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AN EVALUATION REPORT
OF THE P.L. 480 TITLE II PROGRAM
IN INDIA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|---|
| ABS | Annual Budget Submission |
| ACOVAL | American Council of Voluntary Agencies |
| AER | Annual Estimated Requirement |
| AID | Agency for International Development |
| AID/W | Agency for International Development in Washington |
| BDO | Block Development Officer |
| CARE | Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere |
| CASA | Church's Auxiliary for Social Action |
| CDSS | County Development Strategy Statement |
| CLUSA | Cooperative League for the United States of America |
| CRS | Catholic Relief Services |
| CSM | Corn-Soy Milk (Title II processed food) |
| CWS | Church World Service |
| FFW | Food for Work |
| GOI | Government of India |
| IHC | Individual Health Cases |
| LWR | Lutheran World Relief |
| MCH | Maternal and Child Health |
| MDM | Mid-Day Meals |
| OCF | Other Child Feeding |
| MT | Metric tons |
| NEP | Nutrition Education Program (of CRS) |
| NFDM | Non-Fat Dry Milk |
| NNMB | National Nutrition Monitoring Board of India |
| PL 480 | U.S. Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade and Development Assistant Act, which is the legislation under which food commodities are sold or donated to foreign countries |
| RTE | Ready to Eat |
| SF | School Feeding |
| SFB | Soy-fortified Bulgur (Title II processed food) |
| SFDA | Small Farmer Development Agency |
| SNP | Special Nutrition Programme |
| TDA | Tribal Development Authority |

Title II The second title of PL 480, under which food commodities are donated to foreign countries

USAID The Agency for International Development, Mission in India

USDA United States Department of Agriculture

USG United States Government

Volag Voluntary agency

WFP World Food Programme

ABSTRACT

In fiscal year 1979, the PL 480 Title II program (Food-for-Peace) provided US \$106 million worth of commodities and US\$45 million worth of ocean freight to the Indian people. This is half of such U.S. donations world-wide. Although food commodities transferred under Title II represent only a small portion (0.4%) of the total Indian food supply, the Title II food can play a significant role in improving the well-being of its 16 million recipients.

This evaluation examined the use of the food by four volags, Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), Catholic Relief Services-U.S. Catholic Conference (CRS), Church World Service (CWS), and Lutheran World Relief (LWR), in the three program types presently operating: Maternal and Child Health (MCH); School Feeding (SF); and Food-for-Work (FFW). Emphasis was placed on assessing the quality and impact of the programs, recommending appropriate changes to increase their efficacy and identifying constraints to program success.

The report examines the often conflicting and confused objectives of the Title II program, as they are perceived, stated and demonstrated by various U.S. Government agencies, Governments of India and the volags. Criteria are proposed for the review of future Title II requests, and a strategy is recommended for future program monitoring, management and evaluation activities. The authors suggest that USAID and the volags identify the minimal data needs for these functions.

Initially, the report outlines a conceptual framework to serve as a guide for program operations. Much of the controversy surrounding PL 480 Title II arises because the availability of the food resource stimulated program development prior to a clear understanding of purposes and goals. Dissonance over program objectives has fostered continual searching for and revision of program activities. A resolution of these conflicts would improve program efficiency and effectiveness.

The MCH program is presently given highest priority by AID. Its objective to improve nutrition and health status is assumed to promote the cause of community development through more productive and capable individuals. According to the authors, health and nutrition were assumed to be directly improved by the provision of a supplement or indirectly improved through using food as an incentive for complementary services (e.g., education, immunization). However, the evaluation team's observations question the assertion that the food ration has the intended or measurable nutritional effect on the designated beneficiaries. Factors such as ration sharing, substitution, use of inappropriate foods and poor targeting are discussed.

The FFW program, which is given second priority by AID, promotes community development by stimulating employment. Communities derive benefits from the larger work force in the form of improved agricultural production (through assets such as wells and tanks) and construction of amenities such as houses. Individuals benefit from attainment of marketable skills. The success of the programs, as observed by the authors, varied widely and was dependent on a number of critical factors which are discussed in detail. In addition, criteria for project selection are proposed.

The SF program is given lowest priority by AID; increased enrollment and attendance are its main purposes rather than nutritional improvement. In the authors' assessment, these educational objectives are met.

This report recommends elimination of the priority guidelines which rank MCH first, FFW second and SF third. Greater flexibility will allow food to be directed to those areas where it is best utilized, and help to meet the objectives of the Indian government, which are not harmonious with existing Title II priorities.

The emphasis of Title II on the programming for, and measurement of changes in nutritional status is challenged throughout the report.

The authors stress the importance of using the food resource in a creative fashion. In order to do this, essential elements for successful programs are proposed. Improved coordination between USAID and the volags is seen as a pre-requisite to program expansion and improvement.

INTRODUCTION

India has seen it all before - glory, desolation, success, failure, feast and famine. Nothing is new under the Indian sun. What can another assessment team add to the already infinite store of Indian knowledge or the practical day to day operation of the largest U.S. food donation program in the world? Perhaps we can bring some measure of order and understanding to a program which started with the means, food, some 25 years ago and has been seeking an end ever since.

Community Systems Foundation is a small, state-chartered, private voluntary organization dedicated to understanding how communities can solve their problems. We have been working in nutrition planning and intervention as a point from which we would investigate and promote community problem solving. With this concern in mind we have taken, for purposes of this report the definition of "development" as people learning to solve their own problems, individually and collectively. Whenever the term "development" is used without modifiers (such as economic), this definition is understood.

We accepted the invitation of AID/W, to look at the India PL 480 Title II program because of our interest in development and our work in nutrition planning. We recognize that the invitation arose out of the need for an independent, credible opinion to resolve conflicting positions of various individuals and institutions charged with implementing the program in India. Interestingly, the need for this qualitative evaluation was felt in Washington, not in India. The USAID and most of the volags, which felt no need for such an assessment of their programs, were skeptical of our intent and methodology.

One of the first things we heard was that India is so diverse; any rule will have an exception. While we are impressed with the diversity, we find the program types and management remarkably similar. Differences are mostly in the emphasis of certain program aspects from place to

place, volag to volag or perhaps from the individual project in-charge to in-charge. Such differences can be thought to define a spectrum of possible manifestations of a general program type, which once identified, can serve as a model or ideal against which others can be compared. The challenge is to find the general type, and describe it convincingly, to explore the common characteristics that define program success or failure, rather than search for the infinite variation. The task of making practical recommendations which might nudge the overall program in the direction of the ideal or the model is equally creative and important.

It has been said that a few weeks of exposure to India and the Title II programs operating here are insufficient to be able to say anything meaningful. Others go so far as to say, "you have to live here in order to understand." Such assertions are usually made by those who are more impressed by differences than similarities. We have already stated our interest in the similarities, the general type. In this report we will try to get beyond the case-specific details and find the common threads from which a coherent pattern can be woven. This requires dealing with India at a level of generalization. What is said must be applicable to Kerala as well as Kashmir, to Andhra Pradesh and to Uttar Pradesh; indeed what is said of India is probably true for the rest of the world. (India receives, after all, half of the food donated by U.S. programs the worldwide.) This approach poses limitations on what we can reasonably say, but broadens its application.

More telling is the contention that our necessarily brief, subjective review of the program does not say anything people don't already know or that our own findings are not believable because they are not "quantitative." The first assertion ignores the fact that trees often get into the way of forests and sometimes people need to be reminded of what they already "know" in order to provoke action, resented though it may be. Consultants can sometimes serve as (unwanted) consciences, asking people questions they would prefer to ignore.

The second assertion is quite valid since "one expert opinion is worth as much as the next" if not backed up by numbers. We agree that data must be collected and used to improve the program. But which data? Physical growth as an indicator of improved nutritional status? Perhaps mental capacity or psychic development? Or shall we just count the number of food recipients or dug-wells built? The answers one gets depend on the question one asks. Science is merely the organized questioning of reality. What is most creative in science is the asking of questions, posing hypotheses, not the collecting and interpretation of data. The development of theories which explain phenomena and predict outcomes is philosophical and intuitive. Quantification without reference to adequate theory is usually pointless and often detrimental. Pointless because the wrong questions are answered and detrimental because the right questions go unanswered. We aspire to asking some of the right questions and reinforcing those which, already asked, have gone unanswered.

Finally, this assessment responds to the needs of people in Washington who must make policy decisions with regard to PL 480 Title II in India. They could not travel in India to see the program first hand. They asked unbiased observers to do so, to report their findings and suggest a policy. We offer them in good faith as an appropriate response.

The report is organized in the same order as the topics in the Statement of Work of the Contract (see Appendix A). In the first chapter, we attempt to provide a conceptual framework of the PL 480 Title II program upon which to construct our arguments and interpret our field observations in subsequent chapters. While this chapter does not respond to the specific requirements in the Statement of Work, we believe, along with others, that it is a prerequisite to understanding and improving the program.

The second chapter deals with the program objectives, both stated and inferred (something only a "qualitative" evaluation can hope to do) and their relation to USG, GOI and volag policies and operations.

Chapter Three examines the background and structure of the volag's Title II programs in India and describes their roles as revealed in our field observations and interviews. We compare the volag's stated objectives with those perceived by project implementors and those which we inferred from field visits and interviews.

Chapter Four describes the nutritional setting of the volag programs and assesses the contribution of Title II to improving nutritional, economic, educational or social status of target groups.

In the fifth chapter, we examine the linkages between volags and the various levels of government, and in Chapter Six, assess the adequacy of Title II integration with other GOI, volag and AID activities.

Chapter Seven, proposes criteria for reviewing requests for Title II assistance, emphasizing the unique role of each decision making level and the need to respect their programming responsibilities.

Chapter Eight deals with points seven and eight of the Statement of Work, recommending appropriate data collection and program evaluation approaches.

Finally in Chapter Nine, we present a limited number of what we believe are "implementable" recommendations for action by AID/W and USAID. We also hope that those recommendations which apply to the volags will be acceptable and acted upon. At the same time, we have specifically rejected the idea of making recommendations to the GOI since like AID/W and USAID, we feel it inappropriate to give them guidance on food policy planning.

According to USAID, the GOI formulates its policy on the basis of many factors, which include: (1) their agricultural situation, including agribusiness industry production; (2) the procurement prices; (3) the fair shops and issue prices; (4) production incentives and subsidies to farmers; (5) general price stability of open market foodstuffs; and (6) commercial

food input requirements. "Although Title II is welcome and helps many people, it is not a factor in any of the above. It is relatively small, short ranged and comes with too many strings attached for the GOI to seriously take it into consideration when formulating overall food policy."¹ We concur with this statement, but would stress the positive contribution of Title II on the beneficiaries, if the resource is used carefully and wisely, in well designed and administered programs.

1. Letter from George Warner (USAID) to AID/W.

I. TITLE II IN INDIA - Background and Perspective

A. Food Aid to India

Over the past 25 years the United States has donated or sold on concessional terms over US\$25 billion worth of food to many less industrialized nations. India, the most populous noncommunist country in the world has received about half of the transfer. According to the Indo-US and Indo-CARE agreements under which the PL 480 Title II activities are authorized, the food was to be used for "development, rehabilitation and emergency assistance." Subsequent agreements between volags and their counterparts (both government and private), have emphasized humanitarian, nutritional and economic development objectives.

The passage of the India Emergency Food Aid Act in 1951 marked the beginning of food donations to India. During the period 1950-1954, there were 7,153 MT of food commodities provided with an approximate value of US\$3 million.

In 1954, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (PL 480) was enacted, which became the law under which all food would be donated to India. The original intent of the PL 480 legislation was to: (1) curb the cost of stockpiling from surpluses (surplus disposal); (2) expand the markets for U.S. commodities; and (3) aid countries who could not meet their own food needs. Food aid was primarily designed to address domestic political and economic concerns, while having positive foreign policy impact.

The period 1955-1960 following the enactment of PL 480 witnessed significant increases over the previous five years in food donations to India. Commodity levels averaged approximately 46,000 MT per year, with an estimated value of US\$20 million.

Substantial growth in food donations continued in the early 1960's. Concurrently, the increasing population pressures and low food stocks in India began to portend the possibility of mass starvation. In response to this situation and similar problems elsewhere, PL 480 was amended to shift the emphasis from commodity surplus disposal "toward using this country's abundant agricultural productivity to combat hunger and malnutrition."² Subsequent to this legislation, known as the Food for Peace Act of 1966, there was a sharp increase in the quantities of commodities being shipped to India (see Table 1). Since 1968, levels have remained relatively stable, even during the crisis period of the early 1970's when all other U.S. bilateral assistance to India was suspended for political reasons.

There have been numerous changes in PL 480 in the 1970's which have stressed economic development of recipient countries, and have targeted the food to countries with the greatest poverty and need. At present India obtains its PL 480 foods under Title II, that section of the law which authorizes donations to foreign countries, for: (1) disaster relief; (2) combatting malnutrition; and (3) promoting economic and community development. Concurrently, the U.S. foreign policy and domestic agricultural and economic objectives persist.

In fiscal year 1979, Title II programs provided US\$106 million worth of food commodities and US\$45 million worth of ocean freight to the Indian people via five U.S. Voluntary Agencies (volags). These are: Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE); Catholic Relief Services - U.S. Catholic Conference (CRS); Church World Service (CWS); Lutheran World Relief (LWR) and Cooperative League for the United States of America (CLUSA).

