experiences Gathering Data on Chadian NGOs and Local Groups

During data collection, it became clear that it was problematic finding out about or contacting NGOs in Chad (most do not have websites or e-mail or even consistent access to phone service), and it was more difficult getting information on the grassroots groups with which NGOs collaborate. While NGOs have ongoing projects with local groups and have systems of interaction, collaboration and support, they don’t often collect data about local groups, except in a general way for reporting purposes intended for outside funding agencies; there tend to be very few published research reports, available only in the NGOs’ offices. In general, African CBOs do not have reports or other written documents, nor websites or e-mail access. Key informants were crucial to finding data on local CBOs.

In that vein, I had an interesting experience in Chad in 1999 when visiting a local women’s group whose members brewed *bili-bili*, the local beer made from sorghum. The group’s leader presented our visiting group of researchers with a dog-eared, manually-typed copy of their organization’s charter and statutes, members’ names, group activities, funding

proposals, etc.; it was obviously the only copy available and had been used many times over the years to promote the group. They were searching for funding to upgrade production facilities.

Second-hand reports from the field, from national-level organizations, can be of limited value unless they are meticulously triangulated. This is why direct contact with African NGOs proved invaluable. Despite the difficulties in finding information, and the limited grey literature on capacity building projects in Chad, useful information and data were collected from interaction (through e-mail and phone interviews) with Chadian NGOs, with these NGOs often acting as the go-between for communications with the CBOs.

The importance of working closely with key informants from national NGOs. It became apparent through analysis of limited information from the field that the best source (often the only source) of data on capacity building remained the intermediary NGOs, typically based in the capital cities of Africa, and supported by international NGOs. While able to provide some good data for projects like this one, their biggest preoccupation in research, as one might expect, concerns reporting on data about their programs collected for reports written for and delivered to their funding organizations, e.g. the INGOs or other donor organizations. Although the themes outlined for this project are of interest to African NGOs, data collected by national NGOs to meet project or funding guidelines do not typically directly address the research questions originally articulated for this project. Nevertheless, through concerted efforts to contact NGOs (by phone and e-mail), I was able to build a list of key informants willing to collaborate, and gather a lot of data regarding the intermediary interactions between local groups, NGOs and international funding groups.

Final Reflections

Ultimately, this research has been a fantastic vehicle for insights and personal growth. I am hopeful that the research results will be of interest to policymakers and practitioners in capacity building and adult education in Africa. At the same time, the first-hand experiences from getting to know the topic, and in particular, the key informants who were so important to the process, will also be valuable to me in the future, both professionally and personally.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: DEVELOPING LOCAL CAPACITY FOR DEVELOPMENT FOR GRASSROOTS GROUPS IN AFRICA

1. How did local groups take responsibility for some aspect of local development, e.g., in education, health, environment, etc. – what specific steps were taken?
2. What are the methods, tools and indicators that local organizations (NGOs, CBOs, CSOs, etc.) use to 1) evaluate organizational capacity, and 2) build capacity?
3. How did these groups assess the gaps between skill requirements needed and abilities of current members or staff? What was the group capacity level before the project?
4. What did these groups do to address the gaps? List the activities or strategies employed to build capacity.
5. How did the group finance its capacity building activities?
6. What are these groups now doing to develop new abilities or meet new capacity requirements as they arise?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: TRANSLATION – ENGLISH TO FRENCH

Quelques questions concernant le renforcement des capacités en vue du développement

1. Comment est-ce que les groupes locaux (groupements, organisations paysannes, organisations non-gouvernementales, etc.) ont assumé la responsabilité du développement local dans un domaine donné tel que l'éducation, la santé, le commerce, l'environnement, etc.? Comment ont-ils procédé?
2. Quels sont les méthodes et indicateurs utilisés par ces organisations locales dans l'évaluation de la capacité organisationnelle, d'une part, et dans le renforcement des capacités d'autre part?
3. Comment est-ce que ces groupes ont évalué l'écart entre le niveau actuel des capacités des membres de l'organisation et le niveau requis?
4. Quels procédés ont-ils adoptés afin de réduire l'écart? Quelles sont des stratégies utilisées dans le renforcement des capacités?
5. Quels ont été les méthodes de financement de ces activités?
6. Que font ces groupes, à l'heure actuelle, afin de développer de nouvelles capacités ou de faire face à de nouvelles exigences en matière de capacité?

APPENDIX B – LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABEL – Advancing Basic Education and Literacy
AMIFEL – Chadian women’s self-help group
ANFE – Adult and Nonformal Education
APRODEPIT – Association for the Promotion and Development of Integrated Pisciculture in Chad (Sarh)
BRAC – Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CBO – Community-Based Organization
CEFOD – *Centre d’Étude et de Formation pour le Développement* (Catholic aid agency in Chad)
CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency
CLUSA – National Cooperative Business Association (called CLUSA abroad)
Cordaid – Dutch aid organization
CRS – Catholic Relief Services
CSO – Civil Society Organization
DED – German development agency
FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FFEM – French Global Environment Fund
FONGT – Chadian Federation of NGOs
GEF – Global Environment Facility
GFVPMN – Chadian women’s fishmonger group
GIEs – *Groupement d’intérêt économique* (collective business associations)
ICTs – Information and Communication Technologies
INGO – International Non-Governmental Organization
IUCN – International Union for Conservation of Nature
IIZ/DVV – German Adult Education Association
LCB – Local Capacity Building
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
OP – *Organisation Paysanne* (Farmer’s Organization)
SABA – Malian NGO
TC – Technical Cooperation
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UP – *Université Populaire* (Chadian NGO)
UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund
WHO – World Health Organisation

