

**Table of study communities**

<b>Sample framework (Access level of villages to the infrastructures)</b>	<b>Village or communities of the sample</b>	<b>Rural Community</b>	<b>Administrative Sector (Department)</b>	<b>Administrative Region</b>	<b>Eco- geographical Zone</b>
High or strong access (3)	Ndiop	Ndiop	Fatick	<b>Fatick</b>	<b>Peanut Basin</b>
	Ndiébène Toubé	Gandon	Dagana	<b>Saint Louis</b>	<b>Senegal River</b>
	Dabia	Dabia	Matam	<b>Matam</b>	<b>Senegal River</b>
Medium access (4)	Djilor	Djilor	Foundiounne	<b>Fatick</b>	<b>Peanut Basin</b>
	Sadio	Sadio	Gossas	<b>Fatick</b>	<b>Peanut Basin</b>
	Kabdou Diop	Loro	Kebemer	<b>Louga</b>	<b>Peanut Basin</b>
	Mbaye Mbaye Sarr	Mpal	Dagana	<b>Saint Louis</b>	<b>Senegal River</b>
Low or weak access (8)	Keur Macoumba Souna	Keur Saloum Diané	Foundiounne	<b>Fatick</b>	<b>Peanut Basin</b>
	Diassina	Saré Bidji	Kolda	<b>Kolda</b>	<b>Est/Sud</b>
	Saré Sam Baati	Saré Colly Sallé	Velingara	<b>Kolda</b>	<b>Est/Sud</b>
	Kabendou	Kounkané	Linguere	<b>Kolda</b>	<b>Est/Sud</b>
	Mbaye Awa 2	Mboula		<b>Louga</b>	<b>Sylvopastoral</b>
	Thiel	Thiel	Louga	<b>Louga</b>	<b>Sylvopastoral</b>
	Gabar	Léona		<b>Louga</b>	<b>Sylvopastoral</b>
Keur Mandiaye Bakary	Sakal	Louga	<b>Louga</b>	<b>Sylvopastoral</b>	



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## SIGLES ET ABRÉVIATIONS

<b>AFDS</b>	Agence du Fonds de Développement Social
<b>AGR</b>	Activités Génératrices de Revenus
<b>ASER</b>	Agence Sénégalaise pour l'Electrification Rurale
<b>AQUADEV</b>	Aquaculture Développement
<b>BA</b>	Bassin Arachidier
<b>CECI</b>	Centre d'Etude pour la Coopération Internationale
<b>CEM</b>	Collège d'Enseignement Moyen
<b>CERP</b>	Centres d'Expansion Rurale
<b>CMS</b>	Crédit Mutuel du Sénégal
<b>CNCAS</b>	Caisse Nationale du Crédit Agricole du Sénégal
<b>JICA</b>	Japan International Cooperation Agency
<b>NGO</b>	Non Gouvernemental Organisation
<b>PAPEL</b>	Projet d'Appui à L'Elevage
<b>PLCP</b>	Programme de Lutte Contre la Pauvreté
<b>PNDL</b>	Programme National de Développement Local
<b>PNIR</b>	Programme National d'Infrastructures Rurales
<b>PROCR</b>	Promotion des Communautés Rurales
<b>SDE</b>	Sénégalaise Des Eaux
<b>SENELEC</b>	Société Nationale d'Electricité
<b>SFD</b>	Structures Financières Décentralisées
<b>SDPR</b>	Strategic Document for Poverty Reduction
<b>SODAGRI</b>	Société de Développement Agricole et Industriel
<b>SODEFITEX</b>	Société de Développement des Fibres Textiles
<b>SONACOS</b>	Société Nationale de Commercialisation des Oléagineux du u Sénégal
<b>SONAGRAINE</b>	Société Nationale des Graines
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>ZSP</b>	Zone Sylvopastorale



## Summary

### i. Purpose and aim of the study

The purpose of the study « Moving out of poverty » is to understand, over a period of 10 to 15 years and, according, men, women and youth's perspectives and experiences, the socio-economic, cultural, political, institutional, gender-related factors and conditions as well as freedom, growth and participative democracy, which help or not, some individuals of the community to move permanently out of poverty. The main aim was to check how various programs and projects within the framework of SDPR undertaken to fight against poverty, contributed to the communities or rural household's moving out of poverty strategies.

### ii. Methodology and Sequence of the study

The survey methodology was based on both qualitative data collection tools for group discussions and quantitative data for households. Extracts from the study "Rural communities and villages targeting according to the degree of their accessibility to basic social infrastructures) of the Funding Social Investment Project, carried out in June 2000, served as a base for sample selection. These data helped in calculating the synthetic access index, from a threshold of 250 and also in defining three levels/strata: level 1, index below 250 (weak access); level 2, index between 250 and 400 (average access); level 3, index between 400 and 500 (strong access). The sample is made up of fifteen (15) rural communities selected based on the presence of projects carried out within the framework of SDRP (AFDS, PNIR, PDIS, PROCR, PLCP) in four eco-geographical regions (Groundnut basin area, River, Forestry area, and the grouping - Eastern Senegal and Casamance). Out of the 15 "*Communautés Rurales*", one (1) village was selected for survey purposes.

Seven (7) data quality analysis tools were used for various discussion groups made up of : key informants for community questionnaire; president and members of the rural council for the community's chronology; adults (men and women) discussion groups for communal life scale; interview guides with adults and the youth on power, freedom, democracy for adults as well as the youth's aspirations. Individual life stories and mini case studies add up to those tools. The tools are meant for understanding and knowing factors that helped or hindered the coming out of poverty and prosperity of the global community during the past ten years.

Quantitative data were collected using a questionnaire directed at members of 20 households between the ages of 30 to 60, in all the 15 villages. The selected members were randomly chosen using the following criteria: Poor Poor, Poor Rich, Rich Poor and Rich Rich. Among the selected households, 10 were chosen for life stories.

The questionnaire was subdivided in two parts: one on data relative to the Poverty Monitoring Survey in Senegal and the second on the Evaluation of Moving Out Poverty (MOP) Strategies whose objective is to identify the range of factors that helped or hindered individual movements in the household context. An aspect of communal activities was nevertheless added in ESPS so as to provide further details in evaluating the main programs and projects contributions to the improvement of living conditions, financing modes, participation and decision making.

## III Main results of the study

### Determining factors of poverty

The study shows that factors which determine household's wellbeing remain almost the same during the past 10 years. First, is satisfaction of basic needs: food, health, clothing and accommodation. Then, households seek for stable income, to initiate AGR and to invest in furniture and buildings. Changes that occur, related mainly to the kind of accommodation, moving from huts to stronger living places for the whole community as in Gabar.



For those who think that poverty is only lightly reduced (59,6% of households) or not all (21,2% of households), hindrances enumerated relate generally to natural resources degradation, but also to persistence in bad governance practices. The main factors, so far as prosperity is concerned, are conditioned by government or local authorities choices for enhancing available potential resources. For the communities, the choice should be to subsidize inputs and agricultural equipments to allow the majority of people depending on agriculture to have resources or cereals at their disposal and they believe lack of food is the main indicator of poverty level.

### **Factors relating to membership on mobility in the visited communities**

Membership to a given eco-geographical zone is an important mobility factor since every zone has opportunities and constraints.

- The groundnut basin area tend to stagnate or even regress. In fact, three out of four village communities believe that they are in that case. Groundnut which was the main cash crop in that zone is facing difficulties due to natural phenomenon (reduction in rainfall, soil poverty), but most problems relate to lack of inputs and agricultural equipments. To solve the problem, people diversified a lot into water melon growing, fattening up, etc. Most basic infrastructures are present in villages significantly involved in agricultural production.
- In the river zone, three out of four of the target communities believe they have prospered during the past ten years. Even in the stagnating community people believe they have improved slightly in terms of access to social infrastructures put in place. In that zone, hydro-agricultural settings, money transfer from abroad strongly contributed to the availability of infrastructures and basic social amenities as well as the improvement of standard of living.
- In the forestry zone, three out of four of the targeted communities believe they stagnated or regressed as compared to 10 years ago. The area has at its disposal a forest potentials and important cattle. The main difficulties relate to the availability of watering holes for cattle. Stagnation is mainly due to out-of-season rains in 2002 leading to as much losses as a 150 heads of cattle in some households. Crickets invasion in 2004 also really affected crops and pasture in that area. Trading and exchanges with Touba, however represent a major advantage.
- Two of the communities in the South-East area pointed out that they have prospered compared to ten years ago; only one (1) stated that it has stagnated. These performances can be explained mainly by the rich nature and diversity of their natural resources. Cotton growing and the closeness of Diaobé where is located the biggest West Africa weekly international market which offers a major economic opportunity for market actors to sustain the level of prosperity of the community.

### **Factors relating to basic social infrastructures contribution**

The setting up of social and/or economic infrastructures (for 56% of households) through direct interventions of the state and projects is a basic condition for the creation of a conducive environment for prosperity in the chosen communities.

For the communities, the objectives set for these infrastructures can only be met when they are appropriate and participation in their setting up and management ensured by the target population. This is not the case in most communities, since more than 52% of households believe they are not involved in decision making even though there has been significant improvements in that area as compared to 10 years ago. In addition, a major part of the



population feel their opinion is either less considered (48.5%) or not considered at all (28.2% of households) when taking decisions concerning them. Nevertheless people do not dispute the significant improvement recorded in accessing information (65% of households), increasing freedom of speech and democracy (80% of households), and better local governance which enable them to better access economic opportunities presenting to them through various initiatives increasing in the communities.

### **Factors relating to economic activities promotion**

For a number of households, the support for economic promotion is, after drinking water and before health infrastructure, the second of the four main priorities of the community. Within that framework various kind of activities were carried out to help communities and people get out of poverty.

#### ***Agricultural productions and breeding enhancement***

In all eco-geographical zones, cash crops (rice, groundnut, cotton or cattle) are the first means of getting resources and also basic food for households. Among these activities, the one relating to the sale of raw products provide people with resources for investment in other activities, acquisition of needed materials, equipments and inputs. Yet, deregulation in the groundnut industry really disturbed the sector and resulted in difficulty in marketing as well as getting access to inputs.

#### ***Exploitation of developed areas***

Hydraulic settings for grazing or agricultural purposes, in all the available areas, are economic opportunities for wealth creation and getting out of poverty. It is so mainly for regions by the river and Casamance where activities have been carried out to enhance the major opportunities in these regions.

#### ***Exploitation of commercial infrastructure and resorting to micro-financing institutions***

In the visited areas, commercial activities provided women with regular income, to supplement feeding expenses since heads of households generally provide only main cereals. To that effect, micro-financing institutions provide some credit facilities to women who do not have access to loans for the acquisition of inputs to expand their trading as well as crafts activities, transformation products, etc. These institutions also helped vulnerable groups to get involved into agriculture.

#### ***Transfer incomes and their contribution in Revenus de transfert et leur contribution à la sortie de la pauvreté***

Emigration out of the country or in the big towns is one of the main strategies for coming out of poverty. It was observed that resources from the emigrants is for the visited areas, particularly the River and the Groundnut basin area, the main contributing factor to the betterment of households living conditions and even the community as a whole. In fact, they make it possible for relatives in the villages either to get into income generating activities (Groundnut basin area, forestry zone) or to get access to some economic infrastructures such as hydro-agricultural infrastructures (South-South/East, River) to carry out AGR.



## **Factors and process underlying households and individuals movement**

### ***Ascending movement***

The increasing number of projects and more participative methods helped in the creation of some dynamics in some Senegalese communities, which were the target of these interventions. Thus, individuals and households who have access to information relating to financing opportunities offered through projects, NGO and other mutual funds and who have little savings, the willingness to get out of poverty and initiative came out with better strategies to get out of poverty. The fact of attaining some level of education, reading and writing is for some the contributing factor to their ascension. The fact of having experienced city life before makes country people more watchful to some aspect of economic life.

### **Stagnating or descending movement**

Reasons raised relate to: involvement in only one activity, generally agriculture, whose conditions are deteriorating; difficulties in getting access to information on programs and sources of finance; lack of opportunities for the development of income generating activities throughout the year; health-related issues or loss of support.

### **Understanding of inequality**

According to the communities, inequality is directly linked to God's will which is the origin of the "difference among the rich and the poor". Inequalities could be physical, intellectual, economic, social, especially membership of a social group considered inferior to another. Some inequalities are now fading away as people are becoming socially more opened and various groups' involvement in development programs, even if economic inequalities are still increasing in some communities.

### ***Understanding of freedom and power***

Economic freedom (opportunity to carry out activities that one wants and one's ability to settle his/her financial obligations), freedom of speech (opportunity to freely express one's opinion, especially for men and young men), movements (opportunity to go wherever one feel like going, for women and young ladies) and religion (to practice one's chosen religion) are people's main perception about freedom that emerged from the group discussions in the various communities.

As far as power is concerned, people's definition is linked to wealth. Power resulting from it helps in broadening one's network to welcome economic opportunities and thus help in getting out of poverty.

### ***Understanding of democracy***

Despite the partition among the various categories and social classes and illiteracy of members of discussion groups making it difficult for women and young ladies to express their views on that issue, people generally showed that the definition of democracy is linked to aspects relating to freedom, power, cultural openness and access to media which give "the right to information, to speak and to think".

People feel democracy has been exercised during the last 10 years, in that people henceforth get access to more information on what is going on in the country. Generally, communities are satisfied with authorities' efforts in favor of local democracy.



### ***Problems faced by the youth***

The main problems relate to lack of professional training, an educational environment not conducive, unemployment, difficulties in getting access to credit facilities and economic opportunities; for ladies, early age marriages and lack of time.

At community level, development of activities, opening up, living environment (accommodation, lighting, etc.) are the main concerns. The national problem generally stated by the youth is unemployment, which is, according to them responsible for the lack of sustainable income without which they cannot marry and assist their relatives.

### **Aspirations of the youth for making it in life and relatives activities**

Most young people aspire to either a formal or an informal job or emigrate to look for better jobs. Young people between the ages of 15 to 25 questioned feel they (62.7%) will reach a higher level - level 7 (out of 10) - by the age of 30. Most of the young people would like to work as top executives civil servants (20.1%) or set up their own businesses (38.2%). However, only 2.8% intend going into agriculture (4.2% for the extremely poor people). To ensure a bright future, they believe they need to enjoy good educational and professional trainings, and funds to help them get into income generating activities. To maximize academic achievements rate, the state, according to the youth must equip classrooms and share school stationery (notebooks and exercise books) to assist students' parents.



## I. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Context

During the years 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s the economic situation of Senegal was marked by a sharp and constant decrease of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). That is to say, a decrease of the annual average growth rate by 3.8 % in 1979-1983, to 2.6 % in 1984-1988 and to only 1.7 % in 1989-1992. This growth diminution is mainly explained by the low performance of agriculture that represents 10 % of the GDP and that employs more than 50 % of the working population. This has especially affected the rural area where for 5 poor people, 4 live. That poverty state of the country was confirmed by the 2000 report of the UNDP on human development which ranked Senegal 154<sup>th</sup> out of 174 countries.

The poor handling of water, the low diversification of products, the low performance of the technical means of production and their negative impact on accrued investment in rural activities are the underlying causes of the low productivity of agricultural sector.

The depreciation of the FCFA in 1994 has definitely been one of the major events that contributed to the improvement of the international competitiveness and the economic situation of the country. The revival recorded was mainly translated into a sharp increase in annual growth rate of the GDP from 2.9 % in 1994 to an average growth rate that varies between 5 to 6 % over the period 1995-2002.

This rate which caused the improvement of the income per capita was however insignificant to bring about a better breakdown of income, to improve the living conditions of a population<sup>1</sup> which is more than 60 % rural and which grows by an annual average rate of 2,4 %. Indeed, according to a report by ESAM, in 1994, the portion of population living under the threshold of poverty (fixed at 2400 calories per person a day) is 65.3% for 58 % of poor households.

As a consequence other steps must be taken to resolve the deterioration of the economic indicators and to reduce the impoverishment of the country during the 20 last years. The GDS, with the support of its partners, adopted in 2002 the Millennium Objectives for development and the Strategic Document for Poverty Reduction (SDPR). It has also benefited from the significant results realised by the reorganisation of public finance which enabled in 2005, in the framework of the initiative in favour of the Most Indebted Countries to obtain an alleviation of the foreign debt which is FCFA 470 billions, intended to be invested to generate a full access of populations to basic social services.

Besides, let notice that in the specific sector of education and health care, promising results have been reached thanks to the strategy of social mobilisation, to the increase of the provision of health and decentralisation services, to quality improvement and to capacity building. As far as education is concerned it is important to say that many children have been sent to primary schools and the increase of the primary schooling gross rate (from 71.6% In 2001/2002 to 75.8% in 2002/2003<sup>2</sup>), with a reduction of the inequality between girls and boys. As for health care, the results are mainly centred on the capability to keep the progression of HIV/AIDS at a HIV positive rate of 1.5% in the global population (with a better caring of HIV positives, the decentralisation of the access to anti-retroviral and free of charge treatment.), the fight against mother mortality, the availability of sex health care services to meet young people needs.

