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Agricultural Cooperatives Governance in Menoua, West Region of Cameroon

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Abstract:

Governance plays a major role in the management of agricultural Cooperatives and it is based on certain norms and rules which guide Cooperative organizations. Cooperatives in Menoua division do their best in managing their Cooperative but face some limits to what is expected from them. Even though they contribute to rural development they face some limits in governance which is in most part caused by OHADA law. OHADA law wanting to improve upon the system of governance in Cooperative has caused another problem. However, to come out with these limits, investigation was carried out on 16 agricultural Cooperatives. We administered 459 questionnaires which were of two types, one to each president or delegate (PCA) of a group concerning the management of their Cooperative and the other one to members to know the level of their satisfaction toward the system of governance. We also used interviews where we discussion with experts in Cooperative law at MINADER-Bafoussam, the CGO (the Organisation Management advisory agent) of ACEFA in Menoua division which is a non-governmental Organisation) and participation (where we took part in their meetings). This permitted to bring out the challenges faced by agricultural Cooperatives in governing their Cooperative and propose a long-lasting solution to these problems. This article shows the limits of agricultural Cooperative in governance in Menoua division. We use the hypo-deductive method to come out with the result.

Keywords: Agricultural Cooperative, Governance, limit in Governance, Menoua division.

1-Introduction

Cooperative originated in Europe and spread to other industrialized countries during the late 19 Century as a self-help method to counter extreme condition of poverty (Hoyt 1989).The first

Cooperative in recorded history started as a grassroots level, credit institution by a group of weavers and other people in Rochdale England in the name of “Rochdale Equitable pioneer society” in 1844. The success of this society led to the formation of Cooperatives in other part of the world (Van Opstal W.2010). It was later on spread in Africa by colonial masters.

In Menoua division, agricultural Cooperatives own its origin to a French engineer Marcel LAGARDE. The idea of forming a Cooperative in this region was brought by LAGARDE who created the first agricultural Cooperative in Dschang in 1932 called CAPBCA (Cooperative agricole des planteurs Bamileke de Café Arabica). However, because of the constraints faced by CAPBCA, another AC was created in 1938 by DJOUMESI Matial under the name COLVE (Cooperative de Collecte et vente) which was an indigenous cooperative. Fortunately, the Cooperative law of 1962 did not accept the registration of two cooperatives in the same area (within an interval of 10 km) and of the same activity but unfortunately CAPBCA and COLVE were situated within an interval of 500m and so were oblige to merge in 1975 to form CAPLAME¹. At the end of the 1970s, the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of West Cameroon (UCCAO) was one of the largest cooperatives in Central Africa. Created in 1958, it then had six cooperatives member including “La Coopérative agricole des planteurs de la Menoua” (CAPLAME). These Cooperatives were created and control by the government but the economic crisis of the 1980s weakens these Cooperatives. The government was obliged to liberalize this sector of economy. This situation led to the proliferation of Cooperatives created and controlled by the peasants. The government only comes in with law and regulation to govern these Cooperatives. However, each Country has its own system of governance, in Cameroon Cooperatives have witnessed a series of reforms since the 1970s with the first being law n° 73-15 of 7December 1973, which gave the state the power of investigation and intervention, control and inspections of Cooperatives as well as appointment and revocation of its administration especially directors. The second era goes with law n°92/006 of 14th August 1992 relating to Cooperatives and Common Initiative Groups (CIGs). This law allows Cooperatives and CIGs to carry out their financial transaction independently without government intervention. The third era goes with the adoption of OHADA law of 15th May 2013 concerning Cooperatives and today, Cooperatives in Cameroon are governed by OHADA Uniform act. Governance here comprises

¹Interview with Mr SONTIA Etienne the director of CAPLAME (Dschang) on the evolution of CAPLAME before independence of Cameroon. From Menoua division, CAPLAME later spread to other division of the West region. For example in the Noun division, we have the CAPLANOUN.

laws, rules and regulations used by both the government and the board of direct director to manage Cooperatives. Governance is an important factor which determines the failure or success of agricultural Cooperatives in many sub Saharan African countries (K. Akwabi-Ameyaw 1997, S. Ibitoye 2012 and W. Egwu 2015). Although agricultural Cooperatives in Menoua division are management democratically, Cooperatives still faced Challenges in governing their cooperatives. . We have 51 agricultural Cooperatives register at Coop/Gic Bafoussam from the year 1994 to 2020 according to the national law. Among these 51 agricultural Cooperatives we carry out investigation only on 16 agricultural Cooperatives who are registered according to OHADA Uniform act. This investigations carried out on 16 agricultural Cooperatives aimed at showing the challenges of agricultural Cooperative governance in Menoua division.

