

Report No. 18133

Mauritania

Impact Evaluation Report

Second Livestock Project (Credit 1658-MAU)

June 30, 1998

Operations Evaluation Department



Currency Equivalents

Currency unit = Ouguiyas (um)

1987	US\$1.00	=	73.4 um
1988	US\$1.00	=	75.2 um
1989	US\$1.00	=	83.0 um
1990	US\$1.00	=	80.7 um
1991	US\$1.00	=	82.1 um
1992	US\$1.00	=	87.5 um
1993	US\$1.00	=	119.9 um
1994	US\$1.00	=	123.6 um
1995	US\$1.00	=	127.5 um

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BIE	Bureau des Intrants pour l'Elevage (Office of Livestock Inputs)
DNE	Direction Nationale de l'Elevage (Livestock Department)
FY	fiscal year
GNAASP	Groupe National des Associations Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral (National Group of Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Associations)
GNAP	Groupe National des Association Pastoral (National Group of Pastoral Associations)
GOM	Government of Mauritania
ICR	Implementation Completion Report
LIL	Learning and Innovation Loan
MDRE	Ministère du Développement Rural et de l'Environnement (Ministry of Rural Development and Environment)
PA	pastoral association
PCA	pastoral cooperative association
PCR	Program of Consolidation and Renewal
PREF	Program for Economic and Financial Adjustment
SOMECOB	Société Mauritanienne de la Commercialisation du Bétail (Mauritanian Livestock Marketing Company)

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June 30, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS AND THE PRESIDENT

**SUBJECT: Impact Evaluation Report on Mauritania:
Second Livestock Project (Credit 1658-MAU)**

The attached Impact Evaluation Report (IER) presents the results of an Operations Evaluation Department (OED) study of a livestock project in Mauritania. The IDA credit was approved in FY86 and closed in FY95. The evaluation was based on a review of Bank files, including project completion and appraisal reports, field visits to project sites, and interviews with project beneficiaries and government and Bank staff. The evaluation team used a variety of participatory techniques to obtain the views of the principal stakeholders, direct beneficiaries (principally pastoralists), agency staff, government staff, and others related to the livestock sector.

External support to the livestock sector in semi-arid regions has increasingly emphasized the development of pastoralists' groups as a means of facilitating links between pastoralists and support services, especially in animal health, and also to help improve management of rangeland and water resources on which pastoral livestock production is based. Little assessment has been done of the development and performance of pastoralist groups of this type. The Second Livestock Project in Mauritania staked its success on such a scheme. The evaluation focuses on the performance of the project in developing pastoral cooperative associations (PCAs), and reviews their development, current position, and the issues that are arising in their continued evolution two years after project closing.

At present the 39 PCAs formed under the project are grouped in a national organization, the National Grouping of Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Associations. The PCAs have an estimated membership of 20,000, or more than one-third of the pastoralist households in the country. In principle this is a considerable achievement, but membership is often nominal, and the PCAs are in a highly variable but generally precarious state. Almost two-thirds of the PCAs investigated by the evaluation (8 out of 13) consist entirely of Maurish tribes, while the others are ethnically mixed. The vast majority of PCA leadership is male, generally aged between 45 and 56, but women are much more active at the level of the member cooperatives. The leaders of the individual PCAs investigated are generally figures of some importance, having both urban and rural interests. Members of the committees are predominantly local. The active membership is small, the PCA assemblies seldom meet, and only the smaller management committees meet with any regularity. Most maintain a small revolving fund for the purchase of veterinary supplies, and have undertaken small productive miniprojects. The PCAs were not able to achieve effective control over their grazing areas and performance in resource conservation and measures to improve management were limited.

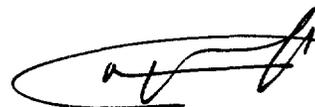
While the project succeeded in establishing the PCAs, it was inconsistent over time in its approach to the organizations (moving from experimenting with a few pilot associations to expansion and back to consolidation). This inconsistency created confusion and conflict between the various roles of the associations and kept them from developing a clear status in the country. This problem was increased by the large size and scale of the PCAs (typically they cover 2,000-2,500 kms² with a

population of about 5,000), which made it difficult for them to overcome internal heterogeneity of interests. Furthermore, the project continued to emphasize range management even though the PCA members were more concerned with water and animal health, and despite evidence that the efforts to establish a freer system of distribution of veterinary products were appreciated by the herders and proved the most popular and durable of all the initiatives. However, this primary concern of the project with natural resource management was not linked to a strategy based on a detailed understanding and analysis of the complex dynamics of contemporary production systems or an appreciation of the major environmental constraints in a rapidly evolving ecological situation. A particular source of frustration to PCA membership was that, at the outset, they understood that the project would place priority on rehabilitating or drilling wells for stock water points. However, this only materialized in a minor way at the end of the project.

Following completion of the Second Livestock Project, support to the PCAs was continued with a view to their playing a role in the successor Rainfed Natural Resource Management Project (PGRNP), approved in FY97. This project also has a primarily natural resource management focus, with greater emphasis at the local level on village development, and involving the full range of land users. To date the PCAs have not been formally involved in this process, and they believe they are being sidelined in favor of more village-based entities, to the potential disadvantage of the pastoralists. It is important for the Bank to recognize that it cannot help to initiate community groupings and then ignore them in subsequent operations that affect them, if it and they are to retain credibility.

In summary, the PCAs have not developed a clear role and consequent visibility, either locally or nationally. They risk becoming sidelined and withering into insignificance. Given the marginality of pastoral livestock producers and their need to integrate into the larger economy, this is increasing frustration and could lead to tensions that will undercut other efforts, including those of the PGRNP. If this is to be avoided, it is essential that the PGRNP recognize and, as far as possible mesh with, the structures developed under the Second Livestock Project. The PGRNP should: (a) work in a fully participatory manner with the PCAs and other local groupings in further developing its strategy for natural resource management and development, and (b) give high priority to improvement of stock water points and, to the degree feasible, complete the program identified under the Second Livestock Project, otherwise confusion and disillusionment are likely to result, to the detriment of the PGRNP's ultimate performance.

The findings of the study indicate a number of more general lessons for efforts to support pastoralists. First, an emphasis on resource management requires intensive support for local initiatives, at least for some time, but it also requires recognition of the limited array of new technologies available for extensive production and natural resource management systems. Priority should be given to actions that will help pastoralists better integrate into the larger economy and society, rather than to attempts to devise and introduce improved technologies. Second, consideration should be given to actions that will foster the growth of a broader pattern of local leadership in the communities, seeking neither to simply reinforce the position of the traditional leadership nor to promote an unrealistic degree of "popular participation," but to provide an enabling environment for new initiatives and the emergence of new cooperative groupings. Third, when strong local structures for development-oriented activities do not exist, a sequenced and process approach to project operations is required, especially when the local socio-economic and resource management systems are not well known.

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Preface

The Mauritania Second Livestock Project, supported by Credit 1658-MAU for US\$7.6 million equivalent was approved in FY86. The project did not become effective until June 1987, and an extension of three years from the planned closing date was agreed at the 1990 mid-term review. The project was restructured in 1993 and a revised credit agreement was approved by the Board in FY95. The project closed on June 30, 1995. Cofinancing was provided by the African Development Bank (US\$6.3 million equivalent) and the OPEC Fund (US\$2.0 million).

This report is based on a field study in the project area carried out between October and December 1997 by Prof. David Seddon of the School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, U.K., with the assistance of two Mauritanian researchers, Dr. Abdel Wahoud Ould Cheikh and M. Isselmou Abdelkader. The study included individual and group interviews with beneficiaries and interviews with local and national government officials and other persons involved in livestock production. The report also draws on project documents and interviews with Bank staff in Washington and Nouakchott. The kind cooperation and valuable assistance provided by all these individuals and agencies are gratefully acknowledged.

Following standard OED procedures, copies of the draft report were sent to the relevant government officials and agencies for their review and comment. Comments from the Ministry of Rural Development and the Environment in Mauritania have been received, taken into consideration, and are reproduced in full as Annex 3.

Executive Summary

1. External support to the livestock sector in semi-arid regions has increasingly emphasized the development of pastoralists' groups as a means of facilitating links between pastoralists and support services, especially in animal health, and also to help improve management of rangeland and water resources on which pastoral livestock production is based. Little assessment has been done of the development and performance of pastoralist groups of this type. The Second Livestock Project in Mauritania staked its success on such a scheme. The evaluation focuses on the performance of the project in developing pastoral cooperative associations (PCAs), and reviews their development, current position, and the issues that are arising in their continued evolution two years after project closing. It was based on a review of Bank files, including project completion and appraisal reports, field visits to project sites, and interviews with project beneficiaries and government and Bank staff. The evaluation team used a variety of participatory techniques to obtain the views of the principal stakeholders, direct beneficiaries (principally pastoralists), agency staff, government staff, and others related to the livestock sector.

2. At present the 39 PCAs formed under the project are grouped in a national organization, the National Grouping of Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Associations. The PCAs have an estimated membership of 20,000, or more than one-third of the pastoralist households in the country. In principle this is a considerable achievement, but membership is often nominal, and the PCAs are in a highly variable but generally precarious state. Almost two-thirds of the PCAs investigated by the evaluation (8 out of 13) consist entirely of Maurish tribes, while the others are ethnically mixed. The vast majority of PCA leadership is male, generally aged between 45 and 56, but women are much more active at the level of the member cooperatives. The leaders of the individual PCAs investigated are generally figures of some importance, having both urban and rural interests. Members of the committees are predominantly local. The active membership is small, the PCA assemblies seldom meet, and only the smaller management committees meet with any regularity. Most maintain a small revolving fund for the purchase of veterinary supplies, and have undertaken small productive miniprojects. The PCAs were not able to achieve effective control over their grazing areas and performance in resource conservation and measures to improve management were limited.

3. While the project succeeded in establishing the PCAs, it was inconsistent over time in its approach to the organizations (moving from experimenting with a few pilot associations to expansion and back to consolidation). This inconsistency created confusion and conflict between the various roles of the associations and kept them from developing a clear status in the country. This problem was increased by the large size and scale of the PCAs (typically they cover 2,000-2,500 kms² with a population of about 5,000), which made it difficult for them to overcome internal heterogeneity of interests. Furthermore, the project continued to emphasize range management even though the PCA members were more concerned with water and animal health, and despite evidence that the efforts to establish a freer system of distribution of veterinary products were appreciated by the herders and proved the most popular and durable of all the initiatives. However, this primary concern of the project with natural resource management was not linked to a strategy based on a detailed understanding and analysis of the complex dynamics of contemporary production systems or an appreciation of the major environmental constraints in a rapidly evolving ecological situation. A particular source of

frustration to PCA membership was that, at the outset, they understood that the project would place priority on rehabilitating or drilling wells for stock water points. However, this only materialized in a minor way at the end of the project.