APPENDIX C – LIST OF RESEARCH CONTACTS AND KEY INFORMANTS

NAME	TITLE	AFFILIATION	RECOMMENDED BY	NOTES	CONTACTED
Akeratane, Mohammed	Program Manager	Ministere de la Culture (Mali)			X
Alrutz, Jim	Program Manager	CLUSA-NCBA	Peter	emails; interview by email 7/27/02; phone	X
Baser, Heather	Program Coordinator	ECDPM		contact re: res. proj. 03/04; resp.	X
Berilengar, Antoine (Father)	Training Coordinator	CEFOD (N'djamena)	Nicole Poirier	emails	X
Bingen, Jim	Professor	Michigan State University	Peter	contact 02/04; resp.	X
Bongo, Nestor	Director	APRODEPIT		phone interview	X
Coulibaly, Timothee	Program Manager	SABA (Mali)	Jim Alrutz	interview by phone and email	X
Diouf, Amadou Matar	Program Manager	IUCN (Senegal)	Jim Alrutz, Abdoulaye Ndiaye	interview by phone and email	X
ENDA		Development Organization (Senegal)		research, pubs. (Emmanuel Ndiene)	Email, no response
Ferris-Morris, Margie	Consultant	Food Aid Management			X
Gary, Ian	Strategic Issues Advisor	Catholic Relief Services	Chris Capacci	Book on Chad oil	X
Gervais, Suzanne	Researcher	Catholic Relief Services	Trish Long		X
Gray, Bobbi	Researcher	Freedom from Hunger (FFH)		phone conversation	X
Hildebrand, Henner	Africa coordinator	IIZ/DVV - German Adult Ed.		sent email 8/6/02	X
Hilhorst, Thea	Program Manager	KIT, Netherlands		sent email 7/15/2004	X
Jutting, Johannes Paul	Researcher	Center for Development Research, Univ. of Bonn		worked in Chad	X
Kaag, Mayke	Researcher	African Studies Centre, Leiden	Thea Hilhorst (KIT)	email 8/25/04	X
Land, Tony	Writer	capacity.org		contacted by email	X
Lauglo, Jon	Researcher	World Bank	Peter	mess. 11/11/02	X
Lehman, Doug	Consultant	World Bank	Jon Lauglo	interview 11/18/02	X
Lemarchand, Rene	Professor	Univ. Florida	Peter, Ragas	Chad expert; phone 1/13; interview 2/9	X
Levinger, Beryl	Researcher	EDC, CRS	Chris Capacci		X
MacAlister, Bob	Consultant	Former PC Director, Chad	Lance Jepson	Chad expert; source for contacts	X
Maclure, Richard	Professor	University of Ottawa			X
Macmillan, Della	Researcher	Univ. Florida	Ragas	Chad expert? phone 1/15/03	X
Malla, Kosse	entrepreneur	APRODEPIT (Aquaculture org.)		Died in 2004	Email, no response; bounced
McGrath, Simon	Researcher	Centre of African Studies, Univ. of Edinburgh		email	X
Muskin, Joshua	Sr. Educ. Advisor	World Learning			
Ngariban, Allahta	Director	Université Populaire (UP)		sent emails, phone interviews	X
Noubata, Allaodjingar	Founder	ATED (N'djamena); also works at CEFOD	Berilengar	emails	X
Patterson-Brown, Ellen	Researcher	Exxon in N'djamena	Penelope Bender		X
Poirier, Nicole	Coordinator	CRS in Chad, Cameroun	Chris Capacci	phone conv. 7/28/03; emails	X
Ricci, Bonnie	Researcher	World Learning	Josh		X
Sidikou, Maman	Researcher	World Bank	Peter	email contact; interview, etc.	X
Toure, Cheickna		ACODEP (Mali)		sent questions via email	X
Thiao, Woulimata	Founder	Popenguine/RFPN (Senegal)		no email access	X
Yacouba, Moustapha	Consultant	Agroservices			no luck by e-mail...

REFERENCES

- Africa Focus. (2004, July 28). *USA/Africa: Oil and transparency*. Washington, DC: author.
- Aissaoui, N. L. (1996). *Sénégal: Les femmes de Popenguine se liguent pour la réhabilitation de la réserve naturelle*. Montpellier, France: BEDE Association Library. Retrieved August 5, 2004, from <http://www.bede-asso.org/interface/encyclo/fiches/3183dph.htm>
- Ashoka. (1997). *Ashoka Fellowship Profile: Mouni Ouédraogo*. Retrieved November 1, 2004, from <http://www.ashoka.org/fellows/viewprofile3.cfm?reid=97178>
- Bardach, E. (2000). *A practical guide for policy analysis: The eightfold path to more effective problem solving*. New York: Chatham House Publishers.
- Barro, A. (1998). *Senegal's unique case in decentralized natural resources management: The community based natural resource management program*. Report from World Bank/CBNRM Initiative. Retrieved August 5, 2004, from <http://srdis.ciesin.org/cases/senegal-001.html>
- BBC News. (1999). *African education in decline*. Retrieved November 7, 2001, from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/world/africa/newsid_552000/552724.stm
- Becker, G. S. (1993). *Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis with special reference to education* (3rd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BELACD. (2004). Introduction to Bureau d'Etudes et de Liaison des Actions Caritatives et de Développement (BELACD). Retrieved October 29, 2004, from <http://www.lotiko.org/fr/belacd/belacd.htm>
- Bellanet. (2004). *Kafo Jiginew, Mali*. Retrieved July 16, 2004, from <http://www.bellanet.org/partners/mfn/memberKAFO.html>
- Bertelsmann Stiftung. (2004). *Bertelsmann transformation index 2003: Mali country report*. Retrieved June 12, 2005, from <http://www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/78.0.html?&L=1>
- Billy-Globe. (2003). *Les dames-natures de Popenguine*. Reportage, December 15, 2003. Retrieved August 5, 2004, from www.billy-globe.org/fr_2001/2004/reportages/pop.htm
- Bingen, J. (1998). Cotton, democracy and development in Mali. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(2), 265-285.
- Bingen, J. & Dembele, E. (2002). *The business of extension reform: Cotton in Mali*. Report from Agriculture & Rural Development Conference, Washington, DC. World Bank & USAID.
- Bingen, J. (2003). *A case study of the Farakala Agro-Pastoral Cooperative*. (Draft report). Michigan State University: Author.
- Bingen, J. (2003, March). *Community-based producer organizations: A contribution to the West Africa Regional Program Action Plan for the Initiative to End Hunger in Africa*. (Draft report). Michigan State University: Author.
- Bingen, J. (2004). *The Upper Niger River Valley Union and Associated Farmers' Enterprises (UGOA): A case study of a farmer cooperative alliance for agricultural input supply in Mali*. (Draft report). Michigan State University: Author.
- Bolger, J. (2000, May). *Capacity development: Why, what and how*. Capacity Development Occasional Paper Series. Ottawa: Canadian International Development Agency.
- Boukhari, S. (2001). *Mali: A flickering flame*. UNESCO Courier. Retrieved July 21, 2004, from http://www.unesco.org/courier/2000_01/uk/dossier/txt06.htm
- BRAC. (2003). *About BRAC: At a glance*. Retrieved June 1, 2004, from <http://www.brac.net/aboutb.htm>