### 1.2 Conditions of implementation of the Senegal MOP survey

The «*Moving out of poverty*» survey for Senegal is part of the ongoing initiatives to have a sound understanding of the phenomenon of poverty and to effectively define the means to support populations' strategies to get out. The survey takes place at a time when the Strategic Document for Poverty Reduction (SDPR), which is the reference in the fight against poverty in Senegal, is being revised. At the same time, the National Programme for Local Development (NPLD), which is a combination of Social Development Funds (SDF), and the National Rural Infrastructures Programme (NRIP), is being prepared. The time of the survey also corresponds to the time when the Programme for bringing support and backing Professional Organisation called PSAOP is ending and many partners (German Cooperation, Canadian Cooperation, and UNDP.) are reconsidering their

<sup>1</sup> Estimated at 9.956.202, according to the preliminary results of the third General Population and Home census GPHR-III

<sup>2</sup> Source : FNUAP



interventions. For all these programmes, the main measures taken to address the deterioration of the economic and social indicators of the country were generally centred on setting up basic social infrastructures or economic activities.

Bringing Senegal out of poverty has been, since the years 1990s, the main objective of the main programmes developed by GDS and its partners. Indeed, considering the necessity to face the negative effects of the country economic crisis, important corrective measures are carried out.

For the GDS the SDPR is a reference strategic framework for projects and programs which are involved in the wealth creation and the fight against poverty in Senegal. The SDPR defines its interventions on a long term vision and after concerting all the social and economic actors on the basis of four fundamental axes: the creation of wealth; capacity building and the promotion of basic social services; the improvement of the vulnerable population living condition; a participative approach in carrying out and monitoring and evaluation based upon the decentralization of the management and the implementation...

The planned and defined actions complete and lengthen those ones carried out by the local communities in the framework of the support to *Decentralization and local Development and to the management of their prerogatives* (environment and handling of natural resources, health care, population and social actions, youth, sports and leisure, culture, education, planning, reorganization of the territory, urbanism, accommodation) attributed to them by the *regionalization law of 1996*. Thus, during these last ten years, different projects, generally aiming at the improvement of the access to social infrastructures (Education, health, Hydraulics and cleansing...) and at the promotion of economy-oriented infrastructures, have been developed. The idea is that the access to basic social infrastructures is a fundamental condition in poverty reduction among the targeted villagers and, generally, in improving the economic situation. For most of the projects, the procedure was to make the targeted population take part in the decision-making process and in the control. This participative approach adopted has allowed creating a real dynamism in the interventions in these communities.

The main advantages of this approach concern the costs reduction, a greater transparency in the decision-making process and building local populations' capacity. However, the difficulties linked to the climate change, to a low agricultural productivity, to the degradation of natural resources, to the access to credit, to the expensiveness of inputs and food products have often hindered the performance of activities and reduced villagers capacity to find solution to their impoverishment.

### 1.3 Objectives and scope of the survey

The stake of the survey which is «*getting out of poverty*» is to understand over a period of between 10 to 15 years, according to the perspectives of men, young people and women's experiences, the economic, social, political, institutional, cultural and gender factors conditions as well as the context of liberty, of participative democracy and growth that favors or not the moving out of poverty of some individuals of the community.

The main objective of the survey was to check how the programs and projects developed for reduce the poverty and implemented in the framework of the SDPR, have contributed to the strategies of communities or rural households to move out of poverty.

Therefore, the survey is not implemented to determine the general evolution of Senegalese rural households' poverty during the last five years. Indeed, because the small size of the survey sample (15 villages) , the information's on the trends, collected, can only be reported to the opinion of households interviewed and the communities concerned by the main programs and projects in villages where the public interventions have been relatively intense these last years

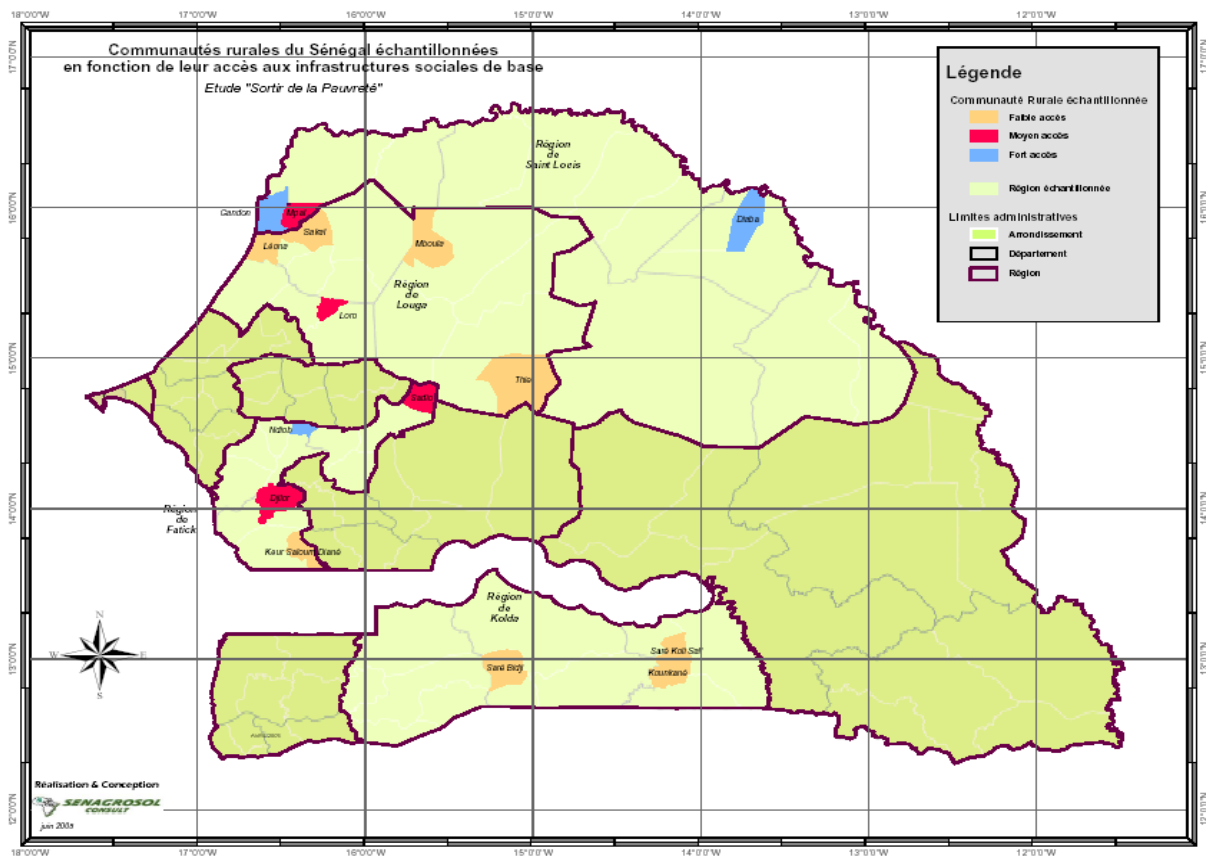
1.4 Methodology and development of the survey

1.4.1 Sampling method

The Sampling concerns the drawing of rural “communautés rurales” and villages (15), individuals (300) interviewed households. The basis of the poll, for the drawing of villages and “communautés rurales”, is formed by data from the survey « targeting rural communities according to their degree of access to basic social services » of the Social Investment Fund Project, realised in Jun, 2000. These data mainly helped calculate the access synthesis index that varies between 0 and 500 and allows classifying the targeted communities of the interview in areas of weak, medium, high access.

In the present survey, the index has been used as variable of control for the stratification of rural communities, of the retained region, as areas that originally had the same level of access that is to say the same degree of poverty. The threshold of poverty (250) which was retained enabled to determine the three following strata: strata 1, index inferior to 250 (low access); strata 2, index between 250 and 400 (medium access); strata 3, index between 400 and 500 (high access)

The necessity to reduce the geographic disparity of the sample led to choose 15 villages and “communautés rurales” on the basis of the presence of projects (AFDS, PNIR, PDIS, PROCR, PLCP) carried out in the framework of the SDPR in four eco-geographic regions (Groundnuts growing area, the river called Fleuve Senegal, sylvo-pastoral area and the regrouping of the eastern region of Senegal and Casamance) as it is shown in the chart and the map below.



## Chart of communities concerned by the survey

Sample framework (level of access of villages to the infrastructures)	Village or communities-based sample	“Communauté Rurale”	Administrative Sector (Department)	Administrative Region	Eco-geographical areas
High access (3)	Ndiop	Ndiop	Fatick	Fatick	Peanut Basin
	Ndiébène Toubé	Gandon	Dagana	Saint Louis	Fleuve Senegal
	Dabia	Dabia	Matam	Matam	Fleuve Senegal
Medium access (4)	Djilor	Djilor	Foundioure	Fatick	Peanut Basin
	Sadio	Sadio	Gossas	Fatick	Peanut Basin
	Kabdou Diop	Loro	Kebemer	Louga	Peanut Basin
	Mbaye Mbaye Sarr	Mpal	Dagana	Saint Louis	Fleuve Senegal
Low access (8)	Keur Macoumba Souna	Keur Saloum Diané	Foundioure	Fatick	Peanut Basin
	Diassina	Saré Bidji	Kolda	Kolda	East/South
	Saré Sam Baati	Saré Colly Sallé	Velingara	Kolda	East/South
	Kabendou	Kounkané		Kolda	East/South
	Mbaye Awa 2	Mboula	Linguere	Louga	Sylvo pastoral
	Thiel	Thiel		Louga	Sylvo pastoral
	Gabar	Léona	Louga	Louga	Sylvo pastoral
Keur Mandiaye Bakary	Sakal	Louga		Sylvo pastoral	

Seen the fact that the object of the survey is to analyse the strategies to get out of poverty, the households which have been empowered during these last ten years are overrepresented. We can therefore retain the following classification:

Ten years ago	Today	
	Poor people	Rich people
Poor people	30% (6)	40% (8)
Rich people	10% (2)	20% (4)

Then the selection of households is made at random in each stratum.

### 1.4.2 Tools of the interview

The interview method rested on quantitative and qualitative data collection tools.

- Qualitative tools

There are seven (7), and each tool has specific objectives, even if some objectives can be common to several tools and that to allow the triangulation of information.

- Community profile (community questionnaire) : its function is to enable to identify the factors that helped or impeded the moving out of poverty and the global prosperity of the community during the



last ten years; it allows to quantify and to codify the fieldwork results of the focus discussion group (chronology of the community; scale of life; liberty, power, democracy, etc.). A part of the questionnaire is submitted to key informants who are selected among the local leaders and to persons who have a comprehensive knowledge of the community (notable, teachers, nurses, business men etc.) And the other part is submitted to another focus discussion group.

- Chronology of the community: that tool enables to understand the factors and the local context that helped or hindered uplifting from poverty, as well as the degree of prosperity in the community. It was submitted to the President of the Rural Council and to the Rural Council of the area, and in the village it was submitted to two or four key informants ( Local chiefs, civil servants, politicians) or to a restricted group. It aims at keeping events or changes which have an impact (positive or negative) on the prosperity or communities life during the last ten years but also those which took place before and of which effects are still felt.

- Community scale of life : first of all, that tool's goals are to understand the community mobility, to build the scale of life and to identify the evolutions of households' status which are specific to communities and at last to understand the factors that contribute the households change of status. Its specific objectives are to identify: all the factors that favour or impede the moving out of poverty in the community and of households as time goes by; the sequences and intreraction between factors in households that favour movements at different stages of the « scale of life »; the evolutions of households' status which is specific to the community. The tool is simultaneously submitted to two focus discussion groups (6 to 12 men and 6 to 12 women between 30 and 60 years old) composed of ordinary persons whose family has preferably been existing for more than 10 years.

It is from the categorisation of households in 4 groups (Poor-Poor people, Poor-Rich people, Rich – Poor people, Rich- Rich people) that is extracted the household to which the questionnaire will be submitted.

- Liberty, power, democracy and local governance: the objectives of the interchanges on these notions are to understand the trends of the access to the economic opportunities and the impact of the legislation and governmental regulations as well as other factors linked to the access. It is all about appreciating people's comprehension of linking these concepts to the economic mobility and to the well being as well as to the the way democracy functions in the locality. The interviews are realised with a group of 6 to 12 men from 30 to 60 years old and with a group of 6 to12 women of the same age group. Groups are cmposed of members of different occupations and incomes in order to reflect the diversity of the community.

- Youth's aspirations: the interviews are organised with a group of 6 to 12 young men who are from 18 to 25 and a group of 6 to 12 young women who are from 18 to 25. they are from different socio-economic groups. At the biginning of the activities young people fill a short questionnaire in which they state their aspirations, the three major problems to which they have been confronted in trying to earn their living as well as their family, their community and their country. At last the list of measures taken to prepare for their work life. The exercise consists in knowing the steps that young people will take to earn their living and to prepare for their future. Its goal is also to know the way by which the concept of liberty, power, inequality, and democracy are linked to the economic mobility and to well being.

- Mini case study: it allows raising two important factors and events that have affected the global economic prosperity of the community for the last ten years. The two events are identified after the chronological activities of the communities and the scale of life. The interview is made with few key informants. Each case should give some proofs on the subject, the impacts, the duration and the reason.

- Individual narration: its aim is to understand from lives history, the way and the reason of movements (moving out, moving down) in the poverty, the factors and the processes that explain these movements. In each community ten narrations about life have been collected from individuals who are between 30 and 60 and who are considered to play an important role in the household life the last ten years. They are chosen from different households strata: poor-rich people (4), rich-rich people (3), poor-poor people (2), rich-poor people (1). The interview is conducted just after the submission of the household's questionnaire, in the presence or not the other members of the household.



- Quantitative tool : households questionnaire

That questionnaire has been divided into two parts: one part is about the data linked to the interview on the monitoring of poverty in Senegal known as (ESPS), the other on the evaluation of strategies to move out from poverty called (MOP). Its objective is to identify the range of factors that help or hinder individuals' or households mobility. However a module about community activities has been inserted in ESPS in order to provide further information for the evaluation (main projects and programs, contribution for improving living condition, method of financing, participation and decision making).

Twenty (20) household questionnaires and one community questionnaire have been submitted in each one of the 15 villages (except for the village of Djilor where 21 heads of households have been interviewed). After elaborating the matrix on the mobility, the households to be interviewed are selected at random and the questionnaire is submitted to people who are from 30 to 60 years old.

### **1.4.3 The development of the works \***

- Preliminary Works

Before starting the works, several meetings and video conferences have respectively been organized at the head office of Senagrosol and at the World Bank, in Dakar. Three to four meetings have been held together with the members of the unit for the fight against poverty and with the Forecast and Statistics Management agents so as to discuss on the final choice of the central item of the survey, the sampling method and the harmonisation of the questionnaires meant to MOP and ESSP. At the end of these discussions, a team of 20 researchers has been set up and trained in 5 days with a one-day test in a village of the region of Dakar.

- Works on the interviews

The interviews have been implemented by teams that comprise an average number of 5 researchers per village. They took place from 17 Jun to 12 August. They were organised in three steps separated in periods of 7 to 10 days for reports elaboration. In each village all the tools have been used. However the difficulties faced in the use of some of these tools led to carry out the following adjustments:

- Scale of life and households to interview : in villages densely populated, the choice of households, that are to be classified according to the scale of life, has been based on sample (for example, in Djilor 140 households have been selected in two districts); in communities where certain strata don't exist, the interviewed households of inexistent strata had to refer to other strata; besides, when it was impossible to meet the proportions of originally retained households from different strata that are to be interviewed, the strata are modified;
- Individual life stories: In order to avoid interviewing people whose life is not interesting, the choice was led on a reasoned choice of life histories instead of that of Kish scale, as done during the phase 1 in the 4 villages of Ndiop, Ngaraff, Djilor, and Keur Macoumba Souna.

## 2. UNDERSTANDING THE MOBILITY OF THE COMMUNITY

In most of the villages which were visited, 60 % of households think that during the last five years, poverty has diminished just a little within their communities. More than 21% think that it has even worsened.

In each of the areas concerned by the survey, the interviews with the different groups helped to make a better diagnosis of the factors that motivate the households' different appreciations of the state of poverty within their community.

### 2.1 Communities' Typology according to mobility factors

The chart below has been established according to the results obtained after the use of two tools:

- Community *chronology* (which shows the evolution of the global prosperity in the community the last ten years)
- Scale of life (shows the number of poor people now and ten years ago) shows, concerning the 15 communities on which the survey was based, those who have moved out poverty, those who have impoverished or remained static.