4. Following completion of the Second Livestock Project, support to the PCAs was continued with a view to their playing a role in the successor Rainfed Natural Resource Management Project (PGRNP), approved in FY97. This project also has a primarily natural resource management focus, with greater emphasis at the local level on village development, and involving the full range of land users. To date the PCAs have not been formally involved in this process, and they believe they are being sidelined in favor of more village-based entities, to the potential disadvantage of the pastoralists. It is important for the Bank to recognize that it cannot help to initiate community groupings and then ignore them in subsequent operations that affect them, if it and they are to retain credibility.

5. In summary, the PCAs have not developed a clear role and consequent visibility, either locally or nationally. They risk becoming sidelined and withering into insignificance. Given the marginality of pastoral livestock producers and their need to integrate into the larger economy, this is increasing frustration and could lead to tensions that will undercut other efforts, including those of the PGRNP. If this is to be avoided, it is essential that the PGRNP recognize and, as far as possible mesh with, the structures developed under the Second Livestock Project. The PGRNP should: (a) work in a fully participatory manner with the PCAs and other local groupings in further developing its strategy for natural resource management and development, and (b) give high priority to improvement of stock water points and, to the degree feasible, complete the program identified under the Second Livestock Project, otherwise confusion and disillusionment are likely to result, to the detriment of the PGRNP's ultimate performance.

6. The findings of the study indicate a number of more general lessons for efforts to support pastoralists. First, an emphasis on resource management requires intensive support for local initiatives, at least for some time, but it also requires recognition of the limited array of new technologies available for extensive production and natural resource management systems. Priority should be given to actions that will help pastoralists better integrate into the larger economy and society, rather than to attempts to devise and introduce improved technologies. Second, consideration should be given to actions that will foster the growth of a broader pattern of local leadership in the communities, seeking neither to simply reinforce the position of the traditional leadership nor to promote an unrealistic degree of "popular participation," but to provide an enabling environment for new initiatives and the emergence of new cooperative groupings. Third, when strong local structures for development-oriented activities do not exist, a sequenced and process approach to project operations is required, especially when the local socio-economic and resource management systems are not well known.

1. Introduction

1.1 In the early 1980s World Bank experience in the Sahel pointed to the value of producers' associations (pastoral associations) as vehicles for sustainable livestock and pastoral development. At the same time, stopping the degradation of grazing lands, particularly by preventing overstocking on open-access rangeland, became a central theme in the design of livestock projects for semiarid areas. This argued for some means of clarifying land rights and controlling grazing management to prevent degradation. Some experts also feared that the increased use of wells to water livestock might encourage excessive stocking rates. These issues gained added importance with the 1982–83 drought, which caused severe livestock losses and dislocation of pastoral groups.

1.2 Over the past decade, numerous livestock development and natural resource management projects in north and west Africa (including projects funded by the Bank) have been pursuing the same goal: building among pastoralists a local institutional capacity for the management of natural resources. A group audit of three projects in the Central African Republic, Niger, and Senegal in 1993 reviewed projects implemented during the 1980s.¹ It noted the increasing role of herders' associations but did not review their experience in any detail. Assessing the degree of project success in this process of capacity building is therefore central to assessing the sustainability of such projects. Given the increasing prominence of pastoral associations (or similar institutions) in livestock and natural resource management projects, identifying factors in the long-term economic and organizational viability of such associations is a priority for assessing the performance of such projects. The Second Livestock Project offers an opportunity to make this identification; that is the principal objective of this evaluation.²

1.3 This impact study concentrates on sustainability and institutional impact especially with regard to pastoral associations, looking at the degree to which the institutions being fostered have evolved and seem likely to evolve in the future. The evaluation has sought to understand not only what the project achieved but also how the project evolved and why it did so in the way that it did. The lack of ongoing project monitoring and evaluation hindered this pursuit and obliged the study team to rely heavily on documentary evidence from Bank files and other external reviews during the project's lifetime, as well as fieldwork undertaken after the project's closure. The methods used in the evaluation are outlined in Box 1.1.

1. Performance Audit Report, No. 12791, Operations Evaluation Department, World Bank, February 25, 1994.

2. The detailed findings of the investigation are contained in the full report by Prof. David Seddon, Dr. Abdel Wahoud Ould Cheikh, and M. Isselmou Abdelkader, which is available separately. The current report was prepared by John English and David Seddon.

Box 1.1: Methodology

This evaluation is based on a detailed review of documentary evidence, from files and reports in Washington and other materials collected in Mauritania and elsewhere, and from fieldwork conducted in three stages by the team leader and two Mauritanian consultants from September to December 1997. The methodology adopted for the fieldwork consisted of three phases:

(i) An initial review and design phase involved fieldwork by the full team at several sites. During this phase, qualitative, participatory rural appraisal techniques (open-ended interviews with key informants, focus group discussions, site visits, transects) were used to develop a detailed appreciation of variability across the project area and a design for the second fieldwork stage.

(ii) During this longer phase national consultants, working to an agreed brief, carried out detailed investigations over a period of two months. One team member concentrated on the broader political-judicial context and developments at the national level, interviewing key individuals in government and the private sector, as well as the officers of GNAP and reviewing official documents.

The other team member undertook local-level fieldwork. This included investigation of a sample of the pastoral associations established by the project (located across the entire project area), as well as semistructured interviews with a range of key informants (including relevant local officials) and group and focus discussions. The size of the project area, approximately 150,000 km², and its location, up to 500 km from Nouakchott (see Map No. IBRD 29574), together with the limited communications in the region, made beneficiaries difficult to contact and reduced the scope of the interviewing that the study team could undertake. The investigations regarding these associations included (a) interviews with association presidents and, where possible, members of the *bureaux*, and (b) interviews with ordinary livestock herders. While the former were usually structured and took place indoors, the latter were less structured and more open-ended, and took place at water points, in marketplaces, or in grazing areas at random across the entire area covered by the field study. This approach, while clearly unable to provide information amenable to statistical analysis and obviously limited, nevertheless clearly revealed the gap between the ordinary herder, supposedly represented by the pastoral associations, and the representatives of the associations.

(iii) The third stage involved cross-checking between the three members of the team and drafting a broad agreed framework for the production, by the team leader, of the main report.

2. Project Design and Implementation

Background

2.1 The Second Livestock Project followed on from the First Livestock Project (Credit 273-MAU), which was approved in November 1971 and closed in December 1978. The first project concentrated on improving animal health and output by vaccination and by the construction and rehabilitation of wells, with supplementary activities relating to natural resource management (such as the construction of firebreaks). The drought of 1972–73, and the associated movement of the bulk of the livestock population out of the project area, adversely affected the project and in 1975 it was revised and effectively reduced in scope, but it achieved these revised targets. The vaccination program was scaled back, the firebreak program was no longer feasible after the drought, and only 137 wells out of the 300 initially planned were reconstructed or repaired.³ While pastoralists were keen to have operational wells, maintenance of those repaired under the project was a problem as individual groups were not allotted rights and responsibilities for specific wells, and government did not have the financial resources to do the job. The audit agreed that on balance the project should be considered a success but noted that, because of the adverse conditions, the impact of the vaccination program could not be assessed.

2.2 The conception, design, and preparation of the Second Livestock Project extended over an exceptionally long period. Although the project was conceived in the late 1970s, preparation was extremely slow: appraisal was in October 1983, negotiations in October 1985, and effectiveness in June 1987.

2.3 Throughout this period there was considerable debate within the Bank, between the Bank and other potential financiers, and between the Bank and the Government of Mauritania (GOM) about the precise orientation and focus, and means of implementation, of the proposed project. During the period another major drought occurred and Mauritania experienced considerable political instability and frequent changes in government policy. While this prolonged preparation theoretically allowed time for detailed and effective preparation it was marked in practice by considerable delays, hesitations, and reconsiderations.

2.4 Debate between the various parties revolved around the relative importance of pastoral associations (whether this effort should be just a pilot or something larger, and the size, structure, legal status, and likely role of the associations), the extent of assistance to the public livestock services and improvements in infrastructure (e.g., wells and abattoirs); and the need to undertake further studies to resolve some of the uncertainty over the structure and performance of the livestock sector in the country. A number of issues were never settled and created implementation problems.

2.5 As approved, the objectives of the project were to slow the deterioration of grazing areas and to boost livestock productivity by making groups of pastoralists responsible for allocated

3. These were wells or boreholes previously constructed by government.

grazing areas, providing better services and production inputs to pastoralists, and increasing the knowledge of production systems essential for formulating a development policy and planning future operations.

Implementation and Outcome

2.6 The components and outcomes of the project are summarized in Annex 1. Implementation was slow. Several institutional changes were required as conditions of effectiveness, and cross conditionality with the other two cofinanciers had to be resolved. This was not completed until more than a year after signing. By the mid-term review in 1990, the project had achieved hardly any of its objectives. Implementation had been dogged by rapid turnover of personnel, particularly in the post of project director, and by procurement problems that were exacerbated by the differing requirements of the cofinanciers. However, there was optimism, particularly on the Bank side, surrounding the prospects for the development of pastoral cooperative associations. Fourteen PCAs had been established and more than 100 had been identified as possible. To make up for lost time and to ensure that the effort had an adequate opportunity to succeed, the Bank agreed, unusually, to an extension of the planned closing date by three years, to 1995. Project objectives remained unchanged, however. At the same time, the Government of Norway made an additional grant to GOM, principally to support the establishment of PCAs, to be administered in parallel with the project.

2.7 The perceived success of the project in establishing the first PCAs encouraged the view that a rapid expansion should now be pursued. A report on the generalization of the PCAs produced in May 1990 anticipated expansion over the period 1991–95 to produce a total of more than 60 PCAs by the new closing date in 1995. Substantial progress was made in this direction over the next two years. By 1992, 39 PCAs had been established and most of the physical works for the livestock services had been completed, but little progress had been made on the remaining components. A Bank supervision mission discussed steps to streamline the project by terminating the lagging components, but events overtook the discussions. A major reorganization of the Ministry of Rural Development Environment (MDRE) eliminated the Livestock Department (DNE—the managing department for the project) and decentralized its activities. To regularize the situation, and given the continued poor performance of the project, the Bank fielded a restructuring mission in 1993.⁴ This mission agreed with the government a reformulated project that had only two components (the support of PCAs and construction of an abattoir) and a revised structure. The Board approved the new credit agreement in 1995.

The ICR Assessment

2.8 The overall performance of the project was mixed, and the ICR rated the outcome as unsatisfactory. The ICR rated sustainability of the project as uncertain, its achievement of institutional development objectives as partial, and Bank and borrower performance as deficient. It was most upbeat about the performance of the pastoral associations and concluded that “although the project has been considered a problem project for the entire duration of its implementation, it was ultimately successful in establishing PCAs which are properly focused on the target groups of beneficiaries. The 22 PCAs that were restructured and appear sustainable

4. The ministerial restructuring of MDRE was sufficiently extensive that the Bank decided that a revised credit agreement was required.

could well serve as nuclei for development activities and might be spontaneously replicated in other areas, spurred by beneficiary demand” (p. iv). It argued that “concerning the core activity, i.e. the establishment of the PCAs, those that underwent restructuring have demonstrated an adequate level of organization, shared objectives and active beneficiary participation. Together with their umbrella organization (GNAP) they appear sustainable and could serve as a basis for further rural development activities. However, new PCAs are needed in order to achieve the long term project objective of nationwide maintenance and improvement of grazing areas under legally ensured control” (p. 9).

