

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: ISSUES, APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES FOR A TERRITORIALISATION OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

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INTRODUCTION

The session aimed at investigating the relationship between cooperation and local development practices in the Global South. Theoretically as well as at the level of development cooperation policies and strategies, a reconfiguration of the reference scales at which the very idea of development is conceptualized has been taking place since the Seventies. The context is that of the process of reorganization of the international politico-economic system that began in those years, which also encouraged the social sciences to adopt new perspectives in analyzing and interpreting social phenomena and economic processes. Alongside the essentially aspatial and macroeconomic approaches which remain dominant to this day, an attention to the local dimensions of development has gradually gained ground, moving from somewhat subterranean beginnings to its current prominence [1]. This reconfiguration is very much part of the considerations that have matured since the early Eighties regarding the crisis that swept through the field of development studies and the post-impasse debate that has enlivened the subsequent decades. In this context, local development has steadily become more and more central to development policies, starting with a number of Northern countries in the Eighties, and explicitly emerging in the developing countries since the second half of the Nineties.

Local development's rise to prominence in the South raises a number of questions that the contributors have tried to address in the session. Are we dealing here with yet another transfer of development "technologies" - technologies that are basically theoretical and operating approaches - from North to South? And how appropriate are these technologies? Can we speak of a "discovery of local development" in Developing Countries (DCs), or is what we are seeing more of a top-down approach, where the impetus descends through the long networks of international development, with the latter's own rhetoric and priorities? How does the attention to local development in DCs link up with the debate surrounding endogenous development, the informal economy and the activism of civil society on the one hand, and the processes of political and administrative decentralization on the other? And, above all, where does local development stand in a context that would appear to be dominated by the processes of globalization and deterritorialization? One of the hypotheses underlying this investigation is that the growing international stress given to local development must be interpreted from a multi- and trans-scalar standpoint, through an approach capable of encompassing local dynamics, national cultural and politico-social contexts, and processes that operate on the supranational and global scales. In this perspective, dealing with local development means considering a complex sequence of global-local interactions, between economic trends and processes of redefining political space, between local discoveries in the framework of global conditions, conceptualizing them through multiple decontextualizations and subsequent reconceptualization practices at different scales and in different contexts.

In the next section we will outline the fortune of local development in the DC, highlighting both the (global) context where local development emerged in the Nineties and the inner tension between top-down and bottom-up approached in development theories.

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE ECONOMIES OF THE DCs

The global context of local development in DCs

With a certain delay with respect to the North's debate concerning local development theory and practice, the latter concept began to appear in the policies of the developing world during the Nineties [2] [3]. At this point, it was closely connected with the shifting strategies for international cooperation in its various forms (bilateral, decentralized, nongovernmental), both in Eastern Europe - those portions affected by the UE's expansion in particular [4] - and in many developing countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia. A glance at the list of the programs and projects spearheaded by the organizations involved in international cooperation (the World Bank, various United Nations agencies such as UNIDO, the ILO, FENU and the European Union itself) [5], is sufficient to provide an idea of how local development has become one of the buzzwords of international cooperation in the last decade.

This espousal of local development and all its trappings by the major supranational organizations is something of a watershed in our view, as it was in some respects the seed and source of the ambiguities that have beset local development initiatives in developing countries. While in the literature discussed in these pages, local development

proceeds from the solid empirical evidence provided by observed economic trends - often openly at odds with the orthodox narratives of economic development - the interpretation that the international organizations proffer is heavily influenced by the ideological/normative context in which these institutions live. The break between the concerns of local development - like those of participation and gender differences - and the neo laissez-faire orthodoxy of groups such as the World Bank - is, in fact, more apparent than real. As we will see above all in the case of Egypt, heterodox theories are often introduced in the mainstream - intellectual and operative - of these supranational actors as a means of highlighting the need to revamp the relationship between the State and the market. If it is true that abandoning the rigid monetarist orthodoxy goes hand in hand with acknowledging the regulatory role of the State, it is equally true that most of the criticisms target the State's disorganization, and the bureaucracy that amplify rather than restrain the markets' flaws.

In particular, in order to clarify the context from which this investigation springs, it is advisable to dwell for a moment on the fact that the neo laissez-faire approach taken in the strategies of the major exponents of development cooperation was virtually the only alternative to the development crisis and the debate it fueled, so much so, indeed, that the international literature refers to it as a mainstream approach. Starting from the early Eighties, with the so-called Washington Consensus, this approach found adherents in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, spreading thence to permeate the thinking and policy-making of many development agencies, including those of the United Nations, other international bodies and a large proportion of national governments worldwide.

In the early Nineties, following the failure of the Structural Adjustment Programs, development cooperation policies were heavily impacted by the change of course embodied in the Post-Washington Consensus, which was explicitly influenced by the neo-institutional approach. In this connection, it is now widely acknowledged that the local scale's new role in development cooperation policies and strategies resulted from the considerations triggered in the second half of the Seventies by the attempt to create a view of development that could constitute an alternative to the aspatial approaches of the macroeconomic school, as well as from the influence that the New Institutional Economics [6] exerted on the work of the major players in development cooperation. This approach is based in identifying, at the national, subnational and local scales, those institutions that are not directly linked to the market as actors capable of correcting the market's shortcomings.

In the developing countries, following the new rules of the internationalized economy - mostly through the channels of development cooperation - has hinged on two sets of factors, one politico-economic, and the other more purely political, which refer explicitly to good governance. In this context, development cooperation has gradually incorporated local development policies as the preferred tool for combining initiatives that are intended to influence the economic as well as the political spheres by promoting processes of divestiture and decentralization, often seen as the necessary accompaniment to local development policies. There can be little doubt that the link between the new role of the local in development cooperation strategies and the gradual enlargement of the very goals of development, which in some cases extend so far as to include the political dimension by making development aid conditional upon introducing democratization processes, is emblematic of the relationship between the political and economic perspectives of local development. This overlap not only demonstrates how a focus on participatory democracy, local governance and decentralization has accompanied local development thinking in the DCs, but has also contributed to unmasking the inadequacy of approaches, concepts and models that are explicitly tied to the Western world's specific historic and cultural patterns. Here, as the controversy sparked by what has been termed the right-based approach has made clear, the legitimacy of efforts to export and impose (through military intervention in some cases) models and processes of forced democratization is very much a moot point. The criticisms inspired by these processes of standardization have been similarly skeptical of the work of the supranational political bodies that have taken it upon themselves to develop and spread a sort of "global policy" based on the universality of democratic principles.

Local development in the DCs: between top-down and bottom-up approaches

If we analyze local development in the DCs, as least as far as Senegal, the rest of French-speaking Africa [7] and Egypt are concerned, we find that two opposing visions have been at work. The first sees local development as a highly institutionalized process, marching in lock-step with political and administrative decentralization. However much it can mobilize local society through inclusive processes, it still moves from the center downwards. Local development is generally presented as the one essential means of stimulating local agencies, and hence local society, to formulate and deploy strategies for their own areas' infrastructures, economy and welfare [8] [9]. By contrast, the other vision of local development puts greater emphasis on the community, or on relatively endogenous - and possibly even marginal - dynamics, some seen as residual, others as innovative.

In recent years, many countries in the Southern reaches of the world have discovered endogenous local dynamics that were either unpredicted or cannot be seen as issuing strictly from development aid; at the same time, they have also changed their approach to development cooperation, passing from exogenous, top-down processes, to self-reliant, bottom-up approaches that have largely been put forward by groups who are in the minority as regards their ability to wield power, like many of the NGOs in the North and an increasing number of Southern NGOs. Among the unforeseen changes, we can include a variety of interesting social movements that have taken place in different parts of the South [10]. These organized initiatives have striven to re-conquer and regenerate their own "local space", and have been successful in rising above the merely local and banding together in quite complex organizations involving as many as

half a million people and more, as has been the case of certain initiatives in Mexico or West Africa. It should be noted that many of the efforts are far from being antagonistic to development cooperation, and indeed have prospered thanks to their ability to attract and manage sizeable amounts of international aid. At the same time, they have been able to garner grass-roots support among small farmers and villagers, while striking a balance between tradition and modernity. As a result, these initiatives bask in the floodlights of international cooperation, and many aid agencies and NGOs rely on their dynamism as the fulcrum of their intervention strategies.

As part of this change of approach, there is a growing critical awareness of the meaning and role of an aid agency, of the importance of the actors involved, of local values, the crucial need to strengthen and support the local area's capacity for self-organization, and of the social, relational and environmental dimensions of a type of development that cannot be rooted only in an economic sphere that has nothing to do with the social [11]. In making way for an approach stemming from an idea of community-based, self-reliant and bottom-up development, the world of cooperation has also fitted itself out with a whole series of tools for analyzing the territorial, social and cultural context that leverage participation and the need to understand the local viewpoint, as exemplified by the various approaches that fall under the heading of "participatory diagnostics" (MARP, RRA, etc.) [12]. As mentioned earlier, this change in outlook would appear to have spread to the major international bodies, rather than being restricted to the more bottom-up actors such as the NGOs.

The distinction between an institutional top-down vision and a "community-based", bottom-up vision of local development also hinges on the conceptual view of the territory in which the trends triggered by local development processes operate, where on the one hand we have a received territory, which precedes the process and is generally a politico-administrative division of space, and, on the other hand, a constructed territory, the "project" territory. As the territory is the result of a process of construction on the part of the actors, not defined beforehand but recognized a posteriori, the territory of local development is not something that exists everywhere: often, in fact, we find that we are dealing with spaces dominated by the exogenous laws of localization, which are not identified as territories. The two conceptual views must not be confused, but must both be taken into account in the local development discourse. Territory then can be defined as the 'container' and the result of a process of elaborating content [2: 299].

Situating the contributions

Within the contributions presented at the session, we can identify at least two main themes. The first one is the relationship between territories in sharing and establishing different, yet related, patterns, of Local Economic Development (LED). The second stream is related to the interaction between LED and social structures, with specific reference to LED as an interface between different source of power and legitimacy and between different scales of decision and implementation. As the first theme is concerned, the first two papers in this sub-section make reference to project between Italian authorities and national and local administration in the Sahel area (Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal). In their intervention, Egidio Dansero and Agnese Migliardi outline a critical assessment of the Italia-Sahel programme, with special reference to the "Fondo Italia-CILSS di lotta contro la desertificazione e per la riduzione della povertà nel Sahel" (ITALY-CILSS FUND, ICF), established in 2002 and active until 2011. ICF is a very interesting case-study that shows from one side the attempt to adopt a spatial and territorial approach to development cooperation, with analysis and actions interlinking different political and action scales, and from the other side a technocratic development machine that failed in try to put together the different actors of development cooperation but at the some time has been quite effective in local initiatives.

The two other contributions dealing with the Italian Development Cooperation's practices take into account a more specific issue, that is to say the role of decentralized cooperation and the possibility of technology and practices transfer. The paper presented by Maurizio Tiepolo and Mario Artuso is the report of a decentralized cooperation between the Politecnico of Turin and Niger and Senegal. The establishment of a multipurpose and open access GIS in the public administration of three minor cities has highlighted the potential of codified geographical knowledge in order to make effective the control of local authorities over their territory in order to facilitate and secure Local Economic Development processes. The presentation of the group led by Giulio Mondini and Sergio Olivero addresses a totally different issue that is the social and territorial impact of the RENEP (Renewable Energy for Palestine). What is at stake, here, is the fundamental issue of transfer of models (in this case the smart city framework) and technologies (renewable energies, with special reference to solar production) from their original Northern context to the Global South (in this case to a context, the Palestinian one, which is characterized by an unusual degree of conflict). The case study provides evidence for the positive impact of such transfers on LED, creating opportunities for employment and empowerment, above all among the youngest generation. The second group of papers deals with the interaction between LED and social structures, with special reference to the puzzle of different sources of legitimacy and (political, social, economic) power in Africa and Brazil. Sara Belotti's case studies on sustainable tourism in Mozambique, with reference to the specific case of Zinave National Park (PNZ) highlights the complex relationship between "traditional" and "legitimate" structures and hierarchies and the superimposing administrative "legal" authorities. In particular, using GIS, the author demonstrates that the dynamic interaction between legitimate and legal sources of authority is projected into a territorialization which is evolving over time, mirroring the emerging power architecture. As a consequence spatial hierarchies are unceasingly reworked and redesigned in order to match power dynamics. Such a view is also confirmed by Roberto Di Meglio on Local Economic Development and social economy in the context of the ILO (International

Labour Organization) policies apt to secure decent work, fair income and participation into the development processes. In particular, the brief case study concerning the Ghana Decent Work Programme (GDWP) shows the importance of the dialogues between “local norms and values” – as embodied in traditional sources of power and legitimacy – and local government authorities and agencies. Once again, the interaction of different power architectures enact Local Economic Development processes and entails spatial transformation (in the Ghanaian case the multiplication, integration and up-scaling of LED projects at different scales and in different regional contexts). A similar standpoint arises from Francesco Biciato’s account on the ART (Articulation of Territorial Networks for Sustainable Human Development) framework of the UNDP, where the role of local communities is twofold: on the one hand, they support decentralization and local governance; on the other hand they can get involved in South-South decentralized cooperation, facilitating the exchange and integration of LED practices. From a different perspective Carla Inguaggiato observes the interaction between producers’ cooperatives and social structure in the case of Northeast Brazil. It is interesting to read the Latin-American case study in comparison with the African ones. Inguaggiato, in fact, takes into account three villages created by the agrarian reform (assentamentos) between 1997 and 2005. As such these settlements cannot be considered as bearer of traditional forms of legitimacy. On the contrary, they rather are the outcome of a policy dropped from central and local political authority. The assentamentos policy actually denotes a “third culture” between traditional indigenous settlements and State-sponsored massive colonization and intensive exploitation. Using the methodology of network analysis, the author shows that different social structures (arising from kinship ties, previous working experiences, political and/or religious background, and technical knowledge) do play a role in differentiating the Local Economic Development processes enacted by different villages. Of course it is not about “traditional” architecture of knowledge and power, yet it shows the transformative capability of different territorialization patterns to adjust and adapt LED. Massimo Pallottino’s theoretical reflections show some “family resemblance” with Inguaggiato’s standpoint, apart from the common geographical focus on Brazil. In particular, Pallottino emphasizes the continuity between theory and practices in Local Economic Development processes: as a consequence, the internal stratification of the local communities (that is, ties and relations among the social actors) becomes a pivotal element driving the success and the failures of LED projects.

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LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: SOME PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

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The attention paid to the local dimension of development contributes casting a new light on the whole development debate, as it roots economic, social and political transformation processes into the concrete lives of women and men struggling for a better livelihood. In this debate many reflections have been devoted to explore the way the social actors interact and generate what we conventionally call 'development objectives'. After all, the idea that 'development' will take place within a sort of mechanistic process of consensus is the key (implicit) assumption that justifies a lot of efforts in this domain, and under which the interaction of the social actors is assumed to take place.

Some implications of the discontinuities in what it is often unduly assumed to be the fundamental unity and homogeneity of the local communities, and that may undermine the development consensus mentioned above, need however to be recognized and taken into account. The case of the national park in Mozambique shows well the coexistence of different and alternative institutional sets: the modern 'developmental' world which includes (and sometimes embeds) the formal governmental institutions; and the 'traditional' social institutions, that Giddens [1] describes as the forerunner of the modern formal states, and that on the contrary in many cases coexist with the latter, within a setting that could hardly be defined as 'temporary'. It is not only matter of recognising the internal stratification of the local society; but to acknowledge the existence of a 'double institutional truth' concerning associated life.

While the recognition of this 'double institutional truth' has been object of many reflections and well documented studies, there is perhaps still some unanswered question on the way these interact in the domain of development. They are often understood as they were two alternative ways of approaching the field: the practice of development that 'acts', offering a 'developmental' grasp on things that are to be done; and a theory that is able to unveil the social reality beyond the structures that are set up in order to carry on policies and projects, which offers useful indications to the development practice. However, the latter extends its influence well beyond what is expected from a simple and 'neutral' technical set-up, insofar it shapes our understanding of the world. In some sense it becomes a practice-and-theory altogether, where it is difficult to keep a clear distinction between the two elements: we 'do' things coherently with what we have understood of the world, or we understand the world in a way that confirms our way of doing things? Thus, practice generates theory (or it 'is' a theory in itself); and somehow unavoidably, knowledge often ends up legitimising practice rather than challenging it.

The case from Brazil offers an interesting perspective on the internal stratification of the local communities. We are often used to think at development in terms of specific initiatives, aimed at pursuing stated objectives. Through a highly formalised local network analysis, we can acknowledge in the Brazilian case how development initiatives can be represented in terms of ties and relations among the social actors: something so simple and implicit, to be systematically uncared for in many current development analysis techniques. A deeper reflection on the idea of relationship as a key concept towards a better understanding of development and development cooperation [2] can be a promising area in which efforts can be spent.

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TERRITORY AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE ITALY-CILSS FUND

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ABSTRACT

The communication starts from the analysis of Italy-Cilss Fund (ICF), a cooperation program that has engaged for about a decade, from the beginning of 2000, the Italian governmental international cooperation in the Sahel, involving various forms of partnerships: International Organizations (UNOPS, Cilss), the central government of Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso and Niger, regional and local governments of the selected areas of intervention (Zarese), Italian NGOs, and especially Sahelian various associations of civil society just to the villages of intervention.

ICF represents a program of great interest, such as organic attempt to coordinate an approach focused on local development and territory, variously defined, combining a wide range of initiatives to combat desertification. Despite a great effort in the process of setting up and defining the program, with many innovative issues, in its implementation it has experienced considerable difficulties, delays, route changes, even radical.

ICF experienced all the difficulties and ambiguities of an approach combining "positive" local development approach (relatively autonomous dynamics in the room) and a "normative" one, trying to stimulate with relatively similar approaches in different contexts of the interventions local projects oriented to combating drought and desertification as obstacles to development.

ICF has been and still is a collection of stories, a great event in its preparation and becoming, a mirror and a laboratory of Italian way to international cooperation. It is not only interesting but relevant from a political, civil and scientific point of view to reconstruct the ratio, the becoming, out of a evaluation logic (even if considering evaluation reports in the various stages of its life cycle) to put in evidence light and shadow, good and bad practices, capitalize and stimulate a process of collective learning in a world such as that of cooperation that seems to be hard to not proceed to tear and removals.

INTRODUCTION

The Italy-CILSS Fund (abbreviated here in ICF) is a major project that has been implemented in four Sub-Saharan countries (Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, Senegal¹) for over eight years. It represents an interesting research lab for analyzing local development approaches within international development policies in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Indeed within it, we can find some of the key features characterizing international aid policies at the time: the food security goal supported by technological knowledge and GIS; the call for a strategic collaboration between international/governmental development agencies, decentralized cooperation, NGOs and national governments towards political and administrative decentralization processes; the integration of previous development approaches into a local development perspective.

In our opinion it is useful to adopt the conceptual framework offered by a *geography of – and for –* the development cooperation [1] [2] to retrace the territorial rationality of this program: from the articulated *ex ante* spatial analysis to the - symbolic, material and organizational - production of territory and scales engendered by its intervention (ICF territorialization). If this is certainly relevant from an academic point of view, we believe it could also encourage a debate into the development cooperation world where benchmarking and critical knowledge sharing do not come easily. After a brief analysis of genesis, structure and evolution of ICF, we will develop some reflections about its relationships with a territorial approach oriented to local development.

THE ITALY-CILSS FUND

The ICF to Combat Desertification for Poverty Reduction in the Sahel was part of a wider Italy-Sahel Program for poverty reduction, following the DGCS Guidelines adopted in 1998. The ICF was approved by the Italian General Directorate for Development and Cooperation (DGCS) in October 2002, and formally started in 2004-2005 for a

¹ The research has been done in IAO-Gender project, financed by the IDC (Italian Development Cooperation - Direzione Generale alla Cooperazione allo Sviluppo del Ministero) under the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, managed by the IAO and based in Florence.

duration of three years after extended until 2011². Both the Italy-Sahel Program and the ICF focused on 4 of the 9 CILSS countries³, which in 2000 represented more than 75% of the CILSS region in terms of GDP and population, and almost 87% in terms of active population in the agricultural sector.