- BRAC. (2004). *BRAC Economic Development Program (EDP)*. Retrieved August 11, 2004, from http://www.brac.net/edp_main.html
- Bratton, M. (1994). Civil society and political transition in Africa. *IDR Reports 11*(6).
- Brinkerhoff, R. O. (2003). *The Success Case Method: Find out quickly what's working and what's not*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Brinkerhoff, R. O. (2004). *Using the Success Case Impact Evaluation Method to enhance training value and impact*. Paper delivered at American Society for Training and Development International Conference and Exhibition.
- Brookfield, S. (1986). *Understanding and facilitating adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brosio, G. (2000). *Decentralization in Africa*. Paper presented at IMF conference on fiscal decentralization, November 20-21, Washington, DC.
- Brown, L. D. (1992). Development bridging organizations and strategic management for social change. *IDR Reports 10*(3).
- Brown, L. D., & Korten, D. (1991). Working more effectively with non-governmental organizations. In P. Samuel and A. Israel (Eds.), *Non-governmental organizations and the World Bank*. Washington: World Bank.
- Brown, L. D., & Kalegaonkar, A. (1999). Addressing civil society's challenges: Support organizations as emerging institutions. *IDR Reports, 15*(2), 1999.
- Browne, S., (Ed.). (2002). *Developing capacity through technical cooperation: Country experiences*. London: Earthscan Publications and UNDP.
- Buijtenhuijs, R. (1998). Chad in the age of the warlords. In D. Birmingham & P. Martin (Eds.), *History of Central Africa: The contemporary years since 1960*. London: Longman.
- Capacity.org. (2002). *What is capacity development? An introduction*. Retrieved August 4, 2003, from <http://www.capacity.org>
- Carroll, T. F. (1992). *Intermediary NGOs: The supporting link in grassroots development*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian.
- Catholic Relief Services (CRS). (2003). *Bottom of the barrel: Africa's oil boom and the poor*. Baltimore: author.
- Catholic Relief Services (CRS). (2004). *Our work in Chad*. Retrieved December 7, 2004, from http://www.catholicrelief.org/our_work/where_we_work/overseas/africa/chad/index.cfm
- CEFOD (Centre d'Étude et de Formation pour le Développement). (2004). *Who are we?* Retrieved September 16, 2004, from <http://www.cefod.org/index.htm>
- Cheema, G. & Tabet, M. (2000). Decentralized governance for human development. In R. Thakur & E. Newman (Eds.), *New millennium, new perspectives: The United Nations, security and governance*. Tokyo: UNU Press.
- CIA World Factbook. (2001). *Chad*. Retrieved November 7, 2001, from: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/cd.html>
- CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency). (1997). *Dunes stabilization and conservation of coastal soils projects*. Projects: 808/11367 & 808/13835. Ottawa: author.
- CIESIN. (2004). Case study: Republic of Mali. In *The Online Sourcebook on Decentralization and Local Development*, realized by CIESIN, with collaboration of SDS, FAO, UND, GTZ, WB. New York: Columbia University. Retrieved May 25, 2004, from <http://www.ciesin.columbia.edu/decentralization/english/casestudies/mali.html>
- Cisse, M. (2001). Needs and wants of the informal sector and of small firms in terms of vocational skills and knowledge as seen in a developing country in Africa. In Swiss

- Agency for Development and Cooperation (Ed.), *Linking work, skills and knowledge: Learning for survival and growth*. Conference report, Interlaken, 10-12 September, 2001. Berne: SDC.
- CLUSA. (2002). *CLUSA approach to the development of group business and cooperative enterprises*. Washington, DC: Author.
- CLUSA. (2004). *Organization of Baobab Fruit Producers in Bala*. Draft report. Washington, DC: author.
- CLUSA-NCBA. (2001). *CLUSA-NCBA Results*. Draft report. Washington, DC: author.
- CLUSA-NCBA. (2002). *A case study: L'Association Agropastorale de Farakala – from a farmer group to a farmer managed business*. Report submitted by ACOD (Mali). Washington, DC: Author.
- CNN (Cable News Network). (2002a). *Blair: 'Duty to act' for Africa*. Posted February 2, 2002. Retrieved April 2, 2002 from:
<http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/africa/02/06/africa.uk/index.html>
- CNN (Cable News Network). (2002b). *Division widens over Zimbabwe vote*. Posted March 14, 2002. Retrieved April 2, 2002, from:
<http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/africa/03/14/zimbabwe.mandate/index.html>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in education*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 94(Supplement), S95-S120.
- Colletta, N. J., and Holsinger, D. B. (1982). Assessing the impact of nonformal education on national development goals, in *Education and development: Issues in the analysis and planning of postcolonial societies*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Court, J., & Young, J. (2004). *Bridging research and policy in international development: An analytical and practical framework*. Research and Policy in Development Programme Briefing Paper No. 1, Oct. 2004. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Dalal-Clayton, D. B., Dent, D., & Dubois, O. (2003). *Rural planning in developing countries: Sustaining natural resource management and sustainable livelihoods*. London: IIED/Earthscan.
- Day, L. (1998). Rites and reason: Precolonial education and its relevance to the current production and transmission of knowledge. In M. Bloch, J. Beoku-Betts & B. R. Tabachnick (Eds.), *Women and education in sub-Saharan Africa: Power, opportunities, and constraints*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Dick, B. (2002). *Grounded theory: A thumbnail sketch*. Retrieved January 26, 2005, from
<http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/arp/grounded.html>
- Dillinger, W., & Fay, M. (1999). From centralized to decentralized governance. *Finance & Development*, Dec. 1999, 19-21.
- Directory of Social Movements. (2005). What is the directory of social movements? Retrieved June 11, 2005, from <http://www.social-movements.org/en/node/view/335>
- Djiraibe, D. Horta, K., & Nguiffo, S. (2002). Taking stock: Two years after World Bank approval of the (pipeline) project. In *The Chad-Cameroon oil and pipeline project: A call for accountability*. Washington, DC: Environmental Defense, Chadian Association for Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (ATPDDH), and Center for Environment and Development (Cameroon).

- Dombrowsky, K., Dumestre, G. & Simonis. (1993). *L'alphabétisation fonctionnelle en Bambara dans une dynamique de développement: Le cas de la zone cotonniere (Mali-Sud)*. Provence: Institut d'Etudes Creoles et Francophones, Université de Provence.
- Doumro, M. (1999). *Census of national NGOs in Chad (ONG nationales recensées au Tchad)*. Unpublished report, ABEL (Advancing Basic Education and Literacy) project in Chad.
- Dunford, C. & Denman, V. (2000). *Credit with Education: A promising Title II Microfinance Strategy*. Washington, DC: Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance (FANTA) Project.
- Eade, D. (1997). *Capacity Building: An approach to people-centred development*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Easton, P., et al. (1998a). *Decentralization and local capacity building in the Sahel: Results of the PADLOS-Education Study*. Tallahassee: Club du Sahel/OECD & CILSS.
- Easton, P., et al. (1998b). *Decentralization and local capacity building in the Sahel: Results of the PADLOS-Education Study*. Abridged version. Tallahassee: Club du Sahel/OECD & CILSS.
- Easton, P. (1999a). *Nurturing the environment on Senegal's West Coast*. Indigenous Knowledge (IK) Notes, No. 8. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Easton, P. (1999b). *Village bankers: The experience of Fandène (Senegal)*. Indigenous Knowledge (IK) Notes, No. 6. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Easton, et. al. (1999a). *Burkina Faso: Literacy for the little ones in Nomgana*. Indigenous Knowledge (IK) Notes, No. 5. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Easton, P., et al. (1999b). *The development of an agricultural union in Mali: Increasing levels of local empowerment*. Indigenous Knowledge (IK) Notes, No. 9. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Easton, P., Monkman, K. & Miles, R. (2003). Social policy from the bottom up: Abandoning FGC in sub-Saharan Africa. *Development in Practice*, 13(5), 445-458.
- Easton, P., Liebert, G., Nang-Yade, R. & Nilles, M. (2004). *Local capacity building: Recognizing the role of adult and nonformal education*. Draft report. Tallahassee, FL: authors.
- EcoFair Foundation. (1997). *Strengthening the West African Movement for Organic Agriculture (SWAMO), a programme for the structuring and promotion of local bodies for organic farming through training inspection certification and marketing*. Amsterdam: author.
- Edgcomb, E. & Barton, L. (1998). *Social intermediation and microfinance programs: A literature review*. Small Enterprise Education and Promotion Network (SEEP). Retrieved May 4, 2005, from <http://www.usaidmicro.org/pdfs/mbp/social.pdf>
- Education Development Center (EDC). (2001). *The DOSA page: New directions in organizational capacity building*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved January 21, 2001, from <http://www.edc.org/INT/CapDev/dosapage.htm>
- Europa Publications. (2000). Chad: Recent history. In *Africa south of the Sahara 2000*. 29th edition. London: author.
- Ewert, D. M. (1989). Adult education and international development. In Merriam, S., & Cunningham, P. (Eds.), *Handbook of adult and continuing education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Fass, S., & Desloovere, G. M. (2004). Chad: Governance by the grassroots. In Wunsch, J. S., & Olowu, D. (Eds.), *Local governance in Africa: The challenges of democratic decentralization* (pp. 155-180). Boulder: Rienner.

