Donors, Institution Building, and a Sense of Strategy: A Concept of Augmented Staffing

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Preface

In the summer of 1968, as an associate of Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development, supported by a Ford Foundation grant to the Rural Social Science Program, I was completing a 2-year assignment as Visiting Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Nairobi. As I had participated in all phases of university activity there, including undergraduate teaching and committee assignments, this position afforded a rare opportunity to gain a first-hand perspective of problems faced by the university. These problems, to the best of my knowledge and judgment, are typical of problems faced by African and third world universities in general.

My dominant impression of that period was the overwhelming magnitude of the teaching task facing a diminished number of faculty. Undergraduates and attendant teaching loads have increased sharply during the last several years. That trend is projected to continue. The numbers of students desiring graduate training is also increasing. At the same time, the number of faculty is not keeping pace, as experienced faculty and Africans with new doctorates are attracted to higher-paying posts in government agencies and international organizations.

The Rockefeller program of the 1960s and 1970s was instrumental in staffing scores of social science positions in East Africa with indigenous personnel who had studied in North America. However, this much-heralded and successful program has long since ended. Departing faculty are not being replaced, nor are existing posts being filled as rapidly as necessary to meet demands for teaching and research. Of particular concern is the inability of academic departments to implement ongoing research programs, which are necessary to maintain the intellectual viability of academic departments and to provide a reservoir of knowledge and ideas that can contribute to national economic development. In my judgment, it is not exaggerating to assert that a crisis in African higher education is at hand.

In June 1988, Paul Perrault, then Winrock's associate based at National University, Côte d'Ivoire, visited Nairobi to consider possible directions for donor assistance for institution building in the rural social sciences. After consulting with a number of individuals representing donor organizations, the University of Nairobi, and Egerton University, we concluded that a plan was needed to assist universities in meeting this educational crisis. Out of this exercise emerged a proposal that included a Young Professionals Program.

The essence of the Young Professionals Program was to augment the existing staff in rural social sciences to meet this crisis of higher education in Africa. This paper provides further background for and justification of this concept, which I call an augmented staffing program. Although key individuals in the development of this idea included A. C. Ackello-Ogutu of the University of Nairobi, E. K. Ireri of Egerton University, and Paul Perrault, none of these individuals nor the institutions with
which they are affiliated should be held accountable for any shortcomings of this paper nor necessarily for viewpoints or opinions expressed here. This paper reflects my own perspectives and opinions regarding the justification and the merits of the concept of augmented staffing.

I hope that this paper stimulates discussion and eventually leads to greater interest and action on what I consider to be a pragmatic way in which to contribute to long-run development of institutions that are necessary for economic development.
Economic development is a process. While it is sometimes useful to separate nations into broad categories of developing and developed, nations actually fall on a continuum that ranges from early stages of development to more advanced stages.

Moving toward development requires a sense of strategy — some essentials for development need to be in place before further development can occur. Among those essentials are institutions for governance and economic organization. Basic institutions are necessary to implement sound policy for macroeconomic management, agricultural development, and physical infrastructure and to create and maintain a legal and administrative framework conducive to modern commerce. Educational institutions are among those that are basic to modern society.

Without sound institutions, infusions of capital not only yield disappointing results but may even be counterproductive. That is, constraints to development must be removed before further development can occur. A sense of strategy is required.

However fundamental this may appear, it is often overlooked that institution building is itself a process that also requires a sense of strategy. Constraints must be removed if an educational institution, for example, is to fulfill its role in research and instruction. This paper addresses constraints to building educational institutions in developing nations, with a focus on Africa, and proposes an approach for dealing with these constraints.

An Example from the American Experience

In his treatise on economic development, John Kenneth Galbraith (1964) illustrates the importance of strategy:

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the United States, depending on the limited potential of lands east of the Appalachians, suffered periodic food shortages and chronic uncertainty of supply. A plan for development along modern lines would have included a long list of requirements such as land-grant colleges, veterinary services, and home economics, communication, and marketing-advisory services. Transportation undoubtedly would have been included on the list. However, such lists, which are designed to be all inclusive, practically guarantee that the most important item will be obscured.
In the early 1800s a canal was built that connected the food-short east with the productive American heartland. The food shortages promptly disappeared and, as Galbraith reminds us, there has been no sign of their recurrence.

The lesson is that the primary constraint, transportation, was dealt with, and further agricultural and economic development naturally followed. A corollary is that it is essential not to confuse factors that enable or promote economic development with factors that naturally result from or follow development.