The preliminary talks about the Italy-Sahel Program and ICF took place between 1999 and 2002, by means of an institutional and technical partnership between DGCS, CILSS, national governments of the 4 countries, Italian NGOs⁴ and decentralized cooperation⁵ operating in those countries.

ICF was expected to treasure good practices experienced in the last years by the Italian cooperation, while the Italia-Sahel Program represented the common framework to identify synergies between a wide range of actors involved in development at the regional, national and local level.

Within the framework of a more rational management of natural resources, the general objective of ICF was to tackle the poverty and desertification spirals by improving the socio-economic conditions of rural populations in some marginal and vulnerable areas, labeled ZARESE⁶.

The IFC was based on a complex institutional structure, articulated on three managing levels: a “Sub-regional Pilot Committee” (CSRP) located at CILSS headquarters; a “National Pilot Committee” (CNP) for each country; and a “Fund Managing Committee” for each ZARESE (CZGF) at the local level. All of these committees were composed of institutional and civil society delegates (from DGCS, CILSS, NGOs, national or local governments, peasant’s organizations), according to the managing level.

Furthermore, a technical assistance structure (IAC) – made by NGOs’ and peasants’ organizations members - was designated to support local actors (CZGF, local governments and civil societies organizations) in outlining or updating their Local Development Plans and, at the same time, identifying and implementing the most appropriate interventions. Beneficiaries of ICF grants were indeed both peasant’s or community based organizations and local governments which had to submit their project proposals to CZGF and CNP for approving.

Beside all this mechanism, two executive bodies were identified: the IAO⁷ of Florence with technical assistance and monitoring duties; and the UNOPS⁸ as administrator of the Fund.

Through this complex and articulated institutional structure which absorbed a great amount of energies and resources (in terms of time, money, capabilities and motivations of the actors involved), the ICF has been implemented in 12 ZARESE⁹ (3 for each country), embracing some 1302 villages and a population of 300.000 people. During the first phase (2005-2008), the activities of ICF led to financing and realizing 754 micro-projects at the village scale. These micro-projects concentrated on four areas of intervention¹⁰, and mainly focused on horticultural and agro-forestry production, food processing and socio-economic infrastructures. However, by the medium-term evaluations in 2006-2007, some problems came to light such as the lack of coherence among many small interventions scattered all over the territory of each ZARESE, and the little attention actually paid to the natural resources management component. Therefore a change in strategy occurred at the beginning of the extension phase (2009-2011), characterized by a shift from micro-projects at village scale to structural projects – focusing on restoration and conservation of natural resources – at the inter-village or rural community scale¹¹.

CONTEXTS OF ACTION AND SPACES FOR REFLECTION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ITALY-CILSS FUND

As we have mentioned before, the aim of our research was to deconstruct theory and practices of ICF in Sahel to better understand its history and territoriality (at different scales), its multi-level institutional architecture, and the local development funds approach adopted by the Italian Cooperation.

The organizational set-up of ICF clearly shows its complexity. It included the experimentation of the ZARESE method, the defining process of intervention areas (through data collecting, negotiation and multilevel governance mechanisms), the identification of a broad set of stakeholders and their roles, the adoption of a local development

² The initial allocation established by the DGCS amounted to €15,5 million, after increased to €21,2 million.

³ The “Comité permanent Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel” (CILSS), created in 1973, is actually made by 9 countries (Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Ciad and Cape Verde).

⁴ More active NGOs on rural development in those countries were Lvia, Cisp, Cospe, Acra, Terra Nuova). All of them have been involved in ICF.

⁵ Especially Piedmont and Tuscany Regions and Bolzano Province.

⁶ “Zone à risqué Environnemental et Social Elevé”. This tool was originally developed by the center Agrhyment-CILSS to identify target-areas for intervention. Within ICF, the Zareses coincided with the administrative unit named *Département*, *Circle*, or *Province* (according to the country), embracing some smaller local governments called *Communes* or *Communautés Rurales* (political units) and several villages within them.

⁷ The “*Istituto Agronomico per l’Oltremare*” is the consultancy and technical assistance organ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the field of agricultural science and technology.

⁸ United Nations Office For Project Services, created in 1974 as a member agency of UNDP, has become independent in 1995.

⁹ According to the country, the 12 Zarese corresponded to the local administrative level called *Province* in Burkina Faso (Kourittenga, Oubritenga and Zondoma), *Circle* in Mali (Douentza, Mioro and Kolokami), or *Département* in Niger (Illega, Loga and Keita) and Senegal (Louga, Bignona and Matam).

¹⁰ Support to Community Development (SCD); Support to Socio-Economic Development (SSD); Strengthening of Community Capacities (SCC); Natural Resources Management (NRM).

¹¹ The size of projects increased also in budget terms: micro-projects varied between 3 thousands to 30 thousands euro while structural projects spanned from €0 thousands to €100 thousands.

approach combined with a multilevel operational architecture¹².

Several critical issues have emerged from the mid-term and final evaluations as well as from our interviews to actors involved in ICF (both in Italy and Sahel). These issues concerned the organizational complexity, the ambiguous role of some actors (e.g. UNOPS¹³, Italian NGOs¹⁴) and the absence of some others (like the decentralized cooperation¹⁵), the lack of timing between the outflow of grants and the activities on the ground, the difficulties encountered in peasant's - or community based - organizations involvement, the need to stimulate the applications for funds in the specific sector of natural resources management (otherwise quite neglected).

However, beyond that complexity, a core element of ICF was - or should have been - its local development approach to ensure local communities ownership of development processes. Furthermore, over the same period and in the same countries many other interventions of the international cooperation¹⁶ were centered on this approach. But what did that mean?

In the following section we try to summarize some reflections raised in the international debate which can shed light on the ICF approach. Between 90's and 2000's, local development approaches, albeit belated with regard to Northern theoretical and political debate [4], have become a core element of development policies [5] [6] in Africa, as well as in Latin America and Asia. This was closely related to a shift in strategy made by the international cooperation in its different forms (multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental) [7] [8].

Paradoxically this has happened while, in Northern countries, local development era was seemingly coming to an end, at least according to some critical authors [9]. On the one hand, in many symbolic places of local development, for example in Italy, some warning signs of crisis were coming to light. On the other hand, local development policies were not achieving the intended effects for many reasons: the challenges of globalization; the first symptoms of the international economic and financial crisis followed by drastic cuts in public expenditures; the risks for these policies of becoming mere instruments for local appropriation of financial resources, without considering the very (innovative) meaning of theoretical constructs such as local, territory and participation [10].

Borrowing the title of an important essay edited by Becattini and Sforzi [11], there are still many "lessons about local development" to be learnt nowadays. However a critical approach is then strongly recommended, especially with regard to local development strategies and practices adopted in developing countries. Misunderstandings, ambiguities and oversimplifications have occurred in the practice, leading many authors to ask themselves how far local development discourse has been driven by endogenous dynamics rather than stimulated by exogenous expectations of international cooperation. In this latter case, can it be considered an "appropriate technology" (from a cultural, economical and political point of view) for developing countries? Or does it have been just a new wave in the international development sector [12], legitimated by other rhetorical discourses such as those on governance, decentralization and participation?

Here we present some answers given by international literature through an analysis of local development between North and South [4], focusing in particular on the Senegalese case study [13] [14] [15] [16].

The label "local development" often include a vast array of mutually contradictory definitions and approaches which can be placed along three different continuums:

- normative/positive (or policies/processes). Local development may be conceived, in a normative way, as a policy (local development as it should be) or, from a positive perspective, as a process (local development as an empirical fact, although not objective and linked to the observer's point of view). Local development history is characterized by a progressive shift from its discovery as a new and unexplainable fact (e.g. Italian industrial districts), to its institutionalization (policies to support existing local development processes), till its normative definition (how and what must be done to activate local development processes). International cooperation has clearly assumed a normative perspective, even when it started - or should have started - from local dynamisms recognition;
- top/bottom. Partly overlapping the previous distinction, we can identify two different ways to local development. A top-down dynamic, on the one hand, trying to fix roles and rules of action and to stimulate local development planning¹⁷. And on the other hand, a bottom-up dynamic, resulting from local dynamisms

¹² For a detailed analysis of the multi-stakeholders nature of ICF see Perotti [3].

¹³ Many questions have arisen about costs and financial management transparency of UNOPS which should have had a purely technical role, too often trespassing into a political one.

¹⁴ Italian NGOs should have had a double role: a political one, supporting the peasant's movement and actively participating in ICF governing bodies; and a technical one, supporting and counseling the promoters of micro-projects at local level. For this second purpose, it was assumed that NGOs would receive external funds from Italian decentralized and government cooperation by presenting projects proposals consistent with ICF objectives. In fact to let NGOs participating, it has been necessary to cover their operating expenses directly with ICF resources, which has not been well accepted by many actors. This also led NGOs to be considered as merely "work providers" instead of political speakers.

¹⁵ One of the most interesting features of the Italy-Sahel Agenda and the ICF was represented by the attempt to involve Italian decentralized cooperation and NGOs into a national integrated system. While NGOs involvement has somehow occurred (see previous footnote), it has not been the case for decentralized cooperation. This is because, on the one hand, DGCS couldn't deploy additional resources for them (but rather counted on receiving financial support from them), and on the other hand, decentralized cooperation and NGOs often worked within the ZARESE areas chosen by ICF but in different localities or with different partners so it was difficult to reorienting their activities.

¹⁶ For example the Italian Cooperation was adopting a similar approach in the Casamance Region of Senegal (Primoca and Sedhiou projects), in Niger (Keita project) and in Burkina Faso (in partnership with Ngo Lvia).

¹⁷ See Lazarev and Arab [17].

and resources, often linked to a “community” dimension. The first one is also closely intertwined to the political and administrative decentralization processes which have been taking place since the 90’s in the four African countries selected by ICF [18]. These processes have entailed the creation of local communities, stimulating local governance and involving civil society stakeholders in both negotiation and planning mechanisms, which have often lead to more formalized “Local Development Plans”. Therefore some authors believe that it would be more appropriate to differentiate between decentralization – as a descending movement originating from governmental policies – and local development which is basically an ascending process [19];

- political/economical dimensions. Local development literature has been especially insisting on economical aspects, often proposing idealized representations of homogeneous local communities, and leaving aside internal conflicts [10].

In this variety of definitions, the most aware ones affirm “that local development does not merely consist in reducing inequalities between places, but rather that specific features of places play an essential role in driving development processes, in offering opportunities and in reducing risks” [20, p.44]. It is basically the relational intensity between actors and local material resources that differentiate one place from another [20]. In this perspective, local development can be conceived as a dynamic of change, activated by a set of actors (public, private, or both) who share some development visions for increasing local (human, economic, natural) resources value. These actors, thanks to their specific local knowledge and their interpersonal relations (of trust, identity ...), can stimulate positive dynamics of change in a quite endogenous and place specific way.

Development agencies usually consider territory as a constitutive element of local development. However in practice, this notion has often be employed in specious and partial manners, always mentioned but rarely examined in depth. Territory thus become a passive frame for action or a mere space for exercising political-administrative jurisdictions; otherwise it has been assumed as a set of relations facilitated by proximity, or even as a clot of resources and values which can be known objectively, without regard to different local actors representations.

In order to be more effective, the international cooperation should consider the territory as a dynamic support for its actions, and be aware of: the local resources and their modes of exploitation, the local actors and the way they are organized, territorial representations, evident or hidden conflicts, cross-scale relationship, competitive advantages.

THE ICF BETWEEN DECENTRALIZATION AND THE ZARESE METHOD

Having briefly summarized the debate on local development, we now apply these observations to the different phases and contexts of intervention of ICF. ICF considered the ZARESE as the reference “scale” for the management of grants, although getting implemented in specific rural communities and - within these - in specific villages. The ZARESE’s were “forced” to be a space for negotiating local development, even if this was already falling within local governments’ prerogative.

The ICF was conceived with a strongly geographical approach, or better inspired by a strong territorial rationality which attempted to impose itself against very different economical, political and social situations, at the national and local scales. The Italy-Sahel program and ICF referred to a “natural” region – the Sahel - within which some high risk areas were identified. The term ZARESE described at the same time an approach, a target-region of intervention, a set of scales of action and a method. This approach attempted to combine the use of social-economical and environmental indexes (obtained through quantitative analysis), with representations and indicators resulting from interviews with a variety of actors at different scales (national governments, peasant’s movement and CBO, local governments and NGOs).

Before ICF, the ZARESE method has been experimented for the first time in the late 90’s within a wide program for the monitoring of agricultural productions and food crisis alert. It has been developed by the Italian cooperation and the Agrhymet – CILLS Center of Niamey, which made available a big amount of data and socio-economic information. Who initially conceived the idea of ZARESE had very clear that the selection of such areas was not only an identification of some geographic regions (based on environmental and socio-economic indicators), but that is required the involvement of the appropriate actors and that it should have been finalized to the strategic objectives of ICF.

As a matter of fact, the ZARESE method constituted a regionalization process with a resulting production of scales of observation and action, and of territories of intervention. The ZARESE has thus become a “project” scale of action overlapping- in a conflicting manner - the territories of competencies, legitimacy, and of the relations among the actors involved directly or indirectly by ICF. The sustainability of such territorial approach is arguable, and was strongly criticized since the early days of ICF.

Moreover, the institutional and social architecture of ICF was constituted by the intersection of the ZARESE method and the approach of the local development funds. It thus clearly elected the territory as the theoretical and operative perspective for identifying the actors, stimulating the local governance, defining a common vision of local development. This perspective though conflicted with the territorial complexity, with the problematic relation between different levels of political representation, of consensus building, and of territorial self-acknowledgements.

A critical point was the relationship between ICF and the decentralization processes. ICF deployed itself in 4

countries which were - and are still today - living very different phases of the decentralization process. This is a crucial difference considering that the ICF approach is based on a multilevel governance, inspired by the idea of balancing an institutional “top-down” method, with a “bottom up” method, intended to value the local dynamics.

When ICF started, for example, Senegal was fully involved in a decentralization process, while in Burkina this has happened more recently. In this latter the ICF arrived after the General code of Burkinabé territorial collectivities was just adopted in 2004 with the first elections of 351 *Communes* (49 urban, 102 rural), and before the establishment of regional boards in 2006. It is useful here to highlight the peculiarities of the Burkina case compared to the other countries involved in the ICF. In Burkina the ZARESE relied on an administrative level - the *Provinces* - which were not inherited from the colonialism, as were the *Départementes* in Senegal. The Provinces were indeed introduced after the Sankara revolution in 1984 and, although they were non elected administrative levels, they represented a form of regionalization which accounted for the territorial differences, especially with regard to ethnical differentiations. However the Provinces, initially foreseen by the decentralization bills, will be eliminated by the General code of territorial collectivities, which encompassed only the “Regions” and the “Municipalities”. On the one hand, the Regions appear as mere geographical inventions with names which are purely referential (East, North, Mid-Center, Sahel), clear expression of a “top-down” driven regionalization. On the other hand, the Provinces are only relevant in the frame of administrative deconcentration, with an High Commissioner and a Provincial consultation framework.

The ICF thus tried to integrate an institutional “top-down” vision of local development (closer to the administrative decentralization), with a “bottom-up” communitarian one. This happened first involving in the ZARESE Managing Committees a complex variety of actors: elected, representative of the decentralized government services and of organizations of the civil society. Secondly, making sure that the projects proposed to the Fund were consistent with Local Development Plans, without considering the fact that they did not often exist (and ICF did not envisage any budget to elaborate them) or, in most cases, were (as it happened in Italy) the mere addition of desired projects, not the outcome of a common and strategic view.

The choice to work at the scale of ZARESE thus represented both an element of interest and controversy. A first critical issue is the assignment of a governance role to the ZARESE scale which yet corresponded to an administrative level rather than a political one. ICF relied in all 4 countries to levels which were an expression of deconcentration, rather than decentralization. On one side the intention was to trigger local decisional and managing processes, on the other side ICF settled on a territorial-political level which was not existing before. Despite all these contradictory elements, it should be noticed that the ZARESE helped to make clear the need for territorial development policies to be grounded to an intermediate level between the Regions (too large) and the single Municipalities (or Rural Communities in Senegal).

A second critical issue is the promotion of micro-projects at village-scale, moving from the ZARESE level to the micro-local one, and skipping in fact the Municipality or Rural Community level. This strategic choice caused the belief that the ICF was not much consistent with a local development approach. The shift to structural projects during the extension phase implied a change of scale (a supra-village one), giving a greater role to the local authorities, such as the Municipalities or the Rural Communities, which were indeed fully activated only in 2007.

A further critical element, although very common in local development projects, has been the assumption to replicate everywhere the same local development model, following a “top-down” view rather than a “bottom-up” one [21]. A key element in local development processes is the very presence of local dynamisms, of self-organization capabilities, often taken for granted. Where these conditions do not exist (and the ZARESE method was not able to detect them), it is necessary to build them up before starting the project.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have attempted to develop some reflections about the institutional infrastructure of ICF and its local development approach. We would like to conclude our analysis of ICF by considering its threefold nature. On the one hand, the ICF can be seen as a “golem”, the popular figure made out of clay which can be shaped to be strong and perfectly obedient, but unable to think. This is a frequent temptation for big development project to create the perfect machine - based on technical knowledge - who serves man under controlled conditions.

On the other hand, it actually looks much more as the “Frankenstein” because it holds together “the best of” Italian cooperation strategies and methods, but if you make some small changes results may be very different from your intended purposes. In ICF history, a problematic aspect is represented by the fact that the higher rationality of the project had been supposed to integrate and conciliate a wide set of individual rationalities (decentralized cooperation, NGOs and peasant’s movements, CILSS, national and local governments, stakeholders and their knowledge at local level). Moreover, the final outcome of each strategy and action, which has been taking place at different scales during ICF, may be seen as a multilevel and multi-country “*bricolage*”.

Despite that, one of the positive features highlighted during our interviews was that many actors have shown the ability to reorient direction, approach and scale of intervention of ICF, even if this change has occurred too late when grants were almost finished.

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PRODUCERS' COOPERATIVES BROKERS OR MIRRORS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE: A CASE STUDY FROM NORTHEAST OF BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT

This working paper aims at showing how relevant variability of social structure influences the different diffusion of agriculture. My arguments are the following. First the different social network structure of villages reflects different history of village creation. Second the presence of more connected network favours the diffusion of agriculture as income generating strategy. Third that the producers' cooperative plays a different role in the villages according to importance of agricultural employment as income generating activities and driving forces behind network formation.

Three villages created by the agrarian reform ("assentamentos") can be considered quasi-natural experiments of village composition and network formation as they include both old and new settlers; family agriculture is an innovation for the context and producers' cooperative represent a change in the organizational landscape. Households living in these villages ("assentados") are a new category of rural inhabitants that have higher political participation than average rural inhabitants and which are more connected to the state [1]. "Assentamentos" have potential for promotion of local development as in an area historically characterized by sugarcane monoculture, land tenure inequality and "coronelism" [2], agrarian reform permitted access to land to households with different professional experience and geographical origins.

Villages case studies analyzed show how a combination of kinship and agricultural employment ties foster the creation of connections between households of different geographical origins. The two main elements allowing for such connections are villagers' recruitment patterns and the role-played producers' cooperative. By analyzing the history of three villages' creation and the results of a household survey including both socio-economic features and social networks, the paper shows how the village where agriculture is more widespread is the one where there are more bridges across groups.

COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATIONS: EMPOWERMENT THROUGH PARTICIPATION OR ELITES CAPTURING?

Development agencies aim at becoming drivers of innovations that they consider beneficial to empower the target population. Participation and local development have become central issue in development discourse after the failure of structural adjustment policies. They identified, among others, in households' participation in Community Based Organizations (CBOs) an instrument to spread the innovation they want to promote.

The main negative effects of CBOs are creation of exclusion patterns either related to the costs of specialization or the difficulty of innovation diffusion. CBOs such as producers' cooperatives often promote specialization in some cash crops and smaller producers that tend to adopt multiple livelihood strategies [3]. "CBOs reproduce and reinforce relations of domination and subordination between elites and non-elites"[4]. This phenomenon is referred in literature as "elites capturing" [5] [6]. The strong presence of this phenomenon made it consider a form re-functionality previous dependency patterns such as colonial indirect rule.

Most studies focused on two main issues; first understanding what characteristics of early and late adopters and how innovation introduced by development projects spread through social networks focusing on the number of adopters of the same behaviour [7], on the people they are communicating with [8] [9], role of information versus other forms of peers influence [10] and second identifying what are drivers of households' participation by using dyadic regression [11] [12].

The main aspect that I would to complement in this paper is the weak approach to network theory. Most previous studies focus on the idea is that inclusion and exclusion dynamics are essentially based on individual characteristics. Development agency action instead goes beyond participants in the project that are often quite a small number. The previous authors look mainly for individual factors that increase the likelihood of households to participate and/or to

¹ This research has been developed in the framework of the International Doctoral Program in Local Development and Global Dynamics, School of Social Sciences, University of Trento, where the author is a PhD student.

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adopt the innovation but they do not consider the local structure of interdependencies in which households are embedded.

It is possible to refer to local development not only in terms of expansion of individual capabilities [13] but also in terms of emergence of autocatalytic society that is not totally dependent on external support but which is able to auto-reproduce. My approach is not to consider innovation in terms of emergence of new organizational forms [14].

The aim of my analysis is first to map multiple ties that connect the households in the villages (nodes), second to identify groups and third to understand what are the forms of brokerage that connect groups. For each village all the households of permanent residents have been interviewed collecting both attributes and social, economic and kinship ties among them.

Such approach can also respond to some critiques directed to the shallowest aspects of participatory development conception and rationale. First the utopic idea of community [15] has been contested as networks of constituency (kinship) and exchange (agricultural employment and frequent contact) have been elicited. Second conception of development based on individual motivation and voluntarism discourse [16] as the research has, as main starting point is interdependence among actors and importance of peer influence and contextual effects in shaping behaviours.

My argument is that a development intervention, such as producers' cooperative, which aims at introducing innovation, is likely to trigger local development when it is created in a context where there are already connections across groups or when it is able to facilitate the creation of ties across groups. This social structure might be able in fact to overcome the main causes of the exclusion patterns and elites capturing phenomena such as homophily, innovation diffusion patterns and peer effects. The combination of innovation that reaches first central individuals, individuals that tend to interact with similar others (homophily), behaviour is influenced by individuals with whom they interact, in absence of brokering links across groups, defined by individuals that share the same characteristics, will lead to the fact that the benefitted group will just one and most probably be the most connected one.

CONTEXT OF ANALYSIS

Object of analysis are three villages created by agrarian reform (*assentamentos*) in state of Alagoas, Northeast of Brazil where it operates a producers' cooperative, supported by Italian and Brazilian donors. The three villages can be considered quasi-natural experiments in terms of village composition and network formation as they include both old and new settlers. Households living in the settlements ("*assentados*") are a new category of rural inhabitants that have higher political participation than average rural inhabitants and which are more connected to the state [1].

Alagoas has the lowest life expectancy (67,6 years), one of the lowest GDP per capita and highest illiteracy rate of Brazil [17]. Alagoas economy has been dominated by monoculture since XVI century and today it is the fifth producer of sugar cane in Brazil and first producer in Northeast region [18]. The municipality object of analysis has unequal land distribution being the Gini Index of land 0,85 and Gini index is 0,39 [17]. It is a quite small municipality with a total population of 28.749 inhabitants and 35,1% of the population lives in rural areas.

Assentamentos have potential for local development as in an area historically characterized by sugarcane monoculture, land tenure inequality and "coronelism" [2], agrarian reform permitted access to land to households with different professional experience and geographical origins. The risk is that rather than new organizational forms what will emerge are forms re-functionality [14] of existing forms of domination. Access to land alone is not enough to trigger structural change. Two are the forms of re-functionality that can be identified: change only in label of captivity namely from landlord responsibility over workers to state responsibility over villagers or return land tenure concentration as prior to agrarian reform. In the first case the two tools of control used with sugar cane labour force, namely housing guarantee and debts persisted over time. First the land of "*assentados*" is still property of the state and they have been negotiating with the local administration to have access to resources both at community and individual level. Second there was great attention towards guaranteeing housing facilities. Third all of the households in the settlements have debts towards the state, as nobody was able to pay back the first and only state credit support agricultural production. In this second case few big farmers will concentrate the large majority of plots ("*lotes*") and a large number of households would work as labour force for new landlords ("*trabalho alugado*") and there will be an increased dependence on state subsidies and state employment.

New organizational forms instead can be represented by rising importance as agriculture as economic activity. The emergence of wealthy smallholders' farmers that in the state of Alagoas and in general Brazil is very rare. These "new men" could be a new political group, less influenced by patron-client dynamics, as they do not depend on state subsidies (bolsa família, cesta básica, pensão) but that are more politically active than average inhabitants of rural areas. The potential for the cooperative is therefore to support the emergence of this new social category. The risk though is that the cooperative could only include the biggest producers, excluding small producers. Keeping together small and big producers could place the cooperative in the position of a broker between several groups while serving only big producers could create envy and hatred from the least successful farmers.

SAMPLING STRATEGY

The three villages have been selected out the 18 existing rural settlements created by agrarian reform [19] [20]. The sampling criteria were: 1) difference in villages' history namely social movement recruiting households to occupy the land, 2) percentage of households' members of the cooperative and 3) household average income from sell of products to cooperative. The aim of this sampling strategy is that different village creation rules lead to different households' features and network formation patterns.

I have interviewed 102 households in village A, 38 in village B and 37 in village C that represent all households permanently living in village A and B and 95% of those living in village C. The total number of household living in each settlement does not reflect the number plots registered at INCRA: more than one household live on one plot and some households has more than one plot.

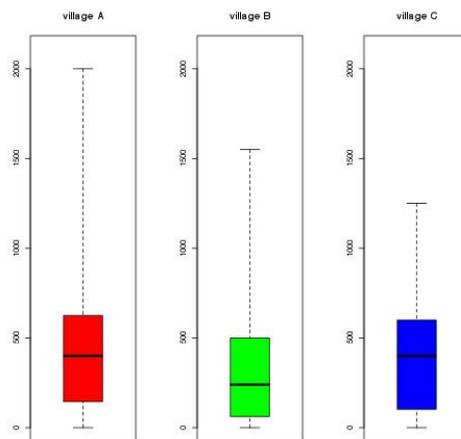
Tab. 1 - Villages' main features.

Settlement name	Creation year	Settlement area (ha)	# Plots ³	Total population ⁴	% Coop members	Household income from coop	Members contribution to total coop production	Households with agriculture as main livelihood strategy	Name of social movement
VILLAGE A	1998	690	100	437	28.0	10478.9	65.6%	49%	Private association
VILLAGE B	2005	453	42	279	4.8	1337.7	0.3%	45%	MST
VILLAGE C	1997	445	38	285	23.7	119.3	0.6%	22%	Comissão Pastoral da Terra

DATA ANALYSIS

Agriculture represents an innovation as income generating strategy. It can represent a possible way to promote local development, the question is what makes some settlers decide to adopt such innovation and others do not. The table below illustrates the different distribution of income from agriculture in the three villages. While the median value does not differ significantly it is possible to observe that range is very different across villages. In village A in fact values go up until 2000 reais corresponding to more the medium salary.

Fig. 1 - Box plots comparing income from agriculture in the three villages.



I argue that the reason why village A is the most successful settlement in terms of agricultural production and also organizational structure, is not only because many of the settlers had already experience in agriculture (32% of settlers), but also because of the co-evolution of intertwined social ties that allow for the creation of ties across groups that better allow innovation to spread, namely to adopt agriculture as main livelihood strategy.

³ Number of plots in which the area of the village has been divided by INCRA.

⁴ The data refers to municipality health services (September 2012).

My argument is that the difference in history of the three villages and especially recruitment and early organization of the village explain village composition and kinship network features and marriages between new and old settlers in the village.

1. History of the villages, especially households' mobilization and recruitment patterns and early organization of settlements, explain the different structure of kinship networks.
2. Agricultural employment, supported by cooperative activity, allows for the creation of links beyond kinship that allows more connection across groups of different geographical origin or different migration waves.
3. The three observed frequent contact networks of the three villages are based different network patterns, that despite the similar level of density, allows for a different level of diffusion of information and behavior across households.

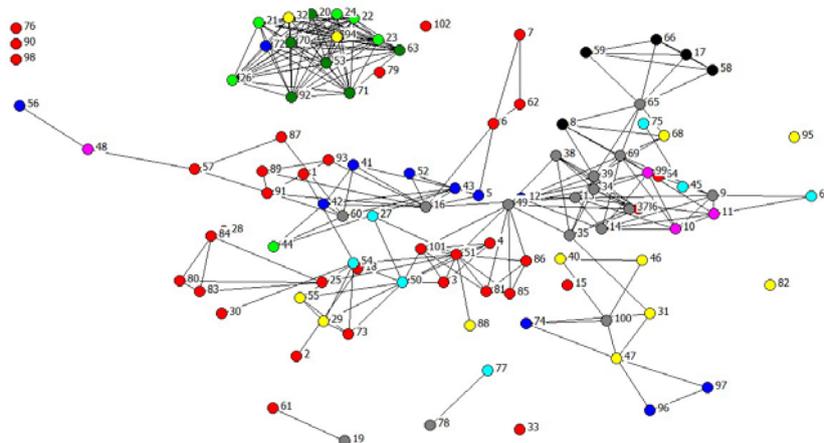
To test such hypotheses both quantitative and qualitative analysis will be adopted. First the description of villages' history shows the differences in kinship networks structure (polycentric versus centralized) along with the difference in village composition. Networks visualization has been produced with the software UCINET [21]. Second the crucial role of agricultural employment in building ties across groups defined by common origin in the three villages. Third the use of Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGM) allows identifying the factors that predicts the contact network, which is considered to be a good approximation of how people interact.

Village history and kinship networks

The three organizations recruiting households in the three villages sampled differ first in criteria to recruit and mobilize households, second in the rule to define households who can have access to land after a period of occupation, third in spatial organization of the settlement and in political representation of settlers and ability to negotiate with local and national authorities and fourth in the way the state access to land (expropriation versus acquisition). These factors influenced several variables such as number of households experience with agriculture, second number of households that already knew each other before occupation (whether they were coming from the first village or in the same migration wave), third in density of kinship network and percentage of old and new settlers and percentage of old and new settlers.

In village A the charismatic leader of a private association, that led the process of encampment and expropriation of the land, recruited a large portion of households that now live in the village. Most of these households were members of this association that was based in the south of Alagoas. The creation of an association also allowed for more time for households recruitment factor that is reflected on a higher number of household already with experience in agriculture 32% and also the fact that many of them already knew each for almost two years. At the moment of settlement establishment the leader of the association, at that point became the first president of the settlement, declared the settlement collective. This allowed him to prevent to send away households that were in exceeding the number of plots indicated by INCRA. There were no rules limiting the number of households connected by kinship and there is in fact low percentage of isolates in kinship network (12%). Furthermore during the period of encampment and early period of settlement composition several collective activities were organized in the village. This latter element probably favoured the creation of more marriages among different groups both among old settlers and new settlers and also among new settlers of different origins. There are in fact in the village 12 marriages across different groups where household of same geographical origin defines groups.

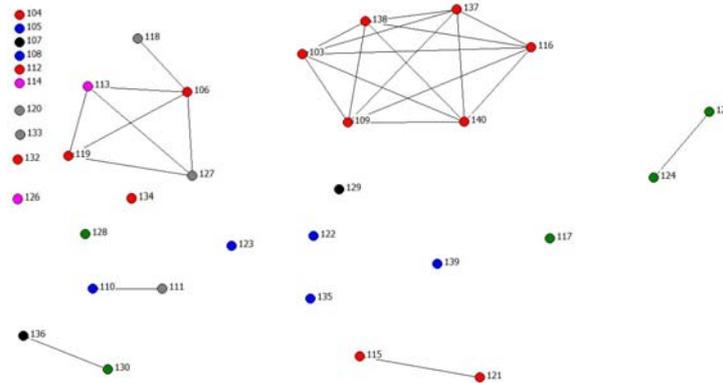
Fig. 2 - Village A kinship network: nodes coloured by origin.



Village B was created by Movimento Sem Terra that defined a maximum number of households linked by sibling ties that could live in the same village. The observed kinship network is quite sparse being only 50% of households connected by kinship ties. Only a very small number of households already knew each other before the process of

encampment and occupation. MST activists calling people to occupy had in fact short time gather people and therefore collected households with very different work experience, mostly they were employed in the sugarcane sector (37%) and only 21% were already living of agriculture. Many households have been literally socialized by politics: most of activities promoted by MST were especially participation to political parades, occupation and other forms of protest to make pressure on the government to expropriate the land. Furthermore at the moment of land division in plots when MST indicated households that could have access to land, participation in political parades was an important criterion. Marriages brokering ties across group are quite lacking there is in fact only one marriage connecting among two households of different geographical origin arriving during the first migration wave or the first group of settlers and no marriages between old settlers and new settlers.

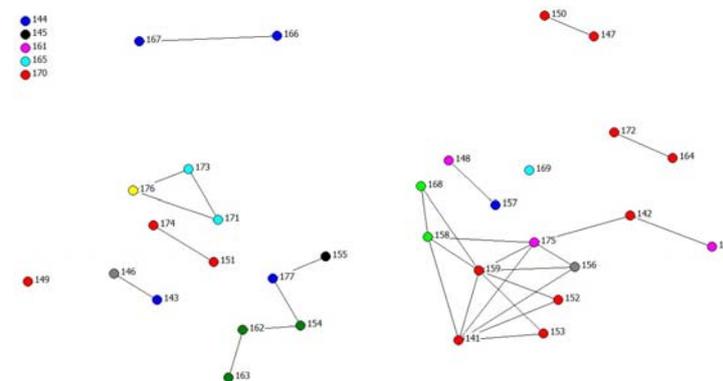
Fig. 3 - Village B kinship network: nodes coloured by origin.



Comissão Pastoral da Terra created village C, differently from the previous two settlements, the land has not been expropriated after a process of occupation but instead it has been bought by INCRA. This factor has important two implications. First there are a larger number of households that were already living in the village (27%) or in the immediate neighbouring area that arrived there as soon as they received information by their relatives that it was possible to get access to the land and old rural workers were eligible. Second most of the new settlers did not shared a common history of occupation but rather INCRA with the intermediation of Comissão Pastoral da Terra called households that already had experience of struggle in different settlements across the state of Alagoas. A small group of three households have already been occupying in other settlements for over six years.

This situation is represented by the graph of kinship ties there is a larger group mostly composed by old settlers coloured in red and few new settlers connected by kinship ties. The lack of the a strict rule certainly favoured the presence of larger clans in the village and less isolates (only 19%) but the lack of common joint activities certainly hampered the creation of brokering marriages across groups. There are only two inter-group marriages between old and new settlers. Furthermore similarly to what we observe in village origin is not an important factor to predict frequent contact network, more relevant are in fact kinship and agricultural employment.

Fig. 4 - Village C kinship network: nodes coloured by origin.



Agricultural employment as brokering tie

Agricultural employment is an important form of brokerage as it creates connections between different groups defined by kinship; what varies though is the overall impact of this brokering connection. Three different graphs represented below show the different brokering power represented by agricultural employment. Nodes coloured by party, kinship ties in red and agricultural employment ties in green.

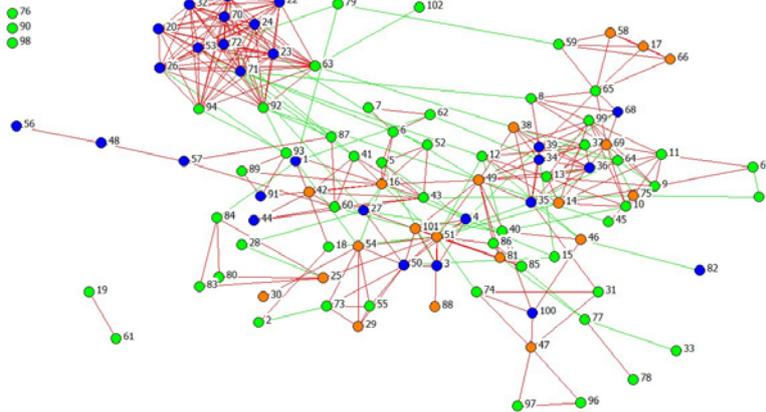
In village A the presence of agricultural employment ties totally changes that network structure of the village; there

is a shift from a situation of potential clash between two cohesive unconnected blocks to an integrated system. Only with kinship ties there were two distinct and isolated groups being one a large endogamous cohesive clan and a more polycentric structure where households of different origins are tied together by marriage. Agricultural employment ties keep together the two groups in a quite articulate way. The presence of multiple ties between the two groups makes the whole structure less vulnerable to possible tie cuts that can tear the two groups apart. Most of the households are in fact integrated in the system and there are only three households that are left aside. Agricultural employment includes in fact 77% of the households. On a more general scale this also means that many households are able to find their source of employment in the same village where they reside. The cooperative has role in the importance of agricultural employment as the guarantee of a market for households' crops allows creating the necessity for agricultural labour force to support their production. It is important point though that not all households specialized in agriculture are economically sustained by the cooperative as there are important producers that do not sell to the cooperative. It certainly through that the technical assistance and credit provided by the cooperative initially along with the facility to collect products in their field that members currently have certainly represent a big support for their economic activity.

Tab. 2 - Comparison among agricultural employment network in the three villages.

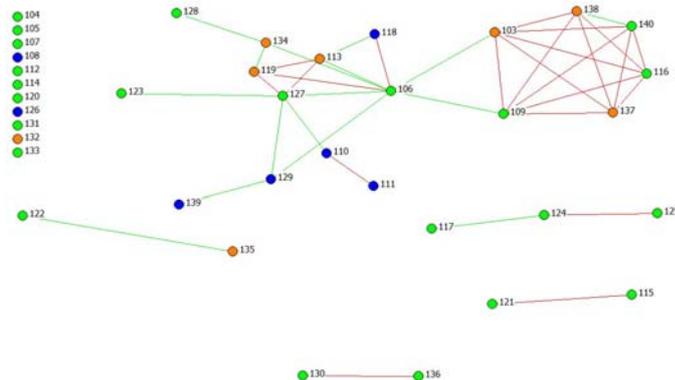
	Village A	Village B	Village C
Isolates	33%	50%	54%
Density	0.014	0.024	0.021
Average degree	1.41	0.89	0.76

Fig. 5 - Village A kinship and agricultural employment tie.