Chart n° 1: Communities families' appreciation of the state of prosperity and poverty

State of the evolution	Villages and their eco and geographic area	Mobility factors	Current poor households	Poor households ten years ago
Communities which have become prosperous	Gabar (ZSP)	Better access to inputs for the development of market gardening with the support of the farmers organisations (CECI, CNCAS and AQUADEV) and the State	89%	98%
	Kabendou (South and South-East)	Existence of a network for migrating to Europe and income coming from money transfer	47,5%	81%
	Dabia (river)	Modernisation and diversification of agriculture Intensification of commerce thanks to the expansion	58	63
	Diassina (South and South-East)	Construction of a health care centre Easier access to water Better access to information, Electrification of the community Intervention of development backing structures	58%	75%
	Djilor (BA)	Intervention of development backing structures Development of commerce Easy access to loans for women,	50%	75%
	Ndiébéne Toubé (River)	Renovation of roads by PNIR. That facilitate the transportation of market gardening products to Saint-Louis, Intervention of the NGO called Plan International (construction of a local cereal manufacturing unit, health centres building; school classes building ; Educational stationery and treated mosquito nets distribution ; AGR financing) and Hunger Project which created a mutual saving and credit company Setting up running water system by the SDE, Women literacy and training to handle loan	80%	71%
	Keur Mandiaye Bakary (river)	Opportunities in the Senegal river valley ; Diversification of the sources of income with commerce ; Exodus of young people towards cities hence the development of income stemming from money transfer,	48%	92%
Communities which have impoverished	Kabdou (river)	Alleviation of poverty due to better access to drinking water and to first health care ; development small business handled by women	92%	92%

State of the evolution	Villages and their eco and geographic area	Mobility factors	Current poor households	Poor households ten years ago
or remained static	Keur Macoumba Souna (BA)	Alleviation of poverty due to the recent achievement of some projects and to others which are pending : home solar energy, public electrification; good harvest from the last campaign	57%	63%
	Thiel (ZSP)	Alleviation of poverty due to a more flourishing commerce ; intervention of PAPEL (construction of wells and running water system, AGR financing) but diminution of income from agriculture	81%	81%
	Saré S. Baati (South and South-East)	Decline of agriculture due to the diminution of rainfall, degradation of soils, difficulty of access to inputs, lack of farming tools and the crisis in groundnut sector have provoked a fall of agricultural revenues.	59%	44%
	Ndiop (BA)	Degradation of soils, difficulty of access to inputs, lack of farming tools and the crisis in groundnut sector have led into a fall of agricultural revenues.	62%	32%
	Ngaraf (BA)		87%	74%
	Mbaye Awa (ZSP)		79%	77%
	Mbaye Mbaye Sarr (ZSP)		77%	73%

BA: groundnuts growing basin; sylvo pastoral area known as ZSP;

Some questions on their environment have been asked to households in order to have another different appreciation of progress in communities. Some indicators appear from their appreciation. We noticed that for 22.6 % and 13 % of households, the main source of water supply is respectively public tap water and home tap water. Only 10 and 17% of families indicate that they have been using these sources for ten years. Moreover currently 35.2% of households use toilets with a concrete cover compared to 21.9% ten years ago.

## 2.2 Mobility factors related to the realities of the visited communities areas

From the analysis of the data in the above chart indicating the households and communities appreciation on the evolution of their economic and social conditions, it appears that the dynamism of this evolution varies. Indeed, it is generally noted that the appropriateness, the pertinence of the actions undertaken and developed in villages as well as the way they are implemented, are often very determinant to make the conditions and factors of social and economic existence of the targeted communities evolve in a way or another.

### 2.2.1 Groundnuts basin

The general trend of village communities living in groundnuts growing basin is characterised by stagnation and even regression, that three in four village communities consider that it is their case. This area which was before the great producer of groundnuts (especially the northern part and the centre which are concerned by the survey), has been since more than about ten years, characterised by a very high level of degradation of natural resources and a low agricultural productivity. In villages where poverty has increased, the main reason is the low agricultural productivity thus, marginalising the revenues that it generates.

To change this trend, the population have been developing for about twenty years, different strategies which are most of the time in relation with : young people migration towards other countries and the transfer of financial resources that it generates; the use of decentralized financial services which are generally implanted by private economic agents or NGOs, in order to bring support to women in the realization of their commercial activities, employment, craft industries (dyeing, transformation of produces) and thus allowing them to alleviate their high financial dependence vis-à-vis their husband.

In this area, the populations who have become rich talk about the contribution of the GDS to basic social infrastructures matters (small health care centres, schools, wells), that meet the targeted communities needs and demands. Households enjoy the availability and the proximity of these

infrastructures because for them, seen their low revenue, they are the only sustainable alternatives. Sometimes, the social infrastructure itself allows the community to generate more resources and to increase their wealth. We have the same results in some communities (see chapter on infrastructures contribution).

*The development of Ngaraf village has been favoured by the infrastructures implemented with the support of the President of the Rural Council who is also school inspector at the national Ministry of Education has asked for a temporally release from the administration in order to devote himself to the rural community business. He has been managing this local community since 2000. Thus, he has been able to raised increased financing for the villages which are part of the Rural Council. In other villages the natives who succeed in their life have also been able to drain great amount of capital in their locality.*

*In Djilor which hosts about 2 350 inhabitants and of which water table is salty, the populations believe that one of the two factors (the second is that of the school infrastructure built with a fence in bricks and with toilets, in the framework of a financing by the JICA – Japan International Cooperation Agency) of the village prosperity is the granting of 40, 700, 000 cfa francs in 2005 to the “Communauté Rurale” for the realisation of running water system in Djilor and Goudem Sidi.*

### **2.2.2 Area around the Senegal river**

In the Senegal river area, three of the four targeted communities think that they have prospered during the ten last years. Even the community which considers to have stagnated, light better nevertheless is declared because of improvement of the access to the social infrastructures installation.

In the area, the base of the prosperity is the availability of a permanent water resource. It is also its most important asset, because the region has a lowest quantity of rainfall.

The hydraulic infrastructures related to agriculture implanted along the river to develop rice and maize growing, market gardening and ground and water resources are the generator of activities that bring about prosperity in households and communities in the area. In fact these investments create some economic opportunities.

Lot of these achievements are due to the fact that the area is the one that drains the most important financial flow of money, through financial resources transferred by migrants. Indeed, in the region population has been migrated in other African and European countries before the independence of the country. And their actions helped to set up wells, running water, worshiping buildings; health centres, etc. (see migration contribution). These last years, an emphasis has been put on financing activities that generate revenues and on the development of partnership with developed countries NGOs.

The development of the communities, the last five years, was slowed down a bit in 2002 by the unexpected rainfalls which provoked intense cold that killed the cattle. The losses are estimated in thousands of animals per village. That totally impoverished the households who are mostly stock breeders. Certain households lost up to 150 to 200 animals that year.

The locust invasion in 2004 severely affected farming in the region..

### **2.2.3 Sylvo pastoral area**

In the Sylvo pastoral area, three in four targeted communities think they have remained static or impoverished as opposed to ten years ago. In these communities, households (2 to 4 % according to the community) consider that they have grown poorer.

However, it would have been worse, if the area hadn't an important potential of under exploited pasture land. The valorisation of this potential based on the exploitation of high performance hydraulics is considered to be the one that develop prosperity in the village. For the population of the area, the most important projects are the ones that allow the population and the cattle to have access to water. In some village community groups, the availability of water allows them, through the well drilling committee, to raise taxes on any animals watering.

Other types of achievements undertaken in some village communities contribute to firm up the prosperity.



*In the community of Mbaye Awa , the installation and the development of the market in 1967, the implementation of a device that permanently keeps water in the river, the support of many NGOs and projects have triggered the prosperity of the village. The prosperity is visible when you consider the big concrete buildings with terraces and colour TVs equipment, solar panels, house furniture, etc.*

*The Support Project of Cattle Breeding known as PAPEL, is probably the most important project in the area where it has been intervening since 1993. Concerning the activities related to the access to drilled wells, it has financed in the village called Thiele, the women association with 9.5 millions F CFA to implement revenues generating activities. It taught them pular and ouolof and trained them in accounting and in financial management. Moreover, the PAPEL backs stock breeding through training village people who serve as relay who help stock breeders in the development of hygiene and animals prophylaxis. Some families have progressed on the scale of life thanks to loans given by PAPEL which allowed them to promote small productive projects. Because of its strategic position, the village has become a real melting pot that drains cattle breeder, farmers and traders; the diversity and the availability of products favors the intensification of exchanges with populations from the neighbouring villages.*

In the area, the intervention of mutual saving and credit companies favours the development of commercial and stock breeding activities. The populations who have been able to gather some capital invest it generally in the service sector: commerce, transport, etc. As for groundnut basin, the exodus toward Dakar and Touba, allows to transfer some resources back to the communities in the area. This transfer contributed also to the relief of poverty in households.

#### **2.2.4 south/south east area**

Two of the communities in the south/south east area indicate that they have prospered in ten years; only one (1) indicates that they have rather remained static whereas more than 24 to 34 % of households declare that now they are less poor. These improvements are mainly accounted for by the wealth and the diversity of their natural resources and their under exploitation. For the communities on which the sample is based and who belong to the region of Kolda (commonly called) «new groundnuts growing basin» for its growing importance of that product in the area), the prosperity mainly is supported by resources generated by agricultural (under rainfall or irrigation system), animals generating productions This explains the high demand of communities for the development of these water devices for market gardening, rice growing and their positive appreciation of the intervention of the textile development company known as SODEFITEX and that of the industrial and agricultural development known as SODAGRI. They are the two regional companies for development in the region.

The presence in the concerned area of the market called Diaobé which is the largest weekly international market of West Africa also offers great economic opportunities to the actors in order to reinforce communities' prosperity.

The resources transferred by the migrants are reinvested in social and economic infrastructures in order to encourage prosperity in villages. This factor (see resources transfer contribution) is particularly developed in Kabendou where it allows meeting the social demand, the setting up of basic infrastructures such as small health care centres.

### **2.3 Factors related to the impacts of the basic social infrastructures**

The availability of social infrastructures which may not be necessarily preliminary conditions, constitutes, according to the village communities, an essential factor in setting up elements for improving their environment and living conditions. Their contribution to the progress of the village communities, households and individuals, strongly marked during discussions and some life histories, is very often linked to their real demand.

#### **2.3.1 Hydraulic infrastructures**

The achievement of infrastructures enabling the access to water is generally the basic social demand of village communities. Drinkable water is considered to be the top priority. The drilling of wells and the building of schools is considered by 15.6% to be one of the four most important projects. Indeed villagers think that it is the full clean water supply for both men and the stocks that brings about prosperity in the community. The fact that today, hydraulic infrastructures appear as dominating sector in all the projects which aim at «improving the access to basic social infrastructures », is the sign that it



corresponds to a real demand. We notice that about 90% of households interviewed in the whole of the 15 communities concerned by the survey declared that their villages are equipped with drinkable water. Among them, 20.9% said that they are very satisfied and 49% are satisfied of the quality of the water supply device.

*In Ngaraf, the drilling of a well enabled the village community to, through the drilling committee, to raise resource from animal watering taxes (1.465 millions F CFA in 6 months). The water supply is precious for the communities all the more the pastoral activities are of great importance. The project financed by PNIR (the National Programme for Rural infrastructures) has been realised thanks to the support of the rural community for mobilising populations to participate.*

Anyway, for the groundnuts growing basin and the sylvo pastoral area, hydraulics is one of the basic conditions for creating prosperity.

In the sylvo pastoral area, the (PAPEL) which has intervened since 1993 with the PAPEL 1 and continued with the PAPEL 2 in 2000 drilled in Thiel, a well and a water tower that create resource generating activities which helped the community to get out from poverty.

However we must notice that the handling of the infrastructures proves sometimes ineffective for it is common to notice in some programs that it is at the end of the implantation processes that the handling committee is set up.

### **2.3.2 School infrastructures**

Most of the villages visited in the framework of the survey are endowed with a school. That is why the school infrastructure has not been taken as a priority for the households. Indeed more than 14 villages in 15 have a primary school while only 13.6% have a secondary school. However, more than 15 % of households don't consider school as important as drilled wells. In the focus discussion group, only women raised the importance of school infrastructures because they generally think that when children succeed at school they help their parent to get out from poverty. Generally, the more the school has been in the village for a long time, better people coming from this village organise themselves to contribute to its development.

*In Ndiop, the CEM built in 2003 to reinforce the educational system in the area, has positively affected the community. Because, before the achievement of this infrastructure, pupils had to walk kilometres away to go to school. In addition to that, there are many expenses related to backing hosting families where the child would spend the whole academic year. These difficulties led many children to leave school and to failures. According to one of our informants «the whole community is feeling the positive effects of the infrastructure, our village has even become an examination centre. And most of us have sent their children who were studying in big cities back to study in the village ».*

*Marie Sarr (Djilor) said that if she had been able to further her studies she would not have been the way she is today (she was a maid in Dakar). For, she has former class mates who have become executives in big companies such as SENELEC (the National Electric Company) and who have their own cars.*

The importance of school is shown by an active participation of population in building and rehabilitation of the school as opposed to the other infrastructures where it is often the restricted management committee which is active. The participation in school life is realised in the framework of pupils' parents association known as (APE) and which is managed by a management committee. The APE intervenes in several sectors, especially in human resources investment in : cleaning the school, the organisation of the end of academic year celebrations as in Djilor with AEP of the kindergarten and or as Djilor 2 which pays for the water bill of the school and contributes to pupils' transportation during educational visits.

### **2.3.3 Health care infrastructures**

They represent for 13.6% of households, the first priority after drinking water (32.6%) and the development of profitable activities (17%). Meanwhile, according to those communities, the infrastructures do not contribute enough to reduce poverty. Unlike education sector that aims individual social and cultural statute, health sector is only requested when people need caring. As a



matter of facts, the farther health issue, the better. The committee's role is not to make people participate to health activities but rather to let them easily get access to health infrastructures through better services.

For populations, while having a social purpose, health infrastructures, also offer opportunities to reduce different health cost favouring the development of conditions that can lead people to prosperity within communities. Indeed, building health centre within the village help the communities and the households to save money (transport fees) and time. People should not continue to walk over several kilometres or pay much for the slightest health trouble.

*By building a health centre in Diassina, the AFDS put health care within the populations' reach: the nearest health centre was previously (10 km, 30 km by bicycle or on foot) far from the village. From then on, risks were considerably reduced since immediate cares can be provided in the village and the transport fees have implicitly been reduced. Yoro, our key informant declares that « the villagers can enter the health centre at any time ». The closeness also makes antenatal visits easier and more regular.*

### **2.3.4 Roads and transport infrastructures**

Opening up areas is considered by 18% households as the second priority of the second series of the populations' priorities, whereas for 17% households, it is the first priority of the third series. Meanwhile, populations are less involved in that opening up process because it is generally carried out by the central government. Hence the local committees play a role that is more advisory than participative.

That lack of roads infrastructures (in many areas) prevents the producers from selling their crops at good prices. This situation is rather profitable to speculators or « bana-bana » whose transport means are more adapted to those areas.

Being located on a big road, enables you to better develop your business and many villages have become prosperous thanks to their location on big roads.

*For instance, because it is located on the National Road, Kabendou has developed breeding and agriculture and fostered the populations' welfare.*

### **2.3.5 Rural areas electrification**

Electrification is one of the first requirements of rural populations and a determining indicator on their way to more prosperity: ten (10) years ago, there was electric power in only 1% households, today 8.6% households have it.

This progress might be boosted with the ASER, the national agency in charge of rural electrification that was created by the government backed up by donors (World Bank, the German Cooperation, IDA). The populations who have benefited from that agency think that it has not only improved their living conditions but also contributed to economically develop the households and rural small-sized companies. The implementation of that process is still new so it is too early to estimate its contribution to reduce poverty.

The electrification of Ndiop in 2002 enabled several households to buy electric appliances. More than 35 households have a TV set and more than 40 have electric power. All the inhabitants and particularly women have been positively influenced by that event; they are now selling ice and cool drinks. That business provides them between F CFA 35,000 and 50,000. Many households have stopped buying paraffin oil and candles saving FCFA 4,000 out of the F CFA 8,000 they used to spend for lighting the house.

*In Djilor, streets are not totally lit but they are quite safer. The inhabitants think the village is getting more prosperous thanks to these basic infrastructures.*



## 2.4 Economic opportunities promotion

What the populations generally ask for is both the implementation of social infrastructures and the development of a more dynamic and profitable economic opportunities, two fundamental elements that go hand in hand. More than 17 % households consider economic development as the second priority just after drinking water and before health basic infrastructures.

Hence the villagers paradoxically « mistrust and trust » the government, at least apparently. According to them, the government should (without any compensation), provide rural communities with basic social equipments and encourage their partners to invest into economic activities. So, for 64.5% households, developing profitable activities is the best way (among the three ones) to reduce the level of poverty. In any case, the support to that economic development should be relevant and adapted to their resources and their thirst for development. Rural communities involved into economic projects orient their activities towards the following sectors:

### 2.4.1 rain-fall related farming valorisation

Despite the difficulties, many farmers still consider that growing cereals like millet, sorghum and mainly groundnut (first income crop) will help them to get out of poverty. Thanks to those crops, many households have made outstanding progress showing that they can meet their needs.

*Keur Macoumba Souna inhabitants, think that the fact for the government of granting seeds (F CFA 75 a kilo, the first year and F CFA 100 the second and third years) and fertilizers (F CFA 3500 a sac instead of F CFA 5000) should be considered as one of the most important events having marked economic development of the last ten years. So for communities, the grants have triggered progress dynamics. The credit system that used to be did not enable the farmers to easily pay back their debts so that they were not able to be granted other loans.*

In forestry and pastoral areas, cattle-breeding is the most profitable activity whereas in agricultural areas, it is at the second position considered as part of savings permanently available and that can be used in case of need.