The Role of Third World Educational Institutions

The economic development of sparsely populated lands, as were the American territories in the 1800s, is much simpler than development of the densely populated third world nations of today. However, the complexity of third world development reinforces the point that a sense of strategy is required. The most pressing constraints must be relieved before further development can occur. This important elementary principle can be applied to educational institutions in the third world.

Similar to their counterparts elsewhere, universities in the third world are responsible for education, research, and extension. This includes providing undergraduate and, in some cases, graduate instruction. As do counterparts in the more developed world, their faculties have the mission of producing new knowledge -- research. This may include adapting existing knowledge to local conditions. In some cases, extension of that knowledge may be carried out directly by university personnel. In other cases, universities may support extension services provided by other government agencies. In developing nations, the mission of universities considers that research contributing to sound economic development policy is the single overriding need.

A related role for African institutions of higher learning is to develop the nation's (and continent's) intellectual leaders. In areas such as plant and animal breeding, economic policy, and resource conservation, which relate to economic development, indigenous expertise is needed. If this intellectual leadership is not developed and retained in these universities, whence will it come?

Education involves an element of consumption and an element of investment in what has come to be called human capital. Since most third world students' educations are subsidized by their governments, which have limited resources, it seems justifiable to train these students in the disciplines required for economic development.

It also is proper for research in third world countries to focus on what, conceivably, will contribute to economic development. Such research is largely applied and involves problems having a relatively short-term focus, such as adapting varieties of crops to local conditions and experimenting with practices suitable for small farms under local conditions. In the economic-policy arena, research is properly focused on
the pragmatic mix of markets and government planning and on making markets function more efficiently to produce their intended results, including formation of prices that reflect costs of real resources and that generate incentives for efficient resource allocation.

Intellectual effort is also properly devoted to the "Africanization" of subject matter. That much of the subject matter will be borrowed from the developed world neither diminishes the importance nor the urgency of this task.

While some of the effort will be short term or oriented to specific problems, other tasks should be longer term. What is important is that

- The research program be focused toward problems, the solution of which leads to economic development, as this is the urgent task facing these nations -- and indeed the world.

- Research programs have a mix of short- and long-term objectives, with increasing focus on longer-term objectives and continuity in research effort as the programs develop.

- These tasks get under way soon.

Donor organizations have long recognized the potential contributions of universities to economic development. The Rockefeller Foundation has a long history of providing support to third world students to pursue doctoral degrees abroad. These scholars have provided a core faculty for the newly developing social science departments in East African institutions (for a related discussion, see Waelti, 1988). Many of these scholars have gone on to posts in government. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has assisted in various ways, including building physical facilities and advising in various policy programs. Organizations such as the Ford Foundation, Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development (and one of its predecessors, the Agricultural Development Council), the Harvard Institute for International Development, and the international Development Research Centre of Canada, to name only a few, have supported third world universities in various ways.

Such support signifies general recognition of the potential importance of these institutions to economic development. Donor organizations sponsor research networks, provide funds for research, and assist in organizing policy workshops. These efforts are laudable, useful, and arguably necessary. If the end result has sometimes been disappointing, it has often been because of a lack of a sense of strategy and a failure to recognize or effectively deal with the primary constraint to adequate development of the institution. That constraint is most basic and fundamental: a shortage of faculty resources to perform the teaching and research required for a university to contribute to economic development. The list of problems and needs may be long, but shortage
of faculty is paramount. It must be faced honestly and dealt with directly if donor efforts at institution building are to have any permanent effect.

The Reality

Faculty members at major universities in the developed and developing nations are responsible for both teaching and research. However, each setting has a different twist. In developed nations, the lack of consistently high-quality instruction for undergraduates and the low status accorded to such instruction in faculty promotion and reward (despite lip service to the contrary) has long been lamented. Undergraduates are taught -- too often somewhat badly -- by faculty members who have other priorities or by inexperienced graduate students. But the students do receive instruction; and research, which receives highest university priority, gets accomplished.

In third world institutions, student numbers are large and growing. The students are taught by faculty members, not by graduate students. Thus, support staff -- and a tradition of using support staff -- for teaching are lacking. Faculty salary structures are rigid and promotion is slow. Although promotion is supposed to be based partly on research productivity, the number of senior faculty positions is fixed, and salary is determined by rank. So faculty have an incentive to use the time not spent teaching in higher-paying, short-term consulting work. Choosing immediate, certain gains in the present over uncertain gains in the distant future is rational behavior and not unique to faculty members of third world educational institutions.