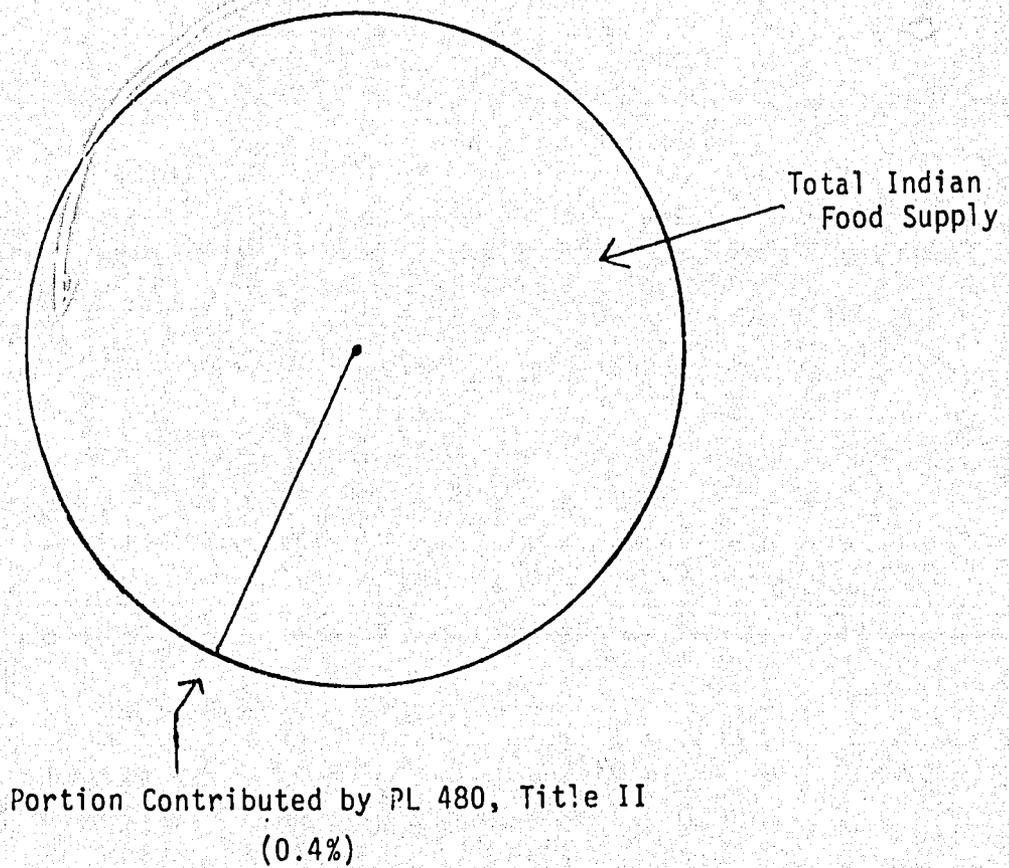
2. "New Direction for U.S. Food Assistance: A Report of the Special Task Force in the Operation of Public Law 480," Washington, D.C., May 1978.

TABLE 1
PL 480 TITLE II FOOD DONATIONS TO INDIA

| <u>FY</u> | <u>No of Recipients (000's)</u> | <u>Commodity Tonnage (Metric Tons)</u> |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1966 | 13,000 | 252,000 |
| 1967 | 14,500 | 317,000 |
| 1968 | 13,000 | 411,000 |
| 1969 | 17,000 | 478,000 |
| 1970 | 17,000 | 498,000 |
| 1971 | 14,500 | 418,000 |
| 1972 | 13,500 | 386,000 |
| 1973 | 16,800 | 417,000 |
| 1974 | 15,000 | 408,000 |
| 1975 | 12,000 | 363,000 |
| 1976 | 12,000 | 311,000 |
| 1977 | 14,500 | 462,000 |
| 1978 | 16,000 | 496,000 |
| 1979 | 16,000 | 454,000 |

While this donation represents fully half of such U.S. donations worldwide and two thirds of total U.S. transfers to India this year, it is a very small portion of the total Indian food supply as can be seen in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1



The Governments of India appreciate even such a small helping hand since the job of getting food to those who cannot afford to buy it is too great to be fully accomplished by the GOI alone. While the present distribution problems remain, the Title II food can play a role, no matter how apparently insignificant it is.

The Congressional directive to channel aid to the "poor majority" has imposed an obligation on USAID and the volags to demonstrate that the mandate is being achieved. We can state unequivocally that, in the over 140 sites which we visited in India, selected largely by us and without prior notification, the great majority of people consuming Title II food are nutritionally needy and most definitely among the poorest of the 290 million Indians officially estimated to be below the poverty line.

However, we should point out that the total Title II transfer, (including the part destined for non-nutritional activities) provides for only 1% of the nutritional needs of India's 290 million poor. For the 16 million recipients the current food ration (except in the food-for-work program), provides, at best, only 2% of their average family's nutritional requirements and somewhat less in terms of an income supplement (see pages 85-91 for a more complete discussion). Most of these people appreciate and will exert themselves to get a free 2% increase to their income (would a hypothetical reader making \$2,000 per month not drive a few miles to pick up \$40 worth of free food?).

If nutritional status or income cannot be much improved with the donated food, is there any reason to continue the program? The Governments of India, at local, state and central levels think so. Repeatedly the team heard the word "incentive" when asking people related to the program what they thought the food was doing. It was most often heard in schools and education departments but also from community animators, government development officers and health functionaries. All agreed that attendance or participation in their

particular program would be less without food. Some even told anecdotes to support their contention. When quizzed about nutritional effects most would say, "Oh yes, that too."

Among the volags, which uniformly stressed the nutritional objectives of their programs, the largest, CARE uses food to get greater governmental inputs into feeding programs. CRS and CWS/LWR acknowledge the use of food as an incentive in their health and school programs and also use it as a non-cash wage for work. Some field workers in nutrition even regarded it as nutritionally unessential to their work, while recognizing its usefulness in attracting participants to educational and motivational programs designed to improve nutrition through use of local resources. Almost no one had considered the possibility that there might be a time when the food would not be necessary.

In 1978 an AID-sponsored Strategy Team reported on "U.S. Bilateral Assistance to India: A Strategy for the early 1980's."³ The team apparently found no reason to increase Title II assistance to India pending an evaluation of the program. The Embassy, however, wants to increase food aid and the USAID in New Delhi has projected a 50% increase in donated food in the next three years. The volags have submitted Program Plans and Annual Estimates of Requirements for FY 80 which aim at that target. One objective of this report is to suggest criteria by which these projections and plans can be evaluated in India and Washington.

B. Food Aid Priorities

In 1971 Checchi and Company⁴ reviewed the entire PL 480 Title II program for AID. They argued that the Title II food should be directed ("targeted") preferentially towards pregnant and nursing

3. Institute for Social and Policy Studies, "U.S. Bilateral Assistance to India: A Strategy for the Early 1980's," New Haven, Connecticut, 1 June 1978.

4. Checchi and Company, Food for Peace: An Evaluation of PL 480 Title II, Vol. 1: A Global Assessment of the Program, Washington, D.C., July 1972.

women and children under six years. Recognizing their special nutritional vulnerability, this category of programs (maternal child health or MCH) was given first priority for Title II.

Checchi found that the Food for Work (FFW) projects apparently had a favorable impact in the countries where they had been carried out. The Report recommended continuation of such projects and more innovative uses of Food for Development; this category of programming was assigned second priority. Finally, the category which until 1971 had absorbed most of the Title II food provision, that of supplying meals to school children (School Feeding or SF), was judged to have least nutritional or developmental impact and was relegated to third priority. Adult feeding and meals for institutionalized children were strongly discouraged.

AID adopted the recommendations and established the priorities as indicated. Now, some seven years later, knowledgeable people in the US and India are surveying the nutritional effect of massive food supplementation programs aimed at small children and pregnant and lactating mothers. Nutritional status does not seem to have improved, not even for those who have received the Title II MCH ration more or less regularly. The assumption that food aid could be "targeted" like a rifle shot at nutritionally vulnerable groups around the world and therefore would improve their nutritional status has not been supported in spite of the transfer of millions of tons of food and herculean efforts by the volags to ensure its proper use. The AID/W Office of Nutrition despairs of detecting any nutritional effects of such programs because of the many uncontrolled and the uncontrollable variables (some of which will be discussed in later chapters) which minimize the nutritional impact.

Understandably, many people are privately (and some publicly) asking "if there is no nutritional effect, why continue the present program priorities?" Another objective of this report is to answer

that question for India and to clarify what are the immediate objectives of the program.

C. Policy Issues

Several high level commissions have commented on contradictory policies and objectives on which PL 480 is based and on some of the operational problems surrounding food aid programs. In light of the emphasis of our Scope of Work on clarifying program objectives coupled with our perception of certain paramount issues which deserve special attention, we will quote and comment on two salient issues described in a paper prepared by the White House Working Group on World Hunger.⁵ We believe this will provide important background information and perspective on the Indian experience.

Problem 1: "Development-related goals of U.S. International Assistance have not been effectively implemented."

Concerning recommended administrative and legislative reform, we have made the following observations:

1. There is too little experience in using food aid for development beyond food-for-work. In short, AID, the volags and their counterparts do not have a clear understanding how to use food for development.
2. The assessment team was struck time and again by the recipients' unquestioning assumption that the government would provide food, schools, wells and shelter. We believe that this dependence is furthered when food aid is not made conditional on the availability of local inputs.
3. India currently enjoys a modest grain surplus part of which could be allocated to the "basic needs" programs, which are

5. U.S. Office of the President. World Hunger Working Group. World Hunger and Malnutrition: Improving the U.S. Response. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978), p. 33.

given high priority in their 6th Five Year Plan. At least part of the GOI's reluctance to commit their own food resources stems from fear of future shortfalls (especially due to bad monsoons) and the subsequent necessity of curtailing such programs. (See pp. 22-23 for further discussion.) The "protection of recipient countries against large shortfalls in their production and support of related food reserve arrangements" suggested by the Working Group might alleviate some of the GOI's concern and lead to increased local (indigenous) food inputs to the "Basic Needs" programs. However, the GOI rightly is unwilling to engage in multi-year planning based on the projected availability of food aid from the U.S., as it is subject to a variety of political and economic pressures, so that assurances of continued support are not reliable.

Problem 2: "U.S. food aid allocations are too closely associated with short term political purpose."

One possible example of an innovative economic development use of the Title II food that we observed which overcame short term political concerns is CLUSA's provision of soya bean oil to strengthen a cooperative oil production and marketing scheme. Although this program would potentially conflict with the stated objectives of U.S. market development, this will probably not be the case because of the projection of continued shortfalls in production. Conversely, the mandated suspension of wheat shipments to India when they began to export their own to Vietnam, point up the degree to which "U.S. domestic, economic (i.e., agricultural) and foreign policy considerations have frequently outweighed the recipients' need as the overriding determination of U.S. food aid shipment."

The Working Group emphasized the contradictory objectives embedded in the PL 480 and recommended appropriate reform. This is further re-enforced by the Presidential Commission on World Hunger, when they ask whether the compelling objectives of providing humanitarian

assistance and spurring economic development can be combined with developing U.S. agricultural markets and promoting U.S. foreign policy objectives in one program.⁶

D. Theoretical Considerations

Much of the controversy surrounding PL 480 Title II program arises because there is no adequate conceptual framework to guide its operations. The reason is fairly obvious: the program started with INPUTS (food) and has been looking for PURPOSES and GOALS ever since. While these can be inferred to some extent from what the food is doing in the field, the lack of clearly focused objectives has led to undirected searching for sense or meaning which often manifests itself as requests for more information from the field, even though it is not information, but the underlying conceptual framework which is lacking.

The culmination of the process is the hiring of a consultant to clear the waters. People call doctors when they don't feel good; bureaucracies call consultants. Doctors usually have the option of completely examining the patient: consultants rarely do. We have, therefore, included this first chapter to provide a framework for the rest of the report.

PL 480 Title II food (INPUT) is donated to India for the stated purpose of furthering humanitarian and development objectives (GOAL). The volags have taken the food and devised programs (OUTPUTS) which are having some effects (PURPOSES). These relationships are diagrammed in Figure 2 as an inverted logical framework. The PURPOSES achieved by the various programs were inferred by Checci in the early 1970's and are, simply, improved health/nutritional status, more education and employment generation with

6. U.S. Office of the President. World Hunger Working Group. Food Aid Discussion Materials, Staff Discussion Paper No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979).

infrastructure development. Since the PURPOSES were inferred there was little attention given to the rigorous identification of critical assumptions or even program hypotheses about what effects should be forthcoming. Now that evaluation of the programs is being undertaken, it is necessary to address these weaknesses by making the assumptions and hypotheses explicit and testing them systematically.

FIGURE 2

| INPUT | FOOD | | | |
|---------|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| OUTPUTS | AD HOC EFFORTS | MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH PROGRAM (MCH) | SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAM (SF) | FOOD FOR WORK PROGRAM (FFW) |
| PURPOSE | HUNGER RELIEVED | IMPROVED NUTRITION (HEALTH) | MORE EDUCATION | LESS UNEMPLOYMENT INFRASTRUCTURE |
| GOALS | RELIEF HUMANITARIAN | DEVELOPMENT | DEVELOPMENT | DEVELOPMENT |

We have taken the "humanitarian" goal of Title II to mean "relief": providing food to the hungry, destitute and victims of catastrophes. The objective is reached through a certain structure, short-lived in the case of disaster relief, which gets the food to those who need it. If the food arrives and is eaten, the job has been done; no further purpose is served.

The development goal is another matter. That education and infrastructure contribute to development is well accepted. Whether improved health or nutritional status do likewise depends on one's definition of development.

However development is defined, it is necessary to state the assumptions which relate programs (OUTPUTS) to effects (PURPOSES), and then test them (see Chapter III for a more complete discussion of this question). Our field observations in India lead us to believe that there is reason to question the validity of many of these assumptions, especially those underlying the targeted feeding of pregnant and lactating women and children under six years. Further studies would be necessary to rigorously test the assumptions. In the meantime, it would seem prudent: (1) to look for ways of explicitly dealing with these assumptions in project design; and (2) not to base the Title II program on the current priorities of MCH first, FFW second and SF third, until their underlying assumptions are more thoroughly examined.