### 2.4.2 Hydraulics related farming valorisation

Everywhere water infrastructures for agriculture and breeding purpose have been implemented, several economic opportunities were developed mainly in the River area and in Casamance (South). Populations manage to benefit from those opportunities and get out of poverty.

*Hydraulic infrastructures built since 1982 in Anambé basin by the SODAGRI (Société de Développement Agricole et Industriel) enabled Kabendou farmers to get pieces of lands, 1.25 ha each. Thanks to the producers' commitment and the help of instructors, those parcels of land have been developing since 2000. There are more and more producers despite the financial requirements (they need F CFA 250,000 to develop a piece of land).*

In the River area, hydraulic infrastructures implemented along the River (Diama dam in Senegal and Manantali dam in Mali) also foster economic opportunities.

*Ndièbène Toubé inhabitants as for them are very happy with their connection to the National Road that has enabled the villagers to sell their market garden produce as far as Saint-Louis.*

### 2.4.3 Use of trading infrastructures

The reasons of the prosperity of many villages can be found less in the agricultural activities than implementation of trade infrastructures that enables the villagers, included women, to carry out profitable activities all the year long. Thanks to those opportunities, women considerably share the households' expenditures since their husbands usually bring in the basic cereals.

*Several Mbaye Awa inhabitants get between F CFA 8,000 and 20,000 every Monday from what they sell to the market. Other activities have been developed around the market: selling food, water, ice and bread, forges, etc.*



#### 2.4.4 Access to financial support

The material and financial support is considered by the populations as the second (9,3%) out of the three best ways (the first one being the AGR with 64,5%) and the first (28%) out of the three second best ways of reducing poverty. That need of financial backing is met by the development of savings associations and groups in rural areas that allowed the populations to set up their activities.

*The "Crédit Mutuel du Sénégal" office is the main savings organization in Djilor. It has 2,457 members among whom 43% women. The total amount of credit in June 2005 was F CFA 107,000,000 and they aim 153 members and a total amount of F CFA 200,000,000. The Agency usually backs up housing (45%), trade (30%), agriculture (15%), transport, craft and fishing. The targets are women (35%), young people (15%) and men (50%). The repayment rate is higher than 97%. To be granted a loan, you should spend at least three months as a member; have good morals, real guaranties for high amounts.*

As far as the gender and the participative approach are concerned, NGOs considerably back up women, helping them to have a direct access to loans whereas the financial backing of the groundnut is less profitable for them since land resources are controlled by their husbands (the heads of the households).

*In Ndièbène Toubé the cooperation with the NGO "Plan International" led to implement a factory to transform cereals. That NGO also backs up other small activities by granting 50,000 to young men and F CFA 75,000 to young women. The NGO "Hunger Project", as for it, created a Savings and Credit Bank.*

#### 2.5 Factors related to participating in programmes

The initiators of the Projects and Programmes have created different occasions for populations to discuss, give orientations, plan, manage and control the procedures by involving and giving responsibilities to the different actors. The aim is to lead the populations to appropriate those projects and programmes. Closer meetings are also held so as to involve populations as fully as possible into the management and the use of the infrastructures that have been implemented.

The necessity of perpetuating the results led some projects or programmes to identify representatives within the populations. These representatives have been trained in participative planning, managing funds, doing deals, controlling and participative assessment so as to enable the populations to deal with such tasks. The training takes place in local « communities' resources centres ».

There are other committees mainly composed of officers of devolved technical services who also intervene in the implementation of basic equipments but are in charge of the projects ratification. They not only make sure that the infrastructures are in conformity with the technical standards and correspond to the plans.

Let us notice that the different consultations and training mechanisms that we just mentioned, sometimes lack some effectiveness linked to many reasons such as: the lack of appropriate means and the unavailability of members, hence they are not involved enough in planning and drawing up the documents. Moreover, there is also a lack of communication.

By evaluating the projects and programs that helped to implement these infrastructures, we can notice that the impact of the infrastructures depends on the level of the participation process and the level of involvement of the targets populations. As a matter of facts, the procedures are too long and efforts-demanding and the committees can fail.

In any case, for the populations, the implementation of basic infrastructures is incumbent upon the government. NGOs' role should just consist in encouraging and backing up profitable activities.

According to the populations, projects directly carried out in the field (villages) have the advantage of better involving the populations into the decision making through evaluation committees. 45,2% of against are 52,2% of households are involved in these committees.

This vision can explain the good opinion populations have within NGOs. Indeed, many rural



communities think that intervention procedures have been made simpler and the participation more effective with NGOs than with the government and their partners. The NGO « Plan international » (building schools and health centres, digging wells), and CECI (supervising market gardening) are good illustrations.

## 2.6 institutions related factors

### 2.6.1 Local Governance

The reforms occurred since 1996, made become aware with the populations the part which they can play in the local governance and in the orientation of the decisions which relate to them and the projects orientations which target them. Elections of 2000 brought to people's mind that any elected representative can openly be replaced if he proved to be incompetent. Some people say that rule is an old one and is firmly fixed in Senegalese people's mind. A survey carried out within households let know that 71,8% households think their opinions are taken into account by the government and local representatives.

During the last ten years, democratic changes occurred with having an impact upon the access to information through private radio stations and upon the capacity for the citizens to dismiss or keep people who govern. Therefore, the possibility for a person from the village to get responsibilities within the Rural Council has become a real stake because it is an opportunity to get basic infrastructures (case of Diassina and Keur Massoumba Souna) that foster promotion (case of Djilor).

But in communities where there are ethnic problems behind that stake, it causes disharmony within the local institution.

*In Mbaye Mbaye, a ouolof village, the inhabitants deplored the decision of the Rural Council to change the market's place without any consultation. For the councillors, there were no alternative since the market was getting larger and larger and they were bound to find out a bigger place. For the inhabitants, through that decision, the Chairman of the Council just wanted to favour the Peul people to whom he belongs.*

### 2.6.2 Liberalization of groundnuts trade

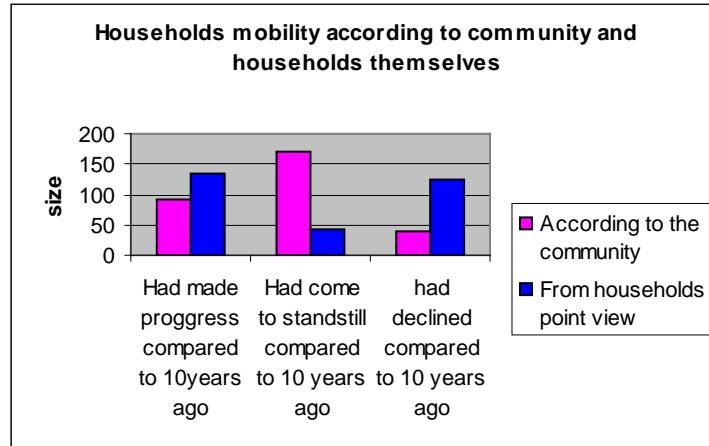
As institutional reforms occurred in 2001 in a view to stabilize groundnut trade, the government dissolved SONAGRAINES that was formerly in charge of selling seeds to producers for SONACOS own benefit. The latter was privatized in 2004. Today, the seeds collection is carried out by dealers authorized by SONACOS. Those reforms seriously disturbed the crops and the sales campaigns. Meanwhile there are still problems in the access to the inputs and also with the authorized middlemen who have not been accepted yet by producers because of the cash vouchers those middlemen delivered in 2001 and 2002 and that remained unpaid, sometimes for two years with the consequence of an increase of poverty.

*In Diassina (southern area), the cooperative society created in 1965, worked very well before it was dissolved in 2001. A seeds co-op created in 1950s also used to do quite well; it was also used for trading groundnut seeds. Those seeds used to be bought on the spot, treated and sold back to the producers at an interest rate of 7%. At that time, the cooperative used to receive 600 up to 800 tons of groundnut from the 20 villages around, while supplying them with meat and other produce from Diassina. The butcher's shop and other activities also used to do very well. «We slaughtered two cows a day » the Chief remembered with regrets. «It was a good life, there was harmony between Diassina and other villages and economic activities were prosperous. » he added. Groundnuts remained the most profitable produce at that time and the profit made was ploughed back into other activities like breeding and trade. Since the dissolution of SONAGRAINES in 2001, seeds are no longer distributed and the producers find it very difficult, not only to get seeds but also to sell their crops. Hence some producers are taking an interest in other produce because from then on, they had to seek for seeds over 30 km. « Moreover, the available stock never covers the demand of the 115 villages. » Aliou Baldé says. As time passes, the production goes down: for instance in 2004, only 50 tons were produced and sold to a trader. That production fall also put incomes down while bringing about more difficulties to meet the households food needs. Today only 10% farmers grow groundnut, that figure is very far from the previous 90%. Business activities within the village have also all slowed down and the butcher's shop does no longer exist. « The cooperative society went bankruptcy and the village has now become less lively and even sluggish. » Aliou adds.*



### 3. UNDERSTANDING HOUSEHOLD AND INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY

Comparing the households classification as made by the community (community life scale), and that made after a survey with the households themselves, we notice an increase or a decrease of their production for the last ten years. There is reverse trend when the movement is stagnant.



In a ten-level questionnaire, the results indicate that for the ten last years, the number of poor households has generally remained unchanged (rungs 1 up to 5): 77.7% today versus 77.4% ten years ago. But considering figures in details, we notice that the number of households between steps 1 up to and including 3, has decreased shifting from 48.8% ten years ago down to 44.5% today. The number of households of rungs 4, 5, and 6 as for it, has increased: from 36.9% ten years ago up to 44.5% today. As far as the “rich” and “very rich” categories are concerned (7 up to 10), their number has decreased 14.4% ten years ago down to 10.9%.

We can deduce that the level of poverty has been reduced over the last ten years even if rich households are not numerous at all.



### 3.1 households and individuals increasing mobility factors and permanent enrichment factors

#### 3.1.1 *Dominating characteristics of ascending movement of individuals and households toward prosperity*

Welfare indicators of households have almost all remained unchanged over the last ten years. The first one is the possibility of meeting the basic needs: food, health, dressing, and housing. Once this step is reached, the households seek for a stable income, try to run a profitable business and invest in movable and real estate. The change is characterized by the shift from a mere hut to a permanent structure for the whole community like in Gabar.

In the villages where we carried out the survey, the mobility factors within the households and within communities are the same even if the approaches are different. In any case, the key factors of the households upward social mobility remain: diversifying the activities and sources of income by developing opportunities, the possibility of carrying out activities all the year long, the access to loans or agricultural machines and inputs, developing pieces of lands, giving job to young people, and an important and available workforce be it paid or unpaid (« sourghas » or agricultural workers). A quantitative study of the household mobility factors helps to better understand the process.

#### **Diversifying sources of income**

Dealing with more than one profitable activity in addition to farm, is the most common strategy used by households and individuals. It offers the farmers an alternative to climate uncertainties in an environment where activities strongly depend on rain.

Those profitable activities are various : part-time jobs in the town (like Cheikh Diop Sanou and Ndiop do), non agricultural activity (a carter like Chérif Sarr or a cattle-breeder like Moustapha Diouf in Ngaraff ; a taylor like Thilor Diouf and Ablaye Sène from Djilor, a trader like lady Lam from Thiel, etc.) and so on and so forth. When the harvest is good, it is an opportunity for people who have combined both, agriculture and other profitable activity or activities, to invest in the additional activity (most often it is breeding) and save money. That money saved can easily be used when need be (in case of bad harvest). One particular variable is the combination agriculture and seasonal migrations in the big towns to work as daily workers or carry out other small jobs (wholesale fish merchant or street hawkers etc.) that enable them to prepare the agriculture campaign. Women, as for them work as maids.

#### ▪ **Workforce support or financial backing**

Progress within some households is also made possible by the outstanding contribution of the children. When they are grown up, they help their parents by in the farm tasks (like Bassirou Diop in Gabar) replacing labourers who charge a lot. By reducing the costs, that situation enables to increase the profit. Other parents are financially backed up by their children in the town or abroad.



- **Income of transfer from abroad**

The chapter 3 will clearly point out the importance of that source of income received from abroad. Everywhere, people have parents abroad. Sometimes, a whole family works hard in order to send one member abroad. Once there, the latter regularly sends them money and even helps another one to also get abroad. The money transferred is usually invested in a profitable activity (like Ibrahima Geye in Ndébène Toubé who bought a transport vehicle thanks to the money he received from his brothers abroad). Many households have done very well in that way (see in annex some people's experience. Others gather within associations so as to back up their villages (like in Keur Mandiaye Bakary where villagers receive F CFA 700,000 from an association of sons of the village. That money helped them to supply the village with running water with the aid of the NPRI (National Programme for Rural Infrastructures).

- **Local entrepreneurship**

We met some young people whose adventure abroad was a failure and who try their hands at local investment. Moussa Camara is among them (see next framed page).

- **Resources from inheritance**

It can be an unexpected substantial income in cash or even in kind (Ablaye Sène, Amath Dieng in Keur Macoumba Souna) or a considerable compensation (Cheikh Diop received 1.7 million when Ndiop, his father died). The person who receives the amount can then develop their activity or launch a new one.

- **Children success at school**

Sending children to school is an opportunity for the parents to let them be autonomous. Serigne Diop in Kabdou has no regrets for having sent his children to school, he expects much from them. Some are teachers whereas others go to the University or to secondary

school. He bought a transport vehicle for his son who is a driver. From the survey, we learnt that the children, who reached a certain level at school, are more likely to get business opportunities.

*Twelve years ago, Moussa Camara from Kabendu village, was among the twelve (12) people classified as poor (2<sup>nd</sup> position on the life scale characterized by: a straw-made hut, the difficulty of having more than two meals everyday, the fact of living on an agricultural income covering at most 4 months, an agricultural material composed of traditional tools like a hoe; the fact of appealing to others to meet some needs such as medical cares fees).*

*Today in 2005, Moussa Camara is among the six (6) inhabitants considered as rich (position 4 on the life scale). The forty-three year old man was born in Kabendu, a rural community in Kounkané district in Vélingara department, one of the poorest departments of Senegal. Moussa, who attended only primary school, had to go as far as Kounkané so as to learn how to read, write and count since his village had no school at that time (1970 – 1977). Relying on his numerous relations, when he was 14, he thought he was too old and decided to shift to building between 1983 and 1985.*

*He was also fascinated by life abroad then considered as the best way to succeed, Moussa emigrated to Mauritania where he continue to learn how to build houses. At the same time, he tried his hand at urban transport with a horse and a barouche that he had bought. After four (4) years, although he started doing quite well, he was expelled because of the sad events that occurred between Senegal and Mauritania in 1989. Back to Kabendu, Moussa, who had lost everything, joined back the category of people considered as poor.*

*Wiser for this experience in Mauritania, he left his village again and migrate elsewhere but still in Senegal, in Tambacounda. From 1990 – 1994, he dwelled there as a worker in the civil engineering company earning monthly between F CFA 100,000 and 150,000. That salary enabled him to buy a house in his village where he got back again in 1995, and set up his own building business. He did well again but his first for life abroad was still unsatisfied. He flew to France in 2000 in a view to « succeeding, and be recognized as an important person in his village like many other young men did» as he usually replies. Unluckily, he was expelled again a little after he got there in 2001. Since that time, Moussa realized he could stay home and be happy. Therefore, he started his business again and got many building deals from the activities initiated in the framework of decentralization and local development by the government. Moussa improved his living conditions. Talking about his*



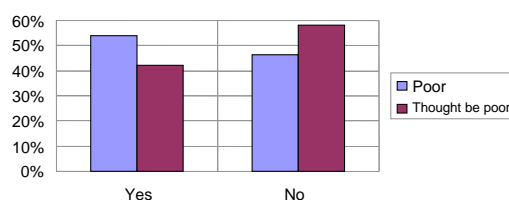
success, he admits that he has been backed up by wholesalers in Kolda (from 1997) and in Diabé (2003) who trusted him by granted him supplier credits. From a status of mere labourer working on building sites, Moussa is managing today a twelve-member team working for him. In addition to his building business, he carries out agricultural activities over big pieces of land that allow him to be food self-sufficient and diversify his sources of income. His farm income varies according to climatic uncertainties but the average income is F CFA 600,000 in normal years. Moussa has rice farms spread over 10 ha, maize farm over 2 ha and a 1 ha groundnut farm. He also rents out a few houses. The first one brings in F CFA 20,000 to him and the second one, F CFA 30,000. So Moussa has been accumulating wealth and, despite his failure in France, he has considerably improved his status.

### 3.1.2 Understanding the categories of well-being and variation of mobility factors according to different categories

#### Understanding community and individual mobility

Poverty observed within a community (through the life scale) is different from that observed within households (through questionnaires). According to the first tool, the proportion of poor households is higher than that of less poor households. In fact, the poor proportion and that of less poor, are inverted when the households classification is based on a consensus upon the answers to a direct question asked to households (54% - 46% in the first case and 42% - 58% in the second case).