2- METHOD USED

2.1-THE STUDY AREA

Menoua division is one of the eight divisions in the West region of Cameroon. Menoua has a surface area of 138 km²with Dschang being its administrative headquarter. Menoua division is about 46 km from Bafoussam, 54 km from Mbouda and 350 km from Yaounde (Yemmafouo 2018). Thus it act as a transit zone between Litoral and the North West Region. Menoua is divided in to six sub divisions namely Dschang, Fokoue, Fongo-TongoNkong-Ni, Penka-Michel and Santchou with a population of about 205 289 inhabitants according to 2005 population census.

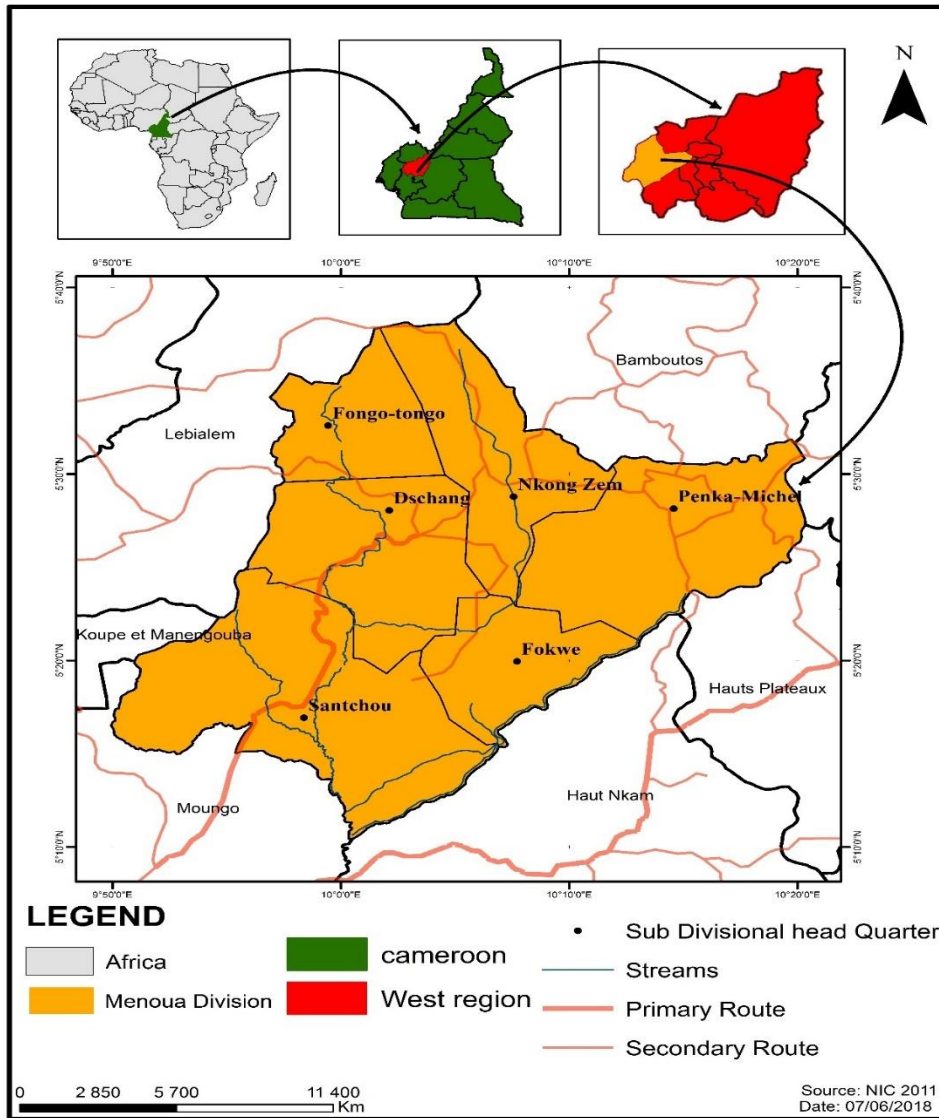


Figure 1: The location of Menoua division

Source: field work June 2018

Menoua falls within the western highlands of Cameroon. Its geographical coordinates are: 5°10'0'' to 5°40'0''N and 9°50'0''to 10°20'0''E. It is bordered to the northwest by the northwest region, to the northeast by Adamawa region, to the southeast by the Centre region, to the southwest by the Littoral region and to the West by southwest region. Menoua division is separated with steep forest elevation in two main sectors, a lowland plain called Santchou at altitude 600m and a hilly, Savana-type Dschang with a peak of 2200m above sea level at Djuttitsa. This study on the challenges in the governance of agricultural Cooperative in Menoua

division necessitate the utilization of many sources of data. It is carried out in diverse research centers and institutions from the years 1994 to 2020.