So the immediate pressure is to teach classes and obtain consulting contracts, particularly from international organizations. The few existing research programs are sporadic. Add to this the increasing numbers of students, decreasing numbers of faculty as support for graduate training abroad is reduced, and draining away of faculty by government and international organizations, and it is not hard to visualize a situation of near crisis proportions ahead.

Thus, in the developed world, students are taught (often badly) and the research gets done. In developing nations, students are taught (often badly because of large classes and lack of support staff), but the research does not get done. (This general statement is based on my experience. Johnson and Okigbo, 1989, suggest this general conclusion for Nigerian universities as well.)

Donor organizations that recognize the importance of research programs in these institutions have proposed programs such as research networks and have provided funds for specific research efforts. Individuals who manage these programs for donors have recognized the "incentive problem" and have attempted to deal with it through devices such as honoraria, travel money, or various indirect means of reward. At best, however, these are only piecemeal approaches. Even if the incentive problem were solved, faculty resources still would be insufficient to accomplish the
needed research or to provide the graduate training that could help solve the problem in the long run.

A comprehensive program is needed that can put in place a mechanism for developing institutions -- that is, one that can develop a tradition of ongoing research as background for economic development policy and that can institute and improve graduate training at selected institutions. The constraint, again, is that the institutions have insufficient faculty to teach and perform the research that is needed to provide the intellectual base for economic development.

While the U.S. model of teaching/research/extension is not the only (or necessarily the best) model, educational institutions can, through research, contribute to the economic development of third world countries. But first the fundamental constraint must be relieved.

A Direct Approach to Relieving the Constraint

Donors' investments in policy seminars; research networks, councils, and projects; and physical facilities contribute to staff development, short-run insights to policy questions, and physical infrastructure. But they fall short of intentions: They make little lasting contribution either to the institutions involved or to economic development.

Permanent improvement cannot occur until the central constraint is relieved by infusing new faculty -- with a mission that includes research and the resources to conduct research -- and by limiting the number of undergraduates entering these institutions. While the latter part of this requirement is beyond the purview of donors, the former is not.

The Rockefeller program of the 1960s and 1970s, which provided funds for East African social scientists to attain advanced degrees abroad, is the premier example of a direct approach to relieving a central constraint to institutional development. This program has been universally acclaimed as outstanding; so why is the program neither reinstated nor duplicated by other donor agencies?

The answer lies in the role, purpose, and culture of donor agencies. Nongovernmental donors do not permanently fund ongoing programs, however successful. Instead, they play the extremely useful role of initiating projects and programs that cannot be or are not undertaken by other organizations. Often, these are high-risk, experimental programs with limited time horizons. If a program is successful, donors reasonably assert that someone else can and should take it over.

Donor agencies have their own goals, incentives, and bureaucratic momentum. Program officers are highly motivated, intelligent, creative individuals who receive professional reward not from repeating what was done in the past, however success-
fully, but from proposing new, different, original approaches to problems in response to guidelines promulgated by their supervisors. Such guidelines seldom accommodate repetition of past programs, particularly if they are long and costly. By design, donor agencies eventually terminate successful programs.

How can the proposed infusion of human resources come about if programs are ruled out that enable Africans, for example, to study abroad on a large scale? To use a specific example for the field of agricultural economics, many positions are currently unfilled in the colleges of agriculture at both the University of Nairobi’s Kabete campus and at Egerton University in Kenya’s Rift Valley. These positions remain unfilled because the limited number of qualified personnel who could fill these posts receive more attractive positions elsewhere. These positions need to be filled before the rapidly expanding student numbers can be given high-quality instruction and before new research programs can be started and continued.

At the same time, many Americans who have new doctoral degrees would welcome the opportunity to gain some foreign experience but would not consider taking foreign posts at local salary levels. Donors could “top off” the salaries of these indigenous posts to make them competitive.

Under this augmented staffing program, donors would not be asked simply to fund foreign positions -- this prospect would be neither attractive to donors nor conducive to long-term development of the institution. Instead, the constraint of insufficient faculty would be relieved by augmenting the existing faculty. Initially, unfilled posts would be filled as necessary with candidates from elsewhere, such as North America. Indigenous faculty would continue to teach, but their teaching loads would be reduced. The visiting faculty filling the vacant posts would be attached to the indigenous faculty, and their duties would be apportioned partly to teaching (to take up the slack created by reducing the teaching loads of the indigenous faculty) and partly to research. Hence, both the visiting and indigenous faculty would engage in research, preferably in joint efforts.