Figure 5- Subjectif poverty and poverty, according the scale of life, Sénégal, ESSP 2005



According to households (95% of them, poor or not), being poor firstly means finding it difficult to feed one's family's members. Then there is the incapacity of meeting providing the household with medical cares when need be (60%), or having a decent house (57% poor and 63% less poor) or the fact of being jobless (40%). Poor and less poor agree on those indicators.

Households often attribute prosperity within communities to the implementation of social and economic basic infrastructures and the programmes and NGOs' interventions. More than 50% communities have made progress over the last ten years. 68% households think poverty has been reduced within their community over the last five years.

#### Understanding welfare categories and their mobility

Categorizing households on a wealth level base reveals that most of villages (12 out of 15 villages) we visited identified five (5) welfare categories: very rich, rich, middle category, poor and very poor. Some just mention the three main households' categories that are rich, middle category and poor.

The position of these categories on the ten (10) rung life scale, varies according to communities The « very poor » households hold the rung 1 in 73% cases at least : Ndiébène Toubé, Mbaye Mbaye Sarr, Saré Sam Bati, Keur Mandiaye Bakary, Kabendu, Diassina, Thiel, Mbaye Awa, Kabdou, Keur Macoumba Souna and Djilor) and / or the rung 2 (Ndiop, Dabia).

Six (6) communautés put their « poor » households at the third position of life scale: Djilor, Keur Macoumba Souna, Dabia, Thiel, Saré Sam Bati and Ndiébène Toubé. The middle class is most often placed at stepn 60% communities). « Rich » category usually corresponds to the wealthiest class of the village whereas the « very poor » category is elsewhere in another community of the district or the department etc. The position of the richest households of the village fluctuates from rungs 4 to 8.

chart 1: categories position on life scale according to communities

Nr	Village	Very poor	Poor	Middle	Rich	Very rich
1	Djilor	E1	E3	E5	E7	E10
2	Keur Macoumba Souna	E1	E3	E5 E6 E7	E8	E10
3	Ngaraff *	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5
4	Kabdou	E1	E4 E3 E2	E6	E8	E10
5	Thiel	E1	E3	E5	E7	E10
6	Diassina	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5
9	Saré Sam Baty	E1	E3	E5	E7	E10
11	Ndiébène Toubé	E1	E3	E5	E8	E10
7	Kabendou	E1	E2	E4 E3	E5	E6
8	Keur Mandiaye Bakary	E1		E2	E4	
10	Mbaye Mbaye Sarr	E1		E5	E8	
12	Ndiop	E2		E5	E7	
13	Dabia	E2	E3	E5	E7	E8
14	Mbaye Awa	E2 E1	E4 E3	E5	E7	E10
15	Gabar	E2 E1	E4	E5	E6	E10

\* 5 steps scale

#### Characterization of categories

**Very poor category:** poorest households are those who exclusively depend on agriculture that generally yields quite a low income. They do not have important production factors (lack of land, workforce, agricultural equipment and inputs) that would enable them to easily carry out their activities. Feeding their families everyday is very difficultly to them (having even one meal is not obvious). They are neither able to ensure the health and dressing fees. They usually live in huts made of straw and they can not afford to get electric power, they still use paraffin oil although living in electrified villages. Such households live from hand to mouth always looking for the daily expense (DE) because they do not have the slightest penny to save. When they lack small jobs that help them to cover that DE, they appeal to traders or wealthier relations. In this category, we only find households whose children are still underage and who have neither support nor means to take care of them; there are also households where the chief of the family is not able to work because of he is ill or handicapped.

Those households get though thanks to opportunities previously mentioned on page 21 **(3-1-1)**.

- **Poor category:** the poor can have pieces of land but be short of means to develop them. Like the very poor, they strongly depend on agriculture but they have also carry out small breeding and selling activities.

- **Middle class:** agriculture remains their main activity but they usually carry out another activity. Heads of those families manage to meet the household basic needs but find it difficult to back up other people. The chief is supported by one member who has a job. That category offers economic opportunities because they run quite a sustainable business, there is a social stability (social security contributions decrease). Life within those households is improved by developing the same time agricultural and secondary activities.

- **Rich category:** they do not live only on agricultural activities. They have an easy access to production factors and loans because they are considered solvable (by the richest traders) within the community.

- **Very rich category:** they are considered as very solvable, they eat to their fill land their children have a job by which they contribute to the household expenses. The Chief has often a prosperous business and big lands for agriculture; hence they do not suffer from the economic recession, unlike the other categories. They can afford to buy domestic electrical appliances (TV set, video recorder, DVD deep-freezer etc.).

Lower categories can enter that category through marriage (a woman can get married with a man who has a stable income), the fact of getting a job or being backed up by children who have a job and

contribute to the expenses). In order to keep their high status, they send their children to the best schools for them to take from their parents (like Sérigne Diop in Kabdou).

### 3.1.3 **Understanding of Basic factors and processes of mobility**

Developing projects and using more participative methods have enabled to set up a real dynamics in some Senegalese communities where these interventions took place.

Individuals or households who have minimum savings and who get the information about the financial possibilities offered by the programmes, NGOs and other cooperative societies, the will to succeed and initiative, are more likely to develop strategies that would put them out of poverty. But someone who has no access to information will not be able to profit from a financial backing. There are two ways of getting information: the first one is to attend community meetings organized by those structures, the second one is to get straight as far as their headquarters (often outside the village).

Knowing how to read, write can trigger an upwards movement. Having been at least once in the town also helps the rural young people to be aware of some particular aspects of economy. Those factors are hardly mentioned in the questionnaires addressing the households unlike qualitative tools such as experience.

*This is the case of Seydou Touré, a builder from Dabia community, who has attended school for seven years. He has always been rich but he admitted that this training helped him to better prepare the future. "The school helped me to easily learn the job I carry out today" he used to say. "Money is not very far from men, we just need to work hard, learn a job, and go to school", he added.*

*Thilor, a Djilor inhabitant, went to school as far as the secondary school in Dakar, then she shifted to a professional training in dressmaking before she went back to the village where she lives with her husband. She at least once a year takes a short-term loan so as to develop her concern.*

## 3.2 **impoverishing factors and households and individuals stagnation in poverty**

### 3.2.1 **Characteristics of poverty with regards to households**

Several and various indicators point out poverty: In the surveyed communities, poverty is perceived through several indicators and it is multi-dimensional:

- **Being unable to decently feed oneself all a year long**

The results of the household range of samples show that only 3% permanent poor and 13% poor households who used to be rich have a food surplus versus 29% permanent rich. Ten years ago, these proportions corresponded respectively to 7%, 24% and 40%. That result reveals a degradation of the capacity of covering food needs within all strata but mainly the poor strata.

Life scales also enhance the influence of the factor relative to the coverage of food needs within communities. According to 94% permanent poor and 100% poor who used to be rich, that factor is the first sign of poverty. An analysis based on agricultural possibilities reveals that the proportions correspond to 100% for communities where the agriculture mainly depends on rain (Keur Macoumba Souna, Kabendou, etc.) whereas they do not exceed 80% in Thiel where the main activity is breeding.

*Gora Séne from Gabar community, is a 50 year old household head who thinks he has not improved his status and still considers himself as a « Kou ndol » that is, poor man since he says he « finds it very difficult to feed his family and is always compelled to borrow money from his relations.*

- **Lack of means or appropriate means to face health fees when need be**

About 44% permanent poor households and 37% poor households who used to be rich say that the health cares they receive over the last twelve months are less than satisfying with regard to their household needs. Health problems sometimes lead poor households to sell their cattle or borrow money. Losing those cattle considerably reduces the capacity for the household to keep on their usual activities smoothly since breeding is sometimes the main activity. Such a situation keeps the household into poverty.



*Malick Diagne in Thiel community got deeper in poverty. After his father's death, he depended exclusively on agriculture. He got ill from 2001 until 2002 and that situation worsened his situation. He then borrowed money that he has not paid back yet.*

#### Insecure housing

An insecure house is also a sign of poverty because being able to release a surplus firstly implies that you already met the food needs.

*According to Kabendou community, (source:Man focus group discussion ladder of life) : « When a household is food self-sufficient, they can then use the surplus for other needs». Tiékouta added that they wish they have fed up with renewing their house all the time, they wish they could use the expenses for something else ».*

### **3.2.2 General factors of impoverishment or stagnation in poverty**

#### **▪ The only one main source of income for poor households**

Poor households exclusively depend on agriculture because certain other activities are carried out with many difficulties. Households and individual upward or stagnant social mobility remains almost the same within the different communities. For most of them, the degradation of the capacity of dealing with the main economic activity (agriculture, trade, services supply, part-time or full-time jobs), might trigger that tendency.

This deterioration is caused by several factors that occur simultaneously or at different times. Indeed, insufficient rains and locust invasion have some negative impacts on crop harvest and breeding. Besides, lack of basic farming tools (yoke, cart, plough, hoe, sower), and difficult access to inputs such as seeds and fertilizers are also some of the deterioration factors. Moreover, the insufficiency of family man-power is not only due to the migration of productive young men but also a large proportion of children under age who cannot effectively work on the farm;

The infertility of the soil coupled with shortage or difficult access to farm lands in some communities because of legal restrictions are all causes of poverty. It has been noticed that 36.2% of households of different steps put together are now occupying smaller proportion of land than ten years ago. This proportion represents 35.5% of chronic poor people. 52.4% of those people are still using the same space of land. We could also notice that 71.8% of households are using their own lands, while 8.1% are hiring them and 11.3% are given freely the lands. 78.2% of those hiring the lands think that the space of land is comparable to lands used ten years ago.

In fact, the possession of lands that is generally seen as a sign of wealth in the community is not always a guarantee of moving out of poverty, either does it hinder the falling into it. This paradoxical situation can partially be explained by the fact that in some zones, some little investments have been made in farming lands, which have no significant value in return. It is common to see the "owners" of



those unproductive lands leaving them for more income generating activities in cities such as Touba and Dakar. The possession of unexploitable or very degraded lands (salted soil in Fatick and Casamance), as a result of droughts and/or inadequacy of their enrichment, does not give any assurance of belonging to rich or poor class in the community.

The availability of lands does not necessarily guarantee farmers good harvests because the rainy season farming, which is the main occupation of people in the rural areas today, is always facing unfavourable climatic changes. Farmers, who are able to make it, are those intensifying their activities by using good quality farming inputs and tools.

As the first source of income mentioned among the three principal households occupation, farming generates 51.8% of total income for all the steps put together .it provides mainly 60.5% of chronic poor people's income. Besides it brings about 37.5% for chronic rich man. Ten years ago, the above percentages were respectively 61,5% and 69,4% against 52,1% for chronic rich people.

Sales from produce have decreased for all the steps compared to the situation ten years ago. But the rich people have supplemented the farming with other less risky income generating activities. The salaries from those activities ranged from 19.2% to 24% for the past ten years. These results confirm the qualitative analysis made before.

*Fodé Salimou Cissé (48 years) from Kabendou community said: «farming has never been prosperous to me. Formerly, the government was helping farmers by buying peanuts, but now we are left to our fate».*

Keep on suffering from poverty in those areas where only market gardening is carried out; people sometime do not have access to economic opportunities and difficulties in paying back loans coupled with the low price quoted by the " banas-banas" who prefinance it (market gardening).

*Iba Diop from Gabar is always among the poorest of his community. On his settlement in the village in 1993, he was given a piece of land by the chief of the village and another one three years later that he cultivated and had sufficient harvest: « I cultivate them every year, thank God , I have been getting enough harvest". But because I have little children , all my ressource are used up .I am therefore compelled to abide by the buying terms of the « banas banas ».they give me seeds ,fertilizers, pesticides and even food on credit. After the sale of the produce, I pay back all my debts. If the produce is sold at good prices; I may save between 100000 and 200000f cfa. But if nothing is left after settling my debts, I am compelled to borrow money for my daily expenses ». Iba Diop would have preferred community credit facility but he is afraid of conditions attached.*

#### ▪ Access to information

According to the 27.2% of the households interviewed, it is easy to get access to information on employment and credit introduced by the government in the community. In fact 16.1% of chronic poor people and 45.8% of the rich ones share that view.

The main sources of information of the villagers are from friends, neighbours, relatives, radios, and the village markets. The same sources of information are used by the local government for its programmes. So access to information is easy to both groups of people (poor and rich). Referring to the period ten years ago, a great proportion of 65.8% of households from different steps put together (that is 70.8 % of chronic rich people and 61.3 % of the chronic poor people) confirm that access to information, about local government's programs, has considerably improved.

According to the households, access to information has really improved compared to ten years ago. However, very few households have not seen any of their members reading newspaper for the past twelve months: that is 11.6% of rich people and 6.5% of poor people.

#### ▪ Access to economic opportunities

More economic opportunities are opened to communities that have access to irrigation facilities, good roads and markets. So only 11% of households from all the communities think that projects, providing more job opportunities, were implemented during recent years and 45% of this proportion is from Kabendou. However, individuals and households from chronic poor and rich people who fell into poverty hardly get out of it.



Some other economic activities such as small businesses, handicraft, service etc are undertaken by poor people mainly during the dry season. In some communities (where conditions are still hard) where some projects or NGOs intervened, households may benefit from the financing of their businesses. However, the sustainability of such projects remains one of their big problems because very often, the small amount of money lent to them (micro-credit) is used for their daily household expenses (food, medicine etc)

*Malick Diagne from Thiel community does not have the means to engage himself in new activities such as trading or breeding. He has used the loans he acquired from GIE «Yorou Yewu Yelé», on food for his household. Since 2004, Malick has been engaging himself in the making of wooden beds during the dry season but the income earned from this activity is woefully inadequate to bring him out of poverty.*

In the communities like Thiel where breeding is a major activity and an inevitable source of income, the decreasing of rain fall and the lack of pasturelands caused by the bad weather of January 2002, have negatively affected the poor households. Simply put, all the communities whose main source of income is breeding were not spared.

The current degradation of breeding conditions, compared to the past ten years, was revealed by the survey. As far as the households are concerned, 51.8% of the survey report has shown that the total number of cattle is still smaller. The chronic poor people and rich men's (that fell into poverty) proportion are respectively 46.8% and 60.5%. Lack of means to meet family health care and familial ceremonies have added to the natural vulnerability of that category of households.

*Mamadou Aw (45 years old) from Kabendou community declared: «ten years ago, I had 80 bulls that were killed in 1998 by a disease called "Bidol". He added that he could not save money because of high familial burden. Neither could he ask for loans from SODEFITEX nor from financial institution of the area because he did not want to have any problems with the lenders.*

#### ▪ Other factors prompting the falling or stagnation of movement

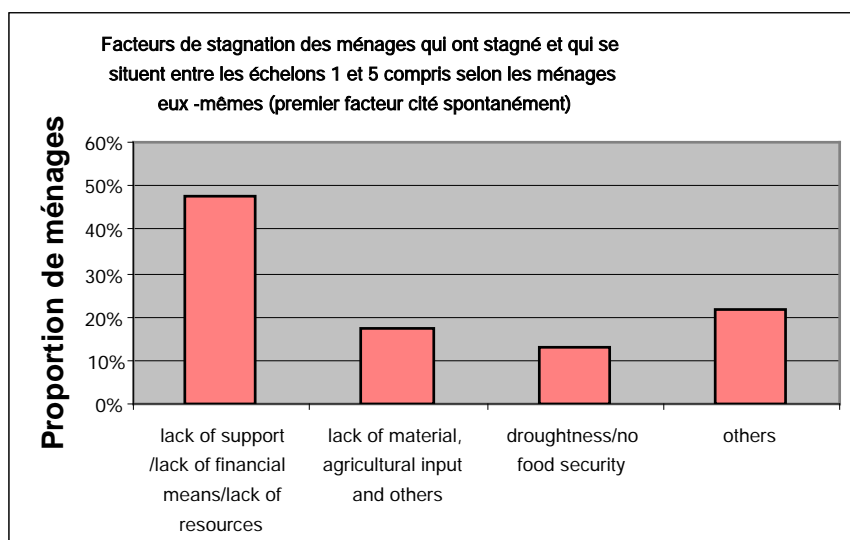
Factors of severe poverty that have been shown up from the ladder and story of life are as follows :lack of alternative sources of income ;diseases ; old age, handicap or death of the head or an important person of the household ;the increasing of family burden sometimes brought about by marriage or the death of the father or elder brother. That phenomenon prompts the new Head of family to take care of the orphans. In addition to that, lack of support , loss of capital and cattle, and collapse of small businesses, wasting of money during wedding ceremonies, wrong investments, loss or abandoning of the main income generating activities without any diversion into alternative ones,

*Gnowi Faye (46 years old) from Ndiop community, still poor like before .he said: "I am living mainly on farming; unfortunately this activity is declining these last ten years. Besides, nothing was left from my uncle's cattle: indeed, they were sold for foodstuff." In short, the loss of cattle and the degradation of farming conditions were identified by several interviewees of households from the chronic poor people as well as the rich ones.*

*Ndèye Niang (female and 55 years old) from Ndiebene Toubé community who has been poor since 2001has benefited from a 25.000Fcfa loans from Ndiabène Toubé GPP. That loan was given by International Plan (NGO) and she was to pay it back within one month with 10% interest. She said « this loan enabled me to buy coal that i sold in Saint-Louis and made significant profit ». but in 2004, Ndèye Niang spent 250.000Fcfa ( that was ten times higher than the amount she received) during her daughter's wedding ceremony .she added that she did everything possible to get that money because according to custom you should give memorable gift when your daughter is getting married.*

The stagnation factors of poverty identified by the households between lower than or equal to step 5, were comparable to the ones mentioned above.