- Ferris-Morris, M. (2002). *Progress report: Local capacity building in USAID-supported Title II programming*. Washington, DC: Food Aid Management (FAM).
- Field, J. (2005). Social capital and lifelong learning. *The Encyclopedia of Informal Education*. Retrieved April 28, 2005 from www.infed.org/lifelonglearning/social_capital_and_lifelong_learning.htm
- FONGT – Fédération des ONG Tchadiennes (Federation of Chadian NGOs). (1999). *Members list*. (Liste des membres). N'djamena: author.
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). (1997). *Overview of Senegal: Trends in the agricultural sector*. From *Lessons from Senegal*: Dakar, 1997. Retrieved January 21, 2005, from <http://www.fao.org/Gender/Static/CaseSt/Sen/sen-e.htm#TopOfPage>
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). (2000). *Success Case Replication – A manual for increasing farmer household income by mobilizing successful farmers and groups to train their peers*. J. B. Orsini, editor. Retrieved August 12, 2005 from http://www.fao.org/sd/2002/PE1001_en.htm
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). (2001). “People’s participation” in *Sustainable rural development: Progress and challenges*. Retrieved March 9, 2001, from <http://www.fao.org/waicent/faoinfo/sustdev/DOdirect/DOengA03.htm>
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). (2002). *Trees outside forests: Towards a better awareness*. FAO Conservation Guide #35. Retrieved March 1, 2005, from <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/005/y2328E/Y2328E00.pdf>
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). (2003). *Food and agriculture indicators: Mali*. Rome: FAO. Retrieved September 25, 2004, from http://www.fao.org/es/ESS/compendium_2003/pdf/ESS_MLI.pdf
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). (2004). *Locust situation worsens in Mauritania and Mali*. Rome: FAO. Retrieved September 25, 2004, from <http://www.fao.org/newsroom/en/news/2004/49848/index.html>
- Fowler, A. (1997). *Striking a balance: A guide to enhancing the effectiveness of NGOs in international development*. Earthscan, London.
- Fowler, A. (2000a). *Partnerships: Negotiating relationships, a resource for non-governmental organisations*. OPS, (32). Oxford: Intrac.
- Fowler, A. (2000b). *The virtuous spiral: A guide to sustainability for non-governmental organisations in international development*. London: Earthscan.
- Frazis, H. J. & Spletzer, J. R. (2005). Worker training: What we’ve learned from the NLS79. *Monthly Labor Review Online*, 128(2), 48-58.
- Freedom from Hunger. (2003). “History and mission.” Retrieved August 31, 2003, from <http://www.ffhtechnical.org/about/history.html>
- Freedom from Hunger. (2004). “Collaborating partners: Kafo Jiginew.” Retrieved August 25, 2004, from <http://www.ffhtechnical.org/cwep/partners/kafojiginew.html>
- Furtado, X. (2001). *Decentralization and capacity development: Understanding the links and implications for programming*. Capacity Development, 4, August 2001. Ottawa: CIDA Policy Branch.
- Gabardi, W. (2000). *Negotiating Postmodernism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- German Adult Education Association (IIZ/DVV). (1999). *Annual report*. Bonn: author.
- German Adult Education Association (IIZ/DVV). (2002). *Annual report*. Bonn: author.

- Gervais, S. (2003). *Local capacity building in Title II Food Security Projects: Executive summary*. Project report. Washington, DC: Food Aid Management (FAM).
- Gibb, M. (2005). Social capital and appropriate skills training as prerequisites for successful economic development: The Noordhoek Valley Training Centre, Cape Town. In E. Nel & C. M. Rogerson (Eds.), *Local economic development in the developing world: The experience of South Africa* (pp. 147-159). London: Transaction Publishers.
- Gichira, R. (2000). *Institutional implications of linking work, skills and knowledge for survival and growth enterprises: The African perspective*. Paper presented at conference, "Linking work, skills and knowledge: Learning for survival and growth." Conference report, Interlaken, 10-12 September, 2001. Berne: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).
- Glaser, B. (1998). *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Global Ecovillage Network Senegal (GEN-Senegal). *Ecovillage of Popenguine*. Retrieved July 8, 2004, from <http://www.cresp.sn/gensen/popenguine.htm>
- Global Partnership on Forest Landscape Restoration. (2003). *Popenguine, Senegal*. United Nations Environment Programme-World Conservation Monitoring Centre). Retrieved July 8, 2004, from <http://www.unep-wcmc.org/forest/restoration/globalpartnership/docs/Senegal.pdf>
- The Glocal Forum. (2003). *Glocalization: Research study and policy recommendations*. Retrieved November 8, 2004, from http://glocalforum.existhost.com/gf/New_Glocal_Website/downloads/full_gloc_book.pdf
- Grain (Genetic Resources Action International). (2002). *Women from Popenguine for the Protection of Nature Group*. Growing Diversity Case Studies. Retrieved November 4, 2004, from <http://www.grain.org/gd/en/case-studies/cases/wa-abstract-senegal-en.cfm>
- Grain (Genetic Resources Action International). (2004, February 1). GM cotton to invade West Africa. "New from Grain" series. Retrieved October 25, 2004, from <http://www.grain.org/nfg/?id=136#>
- Groots International (Grassroots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood). 2005. Vision. Retrieved February 25, 2005, from <http://www.groots.org/acontent.htm>
- Habibi, N., et. al. (2001, May). *Decentralization in Argentina*. Economic Growth Center Discussion Paper No. 825, Yale University. Retrieved August 21, 2005, from http://www.econ.yale.edu/growth_pdf/cdp825.pdf
- Harsch, E. (2000). Schools struggling with crises: Financial constraints hamper expansion of primary education in Africa. *Africa Recovery*, 14, #2 (July 2000), 12. New York: UNSIA/United Nations.
- Hashemi, S. (2000). *Linking microfinance and safety net programs to include the poorest: The case of IGVGD in Bangladesh*. Focus Note No. 21, Consultative Group to Assist the Poor. Retrieved November 11, 2004 from http://www.cgap.org/docs/FocusNote_21.pdf
- Hauck, V., and Land, T. (2000). *Beyond the partnership rhetoric: Reviewing experiences and policy considerations for implementing 'genuine' partnerships in North-South cooperation*. (ECDPM Discussion Paper 20). Maastricht: ECDPM.
- Heineman, R., Bluhm, W., Peterson, S. and Kearny, E. (2002). *The world of the policy analyst: Rationality, values, and politics*. New York: Chatham House.
- Hilling, D. (2000). Chad: Physical and social geography. In *Africa south of the Sahara 2000*. London: Europa Publications.