The visiting faculty would bring fresh skills and tools to the research, while the indigenous staff would bring experience and local knowledge -- a potentially productive combination for conducting useful research. Opportunities for substantial accomplishment would be increased if the visiting faculty were attached to the host institution for at least 2 or 3 years and if their assignments were staggered to provide some continuity.

This approach not only would contribute to the professional development of both the visiting and indigenous personnel, it also would begin to form a basis for policy analysis and continuing research on emerging development problems. And the immediate result would be that the tasks of teaching and research would be accomplished and the process of establishing a research tradition would begin.
When augmented staffing is viewed in this light, other programs favored by donor agencies begin to fall into place. With sufficient personnel on hand, funds targeted for policy analysis can be used effectively. With lighter teaching loads, visiting and indigenous staff can combine their talents and ongoing research programs can be developed. Research networks have a chance to succeed when faculty have the time for constant, rather than occasional, intellectual interchange. Social science councils, which develop research priorities and hold symposia, make sense if faculty have resources and time to conduct the research. Teaching materials -- such as textbooks, lab manuals, and problem sets -- that are adapted to indigenous situations are scarce. Augmenting indigenous staffs with visiting personnel could produce new texts and teaching materials tailored to African needs.

(No strategy can guarantee results. However, a sound program can make it possible for results to occur. And in the absence of sound strategy, it is impossible for results to occur. See Ackello-Ogutu and Waelti, 1990, for an example in Africa of new teaching materials.)

Advantages of Augmented Staff

Though perhaps obvious, one point is fundamental and must be stressed: No amount of incentive to perform research can bring forth the intended result if faculty members are overwhelmed by student numbers and teaching responsibilities. As a practical matter, indigenous political leaders are forced to decree that teaching will not be sacrificed to research needs, however urgent, policy-oriented or otherwise. For augmented staffing to work, there must be "something in it" for all participants, including expatriates, indigenous personnel, donors, and host institutions and governments. The following is a review of the potential benefits to these groups.

Expatriate personnel

For the visiting staff member, augmented staffing would provide the personal and professional opportunities associated with teaching and research experience in a third world country. These individuals would have ample policy-oriented problems on which to work and the satisfaction that their research applied immediately and directly to the imperative of economic development, unlike some of the research conducted in the developed world. (Although African social scientists, like their counterparts in the developed world, often lament that policymakers pay them little heed, this does not diminish the urgency of getting policy-oriented research under way.) More graduate students could assist in conducting research, which would benefit both the students and the research programs. And, if the research followed the pattern set thus far in African institutions, theses and dissertations would tend to be based on primary data, linking the researchers' academic experience to field experience.
Indigenous personnel

For the indigenous staff member, augmented staffing would free time from teaching that could then be used for research. The collaboration between expatriate and indigenous staff members would be mutually beneficial. The arrangement also might foster opportunities for exchanges with North American institutions, which would be another incentive for indigenous personnel to participate in research activity.

Donor organizations

Although donors would not be interested in simply funding staff positions for indigenous institutions, they probably would find it attractive to top off salaries to make augmented staffing possible and thus contribute to developing an academic department, permanently improving a graduate program, and establishing an ongoing research program. Donors such as the U.S. Agency for International Development have provided immense sums for physical facilities and far lesser sums for programs. It is time for donors, especially government donors, to give more attention to programs and personnel than to tangible items such as buildings. An augmented staffing program could make their other efforts more effective. The primary attraction for donors of augmented staffing is that it could actually work to accomplish institutional development.

Host institutions

The administrative burden of host institutions would be somewhat increased in that an augmented department would require some administrative innovations. However, the chief benefit would be that an augmented staff would better enable the host institution to accomplish its tasks of teaching and research. An augmented staff, and any administrative problems it would create, would seem to be a nice problem to have, as compared to juggling limited resources to teach increasing numbers of students, trying to start or manage a graduate program, and running a research program all at the same time. If current trends continue, undergraduate teaching will become increasingly inadequate as a diminishing staff is overloaded. Under these conditions, expanded graduate and research programs will become an increasingly remote dream. Clearly, something imaginative must be tried -- and soon.