### 3.2.3 Analysis of stagnation or poverty sinking process

- The impact of initial situation on the movement: precariousness.

The households from chronic poor category are not self-sufficient because of low saving capacity, inadequate farming tools (obsolete and insufficient...). Their family responsibilities are sometimes beyond their means. Illiteracy and difficulties in accessing information about opportunities. People who are also poorly informed about certain opportunities end up ceasing them wrongly. The farther the position of a household is below the poverty line the more exposed it is to descending movement.

*In 1995, Ali Gueye Diagne from Ndebene Toube community born in 1952 was getting a greater part of his income from fishing, masonry and farming. Today, he is becoming less busy in construction activities not only because they are decreasing but because he himself is growing old. His economic situation has never enabled him to make heavy investment. He admitted that he is only working for his daily bread. And he has neither saved money nor asked for loan from the financial institutions. The only heavy investment he has ever made was a sheep that he bought in 1990 and that has helped him through some good years: indeed, he used his sheep for baptism, selling for foodstuff, and during tabaski etc. he could explain his precarious situation by the charges that he is coping with. In fact he is taking care of his handicapped and also his late brother's sons as well as his own ones.*

*Moussa Mballo from Diassina community has always been poor. Apart from his land of 2.5 ha on which he only grows peanuts and rice, he has no other properties: in fact he has neither any farming tools, cow, sheep nor even a chicken. Besides he has never benefited from a loan for his work; the only thing that he got as loan was a 50 kg bag of rice from a trader of the village, which he paid back with 2 bags of peanuts.*

Households who were not formerly poor are now enjoying better conditions in terms of material incentives and climatic changes. Their situation is based on farming (that changes accordingly to the climate uncertainty), and breeding that are intensively practised in most cases. Like the previous category, a natural disaster can easily push them back into poverty.

For those getting the greater part of their income from other activities from tertiary sector, may also fall back into poverty due to many reasons such as: loss of working tools, loss of monopoly position (increase of competing shops in the community or in the surrounding areas), the falling of people buying power, wrong investment and mismanagement (wasting of funds, during ceremonies, indebtedness, the inability of paying back loans), poor health condition and the return of migrants. Moreover, most of the people from that category are doing peasant farming, so it can not enable them to be self-sufficient.

In the communities where people live mainly on transferred funds (this is the case of many households from Dabia, in northern area of Senegal), the mismanagement of those funds can send them back into poverty (expulsion, poor health state or death of the main funds provider).

- Series of factors.

In short, the lessons drawn from the analysis of ladder of life and life stories are that there is no one way of getting into poverty or staying in it. But some basic common causes have been identified.

☒ Generally speaking, when a household is living mainly on farming and has more manpower and enough farming lands, the sinking factors or those keeping them in poverty begin with insufficient rain fall, so in this case, the households can no more get seeds for their food crops as well as cash crops, such as peanuts that is the main exported produce of the country. they are therefore compelled to sell some of they cattle or build up debts. That situation is impoverishing them because of low prices in the market and difficulties of getting inputs. The loss of farm lands in diéri precisely in the valley of Senegal River caused by the construction of dams and drought caused a big handicap to those having farm lands as the only source of income.

☒ Some psychological factors related to incurable diseases and death sometime worsened the unfavourable natural and institutional context.

*Djidéré Baldé a farmer from Diassina community who is a head of household was severely affected by the hard farming conditions. In 1978, he stayed in the northern area of Senegal during the rainy season where he was earning some incomes. That enabled him to buy a bicycle during the last ten year. But the death of both parents sent him back into poverty since they had been for a great help to him. Even the cow that he inherited from his late father died. His falling will be worsened by the loss of his pet ( horse and donkey) and bad harvest caused by bad weather, locust invasion, bad seeds and lack of farming tools .so he can no more satisfy the needs of his wives and children since his harvest has drastically decreased.*

☒ Disease and death of the head of the household are triggers of falling movement. In fact the expenses related to those events impoverished the households. They were therefore obliged to build up debts or sell their cattle for foodstuff.

*Alassane Gueye (32years old) from Macoumba Souna community drew his income mainly from farming. He is the only son of his mother. The death of his father in January 2005, after two good long years of illness, has deprived him of any resources that could be a support him. Other misfortunes (disease and the death of his child as well as the one of his wives, bad harvest and loss of his cattle) as severe as the former ones have pushed him deep into poverty.*

*In 2002, Gora, who has been well digger for so long, was attacked by a disease that he has certainly contracted from his activity; the disease has really immobilised him and put a stop to his activities. Moreover, he has decided to put an end to his main occupation but what can he do else? Among the factors that constitute an obstacle to his occupation, he mentioned the death of his mother, which deeply affected his life. Besides, the mismanagement of his property that he acquired while he was working as a security man with the Saving Bank and his long bad health condition (compelling him to sell off that property) pushed him into poverty. He regretted having taken up his work despite of his relatives' objection.*

☒ Some joyful events such as marriage that required big amount of money and the mismanagement of a heritage may keep or push some households into poverty.

☒ The wrong decisions about the investment may cause the falling towards poverty or worsening it.

*Modou Sarr (47 years old) from Ngara community wanted to leave for Europe in order to improve on his living standard. Indeed, he has come to notice that those who did the same are making it. He has therefore sold his cattle and his farming tools. He has been able to raise one million francs cfa from the sale. He gave 750 000 F CFA to his Marabout to find him a visa that the latter could not get .that is how he became very poor. It was as if his second wife was the cause of his misfortune.*



## 4. INEQUALITY

### 4.1 understanding of inequality

According to the people, inequality has first of all divine causes. Indeed, for them God has freely decided «to set the difference between poor and rich people» « *gni yémoul am am* ». *Considered in that way, inequality is not restricted to only the economic and financial aspects.* So many definitions of inequality have come out from the interview, that at the same time underline different type of it:

- **physical inequality**, « *ngii aam doolé, ngii niak doolé* », according to Keur Mandiaye Bakary youth, the difference in the size of our fingers shows clearly the inequality among human beings
- **intellectual inequality** refers to "the difference between those who went to school and the illiterates";
- **Economic inequality** relating to « the difference in wealth among people of the same community » or « *gnii aam, gnii aamoul* » ;
- **Social inequality** relating to the social class one belongs to.

The economic inequality was the most criticized.

### 4.2 reasons and evolution of inequality

Several factors and implications explained the reasons of inequality. Today, some people tend to dim accordingly with degree of social openness and how far people are engaged in development programmes.

#### 4.2.1 Cultural and social reasons

Some communities are still stucked to their values which keep social stratification and hinder mobility. The gender inequality, the reinforcing of system of caste and the pre-eminence of the village founder's family in some communities are a true illustration of socio-cultural disparities.

Even if it is not clearly shown, we could still notice gender inequality in communities. Indeed, in some communities women entirely depend on men as far as social well being is concerned (sanitary and material care from men), economic opportunity (men only enjoy possession of lands and AGR) and « spiritual ». In short, men control almost all the income generating activities and it guarantees their economic pre-eminence over other members of the family. That inequality is also seen through the percentage of the contribution to the family income. Indeed men brought 78.7% of contribution, which is far higher than women's one. This is estimated at 3%. Even the children who are of working age contribute more (4%) than the women.

Moreover, women participation in the focus group discussion needs to be submitted to their husbands. Young girls are systematically excluded from the focus group discussion. Even when the permission has been given they always come late and stay aside and timidly take part in the discussion. Most of the heads of households ranked in the bottom of ladder of life are women (widows, divorced women, or abandoned by their husbands...).

Another aspect of social inequality is the existence of social stratification into inferior and superior classes. This type of disparity still exists today.

*In Kabdou spatial organisation has classified the social organisation into two major groups that never mixed up: the Ger (non casted) descending from the early village founder who can not merge with the Teug (casted, blacksmith). The system has always been so and it is likely keep on being so, since young men are aware of it. This is certainly one the reasons of poverty in the communities where just one family (the one of the most powerful notable) is at step 6. The most common step is step 1 that gathers 67.65% of casted households. The size of that step has decreased by 10.7% over the past ten years. The decrease was due to others but casted. The gap will certainly keep on widening since the Teug still depend on the Guer who lend them money and buy their produce.*

In short, the social disparity tends to disappear from the communities that have been interviewed because of modern life (development) brought about by the construction of infrastructures, the strengthening of capacities that allow equal access to economic opportunities.



#### 4.2.2 Difficulties to have access to economic opportunities

The accessibility or inaccessibility of economic opportunities certainly causes an inequality that remains the most common form of disparity. Some people talk about «*difference of weseuk between people*», that is shown with the availability or unavailability of farming tools and inputs to the households, amount of farming income, and the type of house... some also mentioned the access to information linked to economic opportunities. As for that last aspect, the information is spread through neighbours, friends (56.1%), radio (13.6%), the respondents and civil servants or the authorities from the local government (15%). About 81.7% of heads of households interviewed can easily give information about the local government and 17.9% are still finding it difficult to get access to information; these are certainly the poorest.

It has been reported that the households, which took advantage of programs initiated by NGOs have moved up to superior steps on the ladder of life over the past ten years. The characteristics of steps and the personal experience of people interviewed have revealed that the climbing up and the remaining on the upper steps are strongly due to the good information about economic opportunities. That fully justifies the widening of the gap between the households on the upper steps (from 5 going) and the lower ones (1 to 2) whose characteristics do not change contrary to the upper ones.

Access to information is significant for the development programs because the main ways of fighting back poverty in the community is by 31.6% due to the intervention of the government, by 27.6 % related to programs and projects and by 6.3% from NGOs.

In some communities access to economic opportunities are easier and numerous because of the democratic system that is prevailing now.

*The construction of Niandouba dam has facilitated the increase in number of pumping station. Irrigation has also been made so easier that farmers can now grow rice all year round. The increase in the rice production has positively affected Kabendu people living standard. The step 5, which did not exist ten years ago, has now three households with one (M61) that has come up from step 2. moreover, ten households have moved up from step 1 towards 2 and 3.*

*According to M. THIOYE, from Keur Macoumba Souna focus discussion group, each community has its specific activities. As far as his community is concerned, they do not have any factory to work with, nor sea to fish etc but they only do farming. In that village the disparities come from the farming tools for some people and the source of incomes for others. But that situation does not mean social exclusion except from those who exclude themselves.*

Those cases clearly underline the importance of the access to economic opportunities, which may sometimes be a source of disparity but also contributed to a good social balance with the mobility of people. The communities have all mentioned easy access to economic opportunities that can be seen on the well-being and the improvement in their standard of living.

#### 4.2.3 Participating in decision-making process

The decision making process related to the community requires the participation of men, the youth as well as women. The last decision in some communities is always in the hands of adults. Answering the question about if one of the members of their family is associated to the decision taking related to the reconstruction or rehabilitation of some infrastructure in the community, 52.2% said not to be associated. The participation level can be estimated at 45.2%, that percentage must be nuanced.

*A Kabdou, Gabar, Keur Mandiaye Bacary, Keur Macoumba Soun etc relatively homogenous regard to ethny, chieftaincy is inherited and the rules governing it are very strict for women and young girls who do not take part in decision making process related to it. The reasons put forwards are fewer responsibilities assumed by women and the young girls do not belong to the village since they are supposed to leave and get married in other communities.*

In the heterogeneous communities the social networks are reinforced by the associations and the merging is made in the framework of solidarity. Besides, democracy is so prevailing in those communities that people participate actively in the decision taking process.



*This is the case of Djilor where everybody participate is the village meeting. This fact is due to the community groups that split to cover the new planning of the village in order to benefit from the opportunities offered by NGOs.*

Democratic system has really improved over the last ten years. The right to objection is also developed because of the new communication system and Medias.

Les pauvres (71.8 % des ménages) considèrent qu'ils ont de plus en plus accès à l'information, à la parole et leurs points de vue ne sont plus négligés dans les décisions finales. Leurs opinions sont dans une certaine mesure prise en compte par les gouvernants et responsables locaux quand ils ont à prendre des décisions. Tout ceci participe de la prospérité des communautés.

### **4.3 Inequality and economic mobility**

Overcoming social inequality, getting access to economic opportunities through the associations and networks and participating to the decision taking process are certainly factors of economic mobility, which are the most significant for new development in the villages

- *In Djilor, the average households belong to step 5. People of this step are no more considered as poor. According to villagers, the helping condition towards step 5 are: mutual aid , self-determination, access to means of production , to loans, and to social basic infrastructure ; etc.*
- *In Gabar the households above the poverty line (step 4, 5and 6) have benefited from the loans and the opportunities offered by CEC programme.*
- *In Kabendou some people took advantage of the solidarity network and build up good connection with the rich people and undertook some activities in the community. The village association sensitized their members in order to get loan. Men and women personally undertook some small businesses (hair dressing, sewing, etc.); they therefore diversified their source of income.*
- *In 2004 in Kabdou, the household only depending on agriculture were deeply affected by the locust invasion. Those who suffered fewer consequences are those who had other activities apart from farming (trade, breeding.) Those households were also enjoying the transfer of funds from their relatives living abroad*

The factors helping a good social cohesion are: close relationship among people and good neighbourhood that prompted mutual aid and solidarity. This social organisation lightened not only the charges of people during some occasion but was also good for organisations involving in people well-being improvement.

The impact of developmental programme or project on the inequality not only depended on aid provided but also the capacity of each member in taking advantage of the opportunities. In short the disparities have diminished thanks to the developmental support organism .but; when we look a it closely, the economic disparities have become severe in some communities.

*In fact «the rich people have become richer while the poor have become poorer despite of the mutual aid that exists between both groups » (Thiel); « the source of incomes differ from one people to another ». Solidarity between rich people and poor is now becoming weak » (Ndiop). « While some are eating fully other find it difficult to get the three daily foods throughout the year» (Dabia).*

## 5. FREEDOM, POWER AND DEMOCRACY

### 5.1 Freedom

In several communities, freedom is seen differently, depending on whether one is young adult, man or woman, even if « Moom sa bop<sup>3</sup> » remains the only definition they all agreed on.

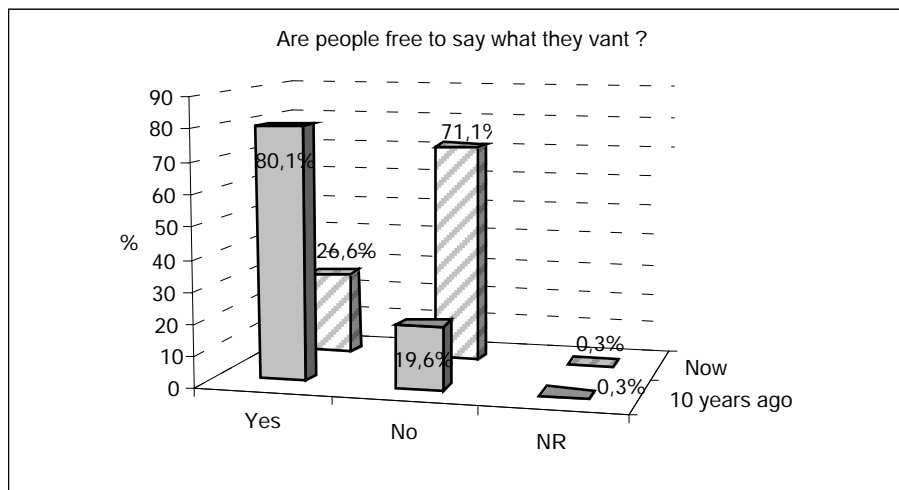
#### 5.1.1 Understanding of freedom

Several types of freedom have come out of focus group discussion. That is economic freedom ( the capacity of carrying out freely any kind of activities that you want in order to solve your economic problems alone or «*ligueyal sa bop, té meunal sa bop* »), freedom of speech (capacity of expression one's opinion freely or «*wax lii nga xalaat te kenn du la fitnaal*», that is mainly pointed out by Men and young men),, freedom of movement (capacity of going wherever one desires to go or ou "*Nek thi loula nekh, dem fi nga bëgg dem, moom sa bope, loula nekh def*» this is pointed out mainly by adult women and young girls) and finally freedom of religion (to practise the religion one desires).

#### 5.1.2 Freedom at the local level

Men found the women freer than them because they do not have any charges but they only need their husbands' permission before going out. Contrary to men, women found men freer than they are because they do not work as much as them.

In short, the understanding of communities about freedom refers to gender issue that is why throughout the survey men have been found freer than women; simply because they do not need any permission before going wherever they like.