II. ASSESSMENT OF POLICY AND PROGRAM RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VOLAGS, GOI AND AID

Everyone is in favor of relieving pain, hunger and suffering, and we found uniform agreement among policy makers at all levels that this was perceived as an important aspect of the Title II program. However, at various levels of program administration and involvement, objectives and program goals differed. There was also the distinction to be made between disaster relief activities and other planned programming activities.

A. Disaster Relief

Indians everywhere recognize and appreciate the relief efforts which all the volags undertake in disasters, the most recent examples being the flood relief program in West Bengal and emergency relief after the cyclone which affected India's southeast coast. In such relief efforts, the volags are able to coordinate well and work in remarkable harmony with each other and with the local and central governments to get food and other aid to disaster victims. This level of cooperation was recognized in the report of a recent seminar on problems and lessons of the Andhra Pradesh cyclone, which highlighted the following points:

1. The cooperation of government with the volags (both Indian and U.S.) e.g., sharing of information, coordination meetings, logistical support, joint government/volag funding of activities;
2. The cooperation among the volags and government to avoid overlapping of activities and to keep competition to the minimum;
3. The political tendencies of the volags did not obstruct cooperation in extending assistance to the disaster victims;

4. The sharing of information and experiences among all volags about successes and failures for mutual benefit; and
5. The volags' concern with avoiding any long-range detrimental effects of their activities.

B. On-Going Programs (MCH, FFW, SF)

When it comes to the voluntary agencies' regular, ongoing programs, however, this harmonious relationship is not so evident. One reason is that, in contrast to disaster relief in which everyone agrees on the objectives to be served, the regular operations under Title II are forced to serve the conflicting interests of a wide variety of constituencies.

1. Washington

In the U.S. alone, there are several agencies with an interest in the program. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) seeks additional outlets for U.S. surpluses with the objective of supporting domestic food prices by limiting available supply. Since the supply of particular commodities fluctuates from year to year it serves the interests of USDA to make year by year decisions on the quantities and commodities to be distributed through PL 480. Obviously this interest runs counter to the needs of program planners for a consistent and predictable supply in order to plan effectively for the use of the food. A second objective of USDA is to develop markets for U.S. products abroad. Once again, this interest is in conflict with the stated Title II purpose of 'development', which presumably implies increased self-sufficiency. It serves the purpose of India's economic development to reduce its dependence on food imports, promote food production and improve its balance of trade through increased exports. If progress is made in these directions, it would run precisely counter to the USDA objective of sustaining and creating markets for U.S. goods.

The State Department has still other objectives to be served by the program. It can provide resources in a discretionary manner to countries which it wishes to support. In some sense it can use the increase or decrease in food flows as a positive or negative message to the recipient government. For example, we were told that the flow of food to India was studiously kept constant during the Emergency (the tumultuous period of Mrs. Gandhi's rule), because the State Department did not want to appear to be supporting nor withdrawing support from the GOI at that time. Now, the State Department would like to see food flows under Title II increased, as a sign of improving relations between the two governments.

Clearly, these political concerns have little to do with the neediness of the country nor with the specific programs or projects which the food supports. However, Congress has charged AID with the obligation of reaching the "poor majority" with its programs. This has largely directed the allocation of Title II food to countries with low per capita incomes. This represents yet another objective of the program which may or may not be congruent with the others. Since Food for Peace in AID/W is the focal point for Title II administration, they are charged with juggling and resolving these inconsistencies.

Food for Peace has the responsibility for ensuring that programs conform with their own established priorities, that is, MCH first, then FFW, then SF. This is yet another area of potential conflict since, as we shall see, these priorities are not necessarily shared at all levels of decision-making.

Similarly, the U.S. volags, through their association and lobbying agency, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies (ACOVOL), can exert pressure on the U.S. Congress. Since at least some of these agencies depend heavily on Title II food to support

their programs, they have a vested interest in continuing and maximizing the flow of food. (It should be recognized that this interest is not held by all of the volags.) It is probably due to the influence of this lobby that current legislation requires that at least 1.3 of the legal minimum allotment of 1.6 million MT of commodities in the Title II program be distributed through the volags and WFP. Distribution through volags serves the additional purpose of superficially depoliticizing the flow of food so that, as in the case of India, food aid may be acceptable when other bilateral assistance is not.

2. Delhi

Within India, there are at least as many different interests pulling on the Title II program. These in turn are very different from those of the U.S. agencies. While Title II is one of many policy tools, and perhaps not the major one for USDA or the Department of State, it is a vital element in the operation of the volags in India and an important part of the USAID's program. Many people would be out of work if the flow of food stopped.

In Delhi, the volags view their role largely in terms of the development and nutritional objectives. They contend that if poor people receive food then nutritional goals are met. Furthermore, development objectives are believed to be met when food is used as an incentive for participation in other program activities.

The USAID shares much of the volags' views about nutritional and development goals. However, political considerations are also of great significance.

Some officials of the Central Government (GOI) view the food program with a lack of enthusiasm. One reason for this is that the program entails many limitations on types and quantities of commodities, as well as on the potential uses of the food.

Another is that the quantities of food involved are relatively small compared to India's total food budget. Despite this, GOI officials appreciate Title II food as a valuable resource transfer, which has potential nutritional, educational and development benefits.

The GOI's expressed priorities for the Title II food it does receive does not conform with those established by AID/W. Of course representatives of individual ministries (health education, social welfare) focus on the importance of those programs related to their own particular area of interest (MCH or SF). However, during our meetings with most government officials, both local and central, we were told that school feeding was considered most important because it was felt to be an incentive in keeping children in school. Increased educational level of the population is one of the highest priorities in the current Five Year Plan 1978-83.

Another way of looking at the GOI's objectives is to see where they allocate their own resources. Last year the GOI started a massive food for work program using wheat and rice from its own buffer stocks. So far, 1.2 million MT of grain have been allocated to the program. This is the only program making use of GOI grain. Serious consideration is now being given to programming some food through SF and possibly even through MCH programs.

Commitment of grain only to FFW is not necessarily an indication that the other programs are considered unimportant. Food for work is made up of discrete, time-limited projects, so that if grain ceases to be in surplus, there will be little disruption involved in stopping the program. Both SF and MCH represent ongoing commitments: if programs become dependent on

GOI food inputs, there would be protest if these inputs later became unavailable. The GOI is aware of the possibility that one or two bad monsoons might eliminate their present grain surplus. Nonetheless, their own resource allocation suggests that SF and FFW have higher priority than MCH programs.

3. State and Local

The state and local governments uniformly welcome the food and actively pursue it as a valuable addition to their resources. In fact, they often provide complementary inputs (e.g., indigenous food, related services) to increase the effectiveness of Title II programs.

This commitment to feeding programs is demonstrated by the increasing allocation of money for additional food and for personnel and administrative expenses each year since 1976. While the amount of resources devoted to these programs varies widely from state to state, the overall quantity of money given by state governments and by the GOI for school and maternal and child feeding has continued to rise. This is shown in Table 2.

Food for Work programs under Title II do not at present receive complementary inputs from the state governments because the one volag which works through these governments, CARE, does not have any current FFW programs. In the past, such resources as guaranteed bank loans were made available to FFW project participants through state government agencies like the Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA) and the Tribal Development Authority (TDA). The GOI, however, as we have mentioned, has initiated its own FFW program to create public assets using wheat and some rice from their own buffer stocks.

Those closest to the program, the consignees and project implementors in the field, often see the program as absolutely

State Governments and GOI Inputs into CARE SF and MCH Programs¹
(Value in Current Dollars)

| | State Governments | | GOI | | | | Total (States and GOI) | | |
|------|--|---|--|---|----------------------|---|------------------------|--|---|
| | School Feeding (MDM) Indigenous ² Food Inputs | Personnel ³ and Overhead | Pre-school (MCH) Indigenous ² Food Inputs | Personnel ³ and Overhead | Balahar ⁴ | Personnel ³ and Overhead | Cash Grants | Indigenous ² Food Inputs | Personnel ³ and Overhead |
| 1976 | 8,872,153 | 7,042,409 | 5,217,267 | 7,120,661 | 1,925,000 | - | - | 16,014,420 | 14,163,070 |
| 1977 | 9,654,275 | 8,601,768 | 5,609,025 | 7,062,562 | 2,750,000 | - | - | 18,013,300 | 15,664,330 |
| 1978 | 15,069,880 | 10,482,146 | 10,585,250 | 17,054,445 | 2,865,000 | 750,000 | 3,078,600 | 28,520,125 | 31,365,125 |
| 1979 | 20,897,740 | 14,865,027 | 15,861,020 | 18,337,226 | 2,865,000 | 932,500 | 6,913,377 | 40,352,510 | 41,053,130 |

1. CARE FY 80 Program Plan
2. Indigenous Food Inputs refers to direct purchases of local foods to supplement Title II food inputs.
3. Personnel and Overhead refers to logistical support in terms of transportation, storage and personnel.
4. Balahar is an indigenous food product manufactured using 85% Title II food and 15% indigenous food. The values shown here are those of the GOI's indigenous inputs.

essential to the well being of communities in which they work. Furthermore the food draws people to other activities. The perceived importance of the feeding programs as a vital source of nutrients and community well-being is all too often reinforced because of the lack of other development resources or activities which may be more beneficial.

In this chapter we have discussed the objectives of the Title II program held at various levels and by various agencies. A more detailed analysis of the activities on a program by program basis is found in Chapter III.

III. PROGRAM OPERATION, BACKGROUND AND STRUCTURE

A. Background and Current Structure

The PL 480 Title II program has operated through the volags since 1951, when food started flowing to India. From the State Department point of view, there are several advantages to channeling the food through volags rather than getting directly involved with program implementation; probably the greatest of these is that it reduces the political volatility of the program. Even when strained relations exist between the U.S. and Indian governments, the programs continue to operate (as long as the food is made available) since the Indian government need have direct contact only with the representatives of the private volags. This advantage was demonstrated in the period of 1971 to 1978, when all U.S. assistance to India was cut off with the exception of Title II food aid.

The Title II program is operated in India by five U.S. voluntary agencies: CARE, which receives and channels its Title II food through State Government programs; Catholic Relief Services (CRS); Church World Service (CWS) and the Lutheran World Relief (LWR) which operate through a local church-related structure, mainly CASA (Church's Auxiliary for Social Action); and CLUSA (Cooperative League of the USA), for which a program has recently been approved to operate with the National Dairy Development Board, Oilseeds Wing.

B. Stated Objectives of the Cooperating Sponsors

The objectives listed in this section are drawn directly from publicity material and from documentation provided to us by the directors of the volags during our visit in India.

1. CARE

CARE programming is directed towards assisting people in the lower income segments of the population to better organize and utilize their own resources, material and human, for the tasks of socio-economic improvement with special emphasis at the local community level. CARE programs deal with problems that grow out of the causes of poverty and under-development such as insufficient and poor quality education, poor health and nutrition, inadequate community infrastructure, high population growth rate, low productivity, insufficient employment and income earning opportunities, lack of effective community organization, and attitudes of overdependence and apathy that frustrate the growth and problem-solving competence at the local level.

As far as the program for pregnant and lactating women and children 0-6 years of age is concerned, CARE's intermediate goal is to provide each beneficiary with an increased daily intake of 320 calories and 12 grams of protein. Related to this is the realization that for the increased food intake to have maximum nutritional benefit it should be linked with other inputs such as preventive health care, immunization and nutrition education. Therefore, an important goal is to use the food resources to obtain additional inputs from the state governments and the GOI to upgrade the program so that gradually all of the preschool feeding programs will be integrated ones.

The intermediate goal for the school feeding program is an increase in daily attendance and the stabilization of that attendance. Additionally it is hoped that the increased intake of food for the children attending primary school will improve their nutritional status.

The Food for Work program serves the immediate purpose of providing employment to seasonally unemployed landless labourers in the rural area while supplementing their total food intake through food as wage. On top of this however, is the goal of long term development by provision of infrastructural projects which will increase agricultural production and long term employment, eventually leading to self-reliance.

2. CRS

The primary objective of CRS is to make local communities self sufficient by providing them with material and financial support, and to make qualitative changes in their lives by motivating and educating them to sponsor shared goals and activities to solve their own problems. Socio-economic development is the long range objective of all CRS programs, along with promotion of local institutions and local leaders who can make a genuine contribution to their country's development.

The specific objectives of their MCH program are:

- to effect a behavioral improvement in the mothers participating in the program as regards their child care abilities and feeding practices for the family;
- to foster an improved growth rate among children participating in the program;
- and in some programs, to effect an attitudinal change among the personnel of the institutions cooperating in the program regarding the importance of nutrition education in public health programs.

The objectives of the CRS school feeding program are to provide nutritional support to primary school children and to motivate them to attend school regularly.

In the design and implementation of FFW projects, CRS objectives are twofold:

- to supplement the diet of unemployed labourers and families;
- and
- to organize the unemployed labourers to work on community and economic development projects.

3. CASA

The stated objective of CASA, the Indian agency through which CWS/LWR work, is to undertake, promote and assist in the upliftment of the poor, needy, backward, underprivileged and handicapped people. More specifically CASA aims to:

- undertake and assist in development of programs and projects among the poor, needy, backward, capped irrespective of caste, creed or color by itself or in collaboration with others ;
- initiate, conduct and assist family welfare and health and community development programs;
- initiate, administer and assist programs for providing better nutrition to children and adults especially amongst the poorer and more backward sections of society;
- undertake and assist emergency relief work for victims of flood, fire, famine, earthquake and other disasters, which impede development ; and
- mobilize resources of voluntary agencies and coordinate their efforts for advancing the development of the poor, needy, backward, underprivileged and handicapped through social action and to serve as an agency for assisting voluntary agencies in their efforts to respond to human need and to further cooperation among them.