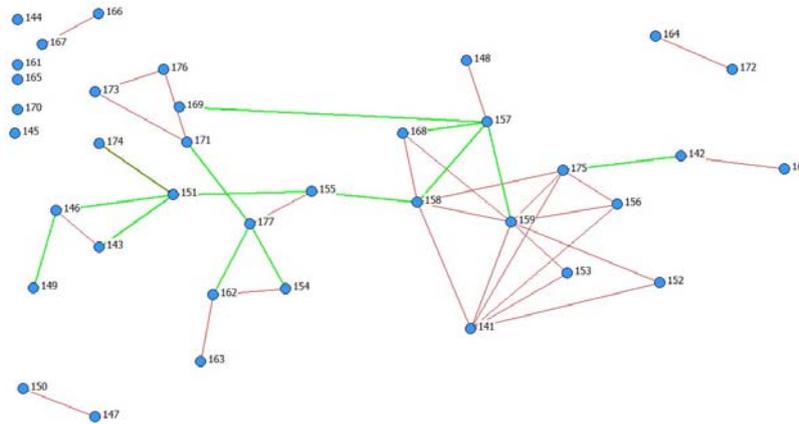
The picture in village B is totally different in fact, despite the brokering role between the two main groups, many families are left aside being the percentage of isolates 26%. There are 45% of the households declare to make their living mostly out agriculture but when it comes to income from agriculture the values are mostly below one salary. This data show that most of the households that agricultural production is mainly for subsistence and not on larger scale that would allow them to hire somebody even occasionally to work on their plot. There is in fact a quite strong correlation (0.44) between income from agriculture and number of households employed in agriculture and between being member of the cooperative and number of households hired (0.41) while only weak correlation between agricultural income and being member of the coop (0.25). There are in fact quite a number of members that almost do not sell any product to the cooperative.

Fig. 6 - Village B kinship and agricultural employment ties.



In village C the brokering role of agricultural employment is extremely relevant but quite vulnerable. There are only three ties that connect the main clan mostly composed by old settlers and their relatives and some of new settlers. The role of agriculture is certainly the lowest among the three villages: only 22% of households make their living out of agriculture and most of households (57%) live out of a mixture between sugar cane employment and other activities. The role of producers' cooperative is still very marginal as only two people are members of the cooperative and the cooperative has been operating in the village only since 2009.

Fig. 7- Village C kinship and agricultural employment ties.



Different history different elements to compose contact network: ERGM results

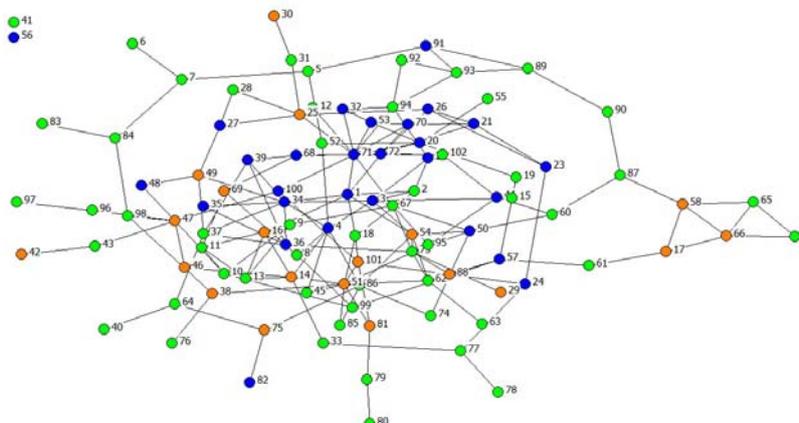
The three graphs below illustrate the frequent contact network of each of the villages. The three networks have a very small number of isolates and similar average degree but they present different local structures.

Tab. 3 - Comparison among contact network.

	A	B	C
Density	0.034	0.114	0.101
Isolates	2%	5%	0%
Average degree	3.39	4.21	3.6

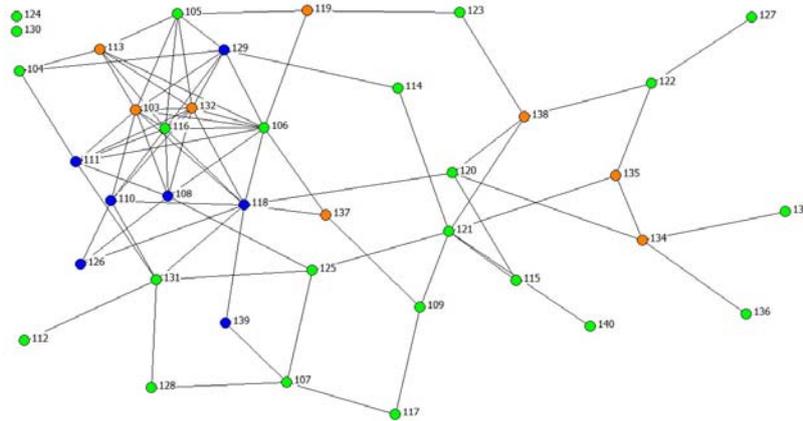
Village A network is more interconnected being difficult to separate single cliques, except at the periphery of the network. In village B and C instead it is easier to identify cliques.

Fig. 8 - Village A contact network.



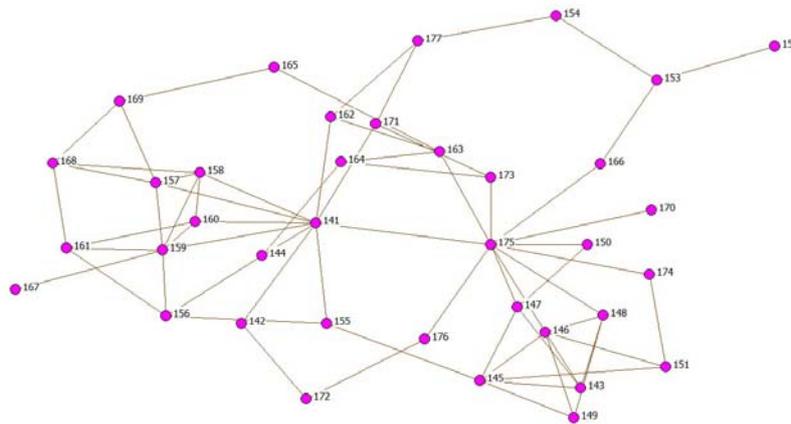
In village B there is very dense group where all households are connected to each other whether the rest of households are only connected by a smaller number of ties. Households that arrived together at very beginning of encampment process and that are currently living in the same road compose this group.

Fig. 9 - Village B contact network.



In village C two main groups that composed by households connected by several ties but there are few brokering ties among the groups.

Fig. 10 - Village C contact network.



ERGMs are a class of statistical models for social network analysis that is designed to enable network pattern recognition, which represent the structural signature of the network [22]. The ERGMs use maximum likelihood estimation and Monte Carlo Simulation. The model creates a theoretical network and tests it against the observed network. The goodness of fit statistics gives a precise measure of how the predicted network is similar to the observed one.

My objective is identifying what are the shared features and/or shared contact (homophily) and the local structures that are able to predict the network of contacts and how do they vary across the three villages. The four statistics parameters that I am using in the models are “nodematch” that measures when two nodes (households) in the dyad share the same attribute, “edgescov” that measures when two edges share the same networks and two ERGMs terms namely geometrically weighted edgewise shared partner distribution and geometrically weighted degree distribution. The variables analyzed were selected as they were considered to be the most likely to foster the creation of link among nodes: monthly income from agriculture, monthly total income, participation into political parades, migration wave in which the household has arrived, household membership in the cooperative, household present employment, the occupation of the households before the occupation period, the number of households that referred the household in object as among the most popular, place where the household lived shortly before the agrarian reform, connection of the households in the other two collected network kinship and agricultural employment. All covariates are categorical or indicators variable as there is low probability that two households to match on a specific value.

In village A, that is the most complex village in terms of networks and the village with the highest agricultural production, there is wider number of factors contributing to network formation while in the other villages there is a smaller number of factors that are to able explain the contact network. In village A same geographical origin and homophily are to be the most important elements. In village B instead it is more difficult to identify what drivers of households frequent contact but being in the same migration wave and in the same party are important in defining a link in the frequent contact network. In village C the co-existence in the same network of households is the major factor that allow predicting the other networks while no shared attributes has a relevant effect.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This working paper starting from the analysis of three social networks namely agricultural employment, kinship and frequent contact explored how groups emerge and how they are connected to each other in three villages created by agrarian reform. The differences among the three villages show that an innovation such as agriculture can more easily spread in a context where there are more connections across groups. These connections are represented by kinship that is mainly related to history of the village and agricultural employment that has been supported by the role played by the cooperative.

NOMENCLATURE

CBOs	Community Based Organizations
ERGMs	Exponential Random Graph Models
INCRA	Instituto Nacional de Colonização de Reforma Agraria
MST	Movimento Sem Terra

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RENEP – RENEWABLE ENERGY FOR PALESTINE

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ABSTRACT

The RENEP project arose from the need to develop the energy sector in the city of Hebron, in Palestine, bringing know-how at local level and helping create innovative entrepreneurship and new jobs in the market of renewable energy in the Middle East. At the same time there is an interesting opportunity to demonstrate, through a real implementation, the advantages offered by new technologies that can be also exported in other Middle East countries. Starting from Energy, the City of Hebron aims at an effective integration of all utilities (energy, water, telecommunications), creating smart ICT infrastructures for e-governance, attracting external investors and enabling funding by international organizations.

The main objectives of RENEP are the improvement of the efficiency of electric energy networks and the enhancement of the quality of life for citizens through continuous availability of electric energy from renewable sources connected within a smart network, reducing energy costs and environmental impacts. These objectives will be met through the design and building of a Pilot Site, interconnecting existing solar panels, through a “smart grid approach” consisting of an experimental production of energy optimized in economic and environmental terms. The role of energy storage capacity will be also thoroughly investigated. International donors may be interested in being involved in order to fund project implementation, since the experience made in Hebron can be at the basis of further activities in the Middle East.

Therefore, the project will define technical and organizational requirements to build economically and environmentally sustainable intelligent infrastructure systems and services for smart cities. Moreover, the systematic installation of photovoltaic systems on Hebron’s roofs can become part of the city urban planning strategies and, at the same time, offer new opportunities for qualified jobs in installation, management and maintenance.

CONTEXT

Increasing population and urban growth are driving a major change in Palestine’s energy demand, boosting consumptions and requiring environmentally sustainable solutions. At the same time, global warming and related worldwide CO2 reduction policies are forcing a technologic transition to Renewable Energy Sources (RES), like wind and solar. RES market will be one of the main drivers of green economy, enhancing business and creating new qualified jobs. For Palestine, renewable energies represent therefore both a need and an economic opportunity, within a wide strategic scenario that can be oriented to energetic independence reducing the need of importing energy from Israel.

The City of Hebron is a Palestinian city in the southern West Bank, 30 km south of Jerusalem. It is the district capital of the Hebron Governorate, the largest one in the West Bank, in an area where the sun shines with continuity: photovoltaic systems are therefore a potential important energy source. No solar production is obviously possible during the night, and surplus production during the daytime is not self-consumed in case energy production exceeds energy consumptions. Solar panels represent the city “distributed power plant”, and need therefore effective energy governance networks (smart grids) and mechanisms in order to be fully and efficiently exploited.

The systematic installation of photovoltaic systems on Hebron’s roofs can become part of the City urban planning strategies. At the same time, this can offer new opportunities for qualified jobs in installation, management and maintenance processes. Energy storage capacity represents a strategic issue, since it is able to make the entire City RES-based energy system profitable. The City of Hebron can become the area where innovative energy storage technology is tested and used as catalyst of profitable energy initiatives.

The City of Hebron can aim at an effective integration of all utilities (energy, water, telecommunications), through an energy driven, bottom-up, business-oriented approach to build economically and environmentally sustainable smart infrastructures. This approach can create resources to fund smart ICT infrastructures for e-governance, attracting external investors and enabling funding by International organizations.

RENEP PROJECT

The RENEP (Renewable Energy for Palestine) project, a business-oriented research project, funded by the PMSP (Palestine Municipal Support Program) of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is an attempt to develop new energy management strategies to exploit the maximum potential from renewable energy sources. The project is part of a cooperation agreement signed by Hebron and Turin Municipalities, with SiTI, AI Engineering and Province of Turin as technical and scientific partners. The project originated from SiTI’s presentation on smart energy during the 1st Conference on e-Municipality that was held in Hebron in June 2012 [1].

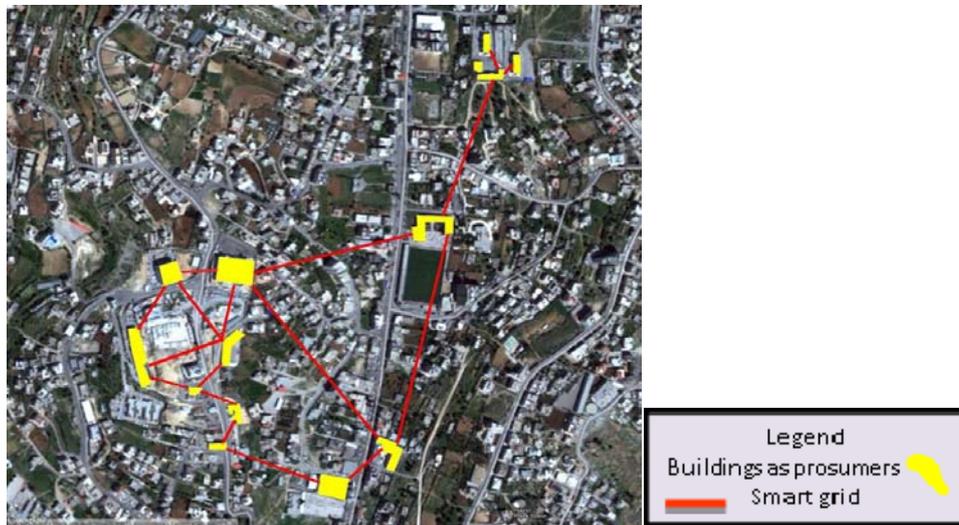


Fig. 1 - Example of a possible smart grid in the city of Hebron.

RENEP project starts from the idea that city can be seen as a network of “prosumers” (producer – consumers), where buildings (houses, offices, industries, schools, hospitals, sport facilities, etc.) can act as energy consumers in a traditional way, but also as energy producers. Each building is connected through “smart” connection, enabling data and power exchanges on both directions.

Figure 1 shows a possible implementation of a smart grid in the Hebron urban context, where public and private buildings are connected by a smart infrastructures able to both collect data and transfer energy from producers to consumers.

Energy can be produced through new or existing photovoltaic systems on roofs, representing a potential important energy source. However, the production during daytime can be higher than consumptions, so surplus production is not self-consumed. At the same time, no production is possible during the night. The main idea is to store the surplus production during the day and use it during the night. In order to do so, local energy storage systems needs to be installed. A proper energy flow management by means of energy storage units, dispatchable loads and demand side management will allow the efficient exploitation of renewable energy sources within the technical limits of the current electrical infrastructures.

Figure 2 shows the integration between the building, acting as a “prosumer”, and the surrounding infrastructure, composed by the electrical grid and the energy storage systems.

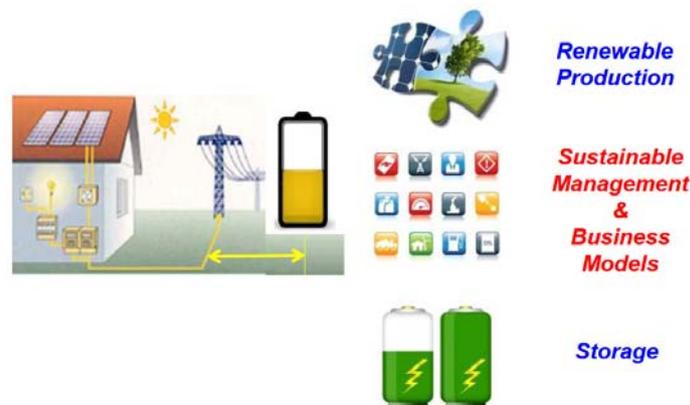


Fig. 2 - Building as a prosumer in a Virtual Power Plant.

A proper energy management strategy must be developed [2] to exploit the maximum potential from solar source and to guarantee an efficient use of storage systems. Through a smart grid approach, solar panels are identified as

distributed power plant, with a central management which finds the optimal matching between production and consumption, also with the help of storage.

PROJECT ACTIVITIES

Several specific activities have to be carried out in order to reach the expected objectives.

1. **Data Collection.** The collection of baseline data will consider the existing networks and energy facilities in Hebron with the collaboration of the HEPCo Company. Other information that will be collected concern the localization of the public buildings, schools, Municipality departments and other buildings. The collection will cover also the data of already existing renewable plants and in particular solar plants. The process should be carried out in the field and at the offices of the HEPCo Company. Before being used for the technical study itself, the data will be further checked and validated in order to ensure a good level of credibility and accuracy. Collected data will be analysed and discussed in cooperation with local technicians, in order to verify, through a process of validation, compliance with the actual condition and completeness of the information obtained. During the data collection activities, several site visits will be organized to better understand the feasibility of the connection of different types of buildings that can be linked and managed through a smart grid approach.
2. **Legislative framework analysis.** The legislative framework will be collected and then analysed by means of the local electrical technicians in Hebron, the Palestinian Electric Energy Authority and other Municipalities and management Authorities. On the basis of data concerning the pilot site and preliminary analysis, some suggestions and considerations can be made also concerning the tariff system.
3. **Building of pilot site.** A set of technical and organizational criteria will be defined in order to identify the exact territorial contexts to be used as pilot site (Figure 3). Areas characterized by different building types with different load types will be selected, where there is a strong presence of RES production systems. In the pilot testing phase the selected buildings will be treated as a “Virtual Power Plant” (VPP), evaluating their load and energy production profiles and defining optimization criteria at economic and environmental level. The PV installations on this set of buildings will be monitored through ICT interfaces, using available transmission lines and systems: this VPP represents the basis for the future “smart grid”, whose design and implementation depends upon investments. The investments are related to sustainable business models relying on energy policies by the City. The VPP will create a living context where energy storage potentials, energy production and data transmission technologies, and the integration between them can be evaluated. Therefore, the pilot site will be designed in order to become a benchmarking context for foreign companies to test innovative products and solutions in the smart grid and smart city context. A critical issue is represented by the connection between the distribution grid and local RES systems, that can become able to operate as semi-independent unit (only actions that are compliant with Palestinian laws and regulations will be considered). These connections will be deeply analysed in order to find out possible solutions able to overcome possible grid problems. Solutions can be identified both on the technical side and on the governance side. Energy storage requirements will be identified, investigating existing technological solutions able to cope with the challenges.

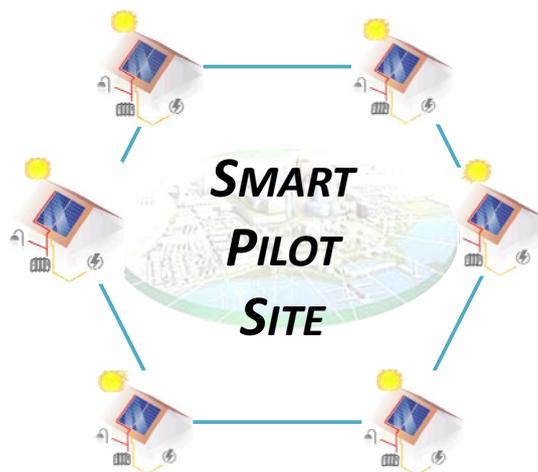


Fig. 3 - Smart pilot site.

4. **Preparation of tender documents.** The preparation of Terms of Reference (TOR) and tender documents is a major step: a contracting company has to be chosen, by means of an international tender, in order to implement

a city-wide smart grid, whose size is enough to test and validate innovative business models and to help improving Palestinian energy regulations. Based on the Pilot Site, a financial analysis will be carried out in order to define a suitable business plan for the Hebron Municipality, including cash flow, break-even point and the IRR related to the investments and energy cost. The analysis will consider the possible future installation of renewable energies and the implementation of a more extended smart grid in all the city of Hebron. The capacity of the pilot site to host testing and simulation of innovative smart grid solution can attract foreign donors (Foundations, Investment Funds, Companies, etc.), with a positive impact for the economic sustainability of the project. In addition an energy driven, bottom-up, business oriented approach to build economically and environmentally sustainable smart infrastructures will be also activated. The collected data during the exercise on the pilot site will be compared with the estimates and the financial analysis, leading to an on-field verified process.