- Hira, A., and Parfitt, T. (2004). *Development projects for a new millennium*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Hodgkinson, E. (2000). Chad: Economy. In *Africa south of the Sahara 2000*. London: Europa Publications.
- Hoy, P. (1998). *Players and issues in international aid*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- ICTSD. (2005). West African cotton: Producers organize (Le coton ouest africain : les producteurs s'organisent). *AfriCoDev – Passerelles, Vol. 4*. Retrieved January 20, 2005 from <http://www.ictsd.org/africoddev/edition/synthese/05-01-20/nouvellesregionales1.htm>
- International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). (1999). *Synthesis of agricultural development issues and investigations in sub-Saharan Africa*. Retrieved January 22, 2001, from <http://www.ifpri.cgiar.org>
- International Labour Organisation (ILO). (1998). *Job creation in small and medium-sized enterprises recommendation (R189)*. Retrieved June 19, 2001, from: <http://ilolex.ilo.ch>
- International Labour Organisation (ILO). (1999). *ILO key indicators of the labour market (KILM)*. Retrieved June 19, 2001, from: <http://www.ILO.org/public/english/employment/skills/informal/who.htm>
- International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2001). *Roundtable on skills development for more decent work in the informal sector*. Geneva, 22 May, 2001.
- International Literacy Explorer. (1999). *Participatory nonformal education: The Tostan Basic Education Program, Senegal*. (Project Activities). Retrieved August 8, 2004, from http://www.literacyonline.org/explorer/tost_act.html
- International Monetary Fund (IMF). (1999). *Letter of intent of the government of Chad*. Retrieved August 28, 2004, from <http://www.imf.org/external/NP/LOI/1999/111199.htm>
- International Monetary Fund (IMF). (2003). *World economic outlook, September 2003*. Washington, DC: author. Retrieved November 13, 2003, from: <http://imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2003>
- Island Systems, Ltd. (2001). The difference between NGOs and civil society organizations. *Networks, Newsletter on Caribbean Civil Society*. Author. Retrieved April 22, 2002, from: www.islandsystems.com
- James, V. U., ed. (1998). *Capacity building in developing countries: Human and environmental dimensions*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Jutting, J., Corsi, E., & Stockmayer, A. (2005). Decentralization and poverty reduction. *Policy Insights*, 5 (January). The Development Centre/OECD.
- King, K. (1991). *Aid and education in the developing world: The role of the donor agencies in educational analysis*. Essex, England: Longman Group.
- Knowles, M. (1980). *The adult learner: A neglected species*. Houston: Gulf Publishing.
- Koné, F. Y. (1999). Les micro-communes (Mali): expressions de logiques locales. *Bulletin de l'APAD*, 14.
- Koné, N. (1999). *The Malian experience of policies designed to ensure the sustainability of natural resources: The case of the cotton-growing areas in southern Mali*. Bamako: author. Retrieved August 25, 2004, from <http://www.cdr.dk/sscafrica/ko-e-ma.htm>
- Lauglo, J. (2001). *Engaging with adults: The case for increased support to Adult Basic Education in sub-Saharan Africa*. Africa Region Human Development Working Paper Series. Washington, DC: the World Bank.

- Le Soleil (Dakar). (2003, 6 June). Rural community of Fandène: A participatory approach to achieve immediate goals. Retrieved October 8, 2004, from http://www.aidtransparency.org/observatoire/print.cfm?var_art=90
- Levinger, B., & E. Bloom. (2000). *Discussion-Oriented Organizational Self-Assessment (DOSA)*. Education Development Center: author. Retrieved June 1, 2003, from: <http://www.edc.org/GLC/CapDev/dosapage.htm>
- Library of Congress. (1988). *Chad, a country study*. Retrieved November 2, 2001, from: <http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/tdtoc.html>
- Litvack, J. (2005). What is decentralization? Retrieved May 17, 2005, from http://www.ciesin.org/decentralization/English/General/Different_forms.html
- Litvack, J., and Seddon, J. (1999). Decentralization briefing notes. World Bank Institute (WBI) working papers. Washington, DC: the World Bank.
- Livingstone, D. W. (1998). *The education-jobs gap: Underemployment or economic democracy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Livingstone, D. W. (1997). The limits of human capital theory: Expanding knowledge, informal learning and underemployment. *Policy Options, July/August*, 9-13.
- Lusthaus, C., Adrien, M-H., Anderson, G., Carden, F. & Montalván, G. P. (2002). *Organizational Assessment: A framework for improving performance*. Ottawa: IDRC.
- Majchrzak, A. (1984). *Methods for policy research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Mayer, C., and Vives, X. (1996). *Financial Intermediation and Economic Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McGrath, S. (2003). Researching responsiveness. In M. Cosser, S. McGrath, A. Badroodien & B. Maja (Eds.), *Technical college responsiveness: Learner destinations and labour market environments in South Africa* (pp. 13-26). Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.
- McGrath, S. & King, K. (March, 1995). *Education and training for the informal sector* (vol. 1), serial no. 11. London: ODA (Overseas Development Administration).
- McGrath, S. & King, K. (1995). *Education and training for the informal sector* (vol.2), Education Research Occasional Papers, March 1995. London: ODA (Overseas Development Administration).
- McGrath, S. & King, K. (1997). *Learning to compete: African education, training and small enterprise development in the era of globalisation*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh.
- McMillan, J. & Schumacher, S. (1997). *Research in education: A conceptual introduction*. New York: Longman.
- Media House. (2003, July 1). *President Bush urged to encourage democracy in Africa*. Retrieved on June 20, 2005, from www.freedomhouse.org/media/pressrel/070103.htm
- Mercer, H., Dal Poz, M., Adams, O., Stilwel, B., Buchan, J., Dreesch, N., Zurn, P. & Beaglehole, R. (2002). *Human resources for health: developing policy options for change*. World Health Organisation draft discussion paper. Retrieved on July 29, 2004, from: www.who.int/health-services-delivery/human/hr_nhs/documents.htm
- Merriam, S. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. and Caffarella, R. (1999). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Milèn, A. (2001). *What do we know about capacity building? An overview of existing knowledge and good practice*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Miles, M., and Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mistowa (Network of regional market information systems and traders' organizations of West Africa). (2005). *Partners*. Retrieved on July 5, 2005, from <http://www.mistowa.org/en/pages/partners.htm>
- Mitlin, D. (2001). Poverty alleviation or poverty reduction: The contribution of civil society. *Journal of International Development*, 13, 1003-1008.
- MkNelly B. & Lippold, K. (1998a). *Practitioner-led impact assessment: A test in Mali*. AIMS Paper. Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development.
- MkNelly B. & Lippold, K. (1998b). *Practitioner-led impact assessment: A test in Mali*. AIMS Brief No. 21. Washington, DC: Freedom from Hunger and Management Systems International.
- Mohaddin, A. (1998). Partnership: A new buzz-word or realistic relationship? *Development*, 41 (4): 5-12.
- Morgan, P. (1998). *Capacity and capacity development: Some strategies*. Capacity Development Occasional Paper Series, Oct. 1998. Ottawa: Canadian International Development Agency.
- Morgan, P. (1999). *Some observations and lessons on capacity building*. Retrieved June 22, 2001, from: <http://www.capacity.org/>
- Mullinix, B. (2001). Nurturing partnership: A southern African continuum of flexible stages in partnership development. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, April, 2001.
- Ndiaye, P. (1998). *Popenguine Nature Reserve (Senegal): An experiment in sustainable development based on conservation of biodiversity*. Report from Scandinavian Seminar College: African Perspectives of Policies and Practices Supporting Sustainable Development. Retrieved March 1, 2004, from <http://www.cdr.dk/sscafrica/ndi-e-se.htm>
- N'Djim, H. (1998). *Case study – Mali: Population and water issues*. Retrieved March 1, 2004, from <http://www.aaas.org/international/ehn/waterpop/mali.htm>
- New Internationalist. (2000). Chad: A country profile. *New Internationalist*, 328, (October 2000). Retrieved April 30, 2002, from: www.newint.org/issue328
- Nisbet, J. (1999). Policy-oriented research. In J. Keeves & G. Lakomski (Eds.), *Issues in educational research* (pp. 64-75). Oxford: Pergamon.
- Novicki, M. (1998). Boosting basic education in Africa. *Africa Recovery*, 11, 4 (March 1998), page 8. New York: UNSIA/United Nations.
- Nwanna, G. I. (1996). Rural financial markets in West Africa: Roles, experiences, constraints and prospects for promoting rural development. Center for Economic Research on Africa: Montclair State University.
- Odogu, I. E. (2004). African development and the immigration of its intelligentsia: An overview. *Ìrìnkèrindò: a Journal of African Migration*, 3 (September, 2004).
- Œuvre Suisse d'entraide ouvrière (OSEO). (2004). *Literacy and development in central Burkina Faso*. Project report. Retrieved June 1, 2004, from http://www.oseo.ch/fr/web/index.php?mod=ipp&art_id=17&cat=28&open=&lang=fr
- Okrah, K. A. (2002). Academic colonialism and Africa's underdevelopment. *The African Symposium*, 2(4).