2.9 Regarding the sustainability of the pastoral associations, the ICR concluded that “it appears likely that those that have so far been restructured are likely to continue without further outside financial assistance. Pastoralists are convinced of the advantages of membership, i.e. access to veterinary inputs and feed, lower water fees, supplementary funding of miniprojects, rapid access to extension advice, and representation of their interests at national level through GNAP. The finances of the PCAs, based on membership fees (UM 300 (US\$2.35) per annum), water fees and input sales, as well as income from mini-projects, are still weak. Membership numbers are still rising, however, and should enhance the PCAs’ financial viability” (pp. 7–8). It suggested that “the mini-projects appear sustainable, especially those dealing with milk production, as they have been replicated by individual farmers, without outside assistance. For other operations, such as pasture development and hay harvesting, it is too early to assess their sustainability, although there are serious doubts about hay harvesting, since the market price for hay does not include the depreciation of equipment required for mechanical harvesting” (p. 8).

2.10 As these quotes indicate, the ICR is generally positive about the outcome of the project’s efforts regarding the PCAs. However, evidence to support many of these assertions is lacking in the ICR. As will be seen, the field investigations carried out for this evaluation provide limited support for the ICR conclusion, which appears to have been based on an excessive degree of optimism.

3. Development and Current Status of the Pastoral Associations

The Development of Pastoral Associations⁵

3.1 As noted, project implementation initially emphasized the establishment of PCAs. By early 1989, 18 months after the project became effective, 7 of the planned 15 experimental associations had been established, and the other 8 were planned for 1989.⁶ Each comprised a number of groups of about 20 to 30 families. Each group was represented by a delegate to a general assembly of the association. This was to meet annually to approve the annual contribution of each member to the revolving fund, which constituted the basis for activities and investments by the association. Each PCA covered an area of about 2,000 to 2,500 km², with a population of about 5,000 persons.

3.2 There was a major push immediately after the mid-term review (1990–92) to expand the number of PCAs and to establish a national grouping of some kind. A draft constitution for a National Grouping of Cooperative Pastoral Associations was drawn up, and a national congress to inaugurate the national association was proposed. This took time to arrange, but in July 1992 representatives of the 39 pastoral associations existing then met and elected a National Bureau (president, secretary-general, and committee members). The National Grouping of Pastoral Associations (GNAP) came into being formally as a properly constituted institution to represent the interests of its members.

3.3 By this time the experimental phase was completed and, with the additional Norwegian funds being available, the Bank proposed that the generalization of PCAs be promoted. A review had indicated that about two-thirds of the associations had a satisfactory level of activity. At the same time, however, some clouds were appearing. Representatives of the associations had indicated to the Bank their consternation at the failure of the project or the government to establish clear rights for the associations regarding pasture and water points.⁷ Without such legal powers the capacity of associations to manage the natural resources within their domain remained extremely limited. A 1990 government circular sent to local authorities indicated that pastoral associations could be granted rights under existing decrees, but this power was rarely used.⁸ In addition the early enthusiasm for the association concept was linked to the expectation

5. The content of this chapter is primarily based on a survey of a sample of 13 pastoral associations covering all seven major regions, selected to provide a broader basis for assessing the situation in the project area. Of these associations, seven were established in 1988, one in 1989, three in 1990, one in 1991, and one in 1992. Their distribution is indicated in Map No. IBRD 29574.

6. By the end of 1989, 11 associations had been formed, but this progress was interrupted by the inter-ethnic violence of 1989–90, which spilled over into Senegal. The tensions extended into some of the associations, particularly in the Senegal Valley, and undoubtedly affected further development.

7. The credit agreement provided that the PCAs should be “granted legally enforceable grazing and stock water rights, including the right to deny access to grazing areas reserved for improvements” (Section 3.05). This was to be as provided for under the 1983 Law and Land Ownership, which vested land in the state.

8. Such powers can be held by associations with “public interest” status, which are supervised by the Ministry of the Interior. The PCAs did not have this status.

that additional resources would be made available to them, in particular for development of water points. As time passed and this activity did not get off the ground, enthusiasm waned.⁹

3.4 The creation of the GNAP coincided with a major change in the political environment in the country. In 1991, after more than a decade of military rule, a new constitution established the framework for a multiparty system. Presidential elections were held in January 1992, and legislative elections followed in March. This change greatly increased the possibility for the development of independent interest groupings. In addition, a new law in January 1993 provided a stronger legal framework for the constitution of cooperatives, but gave pre-cooperatives, such as the PCAs only two years to adapt to the new legal requirements. The Bank also recognized that many of the associations established between 1988 and 1992 had failed to maintain the level of activity anticipated, in part because of a lack of supervision by the project and in part because of a lack of both human and financial resources.

3.5 By 1994 pressure for the restructuring of GNAP was considerable for both institutional and structural reasons. The new law affected not only its constituent associations, but its status as well. It was also felt that the low level of activity among the PCAs, linked to the top-down structure of the associations, might be progressively improved if they could be seen as local unions of smaller cooperatives with more various activities and interests. The PCAs, therefore, were evolving into unions of cooperatives with a mandate to coordinate the local cooperatives, while the GNAP became a Federation of Unions. At the same time, the changed legal statutes allowed for individual or group membership.

3.6 These changes, together with the project's continued support for the PCAs, encouraged the associations and the unions to continue to maintain a degree of vitality. PCA officers reported renewed interest after the 1993–95 efforts to revitalize the associations, despite the failure to provide real training or support, or to rehabilitate or reconstruct the much-needed pastoral wells, and the failure to put into effect the legal provisions for the attribution of rights over water and pasture so that they might be able to manage their own resources.

3.7 After the IDA credit closed in 1995, some support for the associations continued through the cofinanciers and financiers; this supported a congress in March 1997. Among other things, the congress agreed to change the name of the umbrella organization to the National Grouping of Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Associations (GNAASP). The new title reflects a recognition, by the leadership at least, of the importance lending agencies and the government had come to place on integrated natural resource management.

3.8 By this time, 11 of the associations had been transformed into unions and the other 28 were expected to follow soon. Thus, a post-project evolution of the structures established by the Second Livestock Project is under way. The extent to which these structures can be sustained without further external support is debatable.

9. The field survey review (see Box 1.1) found that the project wells had not been constructed. Initially wells were included as one of the items to be financed largely from the Production Improvement Fund (PIF). They loomed large as a potential benefit to pastoralists, and potential sites for new wells or rehabilitation were drawn up. However, since the PIF never materialized, there was no program on this front until an attempt was made in 1993 to undertake well drilling directly under contract.

The Current Status of the Pastoral Associations

Their Coverage

3.11 The system of delegates makes it difficult to determine how many real members a PCA has. The size of the associations varies considerably. Evidence suggests that, whatever the formal membership of the PCA, only a very small minority is closely involved in association activities. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that only about 2 percent of those involved in livestock production had any real contact with the PCAs. The 39 PCAs listed as members of the GNAP could be said to cover or be present in 1,100 to 1,420 villages or groups (see Annex 2, Table 1). An estimate produced by the appraisal report for the ongoing Rainfed Natural Resources Management Project (PGRNP) concluded that “the PCAs are present in 1,000 villages and include 660,000 people or 34 percent of the rural population” (para. 1.22). This is clearly a gross overestimation involvement in the PCAs.

3.12 The number of delegates at the 1995 national conference was 1,189. If each delegate represents 30 families, the PCAs would represent some 36,000 families (or 216,000 people, assuming 6 persons per family). The PGRMP appraisal report refers to 1,470 delegates, which might indicate an even larger number of persons officially included within the PCA structure—around 265,000. But this figure (equivalent to most of the remaining pastoralists in Mauritania) also appears substantially overestimated. The more detailed figure of 120 cooperatives represented in the GNAP, with a reported membership of 17,157 might be more realistic.

Ethnic Composition

3.13 The PCAs were initially constituted at meetings (organized by the proposed delegates to the management committee or *bureau*) of village groups within the defined territory of the association. These groups usually corresponded to fractions or subfractions of tribes. The tribal structures through which pastoralists organized their economic and social life remain of considerable importance even today. As a mode of economic and social organization, and of natural resource management, the tribe and subtribe continue to have significance.

3.14 The majority of the PCAs investigated consisted entirely of Maurish tribes and tribal fractions (8 out of 13). Three comprised both Maures and Peuls, while one comprised Peuls and Soninke and no Maures, and another, while dominated by Maures, included some Wolof. The main ethnic groups—apart from the Wolof—remain highly stratified with former “slave” groups still severely disadvantaged and wealthy Beidane (white Maures) still dominant in most rural areas.

3.15 The bias of the sample toward areas in which Maures predominate and the virtual exclusion of village-type associations explains in part this picture of Maurish dominance. It is significant, however, that the Maurish dominance pervades the PCAs—even at the national level, where Maures dominate the executive committee and secretariat of the GNAASP. Out of 35 pastoral associations belonging to the GNAASP the vast majority (31) have Maurish presidents; two have Peul presidents (a third died recently), and one has a Soninke president.

3.16 In trying to assess the significance of the ethnic and tribal affiliation of the *bureaux* and representatives, it is tempting to stress the dominance of the Maures and the tendency for one

tribal group to dominate an association. On the other hand, the variation can be seen as an indication of the potential for PCAs to bring together different groups within one local institution to serve common interests. There can be no doubt that the PCAs reflect the political and social structures of rural Mauritanian society, but this society is changing. It could be argued that the PCAs provide yet another form of civil society capable of encouraging collective action of various kinds, which cuts across or transcends, at least in a few cases, the ethnic divisions that have often proved so sharp in the recent past. Based on evidence both from earlier reviews of the situation in the PCAs and the evaluation team's investigations, however, clear political divisions exist within most PCAs, often as a result of significant cleavage between the leaders of tribes and tribal factions. In several cases these divisions inhibit the effective functioning of the PCA.

Age and Gender Composition

3.17 Over the past two decades, Mauritanian rural economy and society have become more diversified and individuals have been obliged to take on new responsibilities and adopt new roles. Young males increasingly have tended to emigrate in search of work abroad or in the towns; women now outnumber men in the rural areas and are household heads in 20 to 30 percent of cases. Women's participation in agricultural production has increased and the gender division of labor has been substantially altered.

3.18 The vast majority of *bureau* members are male. Where women are included it is generally because of their involvement in a local cooperative, usually a women's cooperative. Out of a total of 80 *bureau* members in seven of the associations considered in more detail, 7 (9 percent) were women, all of whom represented local cooperatives. In a few cases (although not in the associations investigated) women may be members of the *bureau* because of their personality or skills. Until very recently one of the PCAs had a woman president, and in a few other cases there are women members of *bureaux* who are not involved as representatives of cooperatives. The overwhelming male dominance of the associations is clear, but the most active groups, both within the associations (now unions of cooperatives) and more generally in rural society, are the numerous cooperatives, many of which are women's cooperatives.