C. Perceived Role of the Cooperating Sponsors

As in Section B, this material is drawn directly from documentation provided by the Volags.

1. CARE

CARE sees itself as the operational partner in a joint programming endeavor with USAID and the Indian government. The GOI does the development and design of the programs, then CARE approaches AID for Title II commodity support and funding as needed in the program. AID is perceived as a reliable supplier of a vital resource.

In its relationship with its government counterparts CARE sees itself as the supplier of resources, a partner in development and a constant example-setter and consultant-teacher in food management and small scale development projects. CARE is a constant advocate of program improvement, particularly in pointing out the need for integrated inputs. This advocacy role is buttressed by a willingness to commit private donor funds on a partnership basis.

Relative to the beneficiaries, CARE has the responsibility to make sure that donated goods and services actually reach the intended recipients. In a very real sense CARE becomes an advocate for the recipients vis-a-vis their government.

With the incentive of the CARE inputs, the government is frequently encouraged to provide additional services for the target groups. In regard to its donors, CARE does not see itself a neutral conduit pipe for donated material. The development needs and program objectives are determined by CARE itself. CARE's role is to provide feedback to private donors and prospective funding sources on needs, priorities, and opportunities for worthwhile development and assistance projects.

2. CRS

"CRS sees itself as a reflection of Christian Charity by providing assistance to the poorest of the poor around the world."⁷

CRS is an independent private agency with its own goals and objectives which may or may not be consonant with those of AID.

~~In its administration of a Title II program CRS views its relation to USAID as that of a recipient to the donor's representative.~~

CRS's official relationship with the GOI is limited mostly to the provision of the Indo-US agreement (see p. 93 for a brief discussion) in which the GOI provides duty free entry, free storage and inland transportation for its program commodities. This relationship is formal and the contacts are minimal. CRS's main counterparts are the Social Action Departments of the 106 Catholic Dioceses. Relative to these indigenous counterparts, CRS takes a role in helping to establish local bodies which can identify needs and set priorities for social services at the grass roots level.

Relative to the recipients, CRS sees its role as that of responding to basic needs reflected through local indigenous agencies. In the discharge of its Title II program responsibilities, CRS sees itself as representing the American people in their concern for the welfare of their fellowmen.

3. CWS/LWR

CWS/LWR view USAID primarily as a reliable supplier of resources. They object to the presumed USAID perception that the cooperating sponsors are an extension of AID carrying out AID's program. They recognize the need for accountability but resent the "parent-child" relationship that they feel is projected by USAID toward the volags.

7. Letter from CRS Director, Delhi to AID Evaluation Team Leader. April 3, 1979.

Similar to CRS and unlike CARE, CWS/LWR have limited contacts with GOI officials, and the terms of the Indo-US agreement are applied to the CWS/LWR program simply and efficiently. The only counterpart for Title II activities of CWS/LWR is CASA (Church Auxiliary for Social Action), which is the relief and development arm of the Protestant Churches of India. CWS/LWR make a practice of supporting and seeking to foster the development of indigenous national agencies with a capacity to identify and respond in a meaningful way to human needs. CWS/LWR view their relationship with CASA to be consistent with this pattern.

CWS/LWR/CASA do not consider themselves to have a direct relationship with the recipients of Title II commodities. Rather their contact point is with the local voluntary agency or institution which designs and implements projects using Title II commodities. The relationship they have with these local organizations is one of consulting on project design concerns, serving as a supplier of resources, project implementation and evaluation assistance and assuring proper accountability for resources provided by CASA.

D. Volag Structure and Activities

1. Title II program through governmental structures.

CARE operates in India under a separate Indo-CARE agreement (see pp. 94-95 for further discussion) by which the governments of the states in which CARE works pay the costs of port clearance and inland transportation, and of the staff to monitor the program. Under this agreement, all costs are met by the GOI until the food reaches the recipients. All of CARE's programs are run under contractual agreement with the states, and all these agreements are subject to formal approval by the GOI. This special relationship between CARE and the governments has advantages and disadvantages.

The major advantage is that it allows CARE to coordinate closely with the governments and to respond to their program priorities. CARE programs can be integrated with government resources for maximum effectiveness.

The disadvantages are, first, that the governments can therefore exercise direct control over CARE's program and areas of activities. Under the Indo-CARE Agreement, CARE is not free to respond to other needs at the local level which it may perceive, unless the government is in agreement. Recently, the GOI has restricted CARE's and certain other donors' activities in India to those directly in support of the food programs. While CARE acknowledges this problem, it feels it would be inappropriate to act unilaterally without the invitation or direction of the governments of India.

A second disadvantage is that the CARE program, by operating through government, generally works at a higher level than the community itself. Opportunities for direct personal contact, with its possible spinoffs in terms of community motivation and organization, are limited. While CARE is aware of this problem (that is non-grass roots work), they also point to their programs in Kerala State which involve much community activity. They argue that by definition they are not precluded from this type of work. CARE has its own offices in 14 states and has a larger staff than the other volags: 10 expatriates and 527 Indians. CARE's program inputs are primarily the Title II commodities, but it also receives cash donations which it uses to fund pilot projects (e.g., integrated health and nutrition services) and build infrastructures for its programs (e.g., godowns and balwadi buildings).

2. Title II program through non-govermental structures.

The CRS and CASA programs operate under the Indo-US Agreement

and therefore do not work through Indian government structures. Rather they are treated by the GOI and states exactly as any other registered private voluntary agency, Indian or foreign. This allows these agencies a freer hand. They or their consignee counterparts work at the local level and have direct contact with the communities and individuals in their programs. The operations of both CRS and CASA tend to be more decentralized than those of CARE. The central offices do not keep close track of individual projects and more initiative is left to local project implementors. Under the Indo-US Agreement, the GOI pays for storage, clearing, landing and transportation of Title II food to the level of the consignee. From consignee to recipient, costs must be met locally by the volag, consignee or recipients.

CRS works primarily through the diocesan structure of the Catholic Church. Its consignees are usually local priests. There are a few cases in which CRS works under contract with Municipal Corporations to operate SF or MCH programs. In these programs, the infrastructure is provided by the city and CRS channels the food. In its other programs, CRS makes limited use of other resources donated to it along with Title II food. For example, in some FFW programs, grants of complementary inputs like pumpsets were given through the contribution of Miserior, a Catholic charitable agency; donated medicines and cash are an important complement to food in some MCH programs.

CRS is the only agency which supports explicitly charitable activities; those that serve only a humanitarian relief function and not a development function. These activities are the institutional feeding of children in school hostels and orphanages and the feeding of the aged destitute in Calcutta. These programs, "other child feeding" (OCF) and "individual health cases" (IHC) are quite small and provide limited support for needy groups.

The CASA program is the smallest of the three in terms of food inputs accounting for only 1.7% by value of India's Title II food in FY 79. Food constitutes a relatively small part of CASA's overall program. CASA's policy explicitly focuses on economic and community development although it is very active in disaster relief work. CWS/LWR have stated an objective of keeping food inputs low and using them as a time-limited resource (i.e., one which may not always be available). While CASA programs are operated through local private voluntary organizations, some of them affiliated with the Protestant churches in India, it also works in cooperation with state government and at the Block level (local level of government) particularly, in the planning of FFW projects, by far its largest program category.

F. Program Operations and Benefits - Field Observations of Volag Programs

Three major types of programs operate using Title II food (see Table 2). These are school feeding (SF), maternal and child health (pre-school) feeding (MCH) and food for work (FFW). CARE at present uses most of its food in MCH (42% by value) and SF (46%). They no longer have a FFW program due to the unavailability of wheat as a Title II commodity in India. This is because India has been exporting wheat, so that by law, whole wheat may not be programmed for volag activities. In addition the GOI has gradually provided commodities for and taken control over these FFW activities.

The FFW programs of CRS and CASA make use of bulgur (cracked wheat) rather than whole wheat and therefore have continued. CRS devotes 46% of its food to FFW projects, 28% to MCH and 12% to SF, the other 13% being divided between the individual health cases and other child feeding programs. Fully 84% of the food used by CASA is channeled through FFW projects, with the rest used in MCH. CASA phased out its SF program in the early 1970s partially in response to the expressed priorities of AID/Washington, and also in response to internal management problems (see table 3).

TABLE 2

| | <u>Category</u> | <u>Number of Recipients</u> | <u>Commodity Tonnage</u> | <u>\$ Value (000's)</u> |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| A) <u>CARE</u> | MCH | 6,000,000 | 113,102 | \$30,386 |
| | SF | 9,000,000 | 130,305 | 33,427 |
| | FFW | 863,600 | 49,542 | 6,880 |
| | TOTAL | <u>15,863,600</u> | <u>292,949</u> | <u>70,693</u> |
| B) <u>CRS</u> | MCH | 531,000 | 28,386 | 8,405 |
| | SF | 434,300 | 14,267 | 3,557 |
| | FFW | 600,000 | 87,650 | 16,854 |
| | OCF | 98,336 | 7,670 | 2,012 |
| | IHC | 98,000 | 7,644 | 2,005 |
| | TOTAL | <u>1,761,636</u> | <u>145,617</u> | <u>32,833</u> |
| C) <u>CWS/LWR</u> | MCH | 40,000 | 1,535 | 447 |
| | FFW | 110,000 | 12,307 | 2,461 |
| | TOTAL | <u>150,000</u> | <u>13,842</u> | <u>2,908</u> |

In the following sections, we will present our observations and findings regarding the three major types of programs, based on field visits and discussions with project administrators, staff and recipients. These sections will discuss the programs' inputs and outputs and how these relate to program goals.

1. Maternal and Child Feeding

For the past ten years, Title II MCH programs have had as their major objective improving nutritional and health status of pregnant and lactating women and of children up to six years of age. This objective is obviously humanitarian. It was also felt to be developmental, since it was argued that poor health and nutritional status of pregnant women resulted in unhealthy children, and that undernutrition and poor health in children would have permanent deleterious effects on their mental and physical powers, which would limit their eventual productivity and consequent contribution to society. It should be pointed out that this causal chain represents a hypothesis only. Except in the obvious cases of prolonged, chronic, very severe undernutrition or of illness, these links have not been demonstrated for feeding or any intervention aimed at improving nutrition.

Based on these arguments, there has been a massive allocation of resources to maternal and child feeding programs. It is argued that food programs affect health both directly by improving nutritional status, and indirectly by providing an incentive for people to come for other health care including preventive and curative services as well as acting as a focus for community efforts to develop feeding centers.

For the food to have a measurable nutritional status change directly, the following assumptions must hold.

- Nutrient intake by the target group, in the absence of the feeding program, is deficient.
- Food reaches and is consumed by the individuals in the target groups in quantities specified (no sharing).
- The food distributed fully supplies the nutrient deficiencies in the target group.
- Substitution for other family food does not occur.
- Nutrient losses due to infection or parasite infestation do not occur.

It was our observation that most people involved with the MCH program at the local level - volag personnel, Block Development Officers (BDO's), local community leaders thought that most of these conditions listed above existed. When questioned about evidence, people often acknowledged that they had none, but that they accepted as an article of faith that the food 'must be' doing 'some good'. However, we also found that at the higher levels of Government and among academic and research institutions, many people have begun to question these assumptions largely because of the difficulty of identifying success in MCH programs and the lack of observed overall positive effect on the health and well being of communities.

For the food to be credited with indirectly improving health, it must be true either that without the food as an incentive, people would not be motivated to seek the other services (immunization, well baby care, curative care), or that without the food as a focus, health centers providing such services would not have been established.

a. Field observations

In our field trips, we visited over 70 feeding programs (see Appendix C) for pregnant and lactating women and children from six months to six years of age. We found substantial cause for questioning several of the assumptions listed above. We will discuss these briefly in the order listed.

First, it is undoubtedly true that nutrient intake is deficient among the poor in the target group. Most of the children served by the program were small in stature for their age, and showed evidence of vitamin deficiencies as well. Evidence to support this observation is found in the consumption and expenditure surveys and nutrition surveys done by many Indian institutions.

The second assumption, that the food reaches the target group in the specified quantities, was not supported by our field observations. Children under three, the most nutritionally vulnerable and most difficult to reach group, receive a small percentage of the food from the program. Virtually all mothers, especially in rural areas, refuse to leave their babies in day care centers (balwadis or creches) and in all of the feeding centers we saw many more children in the upper half of the target age range (three to six) than in the lower.

Another doubt about this assumption concerns sharing. We saw sharing in on-the-spot feeding programs, usually among older siblings. In the programs in which dry ration is distributed for consumption at home (or those in which the cooked ration is actually taken home), it is assumed and was observed that the food is usually shared among the whole family, and always among the other children.

It was further confirmed in conversations with program beneficiaries, many of whom pointed out the impossibility of giving a food to only one child when all are equally hungry. Since the food ration is intended only as a supplement, its quantity is small. If it is shared among several members its nutritional impact will be negligible.

We also observed that in many cases children were given food supplementation on a first come first served basis rather than being screened for participation on the basis of nutritional need. Obviously this represents another kind of ration dilution. Given the very limited quantities of food available, any allocation to the less needy represents a loss to those members of the target population whose nutritional need is great.

The third assumption, that the food which is given matches the nutritional needs of the target group, is questionable on two grounds. First, if the food is shared then the amount of calories and protein provided to any one target group member must be less than adequate to meet his needs.

A second consideration is that there is a physical bulk constraint which prevents small children (under three) from obtaining sufficient nutrients from cereals alone. Therefore, what is needed is a more calorie and nutrient dense food like corn soy milk (CSM) or non-fat dry milk (NFDM). Many MCH programs provide such foods; others provide only soy-fortified bulgur, a high bulk food inappropriate for this target group. It can safely be assumed that the nutritional contribution made in the programs varies depending on the kind of food distributed.