- Ortenblad, A. (March, 2002). Organizational learning: A radical perspective. *International journal of management reviews*, 4, pp. 71-86.
- Ortenblad, A. (2004). Toward a contingency model of how to choose the right type of Learning Organization. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 15, 3, 347-350.
- Otis, G. A. (2003, Dec. 7). *Senegal program eradicating FGM*. Women's Enews. Retrieved November 16, 2004, from <http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/1630/context/archive>
- Oxfam America. (1998). *President Clinton's trip to Africa*. Press release, July 29, 1998. Retrieved January 24, 2002, from <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/news/AFRPRE.html>
- Pact. (2004). *Global civil society programs*. Retrieved December 8, 2004, from http://www.pactworld.org/programs/sectoral/gcs/index_gcs.htm
- Pact. (2005). *About Pact: What we do*. Retrieved May 13, 2005, from <http://www.pactworld.org/about/what.htm>
- Pal, L.A. (2005). Case study method and policy analysis. In Geva-May, I. (Ed.), *Thinking like a policy analyst: Policy analysis as a clinical profession*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan. pp. 227-257.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Peizer, J. (2003). *The quiet revolution in non-profit capacity support*. Open Society Institute. Retrieved May 4, 2005, from http://www.soros.org/initiatives/information/articles_publications/articles/revolution_20031031
- Pieck, E. (2000). *Skills development: Some policy issues in the informal sector*. Paper presented at conference, "Linking work, skills and knowledge: Learning for survival and growth." Interlaken, September 10-12, 2001. Berne: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).
- Pokorny, B. (2004, January-March). In Chad, a project to promote sustainable fishing yields extra dividends. *One Country*, 15, 4. Online newsletter of the Bahá'í International Community. Retrieved September 16, 2004, from http://www.onecountry.org/e154/e15401as_Chad_story.htm
- Population Reference Bureau. (2004). *World population data sheet*. Washington, DC: author.
- Puchner, L. (1997). *Family literacy in cultural context: Lessons from two case studies*. (Technical Report No. TR97-01). Philadelphia: National Center on Adult Literacy.
- Puchner, L. (2003). Women and literacy in rural Mali: A study of the socio-economic impact of participating in literacy programs in four villages. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 23, 439-458.
- Punch, K. (1998). *Introduction to social research*. London: Sage.
- Punch, K. (2000). *Developing effective research proposals*. London: Sage.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). The prosperous community. *Current*, 356, 4-10.
- Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Current*, 373, 3-10.
- Putt, A. D. & Springer, J. F. (1989). *Policy research: Concepts, methods, and applications*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Qualman, A. (1997). *Dunes Stabilization and Conservation of Coastal Soils – Senegal*. Case study prepared for CIDA Policy Branch. Ottawa: CIDA.

- Quist-Arcton, O. (2003). *Popenguine – Women join hands to revive a community resource*. AllAfrica.com, January 14, 2003. Retrieved March 1, 2004, from <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200301140783.html>
- Rake, A. (2001). *African leaders: Guiding the new millennium*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Reuben, W. (2002). *Understanding civil society*. NGO & Civil Society Unit, The World Bank Group. Retrieved December 11, 2004, from: [http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/66ByDocName/UnderstandingCivilSocietyOctober2002/\\$FILE/UnderstandingCivilSociety.pdf](http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/66ByDocName/UnderstandingCivilSocietyOctober2002/$FILE/UnderstandingCivilSociety.pdf)
- Roe, E. (1999). *Except-Africa: Remaking development, rethinking power*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Rogers, E. (1995). *The diffusion of innovation*. New York: The Free Press.
- Rohdewohld, R. (2001). *Capacity-building needs assessment for local governments in Indonesia*. Issue 8, January 2001. Retrieved February 2, 2004, from: <http://www.capacity.org>
- Roncoli, C., et. al. (2003). *An analysis of institutional supports for community-based land management systems with carbon sequestration potential in Mali*. Paper presented at the workshop on Reconciling Rural Poverty Reduction and Resource Conservation: Identifying Relationships and Remedies, Cornell University, May 2-3, 2003. Retrieved May 3, 2005, from http://aem.cornell.edu/special_programs/AFSNRM/Poverty/Papers/individual/Papers/Roncoli%20et.pdf
- ROPPA (Network of Peasant Organizations and Producers in West Africa). (2003). *For farming policies in favour of family farms and trade rules that show solidarity*. Retrieved May 3, 2005, from http://www.roppa.info/old/doc/roppa_en_PA_000803.pdf
- Rose, R. (1997). *Measures of social capital in African surveys*. Centre for the Study of Public Policy. Retrieved May 31, 2005, from http://www.socialcapital.strath.ac.uk/catalog20_0.html
- SABA. (2004). *SABA (Solidarité pour l'Auto-promotion à la Base) – Description*. Retrieved October 15, 2004, from <http://www.malipages.com/caaong/saba.asp>
- Schneider, F. (2000). *Size, causes, and measurement of the shadow economies all over the world*. Paper for the Third International Symposium on the Economic and Social Costs of Substance Abuse, May 31-June 3, 2000. Banff, Alberta, Canada.
- Schwab, P. (2001). *Africa: a continent self-destructs*. New York: Palgrave.
- Shaw T., & Maclean, S. (2001). Toward democracy and security in Africa: What prospects exist for the sustainable development of civil societies? In O. Iheduru (Ed.), *Contending issues in African development* (pp. 167-186). London: Greenwood Press.
- SIL International. (1999). *Formal versus nonformal education*. LinguaLinks Library. Dallas, TX: Author. Retrieved January 22, 2001, from: <http://www.sil.org/lingualinks/literacy/>
- Silverman, D. (2001). *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Simon, D. (2005). Contextualizing South African local economic development with current development debates: The international setting. In E. Nel & C. M. Rogerson (Eds.), *Local economic development in the developing world: The experience of South Africa* (pp. 17-35). London: Transaction Publishers.
- Siri, G. (2002). *The World Bank and civil society development: Exploring two courses of action for capacity building*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