5. **Training. Local young technicians** will be trained with special reference to VPP approach, integrated governance of distributed energy sources, installation and management of renewable energy technologies, design, management and commissioning of smart energy technologies, design of smart energy systems and smart grids. The main goal is the development of a local expertise able to create jobs and innovative technology-intensive start-ups.

EXPECTED RESULTS

Energy can represent a first important step in smart infrastructure implementation process. A “smart grid” approach can create an ideal context to gather the required financial resources to build the infrastructures of a “smart city”. Hebron’s best practices may be extended to other cities and to all Palestine, empowering energy self-production and self governance by a smart use of renewable energy sources in urban contexts, paving the way to a medium-term wider energy independence of Palestine. The approach of the project will allow to build economically and environmentally sustainable intelligent infrastructure services for smart cities.

The expected results of the project are:

- comparison report upon Italian and Palestinian town and territorial energetic plans.
- Training for trainers plan.
- Photovoltaic building roofs as a distributed generation for smart cities. The installation of photovoltaic systems on Hebron’s roofs can become part of the City urban planning strategies; at the same time can offer new opportunities for qualified jobs in installation, management and maintenance.
- Building of a Demonstrative Pilot Site based upon photovoltaic panels above some mayor Hebron buildings, in order to better show the potentialities of adopting a smart grid approach in energy management.
- Collection and analysis of the Palestinian laws on Renewable Energy and analysis of the tariff system for RES.
- Business models to attract investors to build city e-infrastructures: financial analyses will be carried out in order to define a suitable business plan for Hebron Municipality.
- Empowering energy independence and self governance by a smart use of renewable energy sources in urban contexts, by applying energy saving practices in new and existing buildings and by training tools, courses and materials for a selected group of Hebron’s young technicians with special reference to the installation and management of solar panels and their connection with the Smart Grid.
- Creation of a living context where energy storage, energy production and data transmission technologies can be effectively tested.
- Geofenced maps of the area to be used to correctly locate technology on the territory, choosing the best areas (e.g. PV orientation with respect to the sun). Detailed assessments will be performed with reference to: GIS systems, energy services GIS based data, cadastral systems and procedures, financial applications and billing systems, ICT networks, protocols, and-common state of the existing network.
- Technology testing of new Renewable Energy Sources (RES) for cities with the aim to generate value and create resources to fund smart ICT infrastructures for e-governance. Technologies will be tested in selected pilot areas and sites, creating a smart distributed energy system.

BENEFICIARIES

Several target groups can be positively affected by the definition of innovative energy management protocols aiming at exploiting the potential of renewable sources, like sun and wind.

The Municipality of Hebron is the first direct beneficiary, as it will become a virtuous example of best energy governance practice, recognized at Palestinian level and in the entire Middle East. As a result, the Hebron area can attract foreign donors, starting from Arab countries (Companies, Foundations, Investment Funds, etc.) in order to test and simulate innovative solutions and products in the energy sector.

Through the definition of innovative energy services, as well as the creation of new job opportunities, also citizens

(especially young people) can experience valuable benefits. Innovative energy services based on the exploitation of RES will lead to a greener society, while optimal management of the different RES can increase economic gain. At the same time, new jobs will increase the financial resources for each families.

However, the definition of business models also involves vocational training bodies and local SMEs. Vocational training bodies, with the help of foreign institutions, can increase their innovation level and expand their market in order to place new young trained persons for local enterprises. In addition, the entire Palestinian Training System will benefit from cultural exchanges with Italy, through the identification of new courses and disciplines to provide a strong link between academic and applied research.

New or existing SMEs will gain qualified personnel from the increased training capacity, guaranteeing installation and maintenance of operational systems in the energy sector.

Finally, the Hebron Electric Power Company (HEPCo) can develop new services for citizens and, therefore, new business models that can be replicated in other Palestinian areas.

NOMENCLATURE

CO ₂	Carbon Dioxide
GIS	Geographically Information System
HEPCo	Hebron Energy Power Company
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IRR	Investment Return Rate
PV	PhotoVoltaic
RENEP	REnewable ENergy for Palestine
RES	Renewable Energy Sources
SME	Small Medium Enterprises
TOR	Terms Of Reference
VPP	Virtual Power Plant

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF LOCAL TAXATION TO THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOAL 7C IN THE REGIONS OF LOUGA (SENEGAL) AND NIAMEY (NIGER)¹

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ABSTRACT

From 2001 to 2012, in Burkina Faso, Niger and Senegal, over 1.6 billion Euros were invested in the environmental sector. Most of this money comes from donations and low-interest loans to increase access to water and safe sewage systems to reach the Millennium Development Goal 7C. However, the incessant growth of the Sahelian cities and their proverbial inability to ensure the maintenance of the infrastructures created hamper the achievement of this goal. More transfers from the State to local governments and a reform of local taxation are needed. This article summarises the early achievements of an assessment of the potential of local taxation in Kébémér, Louga (Senegal) and Niamey (Niger): three municipalities that represent three classes of Sahelian urban centres. The assessment was carried out within the Triangular project Italie-Niger-Sénégal (INS) coordinated by the Province of Turin, co-funded by EuropeAid where the DIST-Politecnico di Torino, the Province of Milan, the Milanese Provincial Fund for international cooperation, the Region of Louga and the City of Niamey were partners. To carry out the assessment, it was necessary to accomplish a street addressing in Kébémér and complete it in Louga, carry out an extensive process of photo interpretation of satellite images to identify built-up plots, construct an open source multi-scope GIS in each of the three municipalities. This made it possible (i) to identify the tax base of the street tax, of the tax on garbage removal, of the tax on vacant land, of the rights of occupation of public land, (ii) to assess their yield, (iii) to localise areas with less access to infrastructure, and (iv) to identify the potential contribution of an improved local taxation to reduce the infrastructural deficit in these areas.

INTRODUCTION

Between 2001 and 2012, in Burkina Faso, Niger and Senegal, investments in the environmental sector amounted to just over 1.6 billion Euros (Tiepolo 2012). The sum is considerable and, unlike the previous decade, it was spent mostly in the urban sector to achieve the MDG 7C, which concerns improvement to the access of drinking water and to safe sewage systems. Much of these resources are attributed to donations or low-interest loans to the ministries.

The supply of drinking water and private and public sewage systems in secondary towns is merit worthy and is a partial turnaround of what has been done up to now. However, we mustn't kid ourselves that all this solves the urban environmental problems of the Sahel. Aqueducts, latrines and the rainstorm drainage are just part of the problem. In Sahelian municipalities the lack of treatment for sewage water and for the sludge from the latrines as well as the collection and treatment of solid urban waste, besides being an endless source of pollution, prevent the operation of the storm water drainage network.

It is unthinkable that international aid can also make provision for this essential environmental component in the 37 cities with over 25 thousand inhabitants now existing in the eight countries of the Western Sahel, and in the numerous small towns. Two matters become important.

First, how to maintain the aqueducts and storm water drainage which have multiplied several times in just a few years? The case of the storm water drainage is emblematic: where existing, it is obstructed by waste, sand or vegetation, completely preventing its operation.

Second, where to find the resources needed to expand the drinking water supply networks and the storm water drainage, to multiply the private sewage systems and plants for purification and the storage of solid urban waste? The 1.6 billion Euros mentioned above will only cover the previous deficit, not future requirements. And on this point we need to be clear. The incessant demographic growth of every kind of urban centre, the consequent proliferation of dwellings and basic services (schools, healthcare centres) will at least double the need for infrastructures within the space of a decade.

In the light of these considerations, the only possible answer has to come from the single states and, given the

¹ "Introduction" and "Main knowledge gained" are by Maurizio Tiepolo, "The project" is by Mario Artuso, "Coverage of the deficit", "Conclusions" and all the figures are by Sarah Braccio. The contents of the article do not express the position of the INS Project, but only that of the authors.

ongoing decentralisation process, from the municipalities themselves.

The achievement of the MDG 7C is an essential condition of local development. It is not only matter of enduring decent living conditions to urban residents. MDG 7C mitigates the impacts of climate change which, in the Sahel, brings disastrous floods which destroy key tools (business) and investments (dwellings) of local development. A local economy cannot develop if it has to rebuild everything and pay compensation for damages to tens of thousands of victims every year [16].

Urban public finance reform in Global South has been addressed as a key topic of development since the late 70s, focusing particularly on property taxation [6] [2] [3] [5].

Nevertheless, how much local resources can contribute to the need for new urban infrastructure continues to be a politically uncomfortable and unpopular question, which very few scholars prepared to focus on [4].

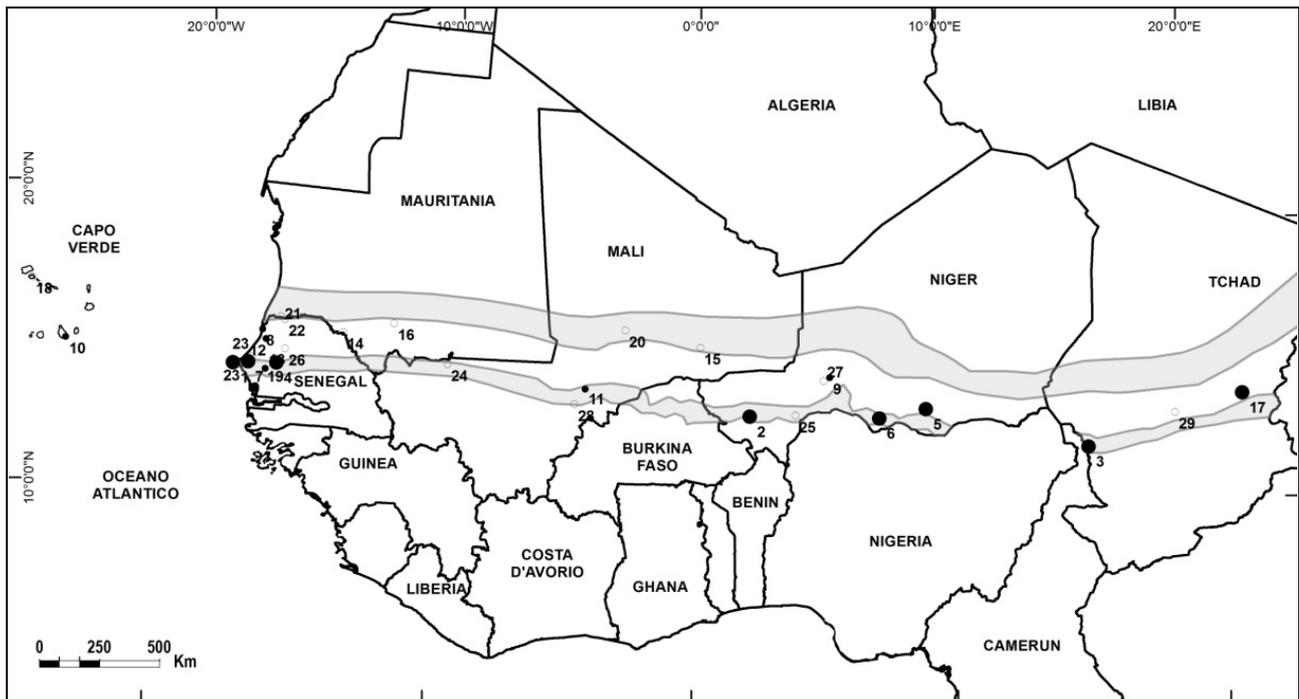


Fig. 1 - Western Sahel delimited by the fluctuation band 1970-2000 of 200-500 mm isohyets. Cities with population over 250 k (large dots), 100-250 k (dot), 25-100 k (circlet). Niamey (2), Louga (8) and Kébémér (26) are shown. (Sources: 1, INE 2010, INS 2012 e 2001, INSD 2006, INSEED 2009, INSTAT 2009, ONS 2013, AP3A. By E. Ponte).

The triangular cooperation project *Italie-Niger-Sénégal* (INS) for developing the capacity of the local authorities to manage their resources, implemented between January 2010 and December 2013 with the coordination of the Province of Turin and co-funding from EuropeAid, has made it possible to lay the foundations for improving local taxation in three cities and has assessed the potential yield of local taxation.

The municipalities of Kébémér (23,380 res. in 2010), Louga (90,432 res. in 2010) and Niamey (1,011,277 res. in 2012) represent three classes of Sahelian urban centres (Fig. 1) [13] [8].

DIST-Politecnico di Torino, as associated partner of the Province of Turin, conceived and accompanied the assessment in close collaboration with the other partners: the Province of Milan, the Fund of the Province of Milan for international cooperation, the Region of Louga (Senegal) and the City of Niamey (Niger).

To assess the local resources it was necessary not only to examine budgets and administrative accounts of three municipalities, but also to assess the tax base using administrative census, a survey at dwelling level, and photo interpretation of high-resolution satellite images. The result is a GIS for monitoring the tax base conceived for municipal use.

The following paragraphs will look at the main features of the Project, the main information gathered, the conclusions and recommendations.

THE PROJECT

Assessing the potential of local taxation in reducing infrastructure deficit is not particularly difficult when the extent of the tax base (properties, taxpayers, businesses, etc.), the deficit to be reduced and the unitary costs of the infrastructure to be created are known, especially if the tax base and the needs do not vary much over time.

At the beginning of the assessment, in the three municipalities considered, this information was missing or not up to date. Moreover, in all three municipalities, the tax base was rapidly evolving. The population doubled every ten years, the dwellings multiplied from 12% (Kébémér) to 28% (Louga) to 50% (Niamey) within the same space of time and the parcelled out area increased even more.

In these conditions, even the most willing of local authorities was unable to assess anything. A simple and updatable information system was needed. Its performance had to be calibrated to the forces available. For Niamey it was not possible to update the census of the properties started with the street addressing of 2003, in view of the extension reached by the built up area. It was however possible to build up a GIS with the lot as the minimum unit of analysis, which made it possible to find out the name of the owner, the state of construction and the infrastructures to which the lot had access (surfaced road, storm water drainage, public lighting, etc.). In a context where municipalities have no control on the building lots nor a situation of the built-up area, a GIS allowing the questioning of the data base (DB) by lot, owner or road already seemed to be an important step forward.

In the case of the Senegalese cities, given the much smaller size compared to Niamey, it was possible to concentrate on a survey, lot by lot, and to know the name of the owner and the occupant, the type of latrine and the water supply system, as well as other information. To reach this goal it was necessary to assign to every entrance a street number through a street addressing operation in Kébémér and to update the street addressing of Louga begun in 2003, when the city was just 72% its current size. The lot by lot survey generated an embryo of a DB for municipal use, linkable to other DB, such as those of the land register, the tax department, etc.

These activities were carried out by the INS Project, the technical part of which was entirely defined and accompanied in its implementation by the authors of this paper.

The tax base identification and the potential yield for reducing the deficit of key infrastructures was carried out after completing the GIS.

MAIN KNOWLEDGE GAINED

The Project was divided into 5 phases: (i) identification of the weakness of local taxation, (ii) potential yield of improved taxation, (iii) infrastructures that could be achieved with said yield, (iv) infrastructures priorities and deficit assessment, (v) gap between achievable infrastructures and deficit. The following pages explain the knowledge that was gained in each of these phases.

WEAKNESS OF LOCAL RESOURCES

The weakness of local taxation most frequently complained of by local authorities is the insufficient transferral of resources from the State to finance the tasks assigned to municipalities by administrative decentralisation. This is definitely true, but it is joined by at least three other weaknesses.

First, the modest yield on certain taxes billed and collected by municipalities. Among these, for example, the rights of occupation of public land with kiosks and hangars, the tax on the collection of household solid waste, the street tax (*taxe de voirie*), the tax on outdoor publicity, the costs for delimiting building lots, the tax on the markets kiosks (*souks*).

Second, the transferral to the municipalities of the parts of certain state taxes, such as the tax on vacant land (*contribution foncière propriétés bâties et non bâties* - CFPNB) or properties. The municipal councils complain of the lack of transparency on these transfers, which make it impossible for them to understand to what extent the tax in question is effectively collected by the State.

Third, the capacity to programme income and expenses. According to the ordainment of the local authorities of the two countries, municipalities cannot programme their expenses over several years. However, the reason also lies in the absence of information systems and, therefore, the inability to keep track of the evolution of the tax base and of late payers. An example could be the knowledge of the street tax (*taxe de voirie*) payers: the doubling of construction every ten years (Fig. 2) does not allow the current instruments, which are usually in hardcopy form, to monitor this evolution. Consequently, there is a gap, which is sometimes considerable in size, between the yield programmed when drawing up the budget and the resources collected at the end of the year.

POTENTIAL OF THREE INCOME ITEMS IN THE MUNICIPAL BUDGET

The detailed analysis was developed using three income items in the budget of Kébémér, Louga and Niamey (Tab. 1). These revenues were chosen because they are among those that present the biggest gap between potential and expected (by municipalities) yield, as well as between expected and collected return. They were the street tax, the tax on vacant land, and the rights of occupation of public land in Niger, the garbage removal tax, the rights of occupation of public land and tax on vacant land in Senegal.

Monitoring the tax yield over times presents several problems. In Niger, following the *Statut de la ville de Niamey*

(2011), the decentralisation of tax billing and collection to the 5 districts composing the municipality was eliminated in favour of a centralised structure. Certain taxes, like tax on vacant land, were absorbed in property tax (*taxe immobilière*). The amount to be returned to the city on certain taxes collected from the State changes. This implicated the non-comparability of budgets from before 2011 with those from after this date.

These resources can be greatly increased. It is a matter of broadening the tax base and making collection more efficient.

We have traced three taxation scenarios for the Senegalese municipalities and four for Niamey. They vary substantially depending on the taxation system on vacant land in Senegal and the analogous in Niger: (a) only vacant land served by surfaced roads and/or equipped with storm water drainage and/or public lighting, (b) all vacant land in the built-up zone, (c-d) all vacant land within the municipal area.



Fig. 2 – Kébémér 2004-2013 (left), Louga 2002-2013 (centre), Niamey 2002 -2013 (right). Built-up surface (by S. Braccio).

Tab. 1 – Kébémér, Louga, Niamey. Theoretic yield (authors estimations), envisaged yield (municipalities), collected entrance.

Budget items	Kébémér			Louga			Niamey		
	millions FCFA*			millions FCFA*			millions FCFA**		
	Theoretic	Envisaged	Collected	Theoretic	Envisaged	Collected	Theoretic	Envisaged	Collected
Tax on garbage removal		3,2	1,6		39,4	31	-	-	-
Street tax	-	-	-	-	-	-	578	242	31
Tax on vacant land	7,4	0	0		6	0	45,2	0	0
Rights of occupation	15,2	22,9	13,8	-	31	15,7	...	937	251

* Mean 2010-2013. ** Mean 2011-2013.

INFRASTRUCTURES THAT CAN BE CREATED WITH THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE THREE REVENUES

Once we know the yield, municipality by municipality and according to different scenarios, of the improved local taxation, we need to translate the expected yield into infrastructures. Reference is made to the cost of building surfaced roads, with public lighting, sometimes provided of storm water drainage, in the three municipalities. For the Senegalese cities we made reference to the costs estimated in 2006 for the construction of several urban roads in Guediawaye [12] and, in the case of Niamey, to the costs for the construction of a road of 12 km built in 2013 with a width of 6 m and equipped with storm water drainage and entirely equipped with public lighting.

On the basis of these costs, the mean unitary cost has been established, allowing the prefiguring, on the basis of the amount of resources available, the kilometres of roads that can be built (Tab. 3).

The quantities were calculated on the basis of the yield over 5 years. In some cases, they were considerable quantities of works that could be achieved with the improvement of just 3 items from the municipal budget.