3.19 The recent restructuring of the associations to create unions of cooperatives has tended to open up the membership of the *bureaux* to some degree. One *bureau* has four female members (one of whom is black) and one other black member to represent the agriculturists in the area, another (one of the most active and progressive of all the associations) has five Harratin and five Peuls.

3.20 The average age of those presidents for whom information is available was 51, but age varied from 35 to 70. The average age of members of the *bureaux* was generally somewhat lower but varied considerably from one association to another, ranging from 45 to 56. Generally, the range of ages within the groups was much lower than in the membership as a whole. Those who were younger were usually teachers or public employees.

Pastoral Associations and the Local Notability

3.21 Analysis of the occupations of those holding positions of responsibility in the associations shows that those people are usually persons of some importance. Further, they have both urban and rural interests and in sectors other than livestock. Out of 36 presidents for whom

such details are available, 9 (25 percent) had a residence in Nouakchott as well as locally, while those living locally in almost every case had their residence in town. Sixteen (44 percent) had other occupations besides that livestock owner; twelve (33 percent) were both livestock owners and merchants. Two were members of the National Assembly and two were mayors (one, in the association that included one of the two pilot pastoral perimeters, was both).

3.22 Relatively few members of *bureaux* have residences outside the immediate locality (90 percent lived locally). Twenty-two declared themselves to be only livestock owners. Fourteen were either public employees (usually teachers) or retired public employees. Fourteen combined livestock production with commerce. Ten combined livestock production with agriculture. Two were farmers and one was a livestock trader.

The Nature of Representation

3.23 The principle of one delegate for each group of some 30 families has been retained, as has been the principle of an annual general assembly of delegates (and one every two years to reelect the members of the *bureau*). In none of the 13 pastoral associations investigated, however, had there been a general assembly or meeting where the majority of delegates was present since the founding meeting. The restructured Unions of Mederdra, Male, Barkeol-Est, and Barkeol-Ouest, however, had held general assemblies to reelect the members of their *bureaux*, although the membership tended to remain virtually the same after the elections.

3.24 Meetings of the members of the *bureaux* (whole membership ranged from 7 to 16) were also extremely rare. Only the management committee—officially consisting of the president, secretary-general, treasurer, and those officers responsible for legal matters, monitoring, training, purchase and distribution of medicines and inputs, and accounting but rarely including all of these—managed to meet reasonably frequently in most cases. Most of these meetings were ad hoc. Usually the permanent committee (the president, secretary-general, and treasurer), or even just the president, makes the decisions.

3.25 In a few cases, an association has a small office that serves as its headquarters and is available for meetings. More commonly, meetings convene at the home of the president or in the offices of the Ministry of Rural Development. With a few exceptions, meetings of the *bureaux* are not subject to formal procedures.

3.26 From this it is possible to conclude that the associations are not genuinely participatory structures and largely reflect the priorities and interests of a limited number of notables—the members of the local elite. This is not to say that the actions of the representatives do not in some sense serve the common interest, even if they mostly benefit those who are most involved. Certainly the establishment of veterinary pharmacies and several other local projects attests to the enterprise of some associations (particularly their leaders), but the extent to which a wide range of local livestock owners benefit from these activities is difficult to assess. Most of the evidence suggests that the number who have benefited is relatively small, even among association members, while the impact on the local livestock sector of the activities undertaken by the associations is also likely to have been limited.

Activities of the Associations

Revolving Funds

3.27 The item that was always mentioned first, when the subject of activities and impact was raised in interviews, was the revolving fund. Given that this required a significant resource commitment by the association to reach the sum required by the project (500,000 um, about US\$6,000 in the early 1990s) to provide the full matching funds (1 million um, US\$12,000), the issue of how the initial investment was raised and who benefited is very important. In one case the president claimed to have raised the amount required himself. Apart from two cases¹⁰ all the associations investigated had benefited from a revolving fund of some kind for the purchase of veterinary medicines and drugs and for animal feed (see Annex 2, Table 2).

3.28 Virtually all the associations used the revolving fund for the purchase and distribution of veterinary medicines. Two used the fund for animal feed. Nine used it for both purposes. The majority of those associations using the fund for animal feed were able to amass a local contribution of 500,000 um or more. The majority of those using it for medicines amassed less than 500,000 um (see Annex 2, Table 2). This strongly suggests that priority is given to veterinary medicines. Given the lack of transparency, supervision, and control, and the highly personalized way in which these operations were managed, it is not surprising that instances of fraud and embezzlement associated with the revolving fund have been reported.¹¹

3.29 Several associations continue to operate small pharmacies. Nowhere, though, was it possible to find an association with a permanent stock of animal feed. The stocks acquired by the associations are sold, often on credit, and are not renewed unless required. Reasonable access to veterinary drugs and medicines, for example, undoubtedly improves the health of the local livestock and thus tends to increase productivity. But the specific contribution of the project, even in this area—the most common and most successful activity undertaken by the PCAs, is difficult to quantify, given the relatively low usage of the stocks available through the PCAs and the fact that similar products are available through livestock services and the private sector.

Miniprojects

3.30 All but two of the associations investigated had initiated miniprojects of some kind with funds from the project. These were intended to be financed from the Production Improvement Fund¹² (PIF) but this did not materialize until the Norwegian funding was made available late in the project's life. The projects undertaken usually involved milk production and fattening, essentially for the local market. Here, as in the case of the pharmacies and stocks of animal feed, the lack of management training and experience combined with the lack of transparency has tended to limit severely the effectiveness of these enterprises.

10. One of which had not raised the required sum in time to receive any counterpart funds, and another where internal conflict had blocked the raising of funds.

11. The uneven nature of financial records means that it is not possible to obtain consistent or current data on the financial status of most of these organizations.

12. The PIF was to have been financed by profits generated by a parastatal, the Livestock Input Service (BIE) which imported and sold veterinary supplies and animal feed. However, this service of funds never materialized.

3.31 With the diversification and integration encouraged by the restructuring of 1993, new kinds of enterprise (besides those related to milk and meat production) such as a poultry project and projects for the marketing of livestock, regenerating *Acacia Senegal*, and exploiting salt pans, have been proposed by the PCAs. These proposals have, however, failed to attract funding.

3.32 Despite some consideration of these kinds of enterprises at the time of restructuring, the Second Livestock Project did not see fit to support such a diversification and remained focused on milk production and livestock fattening. Even if, perhaps correctly, it was felt that the PCAs were primarily associations of livestock producers that should concentrate on livestock-related activities, there were other possibilities. One PCA, for example, has constructed a vaccination pen. But the project never sought to involve the PCAs directly in livestock infrastructural development in ways that might have generated a greater sense of involvement and ownership. Nor was there ever any effort to link the program of well rehabilitation and reconstruction and maintenance directly under the auspices of the pastoral associations.

Pastoral Wells

3.33 The issue of the drilling of boreholes and the rehabilitation and construction of pastoral wells illustrates one of the major problems of this type of project. The SAR included the “maintenance and improvement of wells” (para 3.31) as one of the interventions that could be funded by grants from the Production Improvement Fund.¹³ However, although this was a top priority for pastoralists, it was not given high priority by the project when funds finally materialized. In the associations investigated only four boreholes had been drilled. No well rehabilitation was undertaken at all, although numerous sites had been identified in collaboration with the PCAs. Provision of water was a matter of great interest and a motivation for the establishment of PCAs. This failure of the project to fulfill any of the expectations raised by the early surveys of wells to be rehabilitated or reconstructed was deeply felt by all the associations investigated. The reasons for the lack of funds may have been quite reasonable in bureaucratic terms, but the details and uncertainties of potential funding are likely to be lost on the potential beneficiaries of a highly valued program. The impact on the grassroots perception of the project was extremely negative.

Natural Resource Management

3.34 In the absence of a program to encourage the PCAs to develop users’ groups and maintenance groups around rehabilitated and reconstructed wells, the major issue of the Second Livestock Project has been (at least at the level of rhetoric) “forage and forestry”—encouraging the cutting, stocking, and sale of hay; preventing brush fires and inhibiting the cutting of trees; and controlling access to pastures to prevent overgrazing.

3.35 But the first of these should be considered a miniproject because it relates to better use of local resources to increase animal production and incomes. As for the protection of nature, the project did little to support activities regarding two of its major concerns. Early in their inception the associations expressed strong intent to act to reduce bush fires and prevent tree cutting, but today all agree that resources are needed if there is to be effective action,¹⁴ and they tend to look

13. The beneficiaries were to cover 30 percent of the cost in cash or kind.

14. To employ and deploy personnel and to make firebreaks.

to the local authorities to provide what is needed. In one case the association had nominated one person in each village to be responsible for the prevention of brush fires and to prevent tree cutting—although how those persons are expected to achieve concrete results is not clear.

3.36 The project certainly pressed the Mauritanian authorities to provide the legal backing that would enable PCAs to control access to water points and to pastures to prevent overgrazing and land degradation and to stop unnecessary tree cutting. The response (which was the August 1990 circular to all local authorities [para 3.3]) appears not have been effective. In any case, the whole relationship between the PCAs as cooperatives or unions of cooperatives (and as interest groups or professional groups) and as entities with a territorial jurisdiction or remit remains problematic.

3.37 Few of the associations investigated had taken part in the effort mounted by the project to encourage and support the cutting of hay for stocking and for sale by the PCAs. Only one had fenced in a pastoral perimeter with the aim of producing and stocking hay for the dry season.

Consciousness Raising

3.38 Without other concrete activities and for lack of resources, most associations emphasize their value in providing a framework for consciousness raising and disseminating information on such key issues as improved resource management, more cost-effective livestock production, and better marketing of livestock products.

3.39 There can be little doubt that the associations are able to some extent to act, at the local, regional, and national levels, as a lobby that keeps the problems of livestock producers and of the livestock sector alive in the planning and policy making of government agents and agencies at all levels, as well as in the minds of NGOs and lending agencies. In all regions the Regional Delegation of the MDRE is aware of the existence of the associations and the pressure exerted by their representatives; in most cases an effort is made to keep them at least informed of current plans and programs. Many representatives argue that the associations also serve to provide ordinary livestock producers with relevant information from “outside” and “above.”

Training

3.40 While this may be the case, the more formal process whereby information is passed on, and consciousness raised, which involves training and education, has been limited in scope and value. The training of *encadreurs* (recruited from Livestock Services) produced a limited number of trained personnel who the project initially assigned to the associations. But they were always few and over the years their superiors tended to move them on. About half the associations investigated had benefited from having an *encadreur* (usually an extension agent or veterinary nurse) for some time.