2.2- Data Collection and Treatment

The choice of agricultural Cooperative to be investigated is made using the following indicators; currently active groups, Groups that are legalised according to the new OHADA law, Groups accompanied by support institutions and Groups with at least one common activity. These indicators are set to identify and investigate only current functional groups. This permit us to eliminate non-functional agricultural Cooperatives, which exist only on paper. We work only on groups' that fulfilled at least three of these conditions. According to the above indicators, we have 16 agricultural Cooperatives in the whole Menoua division. The number of questionnaires is determined according to the size of the population of each agricultural Cooperative using this formula
$$\frac{\text{Population of each Cooperative} \times \text{constant}}{100}$$
 where the constant is 10. In all we administered 459 questionnaires. We have two types of questionnaires, one questionnaire is given to each president or delegate (PCA) of groups concerning general functioning of Cooperatives while those given to members concern only information on .the level of satisfaction with the system of governance.

Data are collected from both secondary and primary source. In general, we used the hypothetical-deductive method which is based on hypotheses, interpretation and verification of hypotheses. A small sample size in each sub division were used to extrapolate for the whole Menoua division. Concerning secondary source of data, we consulted documents (laws and regulations governing Cooperatives in Cameroon) and many articles online which are related to the governance of agricultural Cooperatives and types of agricultural Cooperatives.

On the other hand, primary data were collected with the means of questionnaires (to management Committees of each Cooperative and some members), interviews (direct discussion with Mr FOFOU Lucas Boclaire expert in Cooperative law at MINADER-Bafoussam, Mr NGUEDIA Samuel CGO (the Organisation Management advisory agent) of ACEFA which is a non-governmental Organisation) and participation (where we took part in their meetings). This permitted to bring out the challenges faced by agricultural Cooperatives in governing their business. We also used GPS to locate agricultural Cooperatives in Menoua division.

To treat our data collected from the field, we have used statistical treatment and cartographic treatment. Concerning statistical treatment, tools like Excel was used to treat qualitative and quantitative data and concerning cartographic treatment, we have used ArcGIS to realise our maps which enables us to present the study area. Data from interviews were treated using content analysis which permitted to know how the Cooperatives are functioning and their challenges.

3- RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1- Types of Agricultural Cooperatives and cooperative governance in Menoua division

There are two main types of agricultural Cooperatives in Menoua division that is production and marketing cooperatives which exist in two forms that is Cooperative with a board of director (COOP-CA) and a simplified Cooperative (SCOOP) whatever the field in which the cooperative operates. It is noticed that agricultural Cooperatives are created because they want to produce, sell and buy their products at a reasonable price. Agricultural Cooperatives in Menoua division are involved in activities like Cocoa, Coffee, Palm oil, beans, green beans, Irish potatoes, cabbage, maize, cassava carrot pig rearing and poultry. However, these Cooperatives have as their principal activities; cocoa, coffee, Irish potatoes, maize. Concerning livestock, they have as principal activities; the production of cheques. However, Fokoue, which is one of the six sub divisions found in Menoua division has no Cooperative because he is more interested in CIGs than Cooperatives.