It is unreasonable to believe the truth of the fourth assumption, that no substitution for supplemental feeding takes place.

The extent to which it occurs would be a useful subject for future research. CARE already has recognized this problem, and is researching the problem at present with its own funds and is determined to act upon the findings. Research by Indian institutions has confirmed that substitution takes place, without being able to quantify it. Certainly substitution, as much as sharing, results in dilution of ration.

Finally, it is well known that infection and infestation are so common as to be the norm in the poor population of India. While the exact drain on nutrients which results cannot be accurately quantified, it certainly takes place. This means that, for children of a given size, nutrient requirements are higher than those recommended on the basis of a healthy population. Food supplementation may not be useless - some of the food may be metabolized by the target individual - but this is another source of ration dilution. Programs which address sanitation and environmental health might contribute substantially to raising the value and effectiveness of feeding programs.

There are two propositions which need to be tested concerning the indirect relationship between feeding and health care. One is that the food acts as an incentive, bringing people to health centers for other kinds of care. For this to work, obviously there must be other services provided along with the food. Where this was the case (in integrated child health programs, for example) we found that the food did work as suggested. Such programs constituted only a small percentage of the programs we saw, however. Clearly, if the major impact of food on health is an incentive to use other services, these integrated programs should be encouraged. Government and volag officials are quite aware of this.

The second proposition, that food provided a focus for starting health centers where they might not have been started otherwise, is a subject for future research. This is not just an academic question. It would be useful to know how and under what circumstances food can be used as leverage to develop these other services. It is our recommendation that, where possible, such leverage be used to convert programs which now are only feeding programs into integrated service delivery systems. The volags are making strides in this direction which should be encouraged. However, they contend progress is slow, especially in upgrading older programs in those states with limited resources. Unfortunately, this is where the need is often greatest.

In our field work, we encountered a wide variety of program names which described a small number of types of programs. We found that the names (e.g., "balwadi," "Special Nutrition Programme," "Nutrition Education Project," and MCH Center") called up certain images of 'typical' programs, but that these did not always match with what we saw in operation. Therefore, we developed our own typology of programs, based on the services which are offered. These services are listed below:

1. Food
2. Health services, including immunization, control of diarrhea, pre-and post natal care, and curative medicine.
3. Day care and pre-school education aimed at socialization, primary school preparation and improved hygienic practices.
4. Father/Mother education including family planning, hygiene and food production and preparation techniques.

A fifth attribute of the best programs was that they involved the community in their operation as a start in the process of developing the capacity for community problem-solving. The figure below shows the different program categories defined by the level of service provided.

FIGURE 3

| INPUTS | Category 1 feeding pro- gram-take home | Category 2 feeding pro- gram-on-the spot | Category 3 feeding pro- gram and health | Category 4 day care center | Category 5 integrated programs |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Community participation | | | | | X |
| Education of mother/father | | | | | X |
| Education of child | | | | X | X |
| Health | | | X | X | X |
| Food | X | X | X | X | X |

We have attempted in Figure 3 to categorize typical (or 'generic') programs in a progression based on inputs offered. In visiting numerous feeding centers, coupled with a review of the literature, we found these prototypes of both government (CARE, indigenous and WFP) and non-government (CASA and CRS) programs to cover the vast majority of the programs. The few exceptions which fall between a category are incidental to understanding present programming and aspirations for future activities.

Category 1 Feeding Programs - Take Home

These programs involve only the distribution of food to the program beneficiaries or their representatives on a daily, (in which case it is cooked or ready to eat) weekly or monthly basis. Each beneficiary is usually given a card to be presented at the center, although more often than not the food is collected by some family member other than the beneficiary (often a 10-14 year old). Sometimes a child may present a number of cards and collect for a group of families.

Food distribution in this category becomes family food, and is shared among family members. This usually includes all the children, as well as the mother and father.

Category 2 Feeding Programs - On the Spot

In these programs, cooked or ready to eat food, sometimes including milk, is served in a make-shift shed, the home of the cook, or some already existing structure. The lactating and pregnant women are accompanied by hip-carried children as well as older siblings who come to the feeding site on their own. Some children and women eat on the site but most of them take rations home. Furthermore, it is common for the number of food recipients to be greater than the allocated beneficiaries, causing a marked dilution in ration.

OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT CATEGORIES 1 AND 2 MAKE UP WELL OVER HALF OF THE PROGRAM FOR PREGNANT AND LACTATING WOMEN AND CHILDREN 0-6 YEARS OF AGE.

Category 3 Feeding Programs Plus Health Inputs

These programs are generally operated in health facilities like a rural primary health center, an urban family and

child welfare center or a mission compound which is a part of the hospital outreach program catering to neighboring villages. Clientele come to the center for cooked and uncooked food, which is usually used in the same manner as Categories 1 and 2. The major difference is that food serves as an incentive for such activities as immunization, pre and post natal care, occasional health and nutritional classes and encourage the use of curative health services. OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT THIS CATEGORY MAKES UP LESS THAN 25% OF THE PROGRAMS

Category 4 Day Care Center/Pre School plus Feeding Programs

Usually there is on-the-spot feeding in these centers where children spent three to five hours, enabling the mothers to do other activities. The Day Care/Pre School center (usually for three to six year old children although they are often accompanied by siblings which dilutes the rations) provides some educational activities and health measures.

OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT THIS CATEGORY CONSTITUTES LESS THAN 10% OF THE PROGRAMS

Category 5 Integrated Programs

These programs involve the following:

- a. A number of integrated food, health, and educational inputs using an infrastructure such as a community or day care center aimed at improving the overall welfare of the population.
- b. The training and employment of men and women from the locality of program coverage. These 'community workers' establish support and gain credibility in their own communities often through the use of health and/or food inputs.

c. Active community participation, preferably before any benefit-providing program is introduced, whether it be in relation of health, food, sanitation, housing or whatever. In the other four categories of programming, expected community participation exists in token form (e.g., by way of provision of fuel or manpower for cooking). Ideally this involvement makes the program an outcome of needs of the community and not only an input from outside.

OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT THIS CATEGORY CONSTITUTES LESS THAN 5% OF THE PROGRAMS

b. Conclusions and recommendations

Our conclusion is that the major objectives of Title II food in MCH programs, that of improving health and nutritional status of the target group, are largely not achieved. The basis for this conclusion is that, according to our observation, the conditions necessary for the achievement of the health and nutrition objectives (see p. 37) are not consistently fulfilled. A much larger ration would be needed to counteract the effects of sharing, substitution and losses due to poor health. This finding is confirmed by much of the research done by Indian institutions, which failed in most cases to find any but marginal nutritional impact of MCH programs.

A second conclusion is that the food does have the potential to act as an incentive for receiving other health services. This potential can only be realized if the other services are available.

We therefore make the following recommendations, recognizing that many of these ideas are not new and that some of them are already being attempted.

1. Programs which provide food alone should be upgraded to provide other health and educational services. Programs which do not do this should be actively discouraged.
- ~~2. It should be recognized that few children under three years~~ are being reached by the program. Either new delivery methods should be investigated, or the emphasis on the objectives of reaching this target group should be reduced.
3. Beneficiaries should be selected on the basis of economic and nutritional need. (For example if mothers in the program have low birth weight babies, these should be given a high priority for food supplementation.)
4. Coarse cereal grains should not be provided as a nutritional supplement for children under three. Low bulk, high nutrient-density food should be programmed for this group.
5. If the food is to be consumed by a given individual, it should be prepared and eaten on site for maximum control.
6. A greater consideration should be given to the need for improved environmental sanitation to reduce infection and infestation, along with nutritional supplementation.

2. Food for Work

Development has been defined above as a learning process whereby people become capable of solving their own problems individually or collectively. One use of Title II food authorized in the legislation is as a tool for contributing to development. However the concept of development as revealed in the existing projects generally reflects a narrower definition in strictly economic terms: increases in incomes or improvements in the material conditions of life. Food for Work projects contribute directly to incomes, by providing employment, using food as a wage, for people who would otherwise be unemployed. At the same time, they can use _____ to create the kind of productive physical assets --

roads, irrigation wells, improved agricultural land--ordinarily associated with economic development. For this reason, FFW projects have the potential for making both long and short term improvements in the economic status and thereby in food consumption as well. Whether they also promote the kind of development we have defined above depends on specific project design and on the manner in which it is implemented. In this section, we will first present the program objectives of the FFW projects as they are now, and discuss the factors which influence a project's success in meeting these objectives and the policy issues raised. We will then discuss the relationships between Food for Work as it presently exists and the larger concept of Food for Development.

a. Objectives

In FFW projects, Title II food is used in place of cash to pay laborers for a wide variety of jobs. The program serves several objectives. First it is intended to provide employment to poor unskilled laborers during the season when jobs are scarce and labor is in surplus. A second objective is to improve agricultural production by creating assets such as wells, tanks and bunds (small dikes built around fields to retain water), and by improving agricultural land through clearing and leveling. Third, the program is intended to improve the economic position of the poor in the long term by creating marketable skills through FFW supported training programs, and by increasing the income earning potential of small and marginal farmers. A fourth program objective is to improve the standard of living of the poor, irrespective of changes in incomes, through the construction of houses and other amenities under FFW.

The FFW program in India increased substantially during the famine years of 1972-73. At that time, perhaps the major objective of the program was simply to provide a mechanism for channeling food into food-scarce areas. At present India as a whole is in a surplus position regarding food grains, so that simple provision of food without regard to target groups is no longer needed.

Obviously, not every FFW project can serve every objective. A training program which creates skills will not also clear land; for example, new houses may be provided where wells are not dug. From our point of view, a good or successful FFW project is one which reaches needy, both in the short run (providing employment) and in the long run, creating income-generating assets or skills whose benefits will continue to be felt after the food input ends. There may be cases, however, in which the immediate need for jobs may override these other concerns.

b. Field observations

Our team found that the attainment of these objectives in the projects which we saw (see Appendix C) varied widely and was dependent on a number of critical factors. We will discuss these as they relate to each of the four objectives in the order listed above.

(1) Employment generation

In the provision of employment to unskilled labor, timing of the FFW project is an important consideration. During the planting and harvesting seasons, labor is scarce and employment-generation is not needed. Ideally FFW work could only take place when jobs are scarce. However, there are some places where labor is in surplus most of the year, and certain tasks can only be accomplished at certain seasons. For example, most agricultural improvements (clearing, bunding, wells, roads, etc.) can only be done during the dry season. The work will be destroyed if not completed before the monsoon rains. Other work (e.g., weeding) is done only in the monsoon season. Because of the importance of timing FFW projects, reliability of supply is essential to success. A relatively short delay in food delivery may result in full 'years' delay of the project. Those

responsible for monitoring these projects must be aware of this when evaluating target achievement and off take.

Whether or not employment is provided to the neediest laborers (those who would otherwise have no work) depends on the relationship between the value of the food wage and the going rate for unskilled labor in the market. Other things being equal, most people would prefer to be paid in cash than in food, unless the food is exactly what they would have chosen to consume in any case. When food is scarce its value is increased and a food wage becomes preferable. Since the commodities in FFW have been fixed in recent years (wheat and oil), the desirability of the wage is greater in the north, where people commonly eat wheat, than in the south where people prefer rice. We found great variability in workers' attitudes towards being paid in food. They said they would prefer cash, and many said they would prefer rice. But the majority said they ate the food, or most of it, rather than selling it, because they could not buy an equal quantity of some other food with the proceeds. Those who said they would prefer rice often conceded that if they were paid in cash they would not buy rice, but millet or some other coarse grain because of the lower price.

If the objective of the FFW program is to give jobs to the neediest, then the food wages should be flexible over regions and seasons, and should be set so that the market value of the food given (or of its closest available equivalent) is just equal to the existing cash wage rate for the unskilled labor. In this way the FFW project would not draw workers who had other employment.

A more positive approach to the wage setting issue is to make the food wage high enough to drive wages up in

the open labour market. This effect (which is one objective of the GOI FFW program) depends on having a program large enough to provide a real alternative source of employment to all or most laborers in a community. If this is the case, then landlords will be forced to raise their wages in order to draw labour away from the FFW project. The FFW projects under Title II, with the exception of the guaranteed employment scheme in Maharashtra, are probably not large enough to achieve this effect. An expanded FFW and/or one which was coordinated with that of the GOI could do it, and might thus have a significant overall effect on the incomes of the landless labouring group.

Although the ration size is suggested by AID, we found that in fact it varied from place to place and volag to volag ranging from 2.0 Kg to 3.7 Kg of bulgur per day. In a few sites, the ration was given on a piecework basis (e.g., 20 kg per 1,000 bricks produced) and in some projects women and children were paid less than men. Discussions with the project-holders indicated that these variations were based on the desire to give the maximum allowable benefit to the laborer and to deliver a fair wage and not on the idea of making food for work a "last resort" of the unemployed.

This raises the policy issue whether the ration should be set based on nutritional considerations rather than economic ones. The ration is supposedly set to meet the needs of an "average" family of about five members, and AID regulations limit labor participation to one member from each family, with the idea to maximize coverage. However, the same ration per worker is given regardless of actual family size, which demonstrates that the nutritional objectives are not paramount. The one-worker-per

family rule is commonly not observed. Both the workers and the project holders apparently view the ration as a wage to be given on the basis of work performed and not as a nutritional supplement to be given based on need.