Host government

The benefit to the host government of augmented staffing is an enhanced indigenous institution for research and education. In Kenya, increasing numbers of qualified students are turned down because of lack of space. Those who are admitted find increasingly crowded facilities. An augmented staff would provide some immediate relief from these conditions. The long-term benefits would result
from the institution's improved ability to provide a knowledge base and the
trained personnel necessary for national economic development.

The Costs

What would be the costs of supporting, for example, five visiting scholars to fill
vacant posts in an academic department? Assuming the indigenous salary is
equivalent to $8,000 a year plus housing, $20,000 could be added to make the
salary more competitive, plus travel to and from the host country for the staff
member and any dependents. Thus, a 2-year assignment would require roughly
$40,000 to $50,000 in outside support. Accordingly, five faculty members at 2
years each would cost about $250,000. A 10-year program involving five visiting
faculty members would involve around $1.5 million.

If this amount were doubled or even tripled, it still would be insignificant when
compared to the tens of millions spent by donors for physical facilities of a single
third world institution. An augmented staffing program should be supplemented
by research funds for specific research problems, seminars, and workshops;
however, many of these programs already exist and thus would not constitute
additional expense. In fact, an augmented staffing program would make these
existing programs more effective, and additional support could be expected
because the chances of favorable results would be enhanced by augmenting the
faculty.

Graduate Training

What happens when the 10-year period ends and visiting scholars are no longer
available? Clearly, to be of lasting value the supply of indigenous staff members
must increase. Graduate training abroad would need to be continued. However, a
part of the demand for increased indigenous staff could be satisfied by the
expanded graduate training enabled by augmented staffing.

The proposed program may not expand graduate training at host institutions
enough to supply the faculty members that will be needed. It is clear, however,
that without such a program, third world institutions will continue to fall farther
behind and will not be able to perform their role in national building. The
augmented staffing program is a way of buying time before it is too late, while
problems are still manageable.

Some Remaining Questions

The augmented staffing approach suggested here contributes directly to institu-
tional development by increasing the capacity of third world educational institu-
tions to perform essential teaching and research tasks. Yet several problems and questions arise with such an approach.

The first is: To what degree would augmented staffing increase the capacity of the host institution, especially for much-needed research programs? Would indigenous professors use the time freed from teaching for private consulting activities? If they did, the capacity of the host institution would diminish as soon as the expatriate personnel left.

The behavior of indigenous staff would depend on the incentive system and the degree of institutional reform accompanying such a program. In the existing system, promotion is often slow; the staff member must wait for one of a fixed number of higher-ranking slots to open. If research accomplishment were perceived to lead to more rapid promotion and salary adjustment, the time freed from teaching would more likely be transferred to research. And other types of incentives are possible. Indigenous personnel who show promise and achievement in policy-oriented research could be given sabbaticals and study leaves abroad. This is a proven motivational technique.

Additional permanent contributions could result from a temporary augmentation of staff. Increased flexibility could be introduced into indigenous programs by making more use of research associates in research programs and by using graduate students as assistants -- not for lecturing but for tutoring and grading.

Another question about the proposed program concerns recurring costs. An augmented staffing program would need to be continued for at least a decade, and probably longer, to yield permanent effects. Yet a double standard seems to be applied to aid through physical capital versus aid through human capital and technical assistance.

It is relatively easy to move money through assistance in the form of physical capital. Buildings, roads, bridges, and machines are tangible, and putting them in place is relatively simple. Schedules for planning, implementation, and completion can be established and adhered to with some measure of reliability. Visiting congressmen can be assured that the funds are accounted for. None of these assurances can so easily be provided for funds to support technical assistance, human capital, or institutional development.

Gifts of physical capital are usually conditioned on the host country assuming annual operation and maintenance costs. When such costs are not assumed, donor countries lament the circumstances, but continue to render such aid.

Aside from convenience, another reason for continuing to render aid in the form of physical capital is ideology. If physical capital is not perceived to be the constraint to economic development, then the constraint must be something more complex, such as building and reforming institutions. Galbraith (1964) asserts
that a popular appeal of socialism, in contrast to capitalism, to the most disadvantaged has been that it represented a direct frontal assault on institutions perceived to be detrimental to economic development or, at least, to the welfare of the poor. The building of education institutions, however, has the advantage of being consistent both with maintaining the existing order and affording expanded opportunity to greater numbers of people.