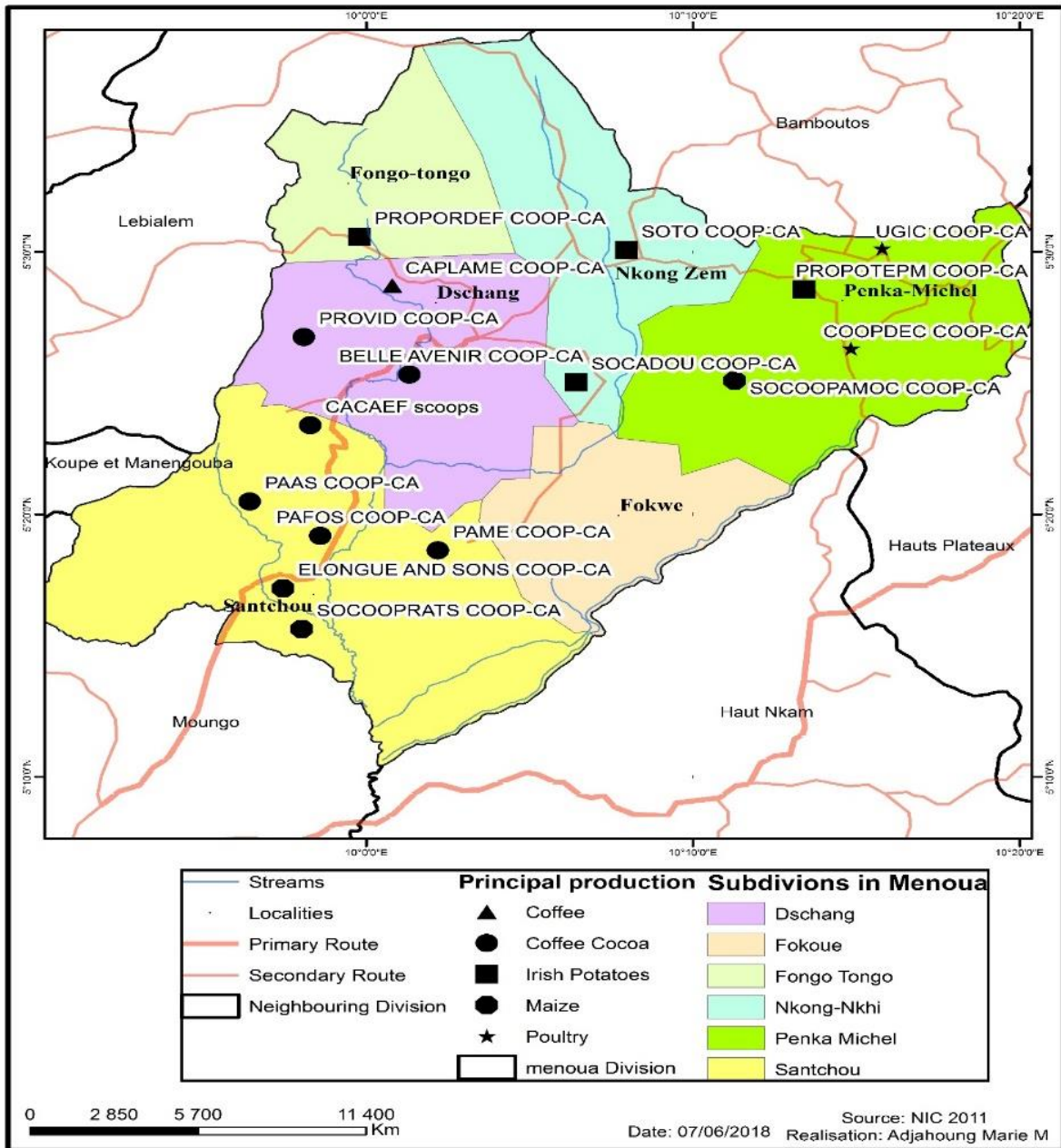


Figure 1: Types of agricultural Cooperative in Menoua division.

On the above figure, 76% of agricultural Cooperative in Menoua division are involved in the production and Commercialisation of agricultural products, 12% in the production of maize and Irish potatoes seed, and 12% in the commercialisation of members' products. Among the 12% agricultural Cooperatives involved in the Commercialisation of agricultural products, one (SOCADOU Coop-CA) is involved in the sale of farm inputs to its member and non-members.

In Santchou sub division, out of six Cooperatives we have four Cooperatives which have as principal activity coffee and Cocoa, and two others having as principal activity maize. This is due to the landscape and a conducive climate which favour the growth of these cash crops. On the other hand, in Dschang sub division among the three Cooperatives, two have as principal activity the production of coffee and cocoa, and the other based in the sale of coffee only. Also, in Penka Michel among the four Cooperatives, two have as principal activity poultry, one as maize and the other one as Irish potatoes. In Nkongni sub division, among the two Cooperatives, one has as principal activity the production of Irish potatoes and the other as the commercialisation of farm input to members and non-members. This is thanks to the fertile soil which favours the cultivation of Irish potatoes. At the level of Fongo-Tongo we have only one Cooperative with principal activity as Irish potatoes.

3.2- GOVERNANCE SITUATION IN MENOUA DIVISION

In Menoua division, the board of directors (management Committee and supervisory Committee) are elected by member who run the business. The management Committee represent the Cooperative toward other partners and control the activities of the Cooperative. The supervisory Committee ascertain the authority and validity of all expenditures, payments, loans and advances as the may be. They also examine regularly account of Cooperative society and ensure that all transactions of Cooperative society are properly recorded in respective books, account and other relevant documents. The capital of the Cooperative is contributed equitably and are controlled democratically by the members who use them based on the principle of one member one vote regardless of the number of shares or investment in the Cooperative. These contributions are not fixed, the amount depends on each Cooperative. These Cooperatives are governed both by their constitution and laws (state law and internal law of the Cooperative) and according to the Cooperative's principles. However, Cooperative governance in Menoua division is all about accountability, transparency, predictability, rules of law and participations. Some cooperatives like PAME COOP-CA take it as their slogan. The boards represent members and are stewards of interest. They consider what is best for the cooperative as a whole and are emotionally connected to the organisation on the basis of solidarity.