Tab. 2 – Kébémér, Louga, Niamey, 2013. Viability that could be created according to the local taxation scenarios.

<i>Scenario</i>	<i>Yield (5 years) FCFA millions</i>	<i>Unitary cost* FCFA/Km millions</i>	<i>Creatable infrastructure Km</i>
Kébémér			
A	213	177.3	1.2
B	851	177.3	4.8
C	1,968	177.3	11.1
Louga			
A	733	177.3	4.1
B	3,866	177.3	21.8
Niamey			
A	2,418	111	21.8
B	2,945	111	26.5
C	3,745	111	33.7

DEFICIT AND PRIORITIES OF INFRASTRUCTURAL NETWORKS

At this point it is a matter of seeing to what extent these works make it possible to reduce the existing infrastructure deficit. The first step is to verify the identity and the localisation of the deficit of basic infrastructures. The analysis is concentrated on the state of the surfaced road network, equipped with storm water drainage and public lighting. The criteria for defining the priority interventions include that of the greatest deficit. This is expressed not only by the lesser access to basic infrastructures but also by the number of the population who find themselves in this condition. Therefore, we have considered the infrastructural density and also the population density. The limit values considered are 10,000 res./km² for the population density and 5 km/km² for infrastructural density, which corresponds to less than one surfaced, drained and lit road out of four (Tab. 3).

In short, in Kébémér, three neighbourhoods out of eight are below the limit of 5 km/km² and four are between 5 and 8 km/km². In Louga 4 neighbourhoods are below 5 km/km² and 1 between 5 and 8 km/km². In Niamey, four neighbourhoods are below 5 km/km² and seven are between 5 and 8 km/km² (Fig. 3). This is 14,300 (82%) and 188,000 residents (19%) in Kébémér and Niamey respectively. The incidence of these areas lacking in infrastructure is therefore greater in the small municipality than in the big one but in both cases the numbers are high.

Tab. 3 – Kébémér, Louga, Niamey, 2013. Deficit of surfaced roads with storm water drainage and public lighting by neighbourhood.

<i>Neighbourhoods</i>	<i>Kébémér km</i>	<i>Louga km</i>	<i>Niamey km</i>
5.1-10 km network/km ²	6.3	3.3	19.4
< 5 km network/km ²	2.3	20.3	29.2
Total	8.6	23.6	48.6

COVERAGE OF THE DEFICIT

The potential yield on improved local taxation expressed in kilometres of surface roads provided with storm water drainage and public lighting can be compared with the deficit of these infrastructures in the neighbourhoods identified as having priority. The result is that the deficit can be zeroed only through taxation of every vacant land throughout the whole municipal territory for five years (scenario C). The other scenarios only allow the reduction of the deficit in five years (Fig. 4).

There is still the underlying issue: after the first five years, will improved taxation also allow an influence on the deficit which, year after year, is generated following incessant urban expansion without infrastructures typical of the

three towns in question? Our assessment assume that the physical growth in the municipalities continues with the same pace it has over the last decade and that the potential taxation translates effectively into works. According these assumptions Kébémér shows an infrastructure capacity higher than the infrastructure demand of the next decade. This means that at long term the deficit could be entirely reduced. On the opposite, Louga and Niamey have an infrastructure capacity far below the growth of infrastructure demand. This means that infrastructure investments using the increased resources from local taxation in Louga and in the Niger capital city could significantly improve the access of residents in the less deserved neighbourhoods. Nevertheless the pace of urban expansion create an infrastructure demand that far exceeds the infrastructure capacity sustained with local resources only.

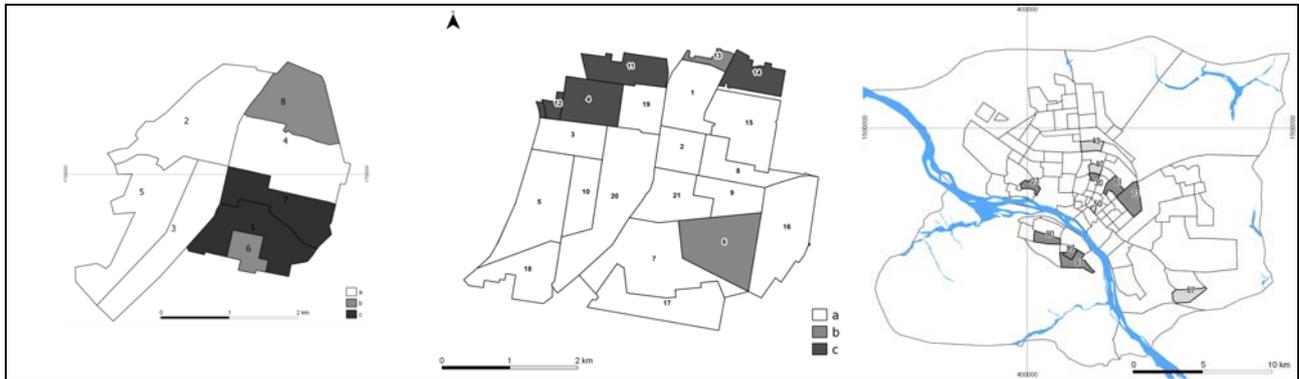


Fig. 3 – Kébémér, Louga, Niamey, 2013. Priority neighbourhoods in the reduction infrastructural deficit. By S. Braccio.

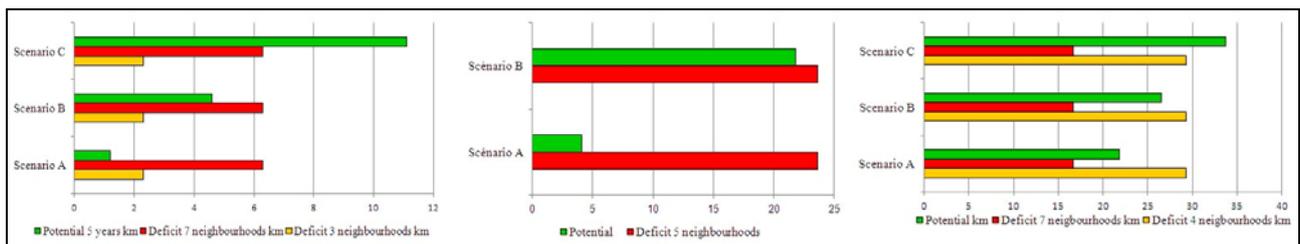


Fig. 4 – Kébémér (left), Louga (centre), Niamey (right), five years. Potential (km) of the 3 revenues (green) and infrastructure deficit (km, red and orange).

Tab. 4 – Kébémér, Louga and Niamey, 2012-2022. Expected evolution of the infrastructure demand and supply capacity with local taxation improvement.

Growth 2012-2022	Kébémér %	Louga %	Niamey %
Built-up area*	12	28	52
Infrastructure (surfaced roads with storm water drainage and public lighting)**	59	21	24
Gap	47	- 7	- 28

* Based on the previous decade performance. ** Assessed after local taxation improvement.

CONCLUSION

The analysis developed so far has proven the existence of strong road infrastructure deficits, that are more severe in large municipalities than in small ones. It has also highlighted that the expected yields of local taxation in municipal budget is often far from accomplishment.

The GIS has enabled an assessment of local taxation potential yield in three Sahelian municipalities that can help decision making.

It has shown that the improvement of just three revenues would make it possible to bring neighbourhoods with fewer infrastructures to the level of one surfaced, drained and lit road out of two within five years.

To achieve this aim it is necessary to tax all vacant land and collect 100% of the billed taxes.

Lesser billing or collecting capacity of vacant land tax would partially reduce the previous deficit in smaller

municipalities as Kébémér and, for the future, would keep the growth rate of infrastructure below the rate of generation of the deficit following incessant urbanisation without infrastructures. Otherwise, in large cities as Niamey, even a full collection of local taxes and their translation into new infrastructure will be able to keep the pace of infrastructure demand in the next decade.

Improving local taxation is an ambitious aim which has to face with a large number of taxpayers who never intend to pay at all. The solution has to come initially from local government, which has to prove that the payment of taxes corresponds to the creation of infrastructures.

There are three recommendations to the local and central governments that are not requiring large law modifications:

- to link the GIS on local taxation to other DB to allow the monitoring of delinquent taxpayers;
- to increase significantly the cost of building lots authorization in order to increase the funds for basic infrastructures construction;
- to introduce a progressive tax rate into street and vacant land taxation depending on the degree of access of the properties to infrastructure.

ACRONYMS

ADM	Agence de Développement Municipal
ANSD	Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie
CFPNB	Contribution Foncière Propriétés non Bâties
CK	Commune de Kébémér
CL	Commune de Louga
DB	Data Base
DOSP	Droits d'Occupation Sol Public
FCFA	Franc of the African Financial Community
GIS	Geographic Information System
INS	Italie Niger Sénégal
Ins	Institut National de la Statistique
MEF	Ministère d'Économie et Finances
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
PRECL	Programme de Renforcement et d'Équipement des Collectivités Locales
RN	République du Niger
RS	République du
SM	Secrétariat Municipal
SRSDL	Service Régional de la Statistique et de la Démographie de Louga
TdV	Taxe de voirie
TEOM	Taxe Enlèvement des Ordures Ménagères
VN	Ville de Niamey

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DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM IN MOZAMBIQUE: TERRITORIAL SYSTEMS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE ZINAVE NATIONAL PARK

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents the existing relationship between development cooperation, environmental policies and sustainable tourism in Mozambique, analyzing the specific case of Zinave National Park (PNZ). By adopting an approach that investigates the socio-territorial configurations and the traditional knowledge of African communities [Turco, 2002], we want to prove that the knowledge of territorial systems is crucial for the management of environmental cooperation projects, particularly for the promotion of sustainable tourism activities, in order to preserve cultural heritage and promote local development.

In this perspective, the PNZ is an interesting case study because it is going through a phase of conservative and tourism planning, supported by the Ministry of Tourism of Mozambique, two Italian NGOs (CeLIM and LVIA) and some international organizations, in order to promote a *community conservation*.

Applying a participatory research method, called SIGAP Strategy [Casti, 2006], based on field research and the involvement of local actors, we will discuss the results obtained during the fieldwork carried out in the PNZ, in order to reconstruct the territorial structures existing within the Park. This is shown using the participatory mapping [Burini, 2010] which could be the base of a GIS community mapping system able to express and communicate these values, to implement the process of participation of populations to the decision-making process, promoting the sustainable development at a local level.

KEYWORDS: community conservation, sustainable development, environmental cooperation, participation, territorial systems.

COMMUNITY CONSERVATION AND PARTICIPATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The experiences of *community conservation*¹ carried out in Southern Africa ranging from a wide number of guidelines, which move from forms of passive participation, in which the communities have a limited control over the decision-making process, to a full and direct participation in the resources management, called active participation [Cencini, 2011]. Between these two extremes there are many combinations, that has had as result the identification of several classifications, which emphasizes different aspects, including the level of participation [IIED, 1994], the type of ownership [Barrow, Murphree, 2001], or the participatory or contractual approach [Venema, Van de Breemer, 1999]².

The experiments of community conservation, have been also characterized by a considerable differentiation of results, gaining support, as well as critics and doubts. Despite this, the new approach has greatly contributed to reintroduce the importance of the local community in the debate on conservation, leading, in some cases, the improvement of the living conditions of local population³. However, achieve the goals of community conservation, particularly in reality such as those of Southern Africa, characterized by an enormous natural wealth, but weak economies and uncertain political situations, it's often very difficult.

Analyzing the Mozambican reality, in particular, it's possible to emphasize that, despite in the programs of tourism promotion and in the development strategies of protected areas [Ministério do Turismo, 2004; República de Moçambique, 2010; Resolução n. 63, 2009] one of the first objectives is the implementation of local communities participation, in practice this appear still incomplete, due to the lack of both funding and personnel qualified, requiring the intervention of external actors such as the World Bank or others organizations of cooperation. In order to realize successful projects, therefore, in the future it will be needed not only a greater awareness on behalf of the promoters about the part played by African communities for the conservation of their territory, but it will be essential to provide adequate tools to enable these people to cooperate for the natural resources management, enhancing, at the same time,

¹ The term *Community Conservation* is used to describe those principles and practices that argue that conservation goals should be pursued by strategies that emphasize the role of local residents in the management of natural resources [Adams, Hulme, 2001].

² Integrating the different classifications, Cencini [2004] distinguishes three forms of *community conservation*, in particular: Protected Area Outreach; Collaborative Management; Community Based Natural Resources Management – CBNRM.

³ As occurred for example in Zambia (ADMANE project) and Zimbabwe (CAMPFIRE project) where the revenues of hunting, in the past used exclusively by the Government, are now allocated to the residents of the various districts.

the traditional knowledge, which for centuries have regulated the symbiotic relationship between man and nature.

Is in this perspective that this paper presents the results obtained during the fieldwork carried out in the Zinave National Park, with the application of a specific methodology, the SIGAP Strategy [Casti, 2006], which, starting from the reconstruction of socio-territorial structure of the villages within the protected area, proposes the use of participatory mapping as the base of a GIS community cartographical system that can express and communicate easily the local values, facilitating the implementation of the process of governance and people participation, as well as contributing to the management of environmental cooperation projects and tourism development that are currently affecting the protected area.

THE ZINAVE NATIONAL PARK

Established in 1973, with the Government Regulation No. 47 of 26th June, the Zinave National Park had the objective to protect certain species of animals, especially the giraffe (*Giraffa camelopardalis*), historically found in Mozambique only south of the Save River [Stalmans, Peel, 2010], the roan antelope (*Hippotragus Equinos*), the common tsessebe (*Damaliscis lunatus*) and the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*). Before the creation of the Park, since 1962, this area was designated as a game reserve under the management of the *Safarilândia Moçambique Lda* [Lobão Tello, 1990]. With the proclamation of independence in 1975, Mozambique experienced a short period of reconstruction by the new Government, soon interrupted by the outbreak of a civil war that afflicted the country for more than ten years. Because of these political events the PNZ remained for a long time without administration, furthering the increase of poaching and the installation of guerrilla groups, who caused the extinction of many animal species, including giraffes [Ministério do Turismo, 2010]. After the signing of the peace agreement in 1992, the park remain without a guide until 1996, when it was established the first administration with the aim of renewing the effort for the conservation of ecosystems and biodiversity, later strengthened by the inclusion of the PNZ in the project of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (Fig. 1), since 2006.

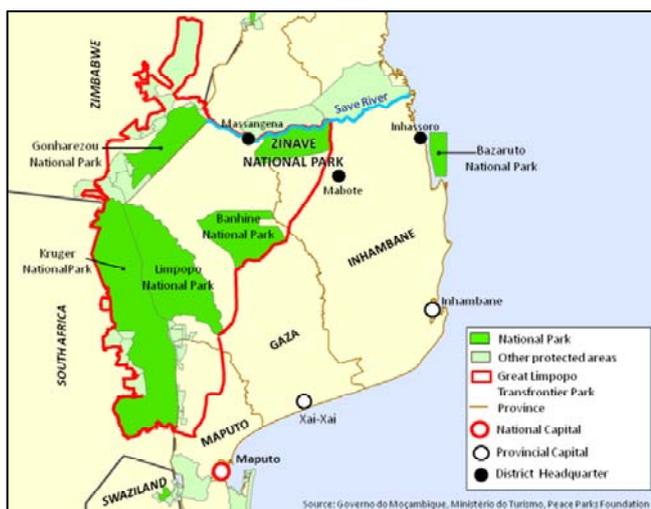


Fig. 1 – The Zinave National Park and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park.

Transfrontier Park. For that reason, the situation requires a careful study that, based on an analysis of the local context, bring out the socio-territorial organization of the villages of the PNZ and recovers the basic knowledge and the cultural aspects that characterize it, useful in the phases of programming as well as for the enhancement of the entire protected area for tourism purposes.

Analyzing the official documents produced in recent years by the Park in collaboration with the different actors involved in the cooperation projects [Ministério do Turismo, 2010; 2011], as well as flipping through the pages of the national strategies for the development of tourism in the protected areas [Ministério do Turismo, 2004], it is possible to detect three key words: sustainability, participation and development. These papers, in fact, put protected areas at the

⁴ The article 11 of Law 10/99 of 7th July defines the parks as a “delimited total protection zones destined for the propagation, protection, conservation and management of plants and wild animals, as well as the protection of places, landscapes or geological formations of particular scientific, cultural or aesthetic value, in the interests of and for public recreation, which are representative of national heritage.” [Art. 11, paragraph 1].

⁵ In order to reduce the human pressure on the protected area the Park administration, in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism, decided, after a careful study and several meetings with the local population, to modify the current boundaries of the Zinave National Park, in order to exclude all the villages, with the exception of those located in the Covane area, north of the park. The surrounding area, located to the east and the west of the new boundaries, will be converted in controlled activity areas, where local people will be able to carry out their traditional activities, as well as enabling the development of alternative activities.

center of the strategies to promote tourism as the main resource capable of support local development through the implementation of a sustainable management, in which local communities are the main protagonists. If we consider, in particular, the actions implemented in the Zinave National Park, as an example of the application of these principles, however, we soon realize how all the activities start on the assumption that it is necessary to protect the natural environment, while communities are viewed as a potential danger for the biological balance. The emphasis is therefore on the environmental issues and the protection of ecosystems, rather than on the social process linked to the territorial local forms, pointing out the need to understand the existing relationship between the local communities and their own territory, in order to avoid conflicts and promote an harmonious development. In this context, the application of a participatory methodology of research to the fieldwork presented here has made possible the visualization and the location of the existing resources in the park, highlighting the most fragile habitats, but at the same time encouraged a deeper reflection about the meaning of territory from a social point of view. Let's analyze in detail the results obtained in the first phase of application of this methodology in the PNZ.

The SIGAP Strategy as participatory research method

The SIGAP Strategy (*Sistemi Informativi Geografici per le Aree Protette/Azioni Partecipate*)⁶ is a research method, articulated in different modular phases and based on the fieldwork and the involvement of local actors. It has, in particular, the objective of recover the territorial dynamics and the landscape values of local cultures, as a platform on which manage a territory. Through a participatory and multiple scales (local and regional) mapping these values are shown and communicated, in order to create useful tools for the steps of negotiation [Casti, 2009; 2012]. In this way, the map, tool par excellence able to show a territory, multiply the agents of production through participation. In this context, the actors that operate in the territory become themselves builders of their own cartography, which, through graphics representations that often break the rigid topographical pattern, can communicate the sense of place in the same way it is experienced by the community [Casti, 2009].

In particular, this methodology adopt the principles of sustainable development and community conservation, translating them operationally, allowing that the information collected during the fieldwork become the true indicators for planning. In fact, the territory is not only a set of natural resources, but refers to symbolic and cultural values, which cooperate to build the identity of the community itself. Recover these values allows to deepen the type of relationship the society has with its own environment, which becomes the foundation for the development of strategies for resource management and environmental conservation. We present the results obtained by applying this strategy to the fieldwork carried out within the Zinave National Park, in order to highlight the dynamics activated by local populations.

Territorial organization of the villages in the Zinave National Park

The Zinave National Park has been the subject of a research conducted by the writer between April and September 2011 as part of a PhD in "Geography of development"⁷ which provided the application of the first phase of the SIGAP Strategy, implemented through observation, investigation and the creation of a participatory cartography of knowledge, useful to recover the information about the cultural heritage of the villages⁸. In particular, during the research was carried out the census of the villages existing inside the protected area and its buffer zone, inquiring the traditional organization, followed by an in-depth analysis of two sample villages, in order to recover the traditional resource-use system. This analysis has allowed the creation, directly in collaboration with local populations, of a database until then inexistent, and it has make possible to create participatory cartographic documents, which can be employed in order to implement the process of environmental governance and participation in decision-making moments [Burini, 2012]. Finally, the study has enabled highlight the potential of development of a sustainable tourism as an alternative asset to the livelihood of local communities, in view of the implementation of new regulations for the use of resources. In this context, the paper will focus specifically on the analysis of traditional organizational structure that governs the territory, highlighting the problems detected in the protected area.