Source: board of simple frequency – MOP principal, august 2005

NA= No answer

*Women freedom as well as children one is shown under the authority of his / her father or husband, as it was mentioned by women themselves.*

*According to Penda Kâ a free woman is the one who is not married and can do whatever she likes « kène doula ayé », as for young girls from Kabdou it is simply « Sangou ba set and ak sa far di poukeuré<sup>4</sup> ».*

According to the studies carried out, there is no group less free than another. But in some communities chieftaincy is in hand of only one family, generally speaking those families are the village founders. They possess all the lands and are free to welcome whoever is willing to settle in the village.

<sup>3</sup> To become emancipated

<sup>4</sup> To go out with one's friend

The latter should get their freedom by dint of working. This is an economic freedom that is acquired throughout the time. As for freedom of speech, people are enjoying it like never before (figure).

Everybody should enjoy freedom of speech, for whenever somebody is not afraid of expressing out his opinion, it becomes easier for him to get information that will enable him to decide whether to take part or not in developmental activity.

### 5.1.3 Freedom and economic mobility

According to people, freedom is a factor of economic mobility. Indeed, the freedom of movement, speech, and undertaking certainly opens economic opportunities that help people coming out of poverty. From women and young girls' point of view, the fact of being discharged of their households' occupation could prompt them to undertake other activities such as small businesses, and handicraft in order to diversify their sources of income. However, with the development of the strategy related to the coming out of poverty will become a constraint to women

Lack of freedom compromises of economic mobility because the women as well as poor people with less freedom, do not have the ability of carrying out income generating activities in order to care for themselves.

Gender issues have shown that men enjoyed more freedom and are well-informed about economic opportunities. They therefore benefit from them. The analysis of the community has shown that poor people cannot be free unless they take advantage of the economic opportunities like the other members of the community.

*According to Mbar Faye (Ndiop), «when you are poor, people do not respect you and have no consideration for you».*

That scorn is sometime linked to the fact that poor people always need help from the rich to meet their daily needs. Lack of freedom as well as poverty brings about dependence on others. It also causes indebtedness (no matter the terms of the agreement). Consequently, it justifies the poor living condition of poor people in the community.

Poor people have been excluded from the developmental projects that were implemented by and for the community; simply because of the insufficiency of their income.

*As illustration, Iba DIOP (at step 1, during ten years today included) has never benefited from the CECI program, which has been the major element of Gabar socio-economic development. He is still facing problem of raising money to pay his membership dues. So he is systematically excluded from that opportunity that could have certainly enabled him come out of poverty.*

## 5.2 Power

### 5.2.1 Understanding of power

Several expressions common to communities have been used to define power: « **meun Meun** » or physical or economic capacity...; « **sagn sagn** » authority deriving from custom or politics...; « **am kham-kham** » that is cultivated, intellectual and mystic...; « **am baat** » referring to respected and considered people...; « **am guur** » being democratically elected;

The definition refers to enviable social qualities that really grant power to a person.

*In Dabia, the group of people holding power is: the migrants, breeders, the religious leaders, heads of villages and their teams. But less powerful men of the community are the destitute and farmers who do not have their own lands. You may also hold power from your ancestors (this is the case of custodians of the village), or through a political party (the councilors, the PCR and village chief) through hardworking.*

### 5.2.2 Power at the local level

According to most of the communities where Mr Mop studies have been conducted, power is acquired by hereditary. The village chieftaincy and the Imam are the embodiment of integrity, humility, and dignity that an individual may get.



According to a woman from Thiel “those who say the truth are the people everybody trusts. That is why in the community you may find poor people holding more power than the rich ».

In this case, you may lose your power whenever you are no more trustworthy.

Nevertheless, wealth brings power. Thus power becomes an expected objective and is important to everybody.

The youth of Gabar argued on that point:

« *ci deuk bii, ni fi eup nguur nioy gni am khaliss. Mo takh kou ndol dou gawa aam fii nguur, meune na aam sance mou aam nguur, wayé faw mou am khaliss* <sup>5</sup> ».

People from Keur Mandiaye Bakary, said « when you are holding power , everybody respects you and you are always right no matter your age ». So, «one should better look for it in order to be well-fit in the community».

As for adults they define power as somebody who has so many people backing him up, « *mbolo moy dolë* » (unity brings power). For instance the village chief has power to summon people as the Imam has the power to pray for people. The politician can convince people to join his party with money.

Mbengué BOP is a typical case of somebody who has come out of poverty. Indeed, by din of working hard for his village, she has become the vice president of the rural council. She is now among the most powerful people of the zone.

However, people have come to conclusion, through the focus group discussion, that you cannot claim to do politics if you do not hold economic power because you need so many supports. Some people like Mbaye could not share that point of view simply because they thought politics have nothing to do with economic power. To be a politician requires some other natural abilities which are different from those of a rich man.

Let us bear in mind that poor people can also succeed in politics, « *kou yoroul man na politique* », by acquiring power and using it effectively

«according to Mbaye Dame FALL, one of the elders of Keur Mandiaye Bakary, strength is also a form of power provided one should not use it to oppress weak people ; strength commands respect from others that is why it is very important for people to have it ».

Power and strength enable people not only to strengthen their relationships but also open up some economic opportunities that will take them out of poverty. There is therefore a link between power and poverty, so the access to power can certainly help somebody move up on the ladder of life. People are becoming more and more aware of their rights, so they are now expecting to get power.

The analysis of the results made from ten-step ladder of value are represented in the table below.

Today	10 years ago											Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA		
1	5	2	7	2	3								19
2	5	8	5	5	3	1	1	1					29
3	5	10	6	6	2	2			2				33
4	2	8	7	10		3	4	2				1	37
5	2	7	10	6	23	2						1	51
6	3	5	3	3	4	17	1						36
7		1	3	3	3	1	15		1	3			30
8	1	3	2		1	1	2	15					25
9					2		1	1	12				16
10			1							17			18
NA											7		7
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>301**</b>

<sup>5</sup> In this village, the rich hold more power. That is why the poor are not given power, they may sometimes get it but they need to have money



No answer

\*\* Total number of interviewees

, 34% of heads of households declared that their power and rights have positively increased while 20% are saying the contrary. Those who came to a standstill can be estimated at 42.5% and we mostly see them from step 5 going. Their power and rights remain the same. This is the proof of people that are attached to power to strengthen their status in the community.

**5.2.3 Power and economic mobility**

The one holding power generally gets into relationship that opens so many opportunities in several domains. He is informed about everything that is going on at the rural community level. He therefore gets ready not only to act on time but also to anticipate some decisions.

The economic mobility in relation to the power, coming from the group, can be seen in villages where the descendents of the founders keep the means of production (lands, wood, sacred places...). Those means enabled them to take advantage of socio-economic opportunities more than others. So power therefore becomes a trigger of economic mobility, which is henceforth an expected objective. It is clear that holding it does not necessarily mean coming out of poverty. As an illustration, so many heads of village are still poor compared to ten years back. While the elected politicians rapidly climb up the ladder of life before staying above the community poverty line.

Some women «would have preferred enjoying economic as well as political power », while others are complaining about being illiterates. A woman who succeeds in filling some social gaps could have certainly got power to improve her well-being of her household.

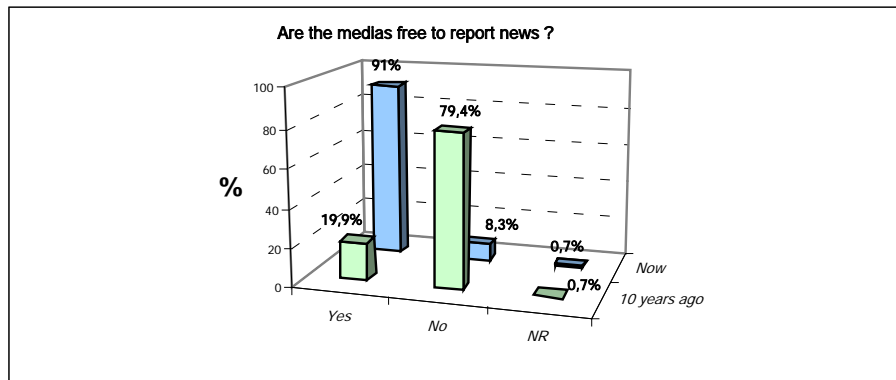
*Mbengué BOP, whose case was mentioned, claimed to have experienced some changes in her status. Simply because of the political power she has been enjoying since power changes hand. She actually started from the scratch and became famous in the village.*

**5.3 democracy**

**5.3.1 Understanding of democracy**

The definition of democracy was difficult because of different steps, social classes and the illiteracy of the focus group discussion members. So women and young girls could not give their opinion about it easily. However, generally speaking, people, based on their own understanding of democracy, have underlined that the term could not be considered in isolation. It therefore needs to be associated with other aspects related to freedom, power, culture, and the access to Media «*freedom of information, speech and thought* ».

According to men, democracy is the fact of speaking freely that is «*waxes sa xalaat gnou deglou la*». The increasing number of radio stations in Senegal is a good sign of democracy. Thus more and more people can now express their opinion through the radio as it is illustrated on the diagramme below.



Source: board of simple frequency – MOP principal, august 2005  
 NA= No answer



For the effective functioning of democracy, people must be free.

In Kabdou, the head of the village has considered young men and their parents belonging to the same focus discussion group as real evidence of democracy

Women from other communities associated democracy with «*work, freedom of spending one's money as one likes and freedom of movement...*». In short, we have come to the conclusion that the definition of democracy is relayed to people social background. They consider democracy as , «possibility of voting a candidate or removing him from power » or to « make freely one's choice among so many proposals», «*to accept our fellow men and tolerate their opinion* », «*Yémalé nieup*<sup>6</sup>», « *multiparty system ,freedom of speech, transparency and fair representation of women in top management* ».

According to the youth, democracy enables poor people to express their disagreement to the authorities as well as their expectations.

### **5.3.2 Democracy at local level**

Compared to ten years ago, the surveys, carried out in the communities, have revealed that people are more and more using democratic system in their way of managing villages.

Politics were factors of conflict in Djilor. In fact relatives did not go to wedding ceremonies together, nor did they talk to one another or could no more express their condolences to one another like before. Simply because they did not belong to the same political party.

*Women from Keur Mandiaye Bakary always heard about the projects but had never had the opportunity to benefit from them. But today, the projects organisations like DISC, FDEA, PLAN International, and AFDS... are directly implementing them in the communities. Based on that, they believe democracy and good governance of local affairs have something to do with the new development. From the studies carried out in the communities, we could notice that the access to information related to the local government management was not easy ten years ago. The authorities could not give enough information; so people did not bother themselves seeing in what they were doing.*

*In Ngaraf, democracy is viewed differently over the past ten years and that has a positive impact on the community. A member of men focus discussion group declared, « Today with the increasing number of private radio stations, we could express our disagreements; and when a council does not take up well his duty we could dismiss him through vote. So people are now aware that they can choose somebody who can work for them or dismiss who cannot meet their expectations ». . This is to show that the power the electorates have on the authorities has increased.*

In short, let us say the use of democracy has really improved in the communities over the past ten years. Indeed, 45.2% of heads of households confirmed that the new councillors have reduced the corruption rate and the public funds embezzlement against 35.5% before.

*From Ndèye Sokhna Nging's point of view «any elected representative could no more take our properties by force. Formerly the farmers could not sell their peanuts in secco without bribing the weighing officers. Fortunately that has come to an end now in Ndiop».*

As for the issue related to the access to information about the local governments' activities, 65.5% of households have noticed an improvement against 6.3% for whom the situation has worsened. Nevertheless the possibility of reaching the local authorities to influence their decisions has slightly improved over the past ten years. 51.2 % of the households found the situation unchanged against 5.6% that have noticed a decrease.

The prosperity improvement in several cases is due to the possibility offered by the transparency of the democracy. We should not forget that the situation is exogenous to the community. Since that things are interrelated, the impact should also be seen at the national level as well as in the communities.

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<sup>6</sup> Treat everybody as an equal

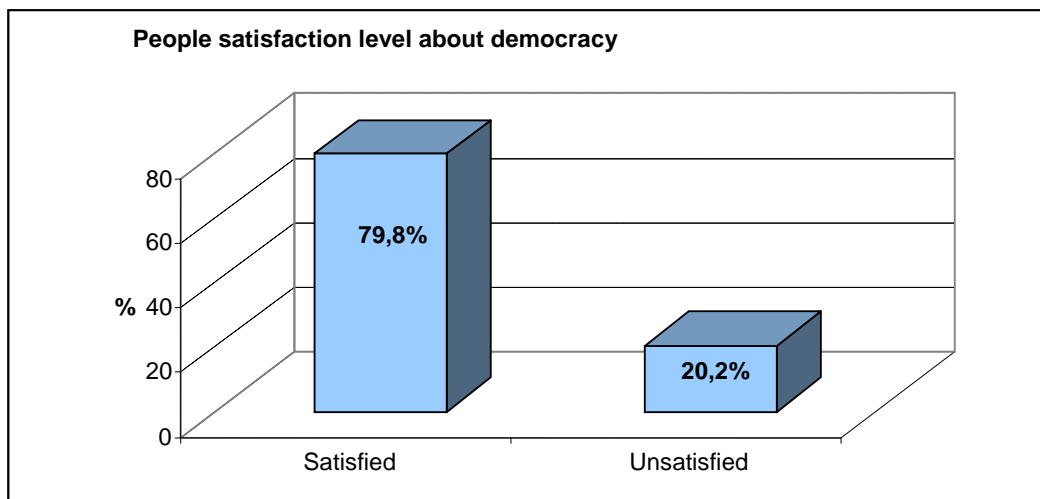


Today the government and the elected representative pay heed to the opinions of individuals in their decision taking process, even if it still needs to be improved. Indeed ten years ago, 39.9% declared that their points of views were not taken into account in the decisions against 23.3% that said the contrary. Today the situation has far better improved because we could respectively notice 28.2% against 41.5%.

### 5.3.3 Democracy and local development

« the possibility of electing and dismissing a candidate » is a major element of democracy, so democracy should take place in fair and free election. For 95.7% interviewees, the elections of 2000 were free and fair. Since then, democracy has slightly improved in some communities. Poor people are more and more expressing their point of views and the decision are taken collectively. The right to objection does really exist and is shown through the several radio stations.

Democracy has had a positive impact on the prosperous of villages such as Gabar, Kabdou, Djilor, Ndiop, Thiel for the past ten years to the extent that the inhabitants can now have access to more information about all that is happening in the country. Also, concerning the sale of their goods, the inhabitants are at ease with their trading activities. In totality, the communities are satisfied with the efforts the local government authorities are making to ensure democracy. The level of dissatisfaction is still to be measured



Source: Simple frequency table – Major MOP, August 2005

The authorities could not give enough information; so people did not bother themselves seeing in what they were doing. That was the way democracy was functioning

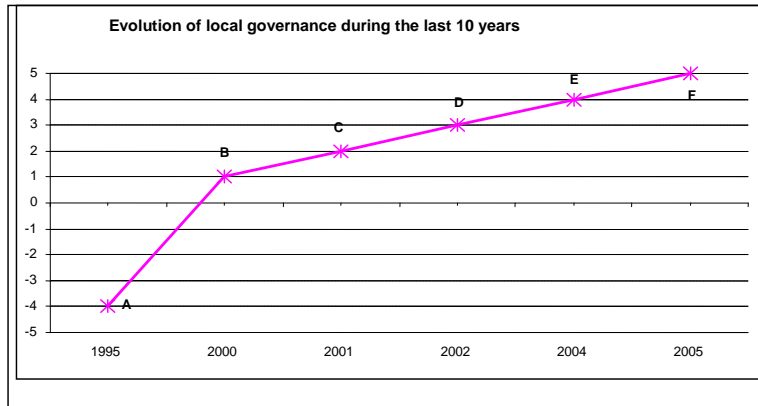
Based on the above, some among them (48.5% against 35.5%) think that the poor now constitute a priority in national politics.

Before 1995, supports from projects were not expected in certain villages because information concerning government policies were poorly disseminated by the local authorities such that their intentions were not always clear. People did not have the same means of accessing information. So, diversification of food, seeds, fertilizers and other farming inputs was rampant. The poor people were really suffering from it. But since 2000 (After the power has changed hands), Things have really changed. The inhabitants were always consulted on the needs of their communities hence, the origin of the water projects here, storage house, village shops here and there, rural roads, hydroelectric facility etc outside.

At Ngaraf, the arrival of new PCR has brought some developments namely, the availability of infrastructures and a capacity reinforcement which have helped to create Economic Interest Group (EIG) and to open some accounts. This was in line with the financing plans of PNIR for income generating activities.

Most communities found it more prosperous and well consolidating than before. The fact is that, before then, they did not have the possibility of involving themselves in local government activities because they were not yet developed and were also not addressing the needs of their daily life.

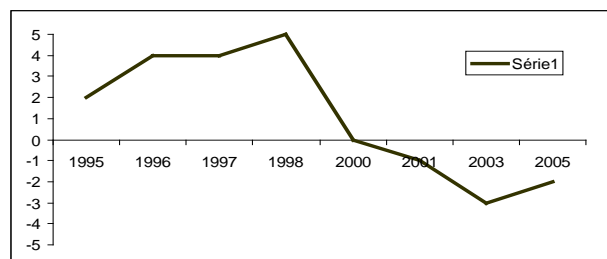
The case of Kabdou will be a good illustration of the impacts of democracy on rural development. In fact, since 1995, local political authorities with Sérigne DIOP as the chief advisor, in collaboration with PCR, continues to exist. It is due to this that many problems concerning life are being solved since 2000. This is illustrated in the tendency curb of rural democracy below.