3.41 Training at the level of the associations themselves has been limited but of some value. Sessions lasted anywhere from 15 to 45 days and focused primarily on animal health aiming to creating a cadre of local veterinary auxiliaries. Among the PCAs investigated, 93 persons had received such training, but these belonged to only six PCAs.

3.42 The project had provided no management training of any kind, whether for the running of a pharmacy, the identification and design of a miniproject, or even the management of a PCA.

The project provided no technical training either—although at one point the production systems component encouraged local livestock producers and associations to collect information on their livestock production systems.

Representation of Herders' Interests

3.43 The PCA was originally conceived as an innovative institutional form to protect and advance the interests of livestock producers, providing a framework for the organization of a variety of activities that it was hoped would improve their lives and livelihoods and at the same time maintain and enhance the local resource base. To some extent they are able to do this, but the field surveys found that the activities undertaken by local PCAs depend heavily on the enthusiasm and resources of the association's representatives, particularly their presidents.

3.44 The PCAs created by the project, some might argue, have become very much the creatures of their presidents, even if these may have the perceived interests of their members at heart. Certainly the active involvement of ordinary members is lacking, and many livestock herders are not even members of an association. Of the 41 herders interviewed for this study, only 5 had heard of the PCAs or had any contact with them. Roughly half of those interviewed were not owners of the livestock they were herding (and were hired for the task) and were relatively indifferent to increasing productivity or marketing the animals in their charge.¹⁵ The remainder, who were generally smaller livestock owners, tended to consider such organizations a matter for townsfolk or "important people."

Pastoral Associations and Emergent Livestock Production Systems

3.45 As mentioned earlier, the proportion of the rural population that is pure pastoralists (nomads) has declined significantly over the past 25 years, from an estimated 65 percent in 1965 to below 20 percent (some sources say 10 to 12 percent) by 1995. This does not mean, however, that livestock owners no longer have a considerable vested interest in the management of their herds and in the management of the natural resources on which the animals depend. It does mean that livestock production increasingly has moved from a predominantly subsistence-based sector to one more closely linked to the dynamics of capital accumulation and to the market.

3.46 The emerging socio-economic (class) divisions within the livestock sector raise important questions about the capacity of pastoral associations to operate in the interests of all their members. The move to establish them as unions of cooperatives does, however, hold out some hope that within these general structures more tightly knit and smaller groups with strong common interests (for example, of small livestock owners) might be able to emerge.

15. The herding of livestock increasingly is undertaken by hired herders or through contracts between livestock owners involved in other economic activities and those remaining directly involved in livestock and natural resource management. The separation of ownership and management has major implications for assessing the impact of external interventions in this area.

4. Impact of the Pastoral Associations on the Livestock Sector

The Impact of the Presence of the Project

4.1 Although the outcome of the Second Livestock Project did not meet expectations, its existence had consequences for development of the most important element of Mauritania's agricultural sector. There can be no doubt that (i) the process of project preparation itself had an influence (although difficult to measure) on government policy with respect to the livestock sector and that (ii) the difficult negotiations around the terms of reference and procedures required for project implementation themselves contributed to some significant developments in legislation and administration.

4.2 Government officials and leaders in the livestock sector indicated that the constant pressure from the Bank, through the discussions around the shape and content of the project, for privatization, decentralization, and according more responsibility for development activities to those directly concerned, undoubtedly helped change the policy environment.¹⁶ Above all, that the Bank, together with other donors, was committed to putting substantial resources into the livestock sector with the aim of increasing production and, at the same time, improving natural resource management and the protection of the environment, gave this sector a high priority.

4.3 The livestock sector continued through the project period to play a major part in the national economy, although its contribution was perhaps less visible than that of agriculture. Factors contributing to reduced visibility may have been the dramatic "losses" in successive droughts, the mobility of livestock, the significance of unofficial cross-border movements, and sales of livestock and animal products. There has been, however, a continuing tendency, by both government and external lending agencies, to privilege the agricultural sector, particularly the irrigated subsector. The extension of the project to 1995, and further two-year support provided by other funders, has served as a valuable counterbalance to this tendency. The creation of the PCAs and of the national agro-pastoral group (GNAP) has also supported this articulation of a major interest group within the national economy.

The Nature of the PCAs

4.4 As of the middle of 1997 the PCAs were somewhat amorphous organizations that had been banded together into the GNAP. At the field level, their operations were rather spasmodic, depending greatly upon the efforts of their leading figures. The extent of the benefits received by the "ordinary" members is not clear. They may receive some improved access to drugs for their herds and, where miniprojects are operational, be able to benefit from these. Perhaps the most telling features of the organizations are their low visibility, even in their own areas of operation, and their limited impact on the livestock sector. Given the emphasis on this aspect of the project, why are the organizations still struggling to get a foothold in the Mauritanian livestock industry,

16. Particularly during the period of the Program for Economic and Financial Adjustment (PREF), 1985–88, and of the Program of Consolidation and Renewal (PCR) 1989–91.

and is there a future for them? The foregoing analysis of the PCAs suggests that a number of factors may have been involved.

4.5 A major constraint, it might be argued, was the character of the PCAs themselves. Although for many these increasingly became the central and crucial component in the project—as the livestock infrastructure development failed to take place as planned and the Office of Livestock Inputs (BIE) failed to operate effectively, and as the whole emphasis moved away from strengthening the government Livestock Services toward supporting private and cooperative sector activities and institutions—they never became effective grassroots organizations with significant mass participation. Nor did those representing the mass of the livestock producers receive the kind of support required (in training, financial and managerial support, and other kinds of assistance from the project) for them to become the managers of cooperative enterprises effectively serving the interests of ordinary livestock producers—although in some associations the leadership tended to see the associations as vehicles for providing a service to the local livestock producers, their members.

4.6 Some vague notion of economies of scale seems to have led to the identification and establishment initially of very large associations extending over substantial territories (including a variety of heterogeneous social groups and vested interests). But this proved at variance with the idea of collective, or at least cooperative, activity by all members, through their delegates and their executive committee. Although there is ample evidence that many PCAs undertook a variety of activities (miniprojects) during the project's lifetime, often using the revolving fund to do so, most of the activities undertaken involved only a few local notables and leaders in the local community.

4.7 Not only did most of the PCAs identified have large memberships, they were also associated with a relatively large defined territory. The attempt to combine socially defined groups with populations inhabiting a given territory inevitably created confusion and difficulty. This is particularly the case in those regions closer to the Senegal River where agriculturists, agro-pastoralists, and pastoralists all exist in various combinations and forms of cohabitation.

PCAs' Inability to Establish Legal Rights over Resources

4.8 Efforts by the project to create a new legal basis for allocating rights over territory and natural resource management within a given territory to these project-created associations proved largely fruitless. Government policy during the early and mid-1980s ran directly counter to this idea of fragmented local rights, based on a combination of customary rights and an assertion by newly constituted local entities of rights within a territory defined by the project as theirs. Only in August 1990 (midterm in the project) did the government, under heavy pressure from the Bank, send a circular to all local authorities telling them to permit associations to lease what had been declared state resources in 1983. The government circular, however, was rarely applied. Even by 1992, the GNAP remained concerned about the lack of an effective move to assign rights over natural resources to pastoral associations.

4.9 In any case, often following the general southward shift of population after the successive droughts of the 1970s and 1980s the livestock producers belonging to the project PCAs shared the same territory with other livestock producers (who were not members of the association) as well as with agriculturists. Under those circumstances, attributing to these associations sole or even prime rights over key resources in the rural economy would have

proved extremely contentious and difficult to apply. An alternative might have been to work more closely with the local councils and administrations to develop a flexible framework for attributing rights over, and responsibilities for, natural resources by combination of negotiation, consensus, and arbitration. This is a critical issue that the PGRNP will have to deal with extremely carefully. It appears that the latter project will take the rural commune as the basic entity within which to work and try to construct village groupings within this broad administrative framework. This might have been appropriate for the Second Livestock Project from the outset. There is certainly evidence that the initial identification of PCAs considered such administrative boundaries.

4.10 In the absence of collective rights over resources within a given territory, the PCAs became, in effect, a new kind of local corporate institution.¹⁷ This now represented a variety of specific interests (usually but not exclusively associated with livestock production) and was constituted as a cooperative: that is, a union of cooperatives. As such they are able to undertake a range of activities (usually fairly limited) broadly linked with the interests of livestock producers, at the local level, and as livestock producers, to have a voice, through the National Federation or association of unions (GNAP) at the national level. In the longer term this may prove a good thing. For the initial grounding of these socially delimited “traditional” rights to water and pasture overlap a set of more recent claims to land and other resources. In some instances the problem involves the existence of different social groups within the defined territory (not all of whom are members). In other cases the problem occurs when an association wishes to undertake activities outside its defined territory, as when one association wishes to establish a milk processing plant in a nearby town that is outside its perceived jurisdiction.

PCAs’ Dependence on External Support

4.11 The emergence of PCAs as the basis for a distinctive local, regional, and national lobby on behalf of livestock producers is a major achievement of the project. The GNAP, however, which is essentially a product of the Second Livestock Project, has extremely limited resources and is barely able to function. The idea that it could function, not only as a national association for livestock producers but also as an institution capable of purchasing and distributing livestock inputs to its member associations and individuals across the country,¹⁸ seems fanciful without more substantial resources. The project seems never to have made the necessary commitment to support effectively the institutions it had called forth. The Norwegian grant from 1993 onward helped, but the overall level of funding in support of the PCAs remained extremely limited throughout—about 10 percent of total expenditures.

4.12 While at least in the initial stages considerable care (and time) was taken to identify, explain, and provide some support for the new institutions, once it was decided to expand the number of associations rapidly, the time taken was reduced and PCAs were established far too rapidly to be effective. Direct support was limited to the revolving funds and to a program that trained a small number of livestock agents to be deployed in support of the associations as trainers (*encadreurs*) of the local association representatives (and members). This program experienced considerable difficulties and few *encadreurs* were trained. Some trainers were never

17. This was particularly the case after the introduction of the law of January 1993 amplifying and altering that of 1967 on the status of cooperatives.

18. This was once proposed by the project.

assigned to the PCAs and others were moved soon after being assigned (for they remained essentially government employees). Few associations benefited from systematic support of this kind and none received more than a perfunctory training in business or organization management or any other relevant skills. Efforts after 1993 to restructure and revitalize the local associations revealed what regular visits and encouragement by the project could accomplish. The cessation of project funding in 1995 meant that many associations, while established on paper, were not effective as development institutions (even within the narrow limits established and encouraged by the project) and were certainly not sustainable.

The Limited Nature of Services to Members

4.13 The only area in which the project appears to have generated something like a lasting and sustainable activity is the purchase and sale of veterinary drugs and medicines. Despite the weaknesses of the BIE, the lack of government quality control,¹⁹ and competition from both Livestock Services and the private sector, the majority of associations had been involved in establishing small veterinary pharmacies²⁰ and selling veterinary products to local livestock producers. Often this activity had proved capable of maintaining the revolving fund over several years, and the practice continues to this day.