The villages currently present within the PNZ and its buffer zone, according to the narrative of the traditional chiefs, were founded at the time of the war of Ngungunhane, last Emperor of Gaza⁹, with the *Tsonga* who lived in this region. The king, in order to exercise the control over the newly conquered areas, used to replace the old leaders with individuals belonging to its lineage, which guaranteed the maintenance of its authority [Rita-Ferreira, 1974; Dava, 1997]. Following the end of the Empire of Gaza and the deportation of Ngungunhane in Portugal, in 1896¹⁰, the

⁶ Developed by the group of researchers of the University of Bergamo (Italy), this strategy has been tested within the peripheries of the W Transborder Park (between Burkina Faso, Benin and Niger), acting within the «Programme Régional Parc W/ECOPAS» (*Ecosystèmes Protégés en Afrique Sahélienne*).

⁷ The thesis, whose discussion is expected for early 2014, is coordinated by Prof. Emanuela Casti, head of the *Diathesis* Cartographic Lab of the University of Bergamo (Italy): www.unibg.it/Diathesis.

⁸ This is the body of knowledge related to the territorial organization and use of resources that ensures the physical and symbolic reproduction of the local population.

⁹ The Empire of Gaza in the 1860, at the height of its expansion, covered the area included between the Maputo river and the Zambezi river.

¹⁰ Ngungunhane reigned from 1884 to 28 December 1895, the day he was imprisoned by Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque in the fortified village of Chaimite. Exiled by the colonial Portuguese he was transported to Lisbon, accompanied by one of his sons, Godide, and other dignitaries. After a

Portuguese began their political-administrative installation in this area [Dava, 1997]. The reorganization of the territory into administrative uniform units that followed caused deep changes in the traditional political structure of the region, producing the splitting up of the possession of the largest aristocratic lineages, renamed *regulado* or *cabado* [YañezCasal, 1996]. In this way the traditional authorities became ambiguous political institutions, whose power was reduced because, while they were continuing to represent the socio-territorial organization at the local level, they were simultaneously integrated and submissive to the colonial administration, which gave them different tasks (collection of the *imposto da palhota* – the tax on the hut; control to the access of strangers in the *regulado*) [Yañez Casal, 1996; Dava, 1997]. The situation didn't get better after the independence, when the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO), since 1974, carried out a campaign of annihilation of the traditional leaders, considered collaborators of the colonial Government, in view of the creation of the "new man", free from any prejudice and superstition [Kyed, Buur, da Silva, 2007]. The *Grupos Dinamizadores*, composed by reliable people to the Party, replaced the *regulos*, while the political and religious traditional structure was completely banned [Dava, 1997]. Even the Zinave National Park was affected by this process of transformation, reflecting still today of the outside influences. After an initial denial, the Government has returned today to officially recognize the traditional authorities, but these at the legislative level are equated to the Secretaries of the administration, the lowest level of the official hierarchy¹¹. The effort to recognition and valorization of traditional leaders implemented by the State, although it may be considered an important change, in practice helps to create confusion among the leaders themselves, due to the ambiguity of laws, that cause the emptying of the power exercised by the traditional authorities in favor of the Secretaries.

The fieldwork carried out in the Zinave park has tried, in this context, to reconstruct the traditional hierarchical network still existing in the villages, starting by the creation of a localization map of the traditional villages, identified for the presence of a traditional authority and specific sacred places recognized by the entire population. In this regard, it was identified a first information gap comparing the information gathered during the fieldwork with the official documents (Community Action Plan - 2010, Management Plan - 2011) published by the administration of the PNZ, in collaboration with the NGOs involved in the cooperation projects activated in the Park, which neglect the traditional organization, making reference instead to the administrative system established by the central Government. According to these reports the villages are 21 in total, grouped into 6 administrative Communities (Covane, Machaqueta, Maculuve, Malindile, Mechisso, Tanguane), a group of villages headed by a Secretary. At the same time, these Communities are grouped in two *Localidade* (Maculuve and Tanguane), defined as the basic unit of the local administration system¹². Even after the first meetings with the local people we have realized that the real situation is more complex, since those who are indicated as "villages" in the official plans, often correspond to administrative entities such as the Community headquarter, or to areas in the Park where there aren't a real village but just a group of concession, since they haven't any autonomy statute. We proceeded, therefore, to collect information regarding the traditional organization of the local communities in order to identify the role played by the different settlements mentioned in the official documents and their traditional status. It's so that, through many meetings with the population and the visit of all the villages, as well as the use of a participatory mapping, we were able to create a first map of the traditional organization of the Park (Fig. 2)¹³.

At the end of the work, in the protected area and its buffer zone, have been surveyed 19 villages, more 6 that are disappearing, as they are situated in an arid area and most of the resident population has moved near to the administrative Community, in which the water supply is facilitated (hand pumps, waterhole). It was found that the status of the villages has a hierarchy that reflect the *matsua* organization, based on different levels of authority installed in the various villages in the protected area and its buffer zone, as well as in neighboring areas. These traditional leaders manage the land access and the political relations of its own territory of competence.

At the top of this hierarchy we find the *hossi ya hombe* (or *regulo*), with the highest political and symbolic power, able to resolve the conflict dynamics between villages, the religious issues and other symbolic functions. Within the community the *hossi ya hombe* acts as a "father", because he stands for the link between the community and the ancestors. These, in fact, lay down the rules to which it must submit the community through the gestures and the words of the *hossi*, affecting the political, economic and cosmic order. The *kupahla* is the most important moment during which is celebrated this connection between the spiritual and the material sphere, with a ritual invocation of the spirits organized in the most significant moments of village life (start of the agricultural season, famine...) [Dava, 1997]. To the *hosi ya hombe* is also recognized the political power, that is to say the right to distribute the land among the other village leaders who depend on him. In fact, there are three levels of authority, which correspond to specific areas of competence: *hossy ya missava* (in Portuguese *cabo*), *nganakana 1* and *nganakana 2* (in Portuguese *papassão*). These

brief stay, he was transferred to the Azores, where he would die eleven years later.

¹¹ The Legislative Decree No. 15 of 20th June 2000 defines the traditional leaders as "people who take and exercise power in accordance with the traditional rules of the respective communities", but when exists a legitimate authority as well as a Secretary, the community can decide which of the two figures has precedence in hierarchical level.

¹² According to the *Lei dos Orgãos Locais* No. 8/2003, of 27th of March, the *Localidade* is the basic territorial unit of the local administration of the State and represents the level of permanent contact between the local communities and their authorities [art. 14, paragraph 1]. It includes villages and other housing groups included in its territory [art. 14, paragraph 2].

¹³ The fieldwork was done by who is writing in collaboration with Hélio Olímpio Moisés, graduate student in Geography, and the Department of Geography of the University Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, with the support of the PNZ Administration and the Warden, the Ministry of Tourism of Mozambique and the Italian NGOs LVIA and CeLIM.

missava of Matumbele depend directly the *nganakana 1* of Macuacua, Mupandze and Mpsirrisi, whose villages are located along the Save River, near to the Park Administration headquarter. In particular, the fact that the village of Chixongue, where the *regulo* is living, is located outside the protected area has led the Park Administration to exclude him from the official management of the issues about this portion of its territory. In fact, in the official documents of the PNZ the coexistence of two different traditional authorities (*hossi ya hombe*) and the territory division between two different *regulado* is ignored. In addition, while the *hossi ya hombe* of Chikelene is involved in the activities carried out by the Administration, being a member of the association *Vuka Zinave*¹⁵, the *regulo* Chixongue is not involved at all, as inhabitant in a village not affected by the local issues related to conservation.

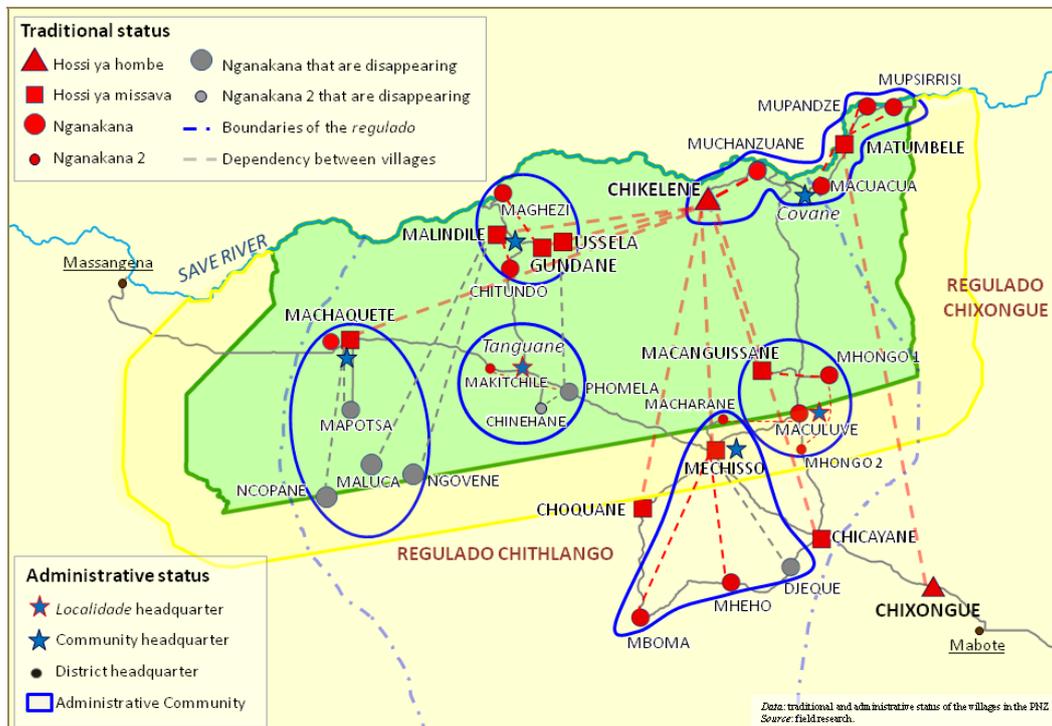


Fig. 3 – Administrative status of the PNZ and its overlap with the traditional organization of villages.

Continuing with the analysis of the system of authorities existing in the villages of the Park we can detect a real overlap between the areas of influence of traditional authorities and the new administrative organization imposed by the central Government (Fig. 3). According to the story tell by the local people, with the outbreak of the civil war and the installation of several military headquarters of FRELIMO inside the Park, many people decided to leave their concessions to move close to these installations, to be more protected. After the war, many families decided to stay in the new home, while a territorial reorganization was established by the Government, and encouraged by the Administration of the Park, in order to centralize the population by eliminating the sparse settlements existing in the protected area. They were thus created the administrative Communities near to the existing housing districts, located around the military headquarters during the war, but disconnected from their traditional network. While this situation has had a positive impact on quality of life of the local population, ensuring the access to the basic social services (a primary school in each Community, two medical centers with maternity in Tanguane and Maculuve, the construction of several manual water pumps), at the same time it caused the creation of a double level of authority, traditional and official, which led to the emergence of symbolic conflict such as disputes over land ownership.

The territorial organization established by the Government, in fact, has based the creation of the administrative Communities on the proximity of the villages, ignoring the traditional links existing between them, cutting, in many cases, the ties between the *hossi ya missava* and their *nganakana*. It's for this reason that the Community of Mechisso include the village of Macharane, governed by a *nganakana 2* traditionally connected to the village of Maculuve, in addition to the territories of Mboma, Mheho and Djeque dependent from the *hossi ya missava* of Mechisso, while in the case of the Community of Malindile, the villages of Ussela and Gundane, governed by two different *hossi ya missava*, were grouped into the same administrative structure, reducing the power of the traditional leaders. Similarly, the villages of Ngovene and Maluca, two *nganakana* traditionally subjected to the *hossi ya missava* of Malindile, but located far from this village in the south, now depend administratively by the Community of Machaqueta, whose

¹⁵ The intercommunity association *Vuka Zinave* ("Awake Zinave") was officially created in 2010, for the initiative of the Italian NGOs LVIA and CeLIM involved in the cooperation development projects within the protected area, with the aim of strengthening the dialogue between the community of the PNZ and the other actors working in the Park. The group is made up of various representatives, both men and women, of the five administrative Communities, including some village leaders, the *hossi ya hombe* Chithlango and some local administration members (Secretaries and chiefs of the *Localidade*).

headquarter is located close to the villages. In Tanguane, however, the creation of the administrative Community, that group the villages of Makitchile, Phomela and Chinehane, led the emergence of conflicts between different traditional chiefs of the area, since the Community headquarter is located in the territory of the *nganakana 2* of Makitchile, while the village of the *nganakana 1* Phomela is now almost uninhabited, with a reduction in its power also he is at a higher hierarchical level. In addition, within the same village of Makitchile, have formed two different housing districts, with distinct functions: Tanguane, headquarter of the administrative Community and the Localidade, and Dondoti, in which is living the *nganakana 2*.

The new administrative organization is creating problems for the recognition of the power of traditional authorities, as already noted, because some villages governed by *hossi ya missava* are now disappearing, in favor of the headquarter of the Communities, situated in the territories of competence of headman of a lower level, creating hostility. In fact, despite the families choose to move, the symbolic links with the *hossi* of the original village persists, and they continue to entrust to this the celebration of the ceremony and the conflict resolution. At the same time, however, these households has also to submit to the official authorities, as well as to the traditional chief responsible for the distribution of land and for the resource use in the new village, with a complexification of the situation.

Finally, if we examine the construction of the “sanctuary”, created by the Administration of the Park for the reintroduction of the fauna locally extinct, as an example of the actions carried out under the projects that are affecting the Park, we can observe that, also by the administration and the organizations that are working in this area, has been ignored or underestimated the symbolic importance still recognized to the traditional authorities. In fact, the sanctuary, which extends between the area of the village of Chikelene, where lives the *regulo* Chitlango, and the village of Mutsanzuane, as well as having subtracted part of the lands under the authority of the *hossi ya hombe*, caused, during the building of the structure, the closing of the only track leading the village of Chikelene with the rest of the Park for a few months. Despite the *regulo* has been very diplomatic and during several meetings has stated that the reintroduction of the animals and the development of tourism in the Park may in the future lead to an improvement of the living conditions of its population, and the Administration has motivated the closing of the fence with issues related to theft of material and it has worked (after our report) in order to open the new road in a short time, this action shows a lack of consideration of the authority represented by the *regulo*. Although the village of Chikelene is now inhabited by a few families (18 concessions), it is still the core of a bigger territory, which stretches south to the Zimane District, beyond the boundaries of the Zinave National Park, while his traditional headman is the main religious and political authority on the territory, an aspect that cannot be ignored when are established and implemented planning actions in the area.

CONCLUSIONS

The area of the Zinave Park, as we have analyzed, is still characterized by the presence of a traditional structure threatened today because of the overlap of governmental authority. This situation has caused, and will be cause in the future, the emergence of conflicts between traditional and legal power. In fact, despite a declaration of intent by the Government to respect the traditional authorities implied in the Decree 15/2000, in practice the traditional organization is reduced and emptied in favor of the administration one, with the creation of homogeneous entities that do not reflect local reality. In this context, the Park Administration, as well as the actors who collaborate with it in different projects (World Bank, NGOs), adapts, taking the Community as basic reference for the management of the territory included within its borders. As already pointed out above, the Management Plan of the PNZ almost completely ignores the traditional organization and hierarchy of the villages, rather than develop their specifically, being more worried about modify the boundaries of the Park in order to exclude the greatest number of people from the protected area, that stop to analyze the dynamics of the area. In particular, with regard to the socio-territorial organization of the villages, it's important to underline that in the official documents and reports prepared by NGOs, there is no reliable list of the villages located inside the PNZ. At the same time, any document considers the fact that the protected area is divided between two different *hossi ya hombe*, ignoring the authority of the *regulo* Chixongue as resident outside the Park, and enhancing the role played by the *regulo* Chithlango, a situation that, with the implementation of new regulations, could result in the emergence of conflicts.

The NGOs who have worked for years in the PNZ have begun an important process, which aims to promote awareness of the role that communities must assume, through training, sensitization and facilitation, as well as allowing a better flow of information about the projects realized by the Park. Despite this, it is necessary to highlight a lack of knowledge about the structure of authority that regulates the life of the communities of the area. As we have seen, the mechanisms that govern the traditional political issues, the spiritual sphere and the land use, are more complex than the organization established by the Government, taken as reference system for the projects undertaken. In addition, to understand whose are the actors that operate in the area, with the *regulo* and the secretaries, it is essential to communicate in an effective and comprehensive way, as well as to make the whole population feel as part of a common project, a project that respects roles, traditions and beliefs.

The process, currently in progress, for the redefinition of the boundaries and the reshaping of the role played by the communities towards the protected area can be an excellent opportunity to implement new schemes of management, redefining priorities, models, methodologies, in order to create an active involvement of local people, improving their living conditions and, at the same time, optimizing the natural resources management. It 'sin this way that the fieldwork

carried out within the Park using the SIGAP Strategy, stands as the first phase to know the socio-territorial structure of the Park, which have to be studied in deep, in order to break the traditional patterns of conservation, concentrated on the preservation of ecosystems, to fully embrace the concept of sustainability.

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THE ILO's APPROACH TO LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The ILO's approach to local economic development¹ (LED) aims to promote decent work, productive employment that delivers a fair income, provides social protection and allows women and men to participate in the development process. It does this by focusing on a specific territory, targeting sectors with economic potential, linking job quality to enterprise competitiveness, building capacity of local and national stakeholders, involving employers' and workers' organizations, being locally owned and managed, prioritizing strategies and tools that benefit the poor and linking LED to employment policies.

THE ILO's APPROACH TO LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

The LED² approach provides a comprehensive framework of initiatives and actions that respond to the need to integrate the economic, social, political and institutional dimensions of development at the local level in the rural areas. As a consequence LED is a process that will provide different solutions according to place, culture, economic potential and political circumstances, as well as social and institutional environment. Although its adaptability does not make it possible to define what actions and policies a typical LED initiative consists of, the inalienable principles of the LED approach are:

- **participation and social dialogue:** the use of participatory mechanisms fosters social cohesion;
- **public/private partnership:** cooperation and coordination of development activities prevent ineffective go-it-alone approaches and support the legitimacy and sustainability of the development process;
- **territory:** The territory is an ideal platform for the creation of a strong local voice on behalf of its stakeholders. Unlike traditional community development approaches, LED provides the means and structures that represent the local voice when dealing with its national and international counterparts.

The economic dimension of development is particularly important within the LED approach, since economic activities and interactions are a driving force that fosters **social inclusion, poverty alleviation and innovation**. The local or territorial dimension in the LED process is crucial and reflects **the degree of common interests, self-regulation and knowledge; the intensity and frequency of interactions; the likelihood of tapping into national and global decision-making structures**.

Although the fluidity of the LED process makes it impossible to prescribe a strict set of policies and actions, a typical LED intervention is led by a certain number of basic steps, which include:

- Territorial diagnosis and institutional mapping
- Sensitizing
- Creation of a local/regional forum
- Designing the LED strategy
- *Coordination/implementation structures*
- *Monitoring and evaluation*

Within the LED strategies it is important to highlight the role played by the SSE Organizations and Enterprises. The SSEOs **provide stable jobs** – they are difficult to relocate as a result of their territorial anchorage – and provide an opportunity to reintegrate vulnerable groups into society and working life and they are also more resilient to the crisis. The economic crisis of 2008 has had negative impacts on the majority of enterprises; however an ILO report³ provides historical evidence and current empirical evidence that proves that the cooperative model of enterprise survives crisis,

¹ LED is a participatory development process that encourages partnership arrangements between the main private and public stakeholders in a defined territory, enabling the joint design and implementation of a common development strategy, by making use of local resources and competitive advantages in a global context with the final objective of creating decent jobs and stimulating economic activity. See Gasser (2002).