A second policy issue relevant to the size of the FFW wage is whether the primary objective is employment-generation or asset-creation. As the program was originally conceived, providing jobs was the main purpose. This would suggest that the wage should be kept low, and that the work output should be a secondary consideration. Many of the projects we saw, however, focused on the outcome of the project (a well, level land, a house) and sought to attract workers who might have found other jobs. If the production of these assets is considered the main purpose of the project, then the FFW wage should be set to be competitive with that in the market in order to draw workers and get the job completed. Of course in a labor surplus situation the cash wage may well be under the FFW ration, as was the case in several of the sites we visited. If the ration is below the market wage rate, workers may still accept jobs under FFW when they cannot find other jobs. Since many factors other than free market forces act on the wage rate (e.g., tradition, a concept of a living wage) labor may be in surplus in a region without driving the wage a rate below some minimum level.

A final concern regarding the objective of providing jobs under FFW is that some of the projects require inputs of skilled as well as unskilled labor. Once again a balance must be established between the employment-generating and asset-creating objectives, since some types of projects (weeding, land leveling and clearing, bunding, building tanks) require a very heavy

input of unskilled labor while others (houses, especially pukka houses, and wells which require blasting or masonry steening) may require skilled labor working for cash. Only unskilled labor is ordinarily willing to accept food as payment. In some regions, the types of projects most needed to improve agricultural production may not be those which use the most labor. Carried to its extreme, an exclusive concern for the employment objective would cause adoption of useless make-work projects or those which required continued input of labor (weeding, grass cutting), and the potential additional benefits of the long-term assets would be lost. The decision as to what kind of project to approve may well depend on the availability of cash to support the needed inputs other than the unskilled labor.

(2) Improving Agricultural Production

Food for Work projects will improve agricultural production if they address existing constraints on agriculture and if they are undertaken only when sufficient resources are available to complete the job. We saw a number of FFW project sites which had had an impressive effect on production. These included land clearing, leveling and bunding which in many cases had rendered previously useless land productive, and well and tank construction which improved yields and allowed two or even three crops where only one had been possible before. In a few cases, farm-to-market roads built under FFW had doubled the prices which farmers could get for their crops. The critical factor in the success of agricultural projects was the availability of resources for inputs other than unskilled labor. We saw several wells which had collapsed or silted up because money for steening had not been available. The most successful projects (in terms of agricultural

production) were those in which farmers were able to buy or rent a pump and obtain fertilizers and improved seeds in order to take maximum advantage of the FFW project output. For this reason FFW projects should not be started unless resources are already there secured for the whole project, either through bank loans, charitable agencies, or the farmer's pocket.

It must be recognized that the neediest members of rural communities are usually not farmers, but those with no resources at all: landless laborers. Projects which improve the productivity of land provide short-term employment and in some cases eventually result in a higher demand for agricultural labor and consequent increase in wage rates. The direct benefits of production however, go to the landholders of the community, either individually or as a group.

This raises the policy issue whether it is possible to reach the poor with a project whose objective is to improve agricultural production. We have already mentioned the indirect ways in which increased production can benefit poor landless laborers. Clearly, agricultural projects must also benefit those who own some land. If one objective of FFW projects is to maximize benefits to the poor, then the question of selecting the landholders who will be recipients of the assets created under FFW is important. There are some areas of the country in which the state government (the Tribal Development Authority or Small Farmers Development Agency) is allocating land to the landless tribals, scheduled castes and repatriates. These lands are usually barren when given, and FFW (in conjunction with other inputs) can offer a significant long term economic benefit to a very needy group by rendering them productive. In the absence of such newly allocated land, relatively needy groups can still be reached if selection of recipients of FFW projects is based on economic need. Many small landowners are only

slightly better off than the landless, and work as day laborers during much of the year. Improvement of their lands may result in even greater production increases than work on more affluent farms, and may increase the demand for hired labor as well.

The FFW projects which were run under the state government (CARE program) did have fixed criteria for selection and therefore were largely successful in allocating projects to the relatively poor. We saw a significant number of privately run projects in which any criteria for selection of recipients were absent; in some cases they were explicitly avoided. Repeatedly in interviews with project holders, we were told that requests for projects were never refused except in the cases of deliberate malfeasance. The USAID Food for Peace Officer acknowledged that projects were often allocated without adherence to a criterion of economic need, and justified this by the difficulty of finding viable projects (those which were feasible and for which complementary inputs were available) and by the fact that the project holders were volunteers and could not be expected to spend the time required to evaluate projects on this basis or to promote their development. Most project holders, however, said that they personally knew most or all of the individuals in a project area and so would be in a position to judge their economic status. Furthermore, a substantial number of projects were in fact allocated on the basis of need, with more or less fixed ceilings on the size of landholding permitted a project recipient. This proves that such allocation is feasible. Where need was not a criterion, the reason given was political: there would be complaints of unfairness if some projects were refused. It was our feeling that greater unfairness is involved in allocating scarce

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resources to those who have resources to help themselves. An exception to this would be the creation of community wide resources (roads, tanks, and channels) which would benefit all landholders in a village. In these projects it would be irrational and uneconomic to exclude larger landholders, although clearly such projects would best be undertaken when a high percentage of farmers are small landholders.

(3) Improving the Economic Position of the Poor

For a project to be successful in improving the economic position of the poor, it should result in permanent income-generating changes in the community. As was explained above, agricultural projects can improve the economic position of a relatively poor, poor, small landholders, by increasing the productivity of their land. They can affect the landless laborers indirectly through the increased demand for agricultural labor.

Officials involved in the development of rural extension programs perceive a major benefit of their projects to be that it provides a floor under agricultural wages. If a food for work program exists, and offers a certain amount of employment, then laborers are put in a stronger bargaining position when they seek work from private landlords. Obviously to have this effect, the FFW program must be large enough to absorb all the surplus labor in a community. Otherwise private employers can still keep wages low, knowing that at least some laborers will have no alternative to working for them.

Another approach to the use of funds is to invest in training. This is to undertake training programs that impart basic skills to unskilled unemployed workers. This is a

supplement the cash wages during training. The food is necessary because the trainee is not able to earn a living wage until his or her skills reach a certain level.

The critical factors to the success of FFW projects in achieving this objective are, first, the period during which the food input is required should be limited, and the income-generating output (skill or asset) should thereafter be self-sustaining without external support. Second, the outputs should be used in the community at large and not in the same closed system like a school, orphanage, or other institution. A third, fairly obvious factor in the successful project is that the output (asset or skill) should alleviate an existing constraint on productivity. That is, training should be given to genuinely unskilled people, and development of land should be genuinely necessary for production.

An obvious example to demonstrate the need for the first critical factor is the use of FFW to support weeding and grass cutting. These tasks are economically important for improving yields and they are done during the rainy season when other jobs are scarce. But they are not tasks which, once accomplished, result in a lasting economic improvement. They may serve the first two critical factors listed but not the third. A less obvious but equally significant example was given by some of the FFW training programs we observed in which trainees once trained were employed in business run by the training institutions themselves, and were not encouraged to seek employment in the private sector nor educated to manage the business themselves. In these projects, the beneficiaries improved their incomes on a long term basis but were still dependent on an outside institution for

the continuation of this benefit. Nonetheless we felt that in theory, FFW training programs had perhaps the greatest potential for economic impact on landless population groups, those who have no resources other than their own human capital, if the objective of eventual independence were included in the project plan in the form of job placement, training in business skills or help in organizing cooperatives.

An example of the role of the second critical factor is found in those projects which used FFW to develop land belonging to an institution. We saw few of these, but they absorbed substantial quantities of FFW resources. The eventual economic benefits of these projects would go to the institutions, and while they might enable the institutions to engage in worthwhile charitable activities, they would probably have no economic impact on the community at large.

(4) Improving the Standard of Living of the Poor.

Projects which serve this objective include construction of houses, drinking wells and other facilities which contribute to improved living conditions. Critical factors of the success of the FFW projects in achieving this objective are, first, the availability of all necessary inputs other than food to be used as wages and, second, selection of recipients on the basis of economic need.

A more important policy issue, however, is that these projects essentially constitute gifts or grants to needy people. They do not result in any lasting economic improvement or any change in an individual's or a community's self-reliance. Other projects, those which result in increased income on a long-term basis, allow

those who benefit to improve their standards of living in ways of their own choosing and at the same time have broader effects on the economic life of the community.

c. Theoretical Considerations

(1) Food for Work or Food for Development

There is no question that many communities in India are so poor that some new resources are an essential precondition to any kind of development, economic or social. A large proportion of the projects we saw had resulted in sustained and widespread improvements in the economics of their villages, or showed promise of doing so. A few of these, however, went beyond economic objectives and caused changes in the community's social organization and decision making process. In these cases, FFW projects were used as an entry point into a community and as a motivation for bringing the community together. The critical factor in these projects seemed to be that at the outset villagers were encouraged or even required to become involved in their planning and execution. In several cases the consignee involved acted as a motivator or hired a motivator to work with the villagers. Instead of awaiting the consignees' decisions, villagers themselves were required to decide which projects should be implemented and who should receive them. Instead of having loans or grants arranged for them the villagers had to go to the appropriate bank or government agency to secure loans. In some cases the villagers were required to work together on community agricultural projects which would benefit all of them. These processes taught the villagers to identify needs and develop plans and gave them the confidence to deal with government and bank officers on their own initiative, having been pushed into it the first time.

(2) Relative Advantages of Food Aid Cash

As food is used in existing FFW projects it serves no purpose different from cash. The food is used as a wage and is treated as such by both project holders and laborers. As was discussed earlier the fact that the wage is in food tends to make it less desirable, providing a mechanism for self selection for the neediest

laborers, but the same purpose would be served by offering a relatively low cash wage. Some project holders felt that food was easier to handle than cash, because less suspicion was attached to the manager and there was less incentive for corruption; but others pointed out that the logistics of handling cash would be much simpler. Most laborers would of course prefer to receive cash, although a few said that they liked getting food.

While the use of food rather than cash is of little significance from the point of view of the specific program, it has an important advantage from the broader economic perspective. If the availability of money in a community is suddenly increased by means of an employment-generating program, there is a real danger that the consequent increase in effective demand (people's ability to pay for consumer goods) will drive up the prices of the commodities most people want. Since those employed in such programs are from the neediest population groups, they will want to spend most of their increased income on food. In many Indian communities the available supply of food is relatively fixed in the short run, because of poor transportation and marketing facilities so that this increased demand might simply result in higher food prices which would dissipate the benefit of higher incomes. The fact that the wage is

given as food forestalls this 'demand-push inflation' by increasing the available supplies of the commodity most likely to be affected.

It is unlikely that supplying food in this way will drive down the market prices of locally-produced food and thus act as a disincentive to improved agricultural production, as is sometimes suggested. The beneficiaries of FFW projects (those receiving the food wage) are usually drawn from the very poor population who are likely to devote most of any increase in income to an increase in the consumption of food. This means that they will probably not substantially reduce their market purchases of food when they receive the FFW wage, but will add that to the amount they are already consuming. Thus the quantity demanded in the marketplace should not be greatly affected by the FFW project in the short run. Obviously, the magnitude of any effect will depend on the number of people employed under FFW and the duration of the project.

In the longer run, a well planned project should in fact cause an increase in the demand for food resulting from the economic improvements generated. We have said that a good FFW project uses food as an input for a limited time only and results in higher incomes and more employment opportunities on a permanent basis. These higher incomes and consequent increased demand for food should act as an incentive for increased production, and in many cases the FFW project itself makes such increased production possible by creating wells and tanks and improving agricultural land.

(3) Advantages and Disadvantages of Using External Resources for Development Programs

A number of people involved in implementing FFW programs expressed concern over the possibility that the use of outside resources, including food, was perpetuating dependency and preventing the development of the community self-reliance. Others flatly stated that external resources were necessary for economic improvement and would continue to be needed for the indefinite future. It was our conclusion that the extent to which the food in FFW projects led either to continued dependency or to self-reliance was a function of the individual project design and implementor.

At their worst, the projects appeared to generate an attitude of utter reliance on help given from outside the community. At one project site, where houses had been constructed and given to a group of casual laborers who had been living in mud huts or on the street, several people complained that the water tank needed deepening and that the houses needed some modification. When we asked why they did not deepen the tank themselves, they replied that no more food was available (referring to FFW). We suggested that perhaps these improvements depended on the initiative of the resident. One man appeared to speak for all when he said 'Oh no, they depend upon your mercy'. It was characteristic of these projects that they have been granted to the recipients on the basis of charity. Recipients had not been required to participate in planning, supply resources, contribute their labor, or repay any of the resources given to them. In such cases, it is likely that the negative social effects of the projects outweigh the benefits of the improved living conditions.

In the best projects, the food served as a starting point for a process of developing a sense that people

could exercise control over their own lives. These projects were characterized by involvement of these recipients at an early stage, the requirement that recipients contribute their own resources and labor, and the provision for continuation of the project after the termination of food donations. It is possible that some of these projects would have been undertaken with or without food, but in many cases it was the availability of the food earmarked for development projects which initiated the planning process. In some places, the evident benefits of certain kinds of land development originally performed under FFW made it likely that people would now seek loans to do such work on their own if no food were available. At the start though, people were suspicious and negative, afraid of going into debt, and the encouragements of FFW or some other outside resource was needed.

(4) Comparison of Voluntary Agency Approaches to FFW

At present CARE is not involved in any FFW projects, because of U.S. legal restrictions on the donated wheat. Both CARE and the Government of India representatives have said they would like to see the program started again. The CARE FFW sites we visited demonstrated coordination with other state government programs and sound planning. For example, FFW was used to develop land newly allocated to tribals by the Tribal Development Authority; cash inputs for steening of wells were obtained through government guaranteed bank loans. The community organization role did not appear to be a major focus of the CARE program, possibly because CARE follows the priorities of the state government.

The FFW projects sponsored by CRS varied widely in quality. The greatest weakness we observed was in selection of project beneficiaries.* Most of the CRS FFW project beneficiaries we spoke to had learnt of the available assistance through Parish Priests or someone affiliated with the church. Since many Catholics were among the neediest, a large portion being converted Harijans (or Scheduled Castes), this selection process does not generally violate the program objectives of helping the poor majority.