4.14 Without continuing support from government agents or pressure from an active membership, however, the pastoral associations' involvement with improving animal health remains limited. Often the president of the association runs the pharmacy. He keeps a limited stock and sells to a small number of livestock producers. Here the impact is also limited. A number of locals, trained as health auxiliaries through the project, continue to provide a service, but the extent of this also appears to be limited. The PCAs evidently value the project-supported vaccinations by the Livestock Services, but the associations are not significantly involved in the provision of this service.

4.15 Other contributions of the project in the domain of animal health, such as the construction of vaccination parks and buildings for veterinary centers, had some value. But these were conceived as separate components and were not linked into a systematic institutional structure (either that of the PCAs or that of the Livestock Services) in a way that maximized their usefulness and ensured their maintenance.

4.16 The desire to increase the number of associations established compromised the consolidation of the earlier associations to some extent, but it is remarkable how much those associations that appeared to have started well also appear to have maintained their vitality. However, *insufficient attention (and insufficient resources)* was devoted to evaluating and increasing the effectiveness of institution-building activities for the PCAs and to assessing what determined pastoral association effectiveness. This limited the capacity of the project to evaluate the effectiveness of the PCAs as a basis for sustainable development. Perhaps critically—given the centrality of the pastoral associations to the project—insufficient preparation and support for these new creations throughout the project largely limited their capacity to promote a set of

19. A substantial percentage of drugs and medicines purchased by the associations were perished and could not be sold.

20. The project provided training for locals to manage these and to prescribe medicines as health auxiliaries.

associated activities within the livestock sector, and limited their impact on the lives and livelihoods of their members.

5. Conclusions and Implications for the Future

5.1 Over the past 15 years external support to the livestock sector in semi-arid north and west Africa has increasingly emphasized the development of producers' groups, both to help improve management of rangeland and water resources on which pastoral production is based, and to facilitate links between pastoralists and support services. The Second Livestock Project in Mauritania was one of the first Bank-supported efforts in this area. This impact evaluation is the first attempt to assess the effectiveness of the producers' groups the project developed. As such it is as a case study of the issues faced in supporting development largely through local organizations, particularly in marginal economic conditions such as those found in semi-arid regions of developing countries. The previous two chapters have indicated the nature of the difficulties faced in attempting to establish a new type of local organization within a traditional societal framework. This chapter discusses the implications of the findings, both specifically for the succeeding IDA-funded project in Mauritania, the Rainfed Natural Resource Management Project (PGRNP), and more broadly.

Performance of the Second Livestock Project in Developing Local Institutions

5.2 Although the Second Livestock Project failed to reach most of its original stated objectives, there now exists, albeit in a relatively precarious state, a national grouping of pastoralists and other livestock producers, and a number of local structures. The 39 associations (unions) formed under the project have an estimated 20,000 or more members, or about one-third or more of the pastoralists (or perhaps 15 percent of the livestock-owning households). This is a considerable organizational achievement in a short time. These could, with appropriate support from outside, provide the institutional framework for a network of livestock producers' cooperative unions across the country and the basis for an effective local, regional, and national lobbying effort, supporting the interests of those living directly from pastoral and livestock activities. There is, however, a sense of frustration within the PCAs that they were not able to accomplish more of a concrete nature at the local level, in particularly reflecting the constraints on the scope of miniprojects funded by the project, and the continuing problem of the legal rights of groups to control natural resources.

5.3 A series of problems in the design and implementation of the Second Livestock Project impinged on its efforts to develop pastoral associations:

- Sufficient resources and support for the new institutions were not forthcoming.
- The rhetoric of participation and "bottom up" institutional development was not matched by the overall structure and organization of the project in implementation.
- The approach of the project towards the PCAs was inconsistent over time (moving from the idea of an experimental approach with a limited number of "pilot" associations, to the idea of expansion, and then back to consolidation).
- The large size and scale of the PCAs identified and established made it difficult for them to overcome internal heterogeneity and to act as genuine collectivities or cooperatives, as hoped. Also, the confusion of their role as socio-economic associations and their role as territorial associations inhibited their effective development.

- The project continued to place primary emphasis on range management even though the prime concern of the PCA members was with water and animal health, and despite evidence that the efforts to establish a freer system of distribution of veterinary products were appreciated by the herders and proved the most popular and durable of all the initiatives.
- The primary concern of the project with natural resource management was not linked to a strategy based on a detailed understanding and analysis of the complex dynamics of contemporary production systems and an appreciation of the major environmental constraints in a rapidly evolving ecological situation.

5.4 In assessing the impact of the project's efforts in this area, one issue is what would have happened in the absence of the project initiative, that is, the "counterfactual." This is difficult to assess because the life of the project was characterized by considerable political, social, and economic change in Mauritania, which opened up the arena for political and related social activity. This might have led to an effort by pastoralists to form some national grouping but, given the observed tendency for the PCAs to languish without support, this would appear unlikely. Without the efforts of the Second Livestock Project, therefore, there would now not be any framework upon which efforts to mobilize pastoralists could be based.

Linkage with Rainfed Natural Resource Management Project

5.5 As a result of the problems noted above, the groups formed under the Second Livestock Project are in a situation of flux and uncertainty. The funding provided after the closure of IDA funding for the Second Livestock Project was implicitly, if not explicitly, to maintain the PCAs and the national GNAP/GNAASP structure until it could be incorporated into the implementation of the PGRNP. However, now that the project has been approved and implementation is starting, it is not clear that this has happened. The PGRNP Appraisal Report refers to the PCAs, but notes that they, and other rural associations, have not been "overly effective" and that "village investments carried out by now-completed projects have shown a poor level of sustainability" (para. 1.22). However, the appraisal report is not explicit about what role the 39 PCAs and their local sub-units will have under the new project.

5.6 The major focus of the PGRNP is at the village level. US\$16 million, or 68 percent of the project's total estimated cost of US\$23.5 million is to be spent on village-level investments. Three major types are envisaged:

- land and water conservation activities, including water harvesting techniques; preservation of soil fertility, erosion prevention, and control of sand dune encroachment; and biomass production on rangelands and fuelwood production;
- water supply and productive investments, including civil works, mechanical equipment and small agricultural equipment; and
- micro-enterprise matching grants for activities along the lines of the earlier miniprojects, such as cooperative or individual livestock fattening and grain storage.

Support for human and animal medicine supply, as funded by the existing PCA revolving funds, is also envisaged.

5.7 It is expected that US\$4 million will be spent on institutional support and capacity building in support of this program. This will include community organization, establishing the legal framework “required to ensure reasonably secure access to common resources,” (para. 2.15) and technical support.

5.8 This program clearly overlaps with activities promoted by the Second Livestock Project. However, the impact evaluation team found little evidence of PCA engagement in the PGRNP’s preparation phase over the past two years. At the local level, project activities are to be implemented by the village management committee (CVGRN). These committees are to prepare (with project support) natural resource management action plans. Given that the focus is on a defined area, this inevitably will emphasize measures aimed at increasing the capacity for cropping (such as soil and water conservation), rather than supporting livestock production. The participatory approach appears not to have been adopted so far²¹—at least regarding the PCAs and their involvement.

5.9 The evaluation team was impressed that pastoralists are clearly worried that the PGRNP village-based model appears likely to squeeze them out and limit their access rights to key resources. It is crucial that this not be the case. At least one group of pastoralists interviewed emphasized the need (given the history of social conflict in areas now increasingly under pressure from the concentration of human and animal populations) to develop institutional forms for cooperation and collaboration between all those living in a given area—herders and farmers, transhumant and sedentary livestock producers, and people of different ethnic and tribal origins. They felt strongly that ignoring or excluding the pastoralists and their associations because they did not fit easily into the village territory framework, would risk increasing tensions and reducing the possibilities of genuinely cooperative natural resource management.

5.10 The same issue was raised in the earlier group audit of three Sahelian livestock projects,²² in discussing the interaction between pastoral and agricultural production systems. “But one consequence of livestock integration within a farming system is a reduction in the scope for interaction between farming systems. Those who are able to benefit from integration will not be the same population as those no longer able to benefit from interaction, unless new forms of interaction can be developed. At the present time it is not clear that what increasingly looks like a zero-sum game can be avoided, in which the decline of the extensive, transhumant pastoral system is assured” (para. 3.21).

5.11 If the PGRNP is to reduce rather than increase intracommunity tensions, the project must address from the outset the issue of its relationship with GNAASP and its local units, as well as their links with the local authorities. Recent experience in efforts to foster community-based management of natural resources has pointed to the importance of these links and the value of creating structures including both community and agency bodies if efforts are to be scaled up beyond the very local level.²³ The GNAASP could help provide an informal communication

21. Although a few experimental studies using participatory rural appraisal techniques have been carried out.

22. OED (1994) Performance Audit report on: Republic of Niger—Livestock Project (Cr. 885-NIR); Central African Republic—Livestock Development Project (Cr. 894-CA); and Republic of Senegal—Eastern Senegal Rural Development Project (Cr. 1406-SE).

23. John Farrington and Charlotte Boyd, 1997 “Scaling up the Participatory Management of Common Pool Resources,” *Development Policy Review* Vol. 15, pp. 371-391.

channel between the project and participating villages, when they are not actively undertaking a miniproject, as part of just this type of framework. Criteria for selection of participating villages might also be framed to ensure that, if there is a local unit of GNAASP, its involvement can be guaranteed, thereby minimizing local frictions.

5.12 The recent Bank report on Investing in Pastoralism²⁴ discusses the difficulties of developing herder organizations and notes that different types of organizations are best suited to different tasks. As noted above, one of the major problems with the Second Livestock Project was that it attempted to undertake too many different types of activities. The project emphasized two potentially conflicting objectives of producer organizations, that they would be both (i) cooperative organizations (within which smaller cooperative organizations could form and be active) and (ii) territorial institutions that should have jurisdiction (perhaps even exclusive rights) over water and pasture within “their” territory.

5.13 This two-pronged approach confused two things best kept apart. Particularly in the southern part of Mauritania the concentration of population that has taken place in response to the droughts (and to some extent the development of infrastructure) has made exclusive water and grazing rights problematic. Leasing by PCAs of specific resources or “areas” from the new local authorities (such as the rural communes) might be a way of dealing with the “control and management of natural resources” under the new circumstances. If so, the idea of village-based entities (with clearly defined territory) built into the PGRNP might be appropriate if (and only if) flexible mechanisms for regulating access to resources within these territories by pastoralists, other livestock owners, agriculturalists, and others are established. It is not clear that the foundation for such an arrangement has yet been laid.

Broader Implications for Pastoral Interventions

5.14 In discussion of the initial results of this evaluation a number of generic questions have arisen related to the implications of the findings for pastoral and wider rural development activities supported by the Bank. These revolve around (a) the emphasis on the introduction of improved range management technologies, (b) the lack of traditional participatory institutions with which to work, (c) the sequencing of interventions, and (d) the optimal size of institution that should be supported.