- SNV Mali & CEDELO Mali. (2004). *La décentralisation au Mali: Du discours à la pratique* [Decentralization in Mali: From discourse to practice]. Decentralisation and Local Governance Series, 358. Amsterdam: KIT (Royal Tropical Institute).
- Solidarity Union Cooperation (SUCCO). (2004). *Our international actions in Mali*. Retrieved June 22, 2004, from <http://www.suco.org/Mali.html>
- Stack K. & Thys D. (2000). A business model for going down market: Combining village banking and credit unions. *Microbanking Bulletin*, 5 (September, 2000), 9-12.
- Stake, R. E. (1994). Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 236-247). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Steele, S. (2004, September 10). Chadian Catholic aid agency manages camps amid trying conditions. *Catholic News Service*. Retrieved October 25, 2004, from <http://www.catholicnews.com/data/stories/cns/0404978.htm>
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). (2002). *Linking work, skills and knowledge: Learning for survival and growth*. Conference report, Interlaken, 10-12 September, 2001. Berne: SDC.
- Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). (2002). The changing worlds of work and learning (Background paper). Conference report, "Linking work, skills and knowledge: Learning for survival and growth." Berne: Author.
- Tefft, J. (2004). Mali's White Revolution: Smallholder cotton from 1960 to 2003. *Focus 12*, Brief 5, April 2004. Washington: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).
- Tostan. (2003, Dec. 7). *1,271 villages have abandoned FGC and early marriage in Senegal through public declaration since 1997*. Retrieved November 19, 2004, from http://tostan.org/news_dec07_03.htm
- Tostan. (2004a). *About Tostan*. Retrieved July 8, 2004, from <http://www.tostan.org/about.htm>
- Tostan. (2004b). *Tostan activities*. Retrieved July 8, 2004, from <http://www.tostan.org/activities.htm>
- Tostan. (2004c). *Tostan annual report*. Retrieved October 23, 2004 from http://tostan.org/Annual_Report_2003.pdf
- Toure, Cheickna. (1998). *ACODEP program – Meeting the basic needs of underprivileged populations in Mali: An antipoverty tool*. Report from World Bank/CBNRM Initiative. Retrieved August 5, 2004, from <http://srdis.ciesin.org/cases/Mali-002.html>
- United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF). *Senegal*. Retrieved May 25, 2005, from <http://www.uncdf.org/english/countries/senegal/index.php>
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). (1999). *African development in a comparative perspective*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- United Nations Development Programme. (1994). *Capacity development: Lessons of experience and guiding principles*. New York: Author.
- United Nations Development Programme. (1998). *Capacity assessment and development in a systems and strategic management context*. Management Development and Governance Division, technical advisory paper No. 3. New York: Author.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2001). *Human Development Report, 2001*. London: Oxford University Press.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2002). *Capacity for development: New solutions to old problems*. Fukuda-Parr, S.; Lopes, C. & Malik, K. (Editors). London: Earthscan.

- United Nations Development Programme. (2003a). *The Millennium Development Goals in Africa: Promises and progress*. Prepared by UNDP and Unicef. New York: Author.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2003b). *Participatory Organizational Evaluation Tool (POET)*. Retrieved September 3, 2003, from <http://www.undp.org/csopp/poet.htm>
- UNDP/POGAR (Programme on Governance in the Arab Region). (2005). *Decentralized governance in the Arab region*. Retrieved May 19, 2005, from <http://www.pogar.org/themes/decentralization.asp>
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). (1995). *Report on the economic and social situation in Africa* (chap. 4). Retrieved December 12, 2001, from: http://www.uneca.org/eca_resources/Major_ECA_Websites/conference_of_ministers/21/socrep/index.htm
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). (2000). *Economic report on Africa, 1999: The challenges of poverty reduction and sustainability*. Retrieved March 21, 2002, from: http://www.uneca.org/publications/ESPD/economic_report_1999.htm
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). (2001a). *Economic report on Africa, 2000: Transforming Africa's economies*. Retrieved December 12, 2001, from: http://www.uneca.org/eca_resources/documents_ESPD.htm
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). (2001b). *Transforming Africa's economies: Economic report on Africa 2000*. Addis Ababa: author.
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). (2003). *Economic report on Africa 2003: Accelerating the pace of development*. Retrieved October 17, 2003, from: <http://www.uneca.org/era2003/>
- United Nations Special Initiative for Africa (UNSI). (1998). *Basic Education for all African Children (BEA)*. Retrieved January 12, 2001, from: <http://www.uneca.org/unsia/about/cluster.htm#education>
- United States Department of State. (2004). *Background note: Mali*. Bureau of African Affairs. Retrieved October 2, 2004, from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2828.htm>
- United States Energy Information Administration. (2001). *Chad*. Updated April, 2001. Retrieved April 1, 2002, from: <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/chad.html>
- United States Energy Information Administration. (2004). *Chad and Cameroon*. Retrieved June 6, 2005, from http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/chad_cameroon.html
- Université Populaire. (2004a). *Homepage*. Retrieved December 6, 2004, from <http://www.uptchad.org/accueil.htm>
- Université Populaire. (2004b). *Programs*. Retrieved December 6, 2004, from <http://www.uptchad.org/lesvolets.htm>
- Uphoff, N. (1986). *Local institutional development: An analytical sourcebook with cases*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Uphoff, N. (1997). Institutional capacity and decentralization for rural development. Technical Consultation on Decentralization and Rural Development (December, 1997). Retrieved May 11, 2005, from www.gtzsfdm.or.id/documents/library/on_dec/uphoff.pdf
- Van de Walle, N. and Johnston, T. (1996). *Improving aid to Africa*. Policy essay no. 21. Washington, DC: the Overseas Development Council.
- Vaughn, R., and Buss, T. (1998). *Communicating social science research to policymakers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Vengroff, R. (2000). *Decentralization, democratization and development in Senegal*. Paper delivered at Yale Colloquium for Decentralization and Development (Jan. 21, 2000).