A more serious problem in a number of programs was that no selection criteria were used: all projects applied for were approved, or they were approved on a random or a first-come-first-served basis. This was not the case with all CRS FFW projects, however. A few CRS projects were also found to be devoted to the development of land owned by the Church or a related institution which was also felt to be an inappropriate use of the food resource. Additionally there were some cases in which a dependency relationship between the community and the project holder (usually a local priest) was perpetuated.

An advantage of some of the CRS projects was the readily available complementary inputs and cash from charitable donations. In a few cases this permitted well digging projects to be associated with grants for other inputs (pumps, steening).

Although many CASA FFW projects were held by Ministers in the Protestant churches, no selection bias for Christians was evident. There were some cases in which appropriate criteria for selection of project

*In this paper "beneficiaries" are those who receive the asset created under FFW, and "recipients" are those who do the work and receive the food wage.

beneficiaries were not used, and we saw one case in which FFW was used to develop land belonging to a Church affiliated institution. The projects which adopted an ~~integrated community organization approach were most~~ frequently CASA projects, reflecting this agency's recent policy decision to focus on community development rather than relief work in its projects.

d. Conclusions and Recommendations

In Food for Work projects, the food which is provided under the Title II serves essentially the same functions as cash. One advantage to providing food is that it is easier to monitor than cash because it gives less incentive for corruption. Another is that it prevents the sharp rise in food prices which might result from a sudden increase in the community's purchasing power. The disadvantage is that food is less flexible in its uses than money. It can be used to pay labor, but not to buy materials. Given that food is additional to cash aid, Food for Work can represent a useful 'target of opportunity' for a resource which happens to be available.

The Food for Work projects are always designed around the concept of using food as wages. In one new project, however, the food is seen as a neutral resource and is converted into cash. This is the edible oil production project of the National Dairy Development Board. This project suggests a new approach to food for development. Rather than using the availability of food as a starting point, it might be possible to start by identifying needed development projects, estimating the required inputs, and then devising ways in which food could substitute for some of these inputs. In this way, new uses of the food might be found which could also contribute directly to an integrated development plan.

The existing projects that make use of the FFW food are not neutral in their effects. Those which involve the granting of assets to selected individuals or to a community without requiring their participation in planning their contribution of labor or resources, run the risk of perpetuating a dangerous attitude of dependency on outside charity.

Furthermore, if projects promise benefits which are not received because of poor planning and lack of other inputs, or if a project's benefits are clearly allocated unfairly and without regard for genuine need, then people will become cynical, skeptical of the value of development programs. This is likely to reduce their level of cooperation in future programs and may encourage them to engage in "trickery and rascality" as one person called it, taking advantage of a program which they perceive to be a sham.

In contrast, projects which use the availability of food as an incentive to organize the community and educate it in planning and problem solving as well as to create income-generating assets and skills can have an important positive long-term effect on economic and community development. The nutritional impact of such an effect may well be greater than that of any direct feeding program.

As we have discussed, the projects supported under Food for Development can serve several objectives:

1. provide jobs for poor laborers
2. increase agricultural production
3. improve the economic position of the poor
4. improve the standard of living of the poor
(without regard to changing incomes)
5. promote community development

We have suggested criteria by which to evaluate the potential of any given project for achieving each goal, and those will be summarized below. The decision whether or not to apply these criteria rests with the policy-makers in USAID and the volags, and depends on their evaluation of program priorities in light of local economic conditions. In our view, the greatest long-term benefits to the country will be derived from projects which promote community development as we have defined it. Such development should allow a community to improve incomes and standards of living and increase employment as well. In the short term, severe unemployment or constraints on income may be felt to justify less comprehensive projects in some cases. However, projects which simply take the form of grants, in which assets are given without any participation by the recipients, or in which food is simply used to pay for unskilled labor on a continuing basis, probably do more long-term damage by creating dependency and reducing the incentive for initiative than is justified by the limited benefits they provide. Unless the food is used as a short-term input contributing to a lasting change, providing food in these projects is like 'pouring water in a jar with a hole in it', as one project implementor said. (Obviously provision of foods in a famine is an exception in which humanitarian concerns would and should override other considerations.)

Based on these concerns, we have suggested these criteria for assessing the value of Food for Development projects.

First, if possible, the project should be one that promotes community-wide self-reliance as well as economic growth. This can be achieved if project beneficiaries are involved in planning and execution of the project, if they take responsibility for it, and if they are required to provide some of the project resources themselves. Second the project should

be planned with food as a resource with time-limited availability and with specific criteria for the eventual termination of the food input. (In training programs the time limit could be applied to individual trainees.)

Third, the selection of project beneficiaries (those who receive assets created by the project) should be based on established criteria of economic need. Ideally, from the point of view of community participation, the recipients (those who receive the food) should be the beneficiaries as well. It would be best if the whole community participated in selection of beneficiaries as well as of the project. Recipients of course should also be selected on the basis of need. Fourth, a project should not be undertaken unless all the resources are known to be available. Otherwise, those resources which are used will be wasted, and people's confidence will be lost. Fifth, a project should address an existing constraint on economic development in the community, responding, if possible, to a felt need of the people.

We would stress that these criteria need not be rigidly imposed and that the decision to impose them at all depends on the purpose of the program as seen by USAID and the volags. We do feel, though, that the purpose of Food for Development programs should not be simply to move food or to rack up new assets. There is enough need for genuine development in India so that the resources should not be wasted on fruitless projects. If sufficient projects cannot be found which at least meet the criteria of serving the needy and alleviating real constraints, then the volags might want to assign more staff to the development and promotion of such projects in the community, or they might consider the possibility that less food should be used and fewer projects undertaken.

3. School Feeding

By 1978 some 71.3 million Indian boys and girls were enrolled in the first five grades of primary school. This enrollment figure represents 85 percent of the children in the age group 6-11. During the academic year 1978-79 approximately 9.5 million of these children received Title II commodity support in the school feeding program.

CARE has the major mid-day meal (MDM) program, serving 9 million children in rural schools in close collaboration with 14 state governments. CRS reaches 434,000 school children both in the urban slum areas, in cooperation with several Municipal Corporations, and in the rural areas of some 18 states, in cooperation with indigenous voluntary agencies. CASA phased out of school feeding several years ago, at which time many of its client schools were absorbed into the CARE program

The goals of the MDM programs as stated by the two cooperating sponsors are identical. CARE seeks to improve "the diet of the children and (their) attendance at school." CRS endeavors "to provide nutritional support to primary school children -- besides motivating (them) to attend school." Criteria for selection of geographical areas, client schools, and recipients differed between the two sponsors.

CARE by the nature of its contractual structure originally selected those states which demonstrated a capability and interest in supporting a school program. Within the state the selection of the schools and of the recipients is ultimately decided by the local authorities, but CARE plays a strong advisory role in directing the food to the neediest schools and the neediest children. The state governments have agreed with CARE to serve children from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes on a priority basis.

CRS allows much latitude to its project holders in the selection of schools and beneficiaries. In the Municipal Corporation feeding program where CRS operates, the focus is on the slum areas and on children of low caste or low economic status. In CRS's rural school program the selection is done by the Social Action Directors of the 106 Catholic dioceses in the 18 states where CRS operates on the basis of an informal evaluation of their socio-economic and health status in relation to local conditions.

a. Field observations

The evaluation team visited 45 school sites in 9 states (see Appendix C). A special effort was made in the short time available to observe a representative sampling of the various kinds of school programs. The team visited tribal, rural and urban primary schools. We observed the three modes of distribution: (1) on-the-spot preparation; (2) central kitchens; and (3) ready-to-eat (RTE). We visited a wide assortment of schools from a highly structured instructional program for 1169 primary school children in Cape Comorin, Kerala, to a rustic one-room tribal school in Tudambavithanda (Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh) for 50 boys and girls. We interviewed children, parents, food handlers, teachers and officials.

In all the schools visited we were impressed that the selection criteria were effective, i.e., that the HDM was reaching the neediest children, the poor majority. There was a natural selection process by the families, the children and the teachers which assured that only the poorest participated. The other children went directly home for lunch or were segregated to another part of the school while the feeding was in progress.

It was noted however that in nearly every school there were more needy children than the number of rations available. This often led to dilution of the per capita ration since the teacher or cook exercised some discretion in including more children in the feeding than the prescribed number of rations warranted. In Tamil Nadu for example, the State directs that each participating school should have rations for only 1/3 of the children enrolled. Very often it is extremely difficult for the teacher to distinguish between fine shades of poverty when the majority of the students come from families who are landless and destitute.

Bulgur was the favorite Title II commodity used. It lends itself easily to on-the-spot preparation and mixes well with almost any kind of local vegetables and condiments. In the state programs the bulgur was usually matched by a local cereal (rice, wheat or maize) provided by the government on alternate days.

In the case of the non-government (i.e., church-run) schools, CRS provided a higher ration per capita, often including CSM and NFDM. In the Municipal programs run by CRS, wheat flour and NFDM which were processed into a product which was distributed by the corporation; in Madras, however, there was also an input of local rice.

Presently, the input by the states and municipalities of local commodities and administrative costs exceeds 50% of the value of the program. In addition, the GOI reprocessed some Title II foods to increase the nutrient contents. Two noteworthy examples of this are (1) 'balahar' - consisting of 85 % soy fortified bulgur and 15% local groundnuts, soya, vitamin and minerals; and (2) 'sukhada' - consisting of 70% CSM and 30% local ingredients and vitamins. We also

observed Title II commodities being reprocessed into R.T.E. snacks in Maharashtra.

By far the superior mode of preparation and distribution was on-the-spot cooking and consumption. This method lent itself readily to accommodating local tastes and introducing local foods. It also provided the impetus for parental involvement, community involvement, and the responsible participation of the children themselves. One gratifying example was the Dinimahan Tribal school in Orissa where the children took turns preparing the daily MDM. The chosen group had to fetch the fuel, seek the condiments and local foods in the community, prepare the meal and help in the distribution. The process was amazingly orderly and effective, and the children who consumed the food were obviously satisfied and the children who prepared it were obviously proud of the accomplishment. Much of this success of course was due to the initiative of the teacher, which the team found to be a crucial element in the effective use of Title II commodities.

The other modes of food distribution were less satisfactory. The use of central kitchens in rural areas can result in breakdowns in supply, causing anxiety of the teacher who has only a passive role to play. In the urban areas however the use of the central kitchen seems to be practical, considering the size and proximity of the schools. The least effective ration, in the opinion of the team, was the RTE food. The meal was invariably too dry to be eaten in one sitting without something to drink. This often led to the child saving the RTE snack to take home. Whenever the food is taken home there is always the real chance of dilution because of sharing with other siblings and even with parents.

From numerous visits and inquiries the team has concluded that the main objective and the main benefit of the MDM program is the role of the food as an incentive to the child himself and to his parents for his attendance at school. Everyone - GOI and local officials, CARE personnel, teachers, and parents - was unanimous on this point. Although the team was not privy to quantitative data, the unanimity of the conviction of teachers that the MDM had a positive effect on attendance is persuasive. This is especially true in tribal and rural areas where the child often walks long distances to school. He thus expends considerable energy and thereby widens his caloric gap with further deleterious effect on his (or her) physical growth and mental alertness. Furthermore, among the scheduled caste children and slum dwellers, family income is barely sufficient for subsistence. The MDM clearly serves as an incentive for school attendance for the children who would otherwise work to contribute to the meager family income. The enticement of a free MDM is certainly appealing and compelling for the estimated 70% of the children engaged in some sort of menial labor. The younger age group in the lower classes appears to be the most needy. It was generally observed that most of them are smaller in stature for their age than are older children. A high degree of vitamin deficiency was noticed among these children resulting from low intakes of vegetables, fruits, milk and legumes, as ascertained from inquiries about their home diets. There seems to be a definite need for vitamin and mineral supplements for these school children.

MDM provides a caloric supplement which potentially can be significant because it is well targeted with on-the-spot feeding and the chance of ration dilution is relative small. The targeting of food in MDM is clearly demonstrable, which

is not always the case with the ICCH and FFW programs. For this reason it is reasonable to conclude that the ICCH may have a nutritional effect on the intended recipient, although substitution for other family foods may diminish its impact.

The gains made by the GOI since Independence in 1947 in providing free primary school education for its awesome population is most impressive. In spite of the tremendous investment in financial resources, the GOI in its Sixth Five Year Plan has set a goal of 90% enrollment in primary school by 1983, and 100% enrollment by 1988. This will call for an annual increase of 2 million children. To emphasize its seriousness and determination, this goal has been included under the Minimum Needs Program of the Plan as the number one priority. Very specific implementation plans have been drawn up by two action groups in the GOI. Budgeting and personnel increases have been provided for. More difficult for implementing purposes is the actual recruiting of the children. It has been determined that 74% of the children not enrolled in school reside in the 8 states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Only 39% of the children enrolled in classes 1 to 5 are female; only 11.2% are scheduled caste (scheduled caste proportion of total population is 14.6 percent); and only 5.1% are tribals (tribal proportion of total population is 6.9%). Another factor to be considered is the 60% drop out rate in primary school. The identification of these problem areas in enrollment and attendance is hopefully the first step in finding appropriate solutions.