² Extract from Gasser et al. 2002.

³ Resilience of the Cooperative Business Model in Times of Crisis, J. Birchall and L. Hammond Ketilson, ILO COOP Geneva 2009; www.ilo.org/empent/Publications/WCMS_108416/lang-en/index.htm.

but more importantly that it is a sustainable form of enterprise able to withstand crisis⁴, maintaining the livelihoods of the communities in which they operate.

Social and solidarity economy entities can open markets, provide financial intermediation, facilitate procurement and organize market information. For many small producers the only possibility of getting the required economic dimension to market their products is through some kind of association. SSE organizations are, by definition, local in nature, but have the potentiality to connect the local to the global and the rural with the urban.

Local development and social economy offer opportunities to include groups that have suffered social and economic exclusion as showed by many studies.⁵

Since SSEOs work for growth and sustainable development of the communities where they operate and being locally rooted, they are the stakeholders more interested in defining and implementing local development strategies. Social and Solidarity Economy⁶ is a concept designating enterprises and organizations, in particular cooperatives, mutual benefit societies, associations, foundations and social enterprises, which have the specific feature of producing goods, services and knowledge while pursuing both economic and social aims and fostering solidarity.

The ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization, adopted unanimously in 2008, recognized that *a strong social economy was critical to sustainable economic development and employment opportunities, along with productive, profitable and sustainable enterprises and a viable public sector.*

Policies supporting *sustainable economic local development*, in particular through SSE, can play a key role in response to the challenges of globalization and the drive for decentralization, in particular increasing the participation and local dialogue, connecting people and their resources for better employment and a higher quality of life in the rural areas.

The ability of supplying **social services** to those who are not covered by the public systems, has been repeatedly shown by the SSE, as in the case of Italy, where the increasing vacuum has been filled satisfactorily, by the social cooperatives. In developing countries, finding ways of providing relevant and effective coverage to informal workers and their families is a priority.

For more than 20 years, SSEOs in developing countries have provided, for example, community-based health insurance schemes, especially to rural and informal workers who are not covered by national social security systems. In some countries, these health insurance initiatives have been integrated into national health insurance schemes. Other socio-economic groups (e.g. teachers) also have created mutual health organizations to benefit from complementary health insurance schemes. These kinds of organizations are found especially in Central and West Africa. An increasing number of these initiatives are organized in networks and federations in order to better represent their movement and to offer administrative and financial services.⁷

As crucial part of the territorial agendas, the **social dialogue** can be strengthened by a large number of social and solidarity economy organizations representing the voice and interests of those who are not normally represented by the traditional social partners: for example, small farmers, represented by marketing cooperatives of agricultural products or operators of the informal economy and associations of street vendors.

At the local level, the ILO acts as a facilitator of dialogue between the public and private sectors and local communities, to promote development which is unthinkable without the active participation of the social economy. Many technical cooperation projects⁸, implemented by the ILO in Latin America and Africa have shown how, in implementing local development strategies, the role played by Social Economy organizations is particularly significant.

The inclusive and transparent decision-making process and the operational rules, which is a character of SSEOs, helps to establish a culture of dialogue, which could shed new light on the governance⁹ and social dialogue. It may be in the interest of the classic tripartite social dialogue structures to involve and consult SSEOs, as well as other actors of civil society which are representing the most vulnerable populations in the world of work. The collaboration between the social partners and SSEOs could be strengthened in a common effort towards the resolution of social and economic issues.

Finally, the **environmental problems** as well as **food security, migration, informal economy, land ownership and a greater control over public resources**, can be tackled better through policies and programs based on the local development approach and the promotion of social and solidarity economy.

⁴ CEPES <http://www.unad.org/actualidad/noticias/archivo/59895.html> and LEGACOOP <http://www.legacoop.coop/occupazione-legacoop-nei-primi-sei-mesi-del-2009-cresce-dell13-preoccupazione-per-le-difficolta-nella-logistica-e-nel-manifatturiero-le-tendenze-emergono-dai-dati-relativi-al-primo-seme/>.

⁵ See Mendell 2009; Bradford 2011; UNDP 2008; OECD 2013; Borzaga e Tortia (2009).

⁶ As defined by the ILO Tripartite Regional Conference, "The Social Economy – Africa's Response to the Global Crisis", Johannesburg, 19-21 October 2009.

⁷ ILO Reader 2011 "Our common road towards Decent Work"; <http://socialeconomy.itcilo.org/en>.

⁸ See the experience of PRODERE in Central America in the '90. PRODERE was an interagency project (UNDP-UNOPS-WHO-ILO) and the LED component was implemented by the ILO. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTURBANDEVELOPMENT/EXTLED/0,,contentMDK:20274433~menuPK:402644~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:341139,00.html>.

⁹ In the social economy people get together and help each other, helping them value their place in society. The government actors and the private sectors can easily and at less cost reach them collectively. By getting together they will be able to be involved in the policy making at the national, sub-regional, and regional level.

Most countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and many in Africa, Latin America and Asia have launched decentralization processes, driving adoption of policies for local development, thus promoting agendas for territorial development.

Social and Solidarity Economy Organizations and Enterprises are characterized by democratic governance, without the objective of profit maximization. This makes them very appropriate for endogenous development. As mentioned by Borzaga and Tortia (2009) “These institutional features strongly support an active role for social enterprises not only in the provision of goods and services of general interest, but also in local development processes. In the United Kingdom, social enterprises are defined by law as community companies. In Italy, social enterprises develop similar strong linkages with the community, since the subjects controlling them are locally-based and usually serve objectives relevant to the local level. Limitations to participation in regulated financial markets also make them dependent on localised financial sources.”

It is important to promote policies to support local development, deepening decentralization and deconcentration at a national level. The territorial agendas and local development initiatives not only have to find the connections outside their own reference socioeconomic environment, but must be supported from the central level, with policies and mechanisms. In this sense, the role of social actors is crucial to achieve the necessary consensus. At local level, both workers’ and employers’ organizations have a special interest in getting involved in LED because interventions will benefit the work and livelihoods of their members and that of their families. More specifically, LED offers them an opportunity to be part of institutional forms of participation and social dialogue such as LED forums, value chain development facilitation groups or project steering committees

WHAT THE ILO IS DOING

The ILO¹⁰ works to create more and better jobs by promoting the social and solidarity economy through local development approach. It does this by:

- Advising on policy and law. The ILO provides advice on the design and implementation of policies and laws on social economy policies. At the local level, the ILO acts as a facilitator of dialogue between the public and private sectors and local communities providing an operational framework for the four dimensions of the ILO’s decent work agenda, employment, labour rights, social protection and social dialogue, combining them in multidisciplinary, integrated approaches.
- Building capacity. The ILO provides a wide range of capacity-building tools related to local development and social economy¹¹. Among others, I would like to mention the Academy on Social and Solidarity Economy¹², carried out since 2010 every year. See also at www.delnetitcilo.net/en the distance learning activities on local development. In preparation there is a distance learning course on Social and Solidarity Economy that will be ready by the end of 2013.
- Providing research-based advocacy. The ILO produces¹³ case studies and other material highlighting the relevance of promoting social economy through LED for social protection, employment creation, rights at work, social dialogue and “green” jobs. Consolidated partnerships exist at international, national and local level with academic and research institutions and the International Cooperative Alliance.
- Technical assistance. Local Economic Development approach¹⁴ has been used successfully, with ILO support, by around 36 countries in the world.

Since the 1990s, ILO has promoted LED in 36 countries: 13 in Africa, 2 in Arab States, 9 in Asia, 6 in Europe and Central Asia, and 6 in Latin America.

ILO member States increasingly apply LED as an integrative strategy to implement the decent work agenda¹⁵ at sub-national level. Over 13 countries from 3 regions (Africa, Asia and Latin America) have identified decent work objectives that make reference to LED and rural enterprise development.¹⁶

¹⁰ Rodríguez-Pose A. (2001).

¹¹ See at moodle.itcilo.org/mycoop/.

¹² See at <http://socialeconomy.itcilo.org/en>.

¹³ See the websites www.ilo.org/coop; www.ilo.org/led; www.itcilo.org/socialeconomy.

¹⁴ The LED approach can include:

- stimulate entrepreneurship, businesses and development of SSEOs;
- improve enterprise competitiveness and exports;
- upgrade value chains to generate local benefits and attract inward investment and tourism
- upgrade skills and improve access to local labour market information;
- mobilize savings and credit, and facilitate access to social protection;
- improve physical and financial infrastructure;
- strengthen local institutional frameworks and governance.

¹⁵ The ILO strategy addresses the need for practical decent work policies and programs from the outset, while encompassing both rural and urban economies in an integrated manner.

¹⁶ ILO: Strategic Policy Framework 2010-2015, Governing Body, 304th Session (Geneva: 2009).

There are many examples of ILO projects and programs implementing the LED approach, below in the BOX 1 a summary *from the Ghana Decent Work Programme*.

The ILO has also facilitated the creation of a community of LED and SSE practitioners and experts around platforms like www.ledknowledge.org and the “COLLECTIVE BRAIN” at <http://www.sseacb.net>.

LED projects generate impact: for instance in Sri Lanka, the “Enter-Growth” project (2006 - 2009) has impacted 16,400 businesses (rising to 52,000 once interventions have impacted along value chains); has led to a near tripling of household incomes; and achieved a 15 percent increase in employment in four targeted districts.¹⁷

LED projects also generate progressive approaches: in El Salvador, the Local Economic Development Agency (LEDA) of the Department of Sonsonate promoted a Centre of Entrepreneurial Services for women, which has allowed them to access business development services, but also to be better represented in local government.¹⁸

Worldwide 68 LEDAs are members of the network, “International Links and Services for LEDAs, ILS-LEDA”.¹⁹

FINAL REMARKS

The ILO's comparative advantage in the implementation of technical cooperation projects lies primarily in the experience, in being part of consolidated networks on LED and SSE, in its tripartite structure and also in the worldwide ILO office structure, which can count on international specialists on decent work agenda related issues.

Additionally, the long experience of the International Training Center of the ILO in Turin in delivery residential, distance learning and blended training courses, is a relevant comparative advantage with regard to the LED and SSE capacity building activities. The ILO training programme on SSE and LED is well known and recognized.

SSE and LED can facilitate the transition to the formal economy, to offer alternative models of “doing business to the young people”, to have a more rooted economy in the territory, offering more stable jobs and taking care of the environment. LED and Social Economy should play a significant role in the post-2015 MDG agenda to support a more inclusive and sustainable development.

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¹⁷ ILO: Final Evaluation of the Enter-Growth Project (Geneva: 2009), and ILO: Enter-Growth Impact Survey 2008/2009 (Geneva: 2009). Incomes and employment have increased generally in other parts of the country as well (although by less), so attribution is difficult.

¹⁸ Urbina, W.: ILO LED story on the Centre of Entrepreneurial Services for Women (SEM) project.

¹⁹ International Links and Services for Local Economic Development Agencies, 2011, www.ilsleda.org.

THE TERRITORIAL APPROACH TO LOCAL DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE: THE UNDP ART INITIATIVE

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The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) recognizes the critical role played by Local and Regional Authorities (LRAs) in pursuing the development agenda. As tier of government closest to citizens, LRAs play a crucial role alongside with central governments and Civil Society Organizations in promoting sustainable development and inclusive growth at local level. UNDP's new Strategic Plan puts special emphasis on the role of local governance and local development in eradicating extreme poverty, reducing inequalities and addressing exclusion.

Through the ART Initiative (Articulation of Territorial Networks for Sustainable Human Development) launched in 2005, UNDP promotes a territorial approach to development. This is a multi-actor and multi-sectorial approach in which different local institutions and actors (public – LRAs, and private – CSOs, private sector) work together to define development strategies that reflect a wide range of interests and needs at the local level. The bottom-up approach based in the community demand allows identifying territorial priorities adopting a real participatory approach. Through the participation of Local Authorities and the mobilisation of additional private and community capacities and resources, the territorial approach to development intends to trigger a change in the quality of citizens' life and wellbeing, ensuring a balance between socio-economic growth, equity and environmental quality and increasing the resilience of the most vulnerable. The rationale of ART Initiative is that the local and global dimensions are increasingly interlinked. There are issues that affect citizens with causes that escape the local sphere, i.e.: employment, migration, climate change, health, human security. In the end in many cases, the answers to local needs can only be given through linking with intermediate, national or global levels.

ART is a programme that facilitates the complementarities and strategic and operational coordination among different international development actors on the field: national programmes, decentralized cooperation actors, agencies of the UN System, civil society organizations, NGOs, private sector and academia. It supports national policies and local development processes prioritized by the countries themselves to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the local level implementation of the principles for effective development cooperation.

Convinced of the importance of LRAs and the territories' social and economic stakeholders as relevant cooperation actors, the Initiative is an entry point for international partners interested in harmonizing activities in support of local governance and local development. The aim is to develop a common strategy instead of isolated and punctual projects. Interventions, focused on supporting local development and local governance, are aligned as much as possible to local, regional and national priorities. In this way, the tensions to recentralise the administrative and political power can be mitigated through a “multi-scale dialogue within a country”.

With the support of UNDP's ART Framework Programmes, participatory and inclusive instruments are established at the local and national levels to coordinate and streamline linkages and ensure ownership of development processes, harmonization of actors and actions, and alignment to national and local development priorities. In short, ART sets in motion processes to articulate decision-making and resources at the local, national and international levels while implementing concrete actions aimed at meeting immediate and medium-term needs. *National Coordination Committees* (NCCs) are undeniably one of UNDP's ART Framework Programme backbones. The most discernible of ART's national level instruments, they are the expression of the Programmes' drive to establish a partnership with the national government, based on dialogue, mutual responsibility, collaborative work towards common objectives and coordination, through the following instruments: *Territorial Working Groups* (TWGs) and *Local Working Groups* (LWGs) promote strategic planning management; facilitate consensual decision making among local authorities, civil society and private and public stakeholders; strengthen and develop territorial/local capacities and provide an accountability and monitoring mechanism of cooperation actions. *Local Economic Development Agencies* (LEDAs) are instruments to enhance territorial economies for a fair, balanced, inclusive and sustainable development. The *Local Planning Cycle* (LPC) is the territory's long-term vision of its development ambitions and potential; it seeks to concentrate activities around the most urgent problems and involves the collaboration of all local key stakeholders. Through the ART Initiative, UNDP also supports Decentralized Cooperation partnerships between LRAs in partner countries, as well as South-South cooperation partnerships with the exchange of knowledge and experience for the development of specific initiatives in different sectors. As a result of these efforts, more than 600 partnerships have been established with different stakeholders in Europe and more than 1,000 in developing countries. The ART initiative understands *Decentralization Cooperation* in a broad and inclusive sense, where local and sub-national governments, civil society, NGOs, the private sector and academia work with counterparts in other countries to advance local sustainable human development. In this sense, ART has the ability to maximize its immense potential to contribute to a new “development paradigm”.

ART also allies with LRAs Associations to connect country-level practice with policy/advocacy efforts, for instance in the Global Task Force of Local and Regional Governments for post-2015 development Agenda towards Habitat III, the II World Forum of Local Economic Development and in the framework of the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals.

In the last 10 years the ART Initiative has proofed the validity of the Territorial Approach to Development through an inter-sectorial and integrated way in different fields of intervention:

- Policies for technical and administrative decentralization
- Democratic governance
- Delivery, quality and sustainability of territorial public services
- Local economic development
- Territorial planning systems
- Promotion and implementation of gender mainstreaming in all development activities

Tab. 1- ART Initiatives in the world.

COUNTRY	PROJECT	COUNTRY	PROJECT
Gabon	In 2011 ART Gabon conducted an evaluation of its first operational phase (2006 – 2011) and formulated the second one (2013 – 2016). The evaluation’s findings have revealed that the Programme has generated tangible and measurable results in local participatory platforms, local planning processes, capacity-building and financing of income-generating micro-projects.	Ecuador	ART UNDP Ecuador puts ART’s multilevel governance instruments at the disposition of national and local actors, in support of the country’s development strategies and MDG achievement. In this context, the Programme has activated five Provincial Working Groups and one Cantonal / Municipal Working Group in seven of Ecuador’s provinces.
Mauritania	In 2011 ART Mauritania reinforced the Programme’s institutional component through the establishment of the National Coordination Committee and two Regional Working troupes (the latter through a Wali’s decree) to support regional development processes.	El Salvador	ART El Salvador offers technical assistance and participatory instruments to implement local development national policies and development effectiveness initiatives at the local level.
Mozambique	Local economic development.	Uruguay	UNDP’s ART Uruguay Framework Programme supports the government in its decentralization efforts with a special focus on the second and third tiers; it also supports local economic development by strengthening territorial governance instruments.
Marocco	The Programme established the National Coordination Committee (NCC) in 2007; each of the two areas of operations have active Territorial Working Groups (TWGs) that have become reference points on issues of DC partnerships and strategic planning of local development: in 2011 alone, the working Groups took part in 18 exchange missions involving 124 development partners (DPs) and also participated in a local governance training cycle.	MyDEL	Women and Local Economic Development (MyDEL) was the first ART regional-level initiative aimed at directly addressing gender equality in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. It is coordinated by UN Women and headquartered in Guatemala’s regional coordination offices. It aims at laying the foundation for a Central American strategy on women’s empowerment to promote and enhance women’s entrepreneurship.
Senegal	Created in 2009, ART Senegal seeks to contribute to improve the population’s living conditions. To achieve this, it supports national decentralization, institutional capacity building and participatory local	Lebanon	ART Lebanon’s overall goal is to support the national government and the local communities in its areas of intervention and in the elaboration and implementation of strategic development plans, with a special focus on disadvantaged groups.

	planning processes.		
Bolivia	Operational since 2008, ART Bolivia has become an important tool in support of the country's decentralization process and reorientation of its productive sector, with a special focus on governance and local development	Indonesia	In the NTT province, the PWG has merged with the Province's mechanism for aid effectiveness, the "Integrated Secretariat for Development Partnerships" (SPADU). The PWG has been therefore institutionalized as an official unit within the provincial government, contributing to development effectiveness through the harmonization and alignment of development partners with locally established priorities
Colombia	The ART-REDES Framework Programme closely works with the Bureau for Crisis, prevention and Recovery (BCPR); it seeks to strengthen the role of local communities in achieving sustainable local development, democratic governance, MDs and reconciliation.	Sri Lanka	ART Sri Lanka started its activities in 2006 in the wake of the devastating December 2006 Tsunami. The Programme quickly became a valuable platform to coordinate the intervention of scores of decentralized cooperation partners wishing to support the country's post-disaster and early recovery schemes.
Cuba	The most senior of all ART Programmes, the Local Human Development Programme (PDHL), has emerged as a unique platform for Local Human Development in Cuba. It has maintained and reinforced its pivotal role to promote and facilitate UNDP's and other UN organizations and agencies' actions in local development, mainly thanks to its strong alliance	Albania	In collaboration with its national counterparts and UNOPS, ART GOLD2 Albania provides support to the reform agenda for the country's accession to the EU, MDG achievement and development effectiveness.
Dominican Republic	The ART Dominican Republic Framework Programme was born in 2007. The Programme works in line with the Government's strategies for local Development and decentralization. Furthermore, the activities of the ART Dominican Republic Programme are implemented within the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) and the UNDP Country Programme Action Plan (CPAP).	Kosovo	In view of the particularities of the region and the proliferation of development actors, ART has put its instruments and methodology at the service of existing initiatives and actors. In this sense, the Kosovo experience represents ART's added value par excellence as a facility for articulation, coordination and participation, offering instruments capable of enhancing and contributing to the agendas of existing development actors and donors to-be.