In terms of decision taken, it is taken by the GA based on the majority and not by consensus. However, $\frac{3}{4}$ members much be present at the meeting for a decision to be considered.

In some cooperatives absenteeism in meeting are sanctioned depending on their internal rules and regulations. Apart of the General Assembly, the Cooperative also have Meeting which encourage members to save and borrow money. After the sale of their products, certain amount is deducted for the good functioning of the business that is, 63% Cooperatives deduct 5% of their revenue, 25% deduct 10% and 13% contribute annually.

3.2- LIMITS IN GOVERNANCE

3.2.1- LAWS AND REGULATIONS IN COOPERATIVES

One of the key element for the successful performance of Cooperatives is the use of efficient working structures, and the board working structures are set of rules and norms that support the board decision-making process and mechanism. The OHADA law is a new structure which governs Cooperatives in Cameroon coupled with the internal rules which govern the functioning of the business. However some of these laws are hard to apply in Cooperatives and if fully apply, most members will leave the Cooperative. For example the article 305 of OHADA Uniform act which state that the administrators functions are free, discourages members to occupied these posts because their time wasted is not motivated and thus they can turned to work for their personal interest. Also, article 274 which state that, the subscription fund of members must be deposited in bank does not favour peasants because they need money to run their business and one of their main problem is lack of finance to develop their business.

3.2.2-THE OHADA LAW LIMIT THE PURCHASING CAPACITY OF COOPERATIVES

According to article 14 relating to law and social accounting exercise of the Cooperatives' statute, a Cooperative cannot buy more than 40% products of non-members. However, at the end of their activities, a report is submitted to authority in charge (COOP/GIC) where the accounts of the Cooperative is segregated from the accounts of non-members. This article limits the capacity of Cooperatives to yield more money. On the other hand, OHADA law is more adapted to financial Companies than agricultural Cooperatives. Article 33 states that the social exercise of Cooperative societies start on the 1st of January and end on the 31stDecember of that same year. This article does not favours agricultural Cooperatives because this period does not match with the period of activities in agricultural Cooperatives thus in December the activities of agricultural Cooperatives are still going on and for that reason agricultural Cooperatives can only estimate

their account of the year in their report . For example the activities of Coffee start in March and end in March of the following year and for Cocoa, it starts on July and ends in March.

3.2.3- THE INTERNAL RULES AND REGULATIONS IN COOPERATIVES.

In some cooperatives like PAME COOP-CA, the internal rules oblige the members to sell their product only to the cooperative. This law penalize the members and had led to the departure of many members from Cooperatives in Menoua division. Members tend to sell part of their products out of the Cooperative to have immediate money to solve their family matters. This because the Cooperative can only pay members after the sale of their products and at times their products are stored for a long period of time to wait for price increase or for the highest bidder.

3.2.4- LACK OF INTEREST IN COOPERATIVES

In Menoua division some members (men in particular) view cooperatives as their second option. Most often they do not accord much of their time to cooperative (that is non-board members) but affirm all the decision taking during meeting in their absence, this retards the development of cooperative because members cannot have or share the same point of view face to problems encountered in the cooperative, this participation in cooperatives governance (active participation) that is, in technical training and to vote in general meeting influence the decision in the society by bringing more light to the cooperative. Additionally, the attendance of members in all the meetings of the cooperative is one of element that lead to the success of cooperatives in Menoua division.

3.2.5- PERCEPTION OF MEMBERS TOWARD COOPERATIVE AND THE REALITY OF COOPERATIVE

The perception that members have toward Cooperatives is a hindrance to Cooperative development. This is seen below in three aspects that is: profit, management and control.

Concerning profit, members think that the profit are distributed to members in proportion to their investment but this is not the case in cooperatives. Cooperatives only distribute part of their profit in proportion to the transaction members had with the Cooperative during a specific period of time. At times, the profit is used in the functioning of Cooperative or reinvest in the business to improve upon production. At this point most members posed rhetorical questions that is "what

is the different between them and the non-members”. Also, with the management of Cooperatives, some individuals think that management centers only on capital investment, that is, they think that all is to make profit and share among members. However, this is not a reality in Cooperative. In Cooperatives management is also centered on members where capital does not only serve as current needs of members but also future needs of members and therefore has to be preserved over time.

More so, concerning control in Cooperatives, influential members think that they can influence decisions with their high percentage of capital invested in the Cooperative with the post they occupy in the Cooperative. This is not the case in Cooperatives, Cooperatives allocate equal voting right to members independently to their financial situation or position in Cooperative. Thus Cooperatives are controlled democratically. However, the above perceptions of members toward Cooperatives show that many cooperators do not know what is all about OHADA Uniform act. This is seen on the figure below.