The point is that physical capital often has associated operation and maintenance costs that host countries have difficulty meeting. Yet developed countries have few compunctions about continuing this form of assistance. Institutional development efforts also have associated recurring costs; and these costs are properly a part of such a project. It is unrealistic to expect host countries to be able to assume immediately the entire maintenance costs of programs for institutional development any more than those for physical capital. To continue to bias foreign assistance toward physical capital because of its convenience and ideological appeal is to forgo important opportunities to assist economic development.

However, there may be important complementarities in rendering aid in the form of physical capital along with technical assistance. For example, laboratory and scientific instrumentation can aid both indigenous and visiting scientists in performing their tasks.

Another question is whether topping off expatriates' salaries, thereby creating a two-tiered salary structure, would cause problems. Perhaps if salaries were higher for indigenous posts, those positions could be filled with qualified personnel. However, topping off salaries for all personnel would raise the costs of the program to prohibitive levels for most donor agencies. Other incentives for indigenous personnel could be just as effective as higher salaries, such as the opportunity to take a sabbatical abroad.

Are the costs cited earlier realistic? They may be low; yet there may be qualified personnel who would serve abroad for less. The basic proposition is that the costs are modest compared to investment in physical facilities; and the faculty constraint must be relieved before other measures can be effective.

A word of caution is in order. An augmented staffing program for institutional development cannot contribute much to economic development if research is devoted entirely to the more esoteric refinements of problems researched in the developed nations. The most fundamental aspects of economic activity must be emphasized. Indeed, much of the appeal to visiting staff would be the opportunity to work on real, pressing problems of development, as opposed to yet-more-refined study of problems of marginal relevance to developed countries.

Examples of much-needed work in developing nations include the formulation and reporting of basic statistical series; the efficiency of marketing and pricing systems for livestock and grains, including storage; economics of basic farm crops, including
those for home consumption; and basic analyses of domestic and international agricultural policies. For example, what is the opportunity cost of self-sufficiency in a specific commodity? What are the relative social benefits and costs of devoting more natural resources to game and tourism as opposed to additional food crops? Research agendas are long and include a variety of interesting and important topics (see, for example, Ackello-Ogutu, 1989). In addition to research, an augmented staff could assist and collaborate in producing teaching materials and textbooks suited to the host country.

Finally, the funds required for an augmented staffing program, though substantial, are modest compared to sums that have been allocated to physical facilities. Further investment in physical facilities and efforts to support research initiatives, workshops, seminars, research networks, and the like will come to naught in the absence of the faculty resources with which to carry them out.

There are three basic requirements for an excellent college of agriculture, for example. The first is personnel -- including students, support staff, and a faculty with the capacity to accomplish the research, teaching, and public-service tasks for which it is responsible. The second is access to the arts and sciences, which are necessary for study of scientific agriculture and to attain a good general education. The third is the requisite physical facilities.

Again, it is easiest for donors to render assistance in the form of physical facilities. It is harder to render technical assistance and to work with programs and personnel. Yet, without the requisite faculty, other forms of assistance will continue to fall short of intentions. A sense of strategy dictates that the primary constraint -- a shortage of faculty -- must be relieved. A sense of strategy suggests that once the faculty is in place, other aspects of institutional development can follow.

Summary

Much effort has been devoted to developing third world educational institutions in recent years. In some cases, tens of millions of dollars have been donated for physical facilities for a single institution. Programs such as those of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Agricultural Development Council have dealt directly with the problem of developing the faculty. However, in more recent years, faculty development has not kept pace with needs. Therefore, efforts such as aid to expand physical facilities, support for research networks, and donor support for specific projects, workshops, and seminars have not produced long-term institutional development or continuing research programs.

To make progress along these lines, the essential constraint -- limited faculty resources -- must be dealt with. A promising approach would be to solicit donor support for an augmented staffing program. This would mean augmenting the salaries of existing unfilled indigenous posts and attracting expatriates to them. The combined expatriate
and indigenous staff would share the duties of teaching, research, and advising graduate students. In some institutions, the program could expand graduate training, which could contribute to the future supply of indigenous faculty.

While many details and administrative questions would need to be worked out in such an arrangement, the strength of this approach is that it deals directly with the primary constraint, aiding the institution to further develop. In short, this approach is designed to directly enable the third world institution to accomplish its mission through teaching, research, and contributing to economic development. By employing a sense of strategy that enables the institution to develop, the way is cleared for other favorable events to happen.

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