24. David John Pratt, Francois Le Gall and Cornelis de Haan. 1997. *Investing in Pastoralism, Sustainable Natural Resource Use in Arid Africa and the Middle East*. World Bank Technical Paper No. 365. Chapter 7.

The lack of clear, proven range management technologies

5.15 The justification for projects such as the Second Livestock Project has frequently rested on the expected benefits from the introduction of improved technologies. However, recent work²⁵ has concluded that most existing, traditional systems in marginal environments such as the Mauritanian Sahel are already making very efficient use of the available resources. The overwhelming constraint on attempts to make a living in these areas is that they are of inherently low productivity, primarily because of high temporal and spatial variability in rainfall. While they have supported pastoral and related societies for centuries, they resist modernization, except where reliable water resources have enabled the development of irrigated agriculture. Consequently, these semi-arid regions have become economically, socially, and politically marginalized. Furthermore, as development proceeds, the traditional systems are usually impinged upon by changes in the broader society and economy, and they become more difficult to sustain even at their earlier levels of productivity. The major problem is how to maintain a livelihood while coping with high levels of climatic and economic uncertainty.

5.16 As elaborated in *Living with Uncertainty* (and more briefly in *Investing in Pastoralism*), the priority in assistance to the affected pastoral groups should be on measures to enable them to integrate themselves more effectively into the wider society and economy, to enable them to modify their livelihood systems to fit the new realities. This includes actions such as improvement of trading systems to increase access to markets and increase the ability to vary herd size in response to (or anticipation of) adverse climatic conditions, and modification of legal and administrative frameworks to enable pastoral groups to clarify rights to key resources and to encourage use of the latter in ways that best reconcile competing demands.

5.17 Although it was not put into this context, the Second Livestock Project did take some steps in this direction, most obviously by creating the GNAP, which might have the potential to act as a lobbying group and bring the issues of most concern to the attention of policy makers (or interpreters) at the national and local levels. Unfortunately, the means it had to respond directly to local needs and priorities (the revolving funds and miniprojects) were very limited and circumscribed. And, at the broader level, it is not clear that the PCAs developed the ability to be effective as a lobbying force, since they were not able, until late in the life of the project, to induce a response in the provision of wells, nor were they able to have themselves formally included as stakeholders in the PGRNP. Therefore, it did not increase the ability of pastoralist members of PCAs to cope with the uncertainties they face.

The lack of traditional participatory structures

5.18 The beneficiary structures developed under the project were not participatory in any real sense. Pastoral societies in Mauritania are strongly hierarchical. Therefore, any structures developed on the basis of the response from the existing society will similarly be hierarchical, rather than fully participatory. There is a dilemma here, as it is clear that a genuine commitment to a full participatory approach implies a very strong external involvement from the outset, including support for monitoring and evaluation and, where needed, resources for training. However, this type of approach might have been seen as threatening by the existing structures

25. See, for example, Roy Behnke and Ian Scoones (1992), "Range Ecology at Disequilibrium," World Bank Environmental Working Paper No 45. and Ian Scoones (ed.) (1994), "Living with Uncertainty," London ITP, which discuss the management of semi-arid lands and means of improving the welfare and future prospects of pastoralists.

and, thus, generated an adverse reaction. Perhaps a project such as the Second Livestock Project, with limited resources for support, should not have claimed that it could be participatory. It engaged the local leadership and made efforts to distinguish “real” pastoralists from others, but found even this difficult because it did not have a deep knowledge of local production systems (who owned what, who did what, etc.). What it has done is to develop some local (district and regional) bases for livestock producers to federate, ally, and lobby at local and national levels.

5.19 However, the initial steps will themselves begin to cause some local social changes, including the development of alternative leadership.²⁶ This calls for the design of process, rather than blueprint projects that can adapt as implementation unfolds to accommodate such changes. This was clearly a weakness in the Second Livestock Project as, instead of being responsive to the different demands of the individual PCAs, it decided upon a standardized package (the revolving fund for financing veterinary supplies and other inputs). The only area where innovation could be manifest was in miniprojects, but these also tended to be very similar and, when PCAs suggested different activities (such as poultry and exploiting salt pans), the project tended not to support them. Small ventures of this type are likely to be the breeding ground for new societal leadership, but fostering them would require a substantial leap in the availability of resources to develop the appropriate capacity in the implementing agency. In some circumstances (as in the Philippines and Brazil) it may be feasible to use NGOs to support such change, but this is not the case in Mauritania.

The optimal size of an association

5.20 The experience with the pastoral associations illustrates the problem of matching the form of organization supported by a project to the type of activity it is envisaged it will undertake. In this case large groups were identified to take advantage of economies of scale, but this resulted in heterogeneous interests within the groups. This approach also reflected the lack of a proven technical “package,” which could form the basis of the project intervention, and which would imply a particular institutional structure. Experience suggests that in many pastoral areas the existing, limited resource base is effectively used, and that improvements in incomes and welfare must be sought through means other than physical intensification of existing production technologies. There is also a “chicken-and-egg” problem in that, if the local organizations to be supported are to be “bottom-up” and participatory in form, then their priorities for action, and the appropriate institutional structure, will not fully emerge until implementation begins. The Second Livestock Project never resolved this dilemma. It attempted to substitute the leadership of large PCAs for project inputs that could have provided direct support to smaller local groups, which would have operated at a scale more suited to efforts to address natural resource management issues. The PGRNP is primarily emphasizing local (communal) groupings, and devoting 17 percent of project resources to their support. It is relying on public agencies and administrative structures as the basis of this support, however, which may also compromise the “participative” nature of the basic units.

26. See for example: Mary Tiffen, Michael Mortimore and Francis Gichuki, (1994) *More People, Less Erosion: Environmental Recovery in Kenya*, London, John Wiley and Sons. Chapter 9 discusses changes in social structures in Machakos District, Kenya, related to changes in land resource management practices and in agricultural development.

The need for a sequenced or comprehensive approach

5.21 The experience of the Second Livestock Project indicates the need for a sequenced approach, especially where the local socio-economic and natural resource management systems are not well known. The pastoral subsector would seem to be a prime candidate for the use of the new Learning and Innovation Loans, which may be used to prepare the groundwork for future activities, in particular to support the manpower-intensive process of developing internal networks and processes to necessary to enable the implementation of subsequent activities. In particular, the comparative advantage of the Bank would appear to be in elevating this process to ensure high-level visibility, and thereby develop support for the proposed action. Clearly the Bank's efforts to assist the livestock sector in Mauritania have not been very successful in that direction. A relatively low profile for efforts to develop new forms of local leadership may have been appropriate when the Second Livestock Project was appraised—when government was more autocratic and centralizing. However, indications from this and other projects indicate that it is better to start with a combination of (a) investigation, and (b) specific actions that bring evident results in areas where there is a clear felt need (such as animal health or water resources).²⁷ This could be broadened by allowing those beneficiary groups that successfully implement their first operation to have a wider range of choice in the second.

27. This is essentially the approach suggested by the French Cooperation Agency during the preparation phase of the Second Livestock Project.

SECOND LIVESTOCK PROJECT

Credit no: 1658-MAU	Approved: February 4, 1986
Total cost: US\$18.1 million	Effective: June 30, 1987
World Bank credit: US\$7.6 million	Closed: December 31, 1995
Cofinancing:	Disbursement record:
AfDB - US\$6.3 million	US\$2.3 million canceled
OPEC - US\$2.0 million	
Norway - US\$2.2 million	

Objectives:

- Slow deterioration of grazing areas and boost livestock productivity by making groups of pastoralists responsible for allocated grazing areas.
- Provide pastoralists with access to better extension services and production inputs.
- Improve understanding of existing production systems to assist in planning future developments.

Components:

- Establishment of pastoral associations (PCAs).
- Strengthening of livestock services.
- Establishment of special funds to partially finance mini projects to be managed by PCAs, and to finance recruitment costs of field services.
- Supply of inputs for sale to livestock producers.
- Construction of an abattoir in Nouakchott.
- Project monitoring and the study of livestock production systems.

Outputs:

- 39 PCAs established.
 - Physical facilities constructed for livestock services and equipment and training provided.
 - Special funds never generated.
 - Input and supply of production inputs through public sector unsatisfactory; importation now privatized.
 - Abattoir constructed but not yet operational.
 - Studies carried out.
-

Annex 2
Table 1

DATA ON ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION OF PASTORAL ASSOCIATIONS (1)

<i>Region</i>	<i>PCA Names</i>	<i>Date of Creation</i>	<i>No. of Localities</i>	<i>No. of Members</i>	<i>No. of Delegates</i>	<i>No. of Co-ops</i>	<i>Current Situation</i>	
H. Charghi	Bassiknou-Ouest	21.01.1991	9	441	18	3	Reactivated	10.12.94
	Adel Bagrou	15.08.1989	21	746	23	2	"	15.12.94
	Amouj Est	1990		907		6	"	22.12.94
	Walata	09.10.1991	20	643	30	2	"	31.12.94
	Nouaoudar	20.10.1991	10	291	18	23	"	06.01.95
	Djigueni Est	28.06.1989	12	841	27	5	"	12.02.95
	Aoueinat Zbil	23.10.1992	45	785	25		"	28.02.95
	Timbedra Est	26.11.1989	65	441	65		"	
	Timbedra Ouest	27.09.1991	50	n.a.	66	n.a.	Planned	
	Bassiknou Est	25.09.1991	10	n.a.	50	n.a.	Planned	
H. Gharbi	Kobeni Est	02.01.1989	65	948	32	5		
	Aioun Ouest	21.10.1991	60	581	24	5	Reactivated	22.05.95
	Tintane Ouest	29.08.1988	71	498	22	7	"	10.03.95
	Aioun Est	25.06.1991	65	468	17	4	"	12.08.95
	Tintane Est	27.09.1988	40	1278	45	3	"	16.08.95
				330			"	24.08.95
Assaba	Boumdeid	21.10.1991	24	254	20	3	"	29.09.94
	Kiffa Nord	10.11.1991	25		10		Planned	30.10.95
	Kiffa Est	16.10.1991	49	542	59	n.a.	"	
	Barkeol Est	1989					"	
	Barkeol Ouest	1990	55	n.a.	65	n.a.		
Gorgol	Tifonde Cive	31.12.1991	10	277	25	2		
	Lexeiba	01.01.1992	20	n.a.	25	1	Reactivated	16.06.94
	Monguel	01.02.1990	65	451	16	4	"	02.10.94
	Waly Diantang	05.06.1992	14	n.a.	20	n.a.	"	
							Planned	

Source: National Group of Pastoral Associations.

(1) Status as of 1996.