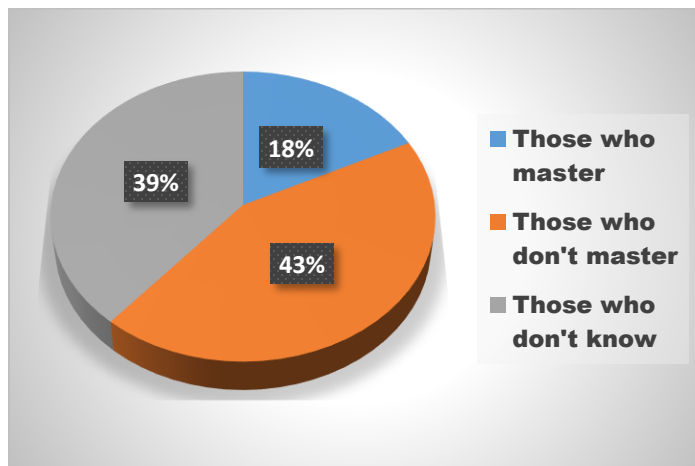


Figure 2. The non-mastering of OHADA Uniform Act

Source: field work 2020

On the above figure, 82% don't know nor master the rules and regulations of a Cooperative. This may be because Cooperatives are obliged to register according to the OHADA law in Cameroon and therefore some are only there to for fill the condition and not to govern their Cooperatives according to the Uniform act. Some say they are register to OHADA law because they want to benefit subventions and subsidies which are sometime given by the government to Cooperatives. On the other hand, only 18% master this law and are all made up of board members. This is

because most often the board members take part in seminars based on the importance of OHADA Uniform act and what OHADA is all about. However, the non-mastering of this law by all members make it difficult to the board to govern their Cooperatives as stated in the Uniform act. They are sometimes obliged to adopt certain measures to solve some problems because they see that if they apply fully the OHADA law some members will leave the Cooperative and the Cooperative may collapse. More to that, most Cooperatives in Menoua division are family Cooperatives.

3.2.4- THE APPOINTMENT OF NON-MEMBERS

Also, another new trend that we have observed in Menoua division is the appointment of non-members in order to have or access to specific expertise that the Cooperative lacks. This is the case of COOPDEC COOP-CA in Penka-Micheal. This idea is good but in the long run, these secretaries tend to work for their personal interest and not for the Cooperative and also this at times the cooperative may face difficulties to pay these non-members. This is also the case of CAPLAME COOP-CA in Dschang where at times the Cooperative face difficulties to pay the boards and thus push them to work for their personal interest.

3.2.5-PRODUCTION CAPACITY OF COOPERATIVES

The strength of a cooperative depends on their production capacity and membership and without this strength Cooperatives will face difficulties to run their business. The figure below shows the production capacity of cooperative in Menoua division which is one of the factors influencing the development of agricultural cooperatives.

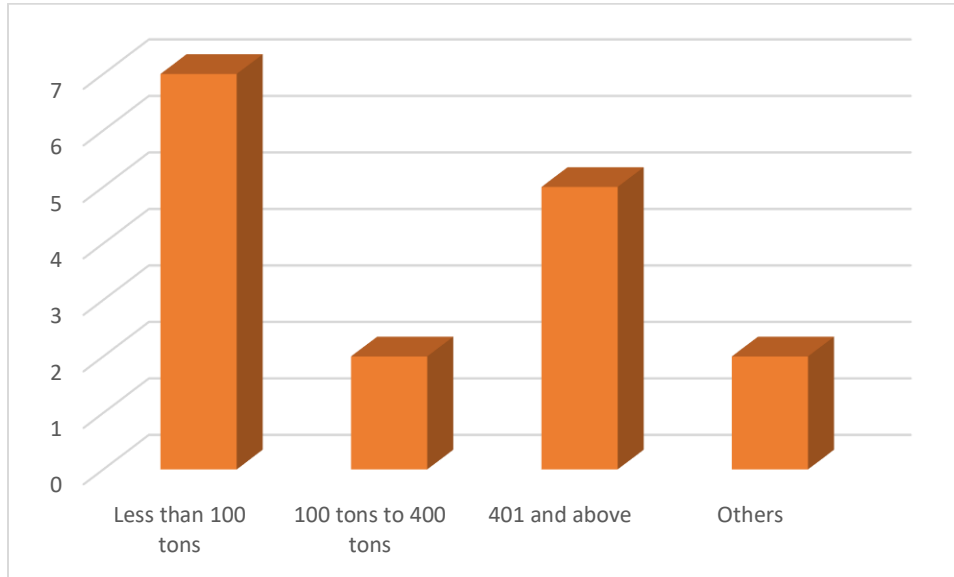


Figure 3: The production Capacity of Cooperatives.