- Retrieved on June 25, 2005, from
<http://www.yale.edu/ycias/events/decentralization/papers/vengroff.pdf>
- Von Braun, J. and Grote, U. (2000). *Does decentralization serve the poor?* Paper for IMF conference on fiscal decentralization, November 20-21, 2000. Bonn: Center for Development Research (ZEF).
- Weimer, D. L., & Vining, A. R. (1992). *Policy analysis: Concepts and practice*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Whiteman, K. (1988). *Chad*. The Minority Rights Group (MRG) Report No. 80. London: MRG.
- Woolcock, M., & Narayan, D. (2000). Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2), 225-249.
- World Bank. (2000). *Can Africa claim the 21st century?* Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved January 20, 2001, from: <http://www.worldbank.org/publications/>
- World Bank. (2001). *Decentralization*. Retrieved November 1, 2001, from: <http://www.worldbank.org/decentralization.html>
- World Bank. (2002). *Adult illiteracy rates at a glance*. Retrieved April 1, 2002, from: <http://www1.worldbank.org/education/adultoutreach/rate.htm>
- World Bank. (2002). *Adult outreach education*. Retrieved April 1, 2002, from: <http://www1.worldbank.org/education/adultoutreach/index.htm>
- World Bank. (2004). *Enabling environment for civic engagement*. World Bank Participation and Civic Engagement Department. Retrieved December 11, 2004, from: <http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/66ByDocName/EnablingEnvironmentforCivicEngagement>
- World Bank. (2005). Administrative decentralization. Retrieved May 25, 2005, from <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/admin.htm>
- World Bank Institute (WBI). (1996a). The enabling environment: Legal issues. In *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook* (chap. 4). Retrieved December 8, 2004, from: <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/sb0407t.htm>
- World Bank Institute (WBI). (1996b). Intermediary NGOs. In *The World Bank participation sourcebook* (chap. 4). Retrieved March 30, 2005 from <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/sb0404t.htm>
- World Bank Institute (WBI). (2004). *Bangladesh: Scaling up a program for the poorest — BRAC's IGVGD Program*. Retrieved November 13, 2004, from: <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/reducingpoverty/docs/newpdfs/case-summ-Bangladesh-Poorest-BRACs-IGVGD.pdf>
- World Rainforest Movement (WRM). (2003). *Senegal: Women's project restores nature and benefits the community*. Retrieved July 8, 2004, from <http://wrm.org.uy/bulletin/67Senegal.html>
- World Summit for Social Development. (1995). *Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development: An enabling environment for social development*. Retrieved December 7, 2004 from: <http://www.earthsummit2002.org/wssd/wssd/wssd3.htm>
- Wunsch, J. S., & Olowu, D. (Eds.). (2004). *Local governance in Africa: The challenges of democratic decentralization*. Boulder: Rienner.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Gary P. Liebert

EDUCATION

Ph.D. — Adult and Continuing Education. Florida State University, 2005.

M.S. — International/Intercultural Development Education. Florida State University, 1997.

M.A. — Foreign Language Education, French and ESL. University of Louisville, 1985.

B.A. — History and English, French minor. Murray State University, 1979.

WORK EXPERIENCE

RESEARCH & EVALUATION EXPERIENCE

Evaluation Specialist and Research Assistant, Leon County Schools 2002 to present

Collaborated on evaluation projects, focusing on support for in-service training and professional development. Created surveys and conducted interviews, analyzed data (e.g., FCAT scores), wrote and edited final reports.

Evaluation Specialist, Partnership for Alcohol Responsibility, Florida State University (FSU) 2003 to 2005

Assisted in data collection, monitoring and evaluation, and report writing. Collaboration with PAR director, various FSU departments, Harvard School of Public Health and local community organizations.

Research Assistant, Postsecondary Education Planning Commission, Florida DOE 2000 to 2001

Research assistant to College Reach Out Program (CROP). Coordinated data gathering, yearly evaluation.

Research Coordinator, World Bank Education Project, Chad, Africa 1996

Full-time assistant to FSU faculty member on summer research project based in N'djamena.

- Collaborated in preparation of field survey instrument to gather data on shop owners, managers, workers, apprentices, trade organizations, etc., in the informal sector in Chad.
- Trained and supervised Chadian researchers who surveyed over 300 people in five cities.

DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) 2001 to 2003

Research assistant and coordinator for two different programs on the FAMU campus:

- Outreach coordinator for “Farmer-to-Farmer” project (*Agribusiness Volunteer Program*) – Recruited volunteers for short-term training assignments in Africa, created database and promotional materials.
- Data coordinator for FAMU’s TRIO programs – data gathering and development of tracking system.

Project Director and Research Assistant, Florida State University (FSU) 1995 to 2000

Project associate for research/training projects, grant writing, at the Center for Policy Studies in Education:

- Technical Consultant for *Advancing Basic Education & Literacy* (ABEL) projects in Chad and Senegal.
- Professional Development and Logistics Coordinator, Florida DOE *Adult Education 21st Century* project.
- Assistant to Guinean Educators’ Tour: training facilitator, grant and report writing, French translation.
- Project Director for ABEL research project on nonformal education in the informal sector in West Africa.
- Project Director for evaluation of Service-Learning programs at the *Center for Civic Education* at FSU.

TRAINING & TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Research and Teaching Assistant, Florida State University (FSU) 1995 to 2000

- Logistics and Planning Coordinator for training workshop for visiting Moroccan educators.
- Graduate Teaching Assistant for “Introduction to Education” course. Supervised site visits for students.
- Graduate Teaching Assistant for “Learning in the Community” (FSU service-learning course).

Program Training Specialist, Adult and Community Education, Leon County Schools 1997 to 1998

Consultant on grant-funded curriculum development and training project designed for teachers of adult learners: *Curriculum for Low-Level Adult Reader -- Levels 0-3*.

- Provided initial and follow-up training in use of curriculum for Leon Co. teachers and throughout Florida.
- Created curriculum training manual and interactive PowerPoint program for adult education centers.

English as a Second Language (ESL) Instructor, Saudi Arabia 1993-94

Aramco Industrial Training Center, Riyadh. Trained adult Saudi oil company employees.

French and English (ESL) Teacher, Indiana 1990-92

Marian Heights Academy, international school in Ferdinand. Taught high school French and ESL.

French, English and History Teacher, Louisville, Kentucky 1985-90

Jefferson County Public Schools. Taught French, grades 1-12, high school English and U.S. History.

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE AND MEMBERSHIPS

National Peace Corps Association. Active member: 1) Former President and Newsletter Editor of Tallahassee group; 2) Helped start group and served as President in Louisville. 1989 to present

Volunteer Master Gardener. Troubleshooter for local gardening problems, site visits, work days, etc. Leon County Cooperative Extension Office, Tallahassee. 1998-2001.

RESULTS, international anti-hunger lobby. Lobbied elected officials on development issues. Organized hunger awareness events such as “UNICEF State of the World’s Children” press conferences. 1987 to 1996
Peace Corps Volunteer, Zaire (now Congo). Full-time English as a Foreign Language teacher. 1980-82

TRAINING AND CERTIFICATES

Certificate in Program Evaluation — Department of Educational Research, Florida State University, 1999.

Master Gardener Training — Leon County Cooperative Extension Office, University of Florida, 1998-99.

Certificate in Human Resource Development — Florida State University, 1997.

Peace Corps Training — ESL, cross-cultural and French “immersion” training. Bukavu, Zaire, 1980.

Teaching Certificate — Kentucky State Department of Education, 1979.