- A) Those who did not benefit from the socialist regime ;
- B) Occurrence of a political change with election of Abdoulaye Wade as a president;
- C) Appointment of special delegation to manage rural transitional democracy in 2002 ;
- D) Management of democratic and transparent village health with Integrated Health Development Support Program (IHDSPP) ;
- E) Village Irrigation Project;
- F) Village handicraft, electrification pipe-borne water projects

The inhabitants of Mbaye Awa have not got this information. According to Mor Nguirane, rural affairs are poorly managed since the last elections. In fact, « contrary to the former Rural Advisory Committee chairman, who always consulted us in all? He was more considerate and was always paying us regular visits. The current chairman makes decisions without consulting us. The first incident was the issue of relocating the market where the police and the “sub-prefect” were supposed to be invited to come and help solve the problem. The second was when he wanted to use farm lands for cattle paths and we did not agree. His real aim is to satisfy the Peulhs (he is from that tribe) because they constitute the majority (“more than 70 % of the local community population while we Wolofs constitute just a village ». So the affairs of the local government are run in a partisan way and this manner of managing things unfortunately has not been revealed by the survey results. In fact, they only revealed 59.5% the views of the head of households which find the local government politics favorable to all the people whereas 40.2% see it to be favoring only some major interests.

Also, for the past ten years in this village, the changes that are brought by democracy are those which concern access to information through private radio stations on voting. It is possible to replace the rulers or maintain them. Unfortunately, the peulh majority in the rural communities will always elect one of their members to be the chairman of the Rural Advisory Committee. This partiality in the local governance is well illustrated in the figure below:



Democracy is seen here as a personalized form of exercising large power. It has become difficult to control the participation of the people in the decision making process.

In any case, the communities said that they were waiting for the government to bring more transparency (51.8%), social justice and fairness (41,2%) and more contribution of the people to the needs of the state (31,2%). This appeal is without comment because it involves all the steps of both the local and national governance.



## 6. ASPIRATIONS

### 6.1 Community aspirations

A greater number of the communities have received development during the last decade. This time around, the communities of Ndiop and Ngaraf in the groundnuts production zones and those of Saré Same Bati, in the Kolda region are better off than they were 10 years ago. Situations of this sort normally have some degradation effect in the farming activities. Nevertheless, all the communities interviewed have confidence and expect better conditions in the following decade.

They believe that the putting in place of basic infrastructures, improvement on the access to certain basic services and some developmental support projects in income generating activities will bring more progress.

Other activities mentioned such as improvement of farm lands in potential areas, easier access to materials, capacity reinforcement and improvement of access to credit facilities for business (facilitating the sale of goods, and installation of processing plants for agricultural produce).

### 6.2 households aspirations

For the last five years, 68% of the households interviewed said that poverty is reduced in their communities.. But for the next five years, nearly 90% of the households responded that there will be much or slight increase in poverty in their communities.

For more than 94% of households, conditions in their households would be better in ten years time. There are no much disparities among the social strata: 96.2% for the poor; 92.1% for the rich who have become poor; 93.4% for the poor-rich and finally, 91.7% for the rich-rich. They also attached the same optimism to the future generations.

Households with children aspire to see them go as far as possible in their studies: 65.1% of households would prefer their elder male children to study up to the university level while 48.2% prefer their elder female children to do that. These different proportions are very important to the rich strata of households differences proportions sent plus import antes au novae des ménages de la strata riches critiques (75% and 54.2%respectively).In most case most of them think the majority of their children will study up to the university level.

When asked what would the priorities of the community, the households respond less unanimously that they should either be promotion of income generating activities or support from material and financial intermediaries for the community (about 60% between them), or the establishment of projects or programs aimed to develop basic social services (about 40% between them). Other potential income generating activities such access to credit facilities affordable prices of basic commodities or the best market opportunities for agricultural produce are the few priorities often mentioned by the households.

Also, the households suggest limited range of credit to be included in government activities for the poor because most of them believe that the poor should be priority for the state. this view is expressed rather more by the non-poor than those who are poor. The same thing applies to the policies and programs which seem to have been poorly responded to, not been tackled at all and some more deprived issues. As a result, only about 20% of the households believe in politics and programs take care of the needs and preoccupations of the poor. About 80% more of the poor than those who are not poor ask for transparency in the activities of the state. The state could also involve itself more in the youth employment for most of the households. In order of priority, the issues of self-sufficiency, food and the access to credit facilities are those clearly put forward by the very poor people. Those who are not poor are affected more by the health sector.

Finally, since 5 years, with the change of authorities, only a little more than 40% of the households consider the new authorities to have ensured reduction of corruptions and embezzlements of public funds in the country.



### 6.3 individuals aspirations

In most of the cases the individual aspirations differ a little. These are the level of poverty and the pressing of needs. Majority of the individuals aspire to have favorable conditions to be able to carry out their economic activities. For the very poor and even the rich, it is especially about access to farming materials and fertilizers, credit facilities, fertile lands, favorable economic opportunities, health, education and training. Individuals belonging to rich class bracket expect in addition adequate support to expand their activities.

*Living with one's old and sick parents and his aunt now amputated (a situation that has affected her so much) and has given her a good education, Modou, a polygamist and father of 11 children can not see his situation improving for the next 10 years if the developmental projects with material inputs, price increase for farm produce and financial support do not integrate their plight (access to credit facilities).*

*Even if Moussa Mballo from the Diassina community has hope in him because: «I don't run away from work if I am in good health I do my work », Following most of the poor people he puts all his hopes on his children when they grow.*



## 7. YOUNG PEOPLE

### 7.1 Major problems that young people along with their families and communities have to deal with

The major problems that the youth are facing are in various forms:

#### 7.1.1 *problems that Young people face*

- **Lack of vocational training**

This constitutes one of fundamental problems that the youth are facing. This lack of qualification explains their unemployment: most of the youth want jobs but they do not have professions. Rainy season farming constitutes their major activity. During the dry season they are compelled to migrate to the urban centres to find jobs..

- **Less favorable environmental education**

Lack of schools in most of the villages compelled most youth to pursue their studies in other communities far away from their families. This is followed by high rates of drawbacks due to bad conditions of lodging and studying (rents and fees). Most of the youth stop studies and return to the village without qualification nor certificate. Even in villages where there are schools, the facilities are either not available or insufficient as regards the number of students in the school. Here too many students end up abandoning their studies half way because of lack of means. In addition to the above, is the overcrowding in the classroom which reduces quality of teaching and learning which further increase the rate drawbacks?

Furthermore, in certain communities situated in the forest zone (eg: Thiel), the external features of animal breeding and the transhumant activities which prevent the children to good formal education or get vocational training.

- **Unemployment**

Some youth who are able to finish school find it difficult to find jobs to match with their status. This situation is not very encouraging especially for the students their parents.

- **Difficulties in accessing loans and economic opportunities:**

Access to loans is one of the biggest difficulties of the youth because you must first of all have a business already in existence or be in the process of developing one. If the business is in the community the decentralized financial structures will give you the following conditions:(capital contribution, interest rate, deadline) which are generally inaccessible to the youth. Sometimes too the process of acquiring the loan is too long.

The testimony of this youth from Mbaye Awa is quite eloquent: « *To acquire a loan of 300 000 FCFA, you must mobilize a capital of 100 000 FCFA and have to wait for more than 3 months to be financed. With 100 000 FCFA, a trader can make a turnover of 150 000 to 200 000 FCFA within the same period of time. The inability to provide initial capital as demanded by the MEC constitutes a hindrance* ».

This situation is further worsened by the absence of money lenders (projects and NGOs) in micro financing to enable the youth to get funds for their productive ventures. This hinders the youth to start their own micro businesses and not to depend on their parents any more.

- **Lack of time and early marriages:**

This problem exists especially among the Pulaar (communities of Thiel, Diassina, Saré Baty, etc.) where girls marry very early. These early marriages combined with household chores do not allow those girls to have vocational training in hairdressing, sewing and dying. Some youth even go as far as saying that their parents want them to get married instead of allowing them plan for their future.». Also, most girls do not finish their studies because of the heavy domestic work load combined with studies. Girls get very tired fetching water: the wells are very deep (50 to 70 m deep). As a result of that, they are not able to study well.

The lack of socio-cultural and socio-educative infrastructures such as professional training centres (carpenter, hairdressing , sewing), youth centres community library etc.



### **Problems that family and community face**

The common difficulties are generally related to agricultural activities through constant family indebtedness, lack of inputs which has brought about low farm incomes. In some families . In some families, lack of man-power is their main problem. The children are either still too young or have migrated to the urban centres.

The low income levels of families and extreme poverty of parents constitute constraints for parents to pay their children's school fees or finance their small projects. The three daily meals cannot be assured and family responsibilities usually rest on one person's shoulders, the family head. Other family problems exist: these concern unspacious accommodation (In some houses you can find about 6 young people living in the same room). The difficulties in getting water, lack of electricity in some houses (most families are living in darkness and always pose security problems: theft cases, snake bites, etc.).

The community problems are essentially : Inaccessibility to the village by other communities because of lack of good roads during the rainy seasons, and lack of telephone. Other community problems are, lack of electricity, bore-holes and water pipelines (example: Ngaraf, Kabendu, Saré Baty, etc.). Health infrastructures (the case of Keur Mandiaye Bakary Where the nearest health post is centred is at Sakal a distant of 20 km away), etc.

#### **7.2 Young people problems that the government has to deal with**

The national major problem that the youth mentioned was generally unemployment, According to them, lack of permanent income which could enable them to marry and help their parents, lack of motivation from teachers are equally problems which hinder good children education. In big cities like Dakar, there are many children in the street. The insecurity in the cities bring about regular aggressions is also a big problem in the country .This situation is linked to the unemployment and idled youth leaving the school.

#### **7.3 Young people aspirations for jobs and the employment issue of their parents**

Most of the youth aspire to either skilled or unskilled jobs and others want to travel to find good employments. They are optimistic : a greater proportion of of them from 15 to 25 years old interviewed at the household level believe that they would go up to a higher level of the life ladder , echelon 7 (on a total of 10) by the time they get to 30 years. This group represents 62.7% of the youth and this is a general tendency. Most of these youth would like to work at the top management level in the public sectors ((20,1%) or create their own businesses (38,2%). Meanwhile only 2.8% want to engage in agriculture (4.2% in the chronic poor people).

If they all aspire to one the same employment about a total of 24% and 31.3% of which belongs to the chronic poor households do not hope to have jobs or own enterprise when they get to 30 years old. The majority (43.3%) of young people are completely sure, (22%) are rather sure that as soon as they get to 30 years, they will practise the profession that they have planned to carry out. However, some factors such as financial difficulties, circumstances outside their control, family responsibilities and their health condition may hinder their efforts. The aspirations of the youth are basically about their occupations and the potentiality of the zone. They can be classified as follows:

- Aspiring to develop, a liberal vocation: It concerns the youth who have stopped school and travel to the urban areas during the dry seasons or those who work as tailors, seamstresses, hairdressers etc. Most of them want financing and means to create hairdressing and dressmaking salons (young girls from the groundnut producing and the northern zones), fattening animals (forest zone in the region of Kolda), market gardening (example, Gabar), petty trading (especially girls) or developing and modifying their small occupations etc.
- Aspiring to be managers: these are especially those who have been to school. They want to succeed in their studies to become engineers, medical doctors, maternity nurses, teachers, court magistrates etc. These aspirations are generally based on the existing problems of the community.

*For example, at Ndiop, some girls want to become medical doctors to help reduce the morbidity rates in the zone while others aspire to become teachers to solve the problems of teaching and learning at the high school level.*



- Traveling to Europe and the United States is a common aspiration as an alternative means to fight idleness and poverty rate among the youth. In almost all the villages, the youth believe it is easier to find jobs and amass wealth in Europe and USA. This belief is inspired by the success of some youth living in Europe and are taking care of their families. So at Saré Baty and Kabendu, traveling outside the country is one of the major factors of household mobility».

#### **7.4 Steps taken by the youth to prepare for the future**

To prepare for the future, the youth believe that they have to rather get a good education and good professional training and financing for income-generating activities. To be optimistic about success in school according to the youth, the state should equip the classrooms and distribute learning materials (textbooks and exercise books) to help parents.

*According to the views of some youth like Mamadou from Ndiobène Toubène, education is the key to development of the community ". Also every village chief of the rural community should endow a high school a means of avoid the movement of students to school in other places far away from their homes.*

In all the communities, the youth have made some necessary efforts to get professional training in carpentry, electrical, sewing etc. To be able to carry out their activities well, they need be literates and with basic training in management.

*Aziz Sow, a young man from Thiel, declared: "More and more youth should be trained in plumbing and electrical to provide them with basic construction on pipelines and electrification work in the village".*

In order to earn substantial income, some youth need funds from developmental projects and NGOs or National Funds for Youth Promotion (NFYP).

Activities like animal fattening, market gardening and trading are considered lucrative in some villages such as Gabar, Thièl, and Saré Baty. Furthermore, youth from these areas have good experience in those fields. They have joined community development associations such as GIE<sup>7</sup>, ASC<sup>8</sup>, etc.

*At Gabar, they engage themselves in activities that easily be combined with studies". "These should have been supported with the construction of a well tarred road by the state to facilitate the sale of goods", they suggested. They also suggested the facilitation of access farm inputs and materials to help some youth to exploit in other major fields".*

As for the girls the future cannot be conceived beyond the house. They are only interested in marrying, farming and practicing other occupations (especially trading) in order to make their income.

#### **7.5. Young people understanding of freedom, power and inequality**

##### **7.5.1 Freedom**

The youth all over insist on freedom of expression and activity, freedom of movement of people and goods and economic freedom. They however insist on the importance of enjoying freedom without stepping on others' rights to it.

*Adama Fadioba, from Kabendu, defines freedom as «the possibility getting what you want without disturbing others »).*

The young girls feel that being free is being autonomous without control". Autonomy as she suggests « supposes some physical maturity of the person especially financial independence ». The area where the importance of freedom was strongly stressed was that of economic. They define it as "the possibility to solve one's problems by himself without depending on other". To them there is a strong correlation between freedom and poverty.

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<sup>7</sup> Economic interest grouping

<sup>8</sup> Association of Culture and sports



According to Cheikhou de Kabendu, this correlation is positive, he added " it is the rich who are not free in their movements. They are even compelled to take a security man to keep watch while they are sleeping ».

Adama feels that it is rather the opposite because she said "the poor have no freedom because they are also forced to ask for help from other to meet their needs". This opinion is shared by most of the youth who think that the more poor a person is the less free he is".

### **7.5.2 Power**

The perception of youth about power is broad. For some of them, it is the ability to meet the needs of their family members (economic power). Others mentioned mystical skills (mystical power, responsible position held in society (political power), power of unity and ultimately physical or intellectual ability of an individual

For the youth it is good to have power because it commands respect. Those who have it are always right and are free to whatever they like. According to them there is a close link between power and poverty. Thus a poor may have power if he can display mystical skill or has good relationship with political and religious authorities.

Groups having more power in the community are the rich (compare to the poor), men (compare to women) and adults (compare to youth). Some young people from Kabendu, believe that powerful individuals abuse the poor to acquire power .

### **7.5.3 Inequality**

Four types of inequality have been identified by the young people:

- Economic inequality has been defined as the difference between the rich and the poor such that the former are more respected. It is also the difference in accessing economic opportunities ;
- Intellectual inequalities between literates and illiterates such that the former are more involved in NGOs support projects
- Social inequality brings about the structuring of the society into different social classes: the castes<sup>9</sup>, slaves and the descendants royal families. Among the pulaar youth some said « the peulhs with fair complexion have more cattle than those with dark complexion » because they belong to the royal families;
- Inequality is considered as the difference of weurseuk<sup>10</sup> between people;

## **7.6 young people understanding of democracy**

Democracy has been defined in two ways: freedom of expression and equality between citizens. For some young people there is a close relationship between democracy and poverty. To them the consolidation of democracy can contribute to eradication of poverty by sharing fairly national resources and promoting national solidarity. Other believes that the aggravation of poverty may contribute negatively to the raising of frustration feelings and the violating of rules. The persistence of this situation can bring about political and social disorder most of the youth declared not to be involved in the management of rural affairs. They have negative perceptions about changes in democratic procedures and local governance. They also noticed that the local politicians do not help the community.

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<sup>9</sup> Forgerons, cordonniers

<sup>10</sup> Chance, providence



### **7.7 The expectation of young people about democracy and local governance for the next ten years**

For the next ten years , most of the youth in the community expect some positive changes in the democratic procedures and local governance .to illustrate this opinion, some declared that the youth are now aware of the necessity and emergency of participating actively in the politics in order to elect a competent team in the next local elections . others , based on the improvement of the people competence level with the support of development partners in capacity reinforcement of local elected, democracy will be effective.