Source: Field work 2020

The figure above shows that, majority of cooperatives produce less than 100 tons of agricultural product per year. That is 44% cooperative produce less than 100 tons per year. Factors that contribute to this low productivity include in general climate change and in particular low level of input used such as: seeds, pesticides, fertilizer and farm equipment which is generally due to lack of finance. Additionally Limited knowledge on improved production technology and low membership are others factors responsible for low productivity in Menoua division. This is the case of SOCOOPMOC coop-CA in Bamendou which is made up of 20 members and produce 7 tons of maize and beans per year while SOTO coop-CA is small in size (12 members) but produce 55 tons of Irish potatoes per year. On the other hand large size cooperatives (in term of number) do not necessarily mean that they can handle large volume of produce. Some Cooperatives such as SOCADOU COOP-CA, PAAS COOP-CA and PROPORDEF COOP-CA have members as fallow 709, 752 and 500 members respectively but produce 75 tons, 565 tons and 350 tons respectively. This implies that one member is unable to produce one ton to the cooperative. Cooperatives involved in the rearing of fowls and pigs faced the problem of low productivity due to pest and diseases in this sector. In general, out of the six principal activities (cocoa, coffee, maize, Irish potatoes, Fowls and pigs) of cooperatives in Menoua division, we have 1360 tons of cocoa, 1045 tons of coffee, 1155 tons of Irish potatoes, 119 tons of maize, 6000 Fowls and 150 pigs produced per year. These figures are insignificant compared to the size

of the cooperative and thus the amount deducted for the functioning of the Cooperative is insignificant which further limit the board to realize some of their objectives.

3.2.6-MARKETING OF COOPERATIVE PRODUCE

Beside the low level of production in cooperatives we have market as another factor which influences management and the development of cooperatives in Menoua division. This is because the Cooperatives depend solely on the contribution of member for the good functioning of the Cooperative. Thus where the cooperatives sell their goods also matter on their revenue. The figure bellow shows the market where cooperatives sell their goods in Menoua division.

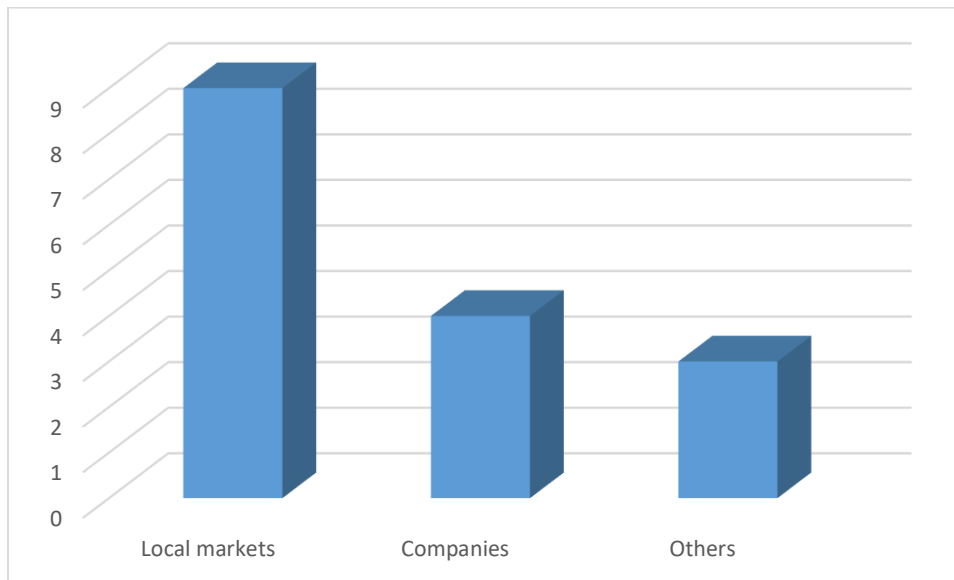


Figure 4 : Marketing of Cooperatives products.

Source: field work 2020

On the figure above, majority (55%) of cooperatives sell their products in the local market. This dependency reduces them to price takers since it is the only market where they can sell their produce. This is due to lack of market outlets and lack of information on market access. On the other hand 25% of cooperatives sell their products to retailers (cokseurs) to solve their immediate problems in their respective family. However, low income earning cooperatives find it difficult to deal with long-term pay off. 19% Cooperatives sell their products to the government (maize seed and Irish potatoes seed) and External buyers from different countries such as Gabon, Tchad and Equatorial Guinea) at a reasonable price. In all market channel is a hindrance to Cooperative governance and development.