Annex 2
Table 1

<i>Region</i>	<i>PCA Names</i>	<i>Date of Creation</i>	<i>No. of Localities</i>	<i>No. of Members</i>	<i>No. of Delegates</i>	<i>No. of Co-ops</i>	<i>Current Situation</i>	
Brakna	Boghe Ouest	28.08.1991	36	531	20	3	Reactivated	18.11.95
	Mal	02.02.1992	20	662	25	3	"	24.10.95
	Mederdra	30.03.1988	19	176	21	1	Reactivated	09.10.94
	Djidrel Mohguen	04.06.1992	10	31	14	4	"	08.07.95
	Tekane	08.06.1992	39	42	16	5	"	12.07.95
	Rosso-Nord	28.02.1998	45	1	10	3	"	15.07.95
	Keur-Macene	02.02.1998	60	818	65	1	"	20.12.95
	El Medah	28.07.1991	19	55	30	1	Planned	
	Tidjikja	08.01.1992	14		21		"	
	Gjpidoua	16.01.1992	16		24		"	
	Niemplane	21.01.1992	14		20		"	
	Ould Yenge	17.08.1991	30	171	13	2	Reactivated	08.06.94
	Ajar Soninke	07.06.1992	20	612	21	1	"	12.06.94
	Akjoujt	05.03.1993	50	200	65		Planned	
10wilayas	39 ACP		1418	17.157 Ad.	1189	120 Cop		

Annex 2
Table 2

PASTORAL ASSOCIATIONS REVOLVING FUNDS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Pastoral Association</i>	<i>Contribution by Pastoral Associations (CFA mil)</i>	<i>Contribution by Project (CFA mil)</i>	<i>Years of Contribution</i>	<i>Use of Fund</i>
Trarza	Rosso. Nord.	675.000	1.000.000	1990	Veterinary Medicines and Animal Feed
	Mederdra	812.000	1.000.000	1990	"
	Jdes El Mohguiene	160.000	320.000	1992	"
	Keur Macene	300.000	600.000	1992	Veterinary Medicines
Brauna	Boghe-Ouest	448.302	896.604	1991	Veterinary Medicines
Gorgol	Monguel	500.000	1.000.000	1990	Veterinary Medicines and Animal Feed
	Tonfounde Cive	400.000	800.000	1982	"
	Wali Dianta	223.000	446.000	1992	Veterinary Medicines
	Lexciba	200.000	400.000	92-93	"
Assaba	Barkcol - Est	500.000	1.000.000	1982	Veterinary Medicines and Animal Feed
	Barkiol-Ouest	330.000	660.000	90-93	Veterinary Medicines
	Kiffa-Est	500.000	1.000.000	1992	"
	Kiffa-Nord	500.000	1.000.000	1992	"
	Boumdeid	200.000	400.000	92-93	Veterinary Medicines and Animal Feed
HODH	Timbedra-Est	500.000	1.000.000	1990	Veterinary Medicines
	Timbedra-Ouest	500.000	1.000.000	1990	"
	Bassiknou Ouest	500.000	1.000.000	1991	"
	Megvc	220.000	440.000	1992	"
EL	Amourj	350.000	700.000	1991	"
	Oualata	200.000	400.000	1992	Veterinary Medicines and Animal Feed
Chargui	Ugiguieni	500.000	1.000.000	1991	Veterinary Medicines
	Aoueuat Zbil	200.000	400.000	92-93	"
Guidimakha	Ould Yeuge	370.000	740.000	1991- 94	Veterinary Medicines
H. El Gharbi	Tintanc-Ouest	500.000	1.000.000	1990	Veterinary Medicines
	Tintane-Est	250.000	700.000	92-94	"
	Aioun-Est	500.000	1.000.000	91-93	"
	Aioun-Quest x	150.000	300.000	91	"
	Kobenni	100.000	200.000	92	"
Tagant	Tidgikja	80.000	160.000	1992	Veterinary Medicines
	Ninlane	500.000	1.000.000	1992	Veterinary Medicines and Animal Feed
	Ghoudia	500.000	1.000.000	1992	Animal Feed
Adrar	El Meddah (Amejeft)	500.000	1.000.000	1992	Animal Feed
Inchiri	Aujoujt	500.000	1.000.000	1993	Veterinary Medicines

Comments from the Borrower

[English translation of the letter from the Borrower]

THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA
Honor-Fraternity-Justice

Ministry of Rural Development and the Environment

The Secretary General

Tel.: 515 00
Fax: 574 75

Nouakchott, July 16, 1998

No.: M.D.R.E/M
00000670

To: **THE RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE, WORLD BANK**

Re: Comments on the Evaluation Report, Second Livestock Project

Ref.: Your letter of June 28, 1998 concerning the Report on Credit 1658-MAU

I have received the above Report, and congratulate the World Bank on the document.

Project performance is certainly mixed, but the Ministry is completely satisfied with the start that has been made in structuring rural activities by establishing 39 Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Associations and the National Agro-Pastoral Grouping (GNAP), which has given clear evidence of its dynamism in promoting increased consultation between the Government and operators in rural areas.

In order to build upon these achievements (and as detailed in the attached note), the Ministry intends to increase the involvement of these groupings in the efforts to achieve the integrated management of natural resources, particularly through the introduction of the PGRNP (the Rainfed Natural Resource Management Project).

I trust that you will take account of these intentions on the part of the Ministry, since they are bound to have a positive impact on rural development.

Sincerely,

/s/ Hayda Amadou Kane

THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA
Honor-Fraternity-Justice

Ministry of Rural Development and the Environment

Directorate of Agro-Pastoral Resources

Note

Re: Participation of GNAP (the National Grouping of Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Associations) in the Integrated Management of Natural Resources

The following comments relate to the rural-development objectives of the Second Livestock Project, and refer to the overall conclusions of the World Bank's Evaluation Report (see Annex 1, page 56):

1. The pastoral (and general rural) environment was successfully restructured (with the establishment of 39 Pastoral Associations).
2. The special funds were never generated.
3. Support for development (and therefore the success of miniprojects for restructuring the sector) has been marginal.
4. It was not possible to transfer responsibility for natural resource management to local level, particularly because constraints relating to land rights could not be eliminated.

Although it may appear disappointing that the establishment of the Pastoral Associations was the only item in the list of objectives to be achieved (the list being, perhaps, too ambitious), it is nonetheless a **considerable achievement** in the Mauritanian context, and one that the Government intends to maintain and strengthen, if possible.

Unfortunately, another aspect must be noted, in addition to this positive achievement: the failure to involve the Pastoral Associations in the process of preparing the PGRNP, an outcome that became all the more likely in 1994 when they became Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Associations. This omission represents not only a considerable loss in itself, but is also very likely to lead to an aggravation of local conflicts, as noted in the Report (see pages 45-48). The pastoralists, who play a major role in rural areas, feel justifiably excluded from the process, which is certainly more concerned with agricultural issues, but which cannot disregard local constraints.

Annex 3

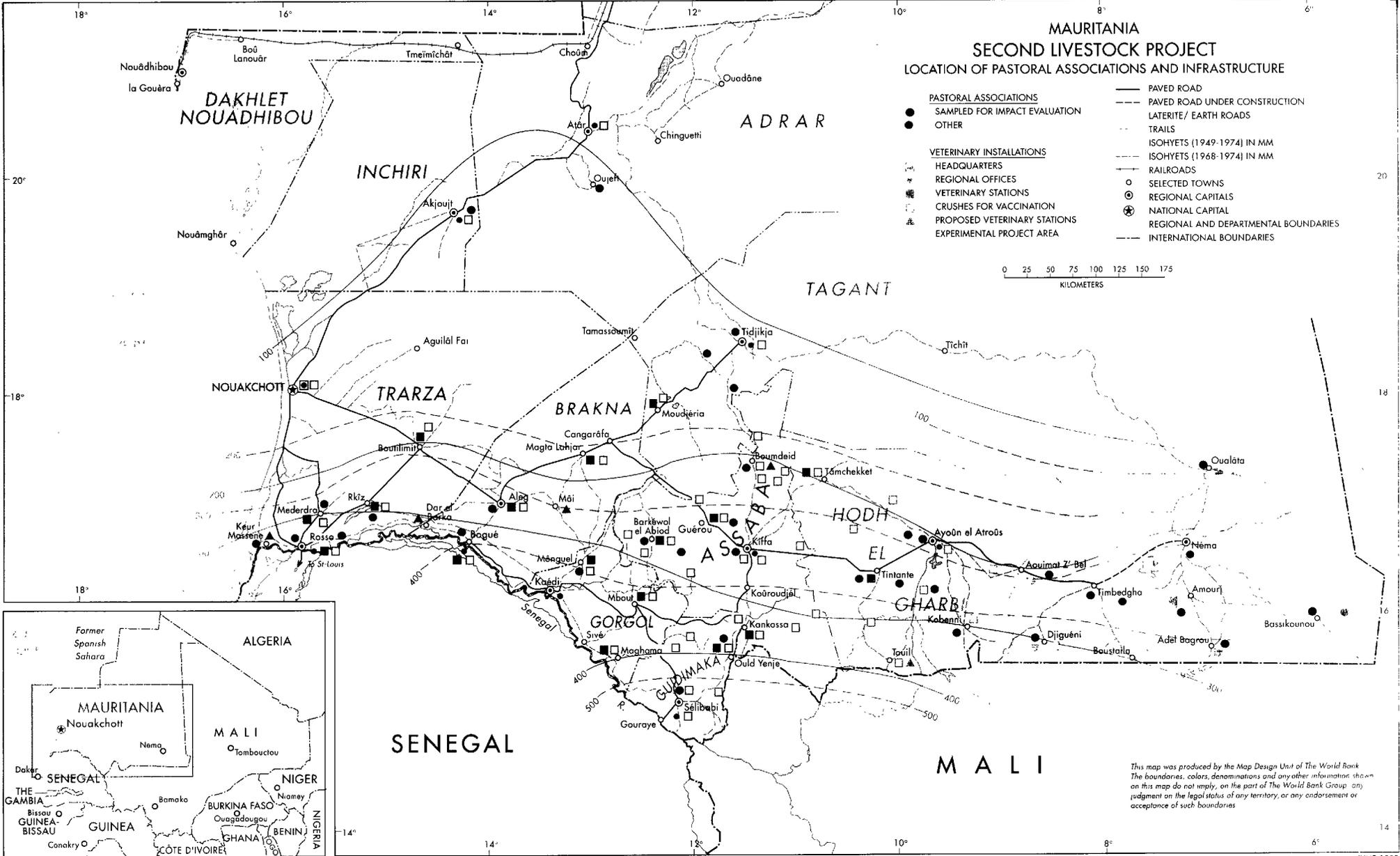
This latter issue jeopardizes the hope we expressed previously, and the Government fully intends to remedy the situation. To this end, all necessary measures will be adopted to involve the existing local organizations in the form of integrated management proposed under the PGRNP, and thus, to the extent possible, any unnecessary overlaps with competing local groupings will be avoided, so that the Pastoral Associations -- once established and operational -- will constitute the essential channel for local partnerships.

At the same time, the authorities will continue to involve GNAP in their ongoing efforts to structure stockraising activities, particularly with regard to the establishment of interdisciplinary organizations, which will exercise a very positive influence by increasing the professionalism of private-sector operators and transferring responsibility for activities to them.

References

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MAP SECTION



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