3.2.5- INADEQUATE COMMUNICATION AND LOW RATE OF EDUCATION

This is a hindrance to the development of Cooperatives in Menoua division. Some Cooperatives are not aware of information like seminars, training programs and better market to sell their goods. On the other hand, the low rate of education in Cooperative is also a hindrance since some members (unskilled) will be unable to manage the affairs of the Cooperative. This leads to a great difference in power, the objectives of the group will not reflect the objective of each member, some members feel inferior to others due to the low level of education meanwhile members have the same right in Cooperatives. More to that, the board of directors are appointed and not elected, these boards of directors last forever as far as the Cooperative is existing and thus encourage favoritism and dictatorship of leaders. These are handicaps to Cooperatives in Menoua division. According to the OHADA Uniform act, the term of office is five years renewable but due to the low rate of education in Cooperative, members are appointed as board of directors and remain forever.

3.2.6-LIMITED PERSONNEL

Although peasants have been organized in Cooperative so as to facilitate the work of agricultural engineers or trainers on the field whose role is to control and advise peasants on their activities but these agricultural engineers are limited in number. This affects the output of members and management of their Cooperative because they are not well followed up by these agricultural technicians. For example one personnel (NGO) will find himself with 7 Cooperatives in 3 subdivisions in Menoua which is not possible to visit all these 7 Cooperatives in one day meanwhile one of their roles as promoters of the group is to always be available to members and take part in their meetings which is not an easy task. They can only visit two Cooperatives per day that is one in the morning and one in the afternoon. More to that, the nature of the road does not permit them to reach in some areas. This is the case of chief posts of agricultural centers who are well organized on the field (each subdivision is divided in areas and shared among them) to facilitate the supervision of these Cooperatives but due to the inaccessibility of some areas, they only visit some of these Cooperatives during the dry season which is most often in the period of harvesting.

4- DISCUSSION

Through good governance in cooperatives members easily transformed their livelihoods, improved the basic condition of life for the rural people by put in place developmental infrastructures for the general good of the community. However, in Menoua division agricultural Cooperatives faced some limits in governing and developing their Cooperatives. Nnadozie et al (2015) found that agriculture cooperatives have contributed more in agricultural development in Nigeria by the provision of cash to small holder farmers, marketing and group management CHAMBO (2009) FOTEMEH (2011), Armand COSTA (2009) found that through cooperatives the poor people (members) easily raise their income, contribute direct or indirectly in education and reducing child mortality.

However, in Menoua division agricultural Cooperatives faced some limits in developing their Cooperatives. These limits are mainly institutional laws in Cooperatives, inadequate capital and communication, low level of education, low capacity of production and Market outlet. K. Akwabi-Ameyaw (1997), S. Ibitoye (2012) and W. Egwu (2015), suggest that most farmers' cooperatives in Africa have failed because of problems in holding administration accountability to members which led to mistrust within Cooperative and financial irregularities. More to that, J K Bong et al (2009) found that Cooperative failure in California is caused by leadership collapse to supervise management and lack of understanding on proper financial transaction. Birchall (2012) revealed that governance failure is due to lack of members' participation in Cooperatives. However, these challenges in governance are different because in Menoua division, these limits are mainly institutional laws Cooperatives are not govern by the same law in the world. For instance in Cameroon, Cooperatives are governed by the OHADA Uniform act. in Menoua division agricultural Cooperatives faced some limits in developing their Cooperatives.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this paper was to show the limits of agricultural Cooperatives governance in Menoua division. From the diagnosis of governance problem, results from the field show that the main problem in agricultural Cooperatives governance comes from laws and regulations which govern Cooperatives in Cameroon. This law (OHADA) is adopted by the government and imposed on Cooperative. However, this law is more adapted to Credit bank Cooperatives than agricultural Cooperatives worse again in the rural milieu. This is because with the OHADA law, members tend to be more concentrate in the office than in the farm work

coupled with numerous meetings, seminars and document to read. Farmer found it difficult to cope with the two (office and farm work) because normally, the farmer place is in the farm and not in the office but this law impose certain norms where members are obliged to take the two simultaneously which slow down their activities. Since some Cooperatives refuse to employ people (experts) in the administration to reduce their task. These influence the governance of agricultural Cooperatives in Menoua division. As recommendations to these limits in Cooperatives governance, the OHADA Uniform act has to be revived, the government should sensitize and encourage the formation of cooperators in the rural area. Also, the MINADER's managers have to go on the field in different localities, form series of seminars to train both the members of Cooperatives and local NGOs on the application of OHADA uniform act. Also, the cost of training and Seminars should be reduce to enable the poorest people to attain the seminar. NGOs concerned should improve and construct market channels which will enable Cooperatives to avoid loss of benefit from intermediaries. If all these are taken in to consideration, agricultural Cooperatives in Menoua division will play the role of the government in rural development. They have interesting projects but face difficulties to put in place.

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