The Ministry of Education recognizes the classroom teacher as the key instrument of implementation of these ambitious goals. Special training and special incentives are being

planned. The evaluation team agrees wholeheartedly that the teacher can be an effective catalyst for change in the community and would encourage any form of intervention to make him (or her) more effective in his role. Included high on the list of measures to be taken to increase primary school attendance is the improvement and expansion of the MDM programs, especially to the target groups identified above. The GOI has already approached CARE for an expansion of its Title II program. The GOI is also seriously studying the real possibility of releasing some of its own buffer wheat/rice stocks for a "Food for Children Program" similar to the present GOI food for Work Program. The team agrees with the GOI and CARE in this use of food as an incentive for families to send their children to school. The team also agrees with the GOI that the extension of primary school education to the less favored groups will have a salutary effect in the long run on the social and economic development of India.

b. Conclusions and Recommendations:

We have considered the high priority that the GOI has mandated for the universalization of elementary education and the compelling role played by the MDM in attracting and retaining children in school, especially from the neediest groups - tribals, low castes and landless. The team strongly supports any efforts by the GOI, the USAID and the voluntary agencies to continue, improve, and expand the primary school feeding program utilizing both Title II commodities and locally produced food. We also concur with the GOI's perception that basic education and human resources development are essential factors in social and economic development. The use of Title II food as an incentive to contribute to this long range development goal is worthwhile and deserving of support. Furthermore, the case with which

Title II commodities can be targeted in an on-the-spot feeding program persuades us to accept the MDM as a relatively effective (as the infrastructure exists and is functioning) means of providing a nutrient supplement to children to meet the program goals of more education. More specific recommendations are as follows:

1. Headmasters and teachers responsible for the management of the MDM programs should receive special training to enlighten them on the objectives of the feeding program and to demonstrate to them ways by which the program could be made more effective for the benefit of the target groups. This training should explore the myriad ways that the teacher can play a catalytic role in the village or hamlet in social action and community development. In this way the Title II food could serve as an innocent entre in a whole series of development spin-offs culminating in people learning to solve their own problems.
2. In any expansion of the MDM program with Title II and local stocks, first consideration should be given to the present client schools to realize a more rational head count for the inclusion of all children in need.
3. Second order of expansion should be to new primary schools serving children from tribal, scheduled caste, or landless families. Related to this expansion should be a special focus on the eight states where 70% of the non-enrolled primary school age children live, as noted above. Other areas which should receive special consideration for MDM intervention are city slums and drought-prone rural areas.

4. The team recommends that all such expansions of the MDM program should be made conditional on significant local participation in the management and support of the programs. This participation could be spontaneous if the matching nature of the expansion is well publicized. Likewise the training envisaged above should lead to fomenting such local initiative.
5. Our own observations confirmed what had been noted in several research papers, namely that the school children suffer from vitamin deficiencies. For this reason the team recommends that the responsible authorities explore the possibilities of providing vitamin supplements or vitamin-fortified foods to the MDM program. There was a particular need for vitamin A and the B-complex vitamins.

IV. THE NUTRITION SETTING

In this section of the report we will attempt to address four questions: (1) What is the available food supply in India? (2) Does that supply provide for adequate dietary intake? (3) If not, what are the major nutritional deficiencies? (4) How can Title II foods possibly contribute to the alleviation of these problems?

A. Food Availability

There are four major types of agriculture products in India: cereals, sugar, oil and pulses. These foods serve as the basis for meeting the calorie and protein needs of the expanding population. Their adequate availability is a pre-requisite to the nutritional well being of Indians.

From Table 4, we can see that India is now in a favorable position as to the availability of cereals. Food grain production has increased at a faster rate than the population. Net per capita availability has increased by 24 grams over the past decade. Indications at present are that the supply of food grains is adequate to meet the needs of the population, and the chances for an upswing in production are promising. Since India has reached a comfortable level of production, the increased focus in the Sixth Plan on storage, marketing and distribution is appropriate.

The production of sugar likewise has expanded over the past decade by a significant amount. However, there is still a shortfall in meeting recommended availability.

The low production level of oils and fats in the agricultural sector marks the most serious gap between availability and requirement. Serious production shortfalls remain, despite the marginal increases of the past decade.

TABLE 4
(Values in Grams)

| | Net Per Capita Availability* | | Recommended Intake** | | |
|---------|------------------------------|-------|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | 1968 | 1978 | Adult Men ¹ | Girls 13-18 Years ² | Adult Women ³ |
| Cereals | 404.1 | 427.8 | 400-650 | 350-450 | 300-475 (100) |
| Sugar | 13.7 | 19.7 | 30-55 | 30-40 | 30-40 (10) |
| Oil | 7.1 | 10.7 | 35-50 | 35-50 | 30-45 (15) |
| Pulses | 56.0 | 44.6 | 55-80 | 50-70 | 45-70 (10) |

1. ranges depending on work load and whether vegetarian or non-vegetarian

2. ranges depending on whether vegetarian or non-vegetarian

3. values in parenthesis are additional requirements for lactating women

* Economic Survey, 1978 (unpublished)

** Gopalan, C., Rao, Narasinga B.S., Dietary Allowances for Indians, Indian Council of Medical Research, Special Report Series No. 60, National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, 1977.

The decrease in production of pulses since 1968 is another statistic which should be viewed with alarm. Pulses are an important source of proteins in the predominantly vegetarian diet in India. As with oil, the increased emphasis on strategies to increase production commensurate with the gains in cereals is appropriate.

B. Adequacy of Indian Diet

Although food availability in India is rapidly approaching the aggregate needs of the population, the problem of distribution and utilization of foodstuffs remains serious. A large segment of the population, even after spending 80% of their income on food, cannot afford adequate quantity and quality of foodstuffs to supply minimal nutritional requirements. Closing the gap between actual intake and minimal need will require not only the increased availability of foodstuffs at the national level, but also increased purchasing power and proper utilization of food.

The National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau (NNMB) of India has the most recent data available on dietary intake in the country.⁸ It compiles data from population samples in a number of states, which are indicative of the countrywide situation. Table 5 presents information on the average intakes of nutrients for nine states, compared with recommended intake.

These data indicate that protein intake was adequate in all states except Kerala. (It is interesting to note that the nutritional status of the children in Kerala did not reflect this inadequacy. The reasons for this might present an interesting topic for future research.) Caloric intake is marginally adequate in most of the sampled states, ranging from 2665 cal/day in Andhra Pradesh to 1722 in Kerala.

1. National Institute of Nutrition, Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1977. (Hyderabad: Indian Council of Medical Research, 1978).

- Average Intake of Nutrients Per Consumption Unit Per Day

| State | Protein (g) | Calories | Calcium (mg) | Iron (mg) | Vitamin A (/ug) (Retinol) | Thiamine (mg) | Riboflavin (mg) | Nicotinic Acid (mg) | Vitamin C (mg) |
|------------------------------------|----------------|----------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Kerala | 41.3 | 1722 | 472 | 17.7 | 97 | 0.48 | 0.56 | 9.5 | 51 |
| Tamil Nadu | 61.7 | 2477 | 604 | 29.1 | 258 | 1.22 | 0.93 | 14.1 | 37 |
| Karnataka | 57.0 | 2588 | 562 | 36.7 | 313 | 1.57 | 0.92 | 16.2 | 39 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 63.5 | 2665 | 744 | 30.8 | 235 | 1.16 | 0.85 | 15.2 | 30 |
| Maharashtra | 68.6 | 2407 | 421 | 35.6 | 304 | 1.99 | 0.99 | 18.3 | 36 |
| Gujarat | 62.1 | 2177 | 608 | 28.7 | 240 | 1.76 | 1.24 | 15.6 | 29 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 59.1 | 2045 | 282 | 22.6 | 192 | 1.42 | 0.74 | 13.3 | 27 |
| West Bengal | 58.0 | 2381 | 409 | 29.7 | 387 | 0.95 | 0.74 | 16.1 | 70 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 75.4 | 2292 | 416 | 33.2 | 337 | 2.41 | 1.30 | 23.6 | 42 |
| Recommended intake (ICMR, 1968) | 55.0 | 2400 | 400-500 | 20.0 | 750 | 1.20 | 1.30 | 16.0 | 50 |

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition,
Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

The mean intakes for calcium were in general near or above recommended intake of 400-500 mg/day. However, the low value in Madhya Pradesh, 282 mg/day, was well below the requirement. The mean intake of iron was near or above the recommended level of 20 mg/day in all states.

Vitamin A intake was markedly below the recommended intake for all the states. Likewise the riboflavin and vitamin C levels were often inadequate. Nicotinic acid and thiamine needs were usually met.

Tables 6 and 7 further present information on protein and calorie adequacy of households and individuals. As with the intakes of various nutrients, great variability was observed among sampled states. The highest proportion of households with inadequate amounts of proteins and calories was in Kerala (51.1%) followed by West Bengal (25.9%) and Madhya Pradesh (22.1%). In all the states combined, 59% of the households consumed adequate proteins and calories.

Of the individuals interviewed, 11% were found to have inadequate intake of calories and proteins. About 50% of all the individuals consumed sufficient quantities of calories and proteins. Thirty-nine percent of the people had adequate protein intake and inadequate calories.

C. Nutritional Status of Individuals

According to NNBM⁹, of the children between 1-5 years of age, 40% suffered from mild malnutrition, using the Gomez Classification (see Tables 8 and 9). Using a different classification suggested

9. Ibid.

TABLE 6

Percent Distribution of Households
According to Protein-Calorie Inadequacy*

| State | Number of households covered | PI CI | PI CA | PA CI | PA CA | PI | CI |
|----------------|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|
| Kerala | 151 | 51.0 | 2.0 | 29.8 | 17.2 | 53.0 | 80.8 |
| Tamil Nadu | 260 | 19.6 | - | 15.0 | 65.4 | 19.6 | 34.6 |
| Karnataka | 327 | 17.4 | 1.8 | 11.6 | 69.2 | 19.2 | 29.0 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 347 | 13.3 | - | 9.5 | 77.2 | 13.3 | 22.8 |
| Maharashtra | 263 | 14.8 | - | 27.4 | 57.8 | 14.8 | 42.2 |
| Gujarat | 343 | 15.7 | 0.3 | 32.1 | 51.9 | 16.0 | 47.8 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 154 | 22.1 | 0.7 | 33.1 | 44.1 | 22.8 | 55.2 |
| West Bengal | 313 | 25.9 | 1.0 | 14.1 | 59.0 | 26.9 | 40.0 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 266 | 6.8 | - | 32.3 | 60.9 | 6.8 | 39.1 |
| Average | - | 20.7 | 0.6 | 22.8 | 55.9 | 21.3 | 43.5 |

PA = Protein Adequacy, PI = Protein Inadequacy
CA = Calorie Adequacy, CI = Calorie Inadequacy

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition, Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

TABLE 7

Percent Distribution of Individuals
According to Protein-Calorie Inadequacy*

| State | Number of Individuals Surveyed | PI CI | PI CA | PA CI | PA CA | PI | CI |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------|------|
| Kerala | 119 | 20.2 | - | 60.5 | 19.3 | 20.2 | 80.7 |
| Tamil Nadu | 328 | 13.4 | - | 30.2 | 56.4 | 13.4 | 43.6 |
| Karnataka | 409 | 10.5 | 1.0 | 17.6 | 70.9 | 11.5 | 28.1 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 403 | 9.2 | 0.2 | 34.0 | 56.6 | 9.4 | 43.2 |
| Maharashtra | 361 | 10.5 | - | 41.3 | 48.2 | 10.5 | 51.8 |
| Gujarat | 343 | 5.5 | 0.3 | 32.7 | 61.5 | 5.8 | 38.2 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 312 | 17.3 | - | 45.2 | 37.5 | 17.3 | 62.5 |
| West Bengal | 439 | 14.4 | - | 45.8 | 39.9 | 14.4 | 60.1 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 339 | 2.1 | - | 40.4 | 57.5 | 2.1 | 42.5 |
| Average | - | 11.4 | 0.2 | 38.6 | 49.8 | 11.6 | 50.0 |

PA = Protein Adequacy, PI = Protein Inadequacy
CA = Calorie Adequacy, CI = Calorie Inadequacy

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition, Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

TABLE 8

Percent Distribution of Pre-School Children (1-5 Years)
According to Gomez Classification in Different States - Boys*

| State | No. of Children | Weight as percent of Standard | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|
| | | 90 Normal | 75 - 90 Mild | 60 - 75 Moderate | 60 Severe |
| Kerala | 236 | 11.0 | 44.5 | 39.4 | 5.1 |
| Tamil Nadu | 302 | 14.9 | 45.7 | 30.8 | 8.6 |
| Karnataka | 462 | 9.7 | 41.6 | 42.6 | 6.1 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 496 | 9.3 | 40.1 | 39.5 | 11.1 |
| Maharashtra | 335 | 7.5 | 38.2 | 43.9 | 10.4 |
| Gujarat | 624 | 8.5 | 40.1 | 42.7 | 8.7 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 357 | 8.1 | 39.2 | 43.7 | 9.0 |
| West Bengal | 419 | 7.2 | 40.1 | 45.1 | 7.6 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 310 | 16.8 | 40.0 | 34.2 | 9.0 |
| TOTAL | 3541 | 10.3 | 41.1 | 40.2 | 8.4 |

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition, Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

TABLE 9

Percent Distribution of Pre-School Children (1-5 Years)
According to Gomez Classification in Different States - Girls*

| State | No. of Children | Weight as Percent of Standard | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|
| | | 90 Normal | 75 - 90 Mild | 60 - 75 Moderate | 60 Severe |
| Kerala | 234 | 14.1 | 43.6 | 36.7 | 5.6 |
| Tamil Nadu | 315 | 12.7 | 45.7 | 36.2 | 5.4 |
| Karnataka | 426 | 10.3 | 40.9 | 40.4 | 8.4 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 445 | 10.6 | 41.6 | 38.4 | 9.4 |
| Maharashtra | 297 | 7.7 | 37.7 | 42.8 | 11.8 |
| Gujarat | 551 | 8.0 | 35.0 | 46.6 | 10.4 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 314 | 13.1 | 39.2 | 40.1 | 7.6 |
| West Bengal | 400 | 8.5 | 42.7 | 39.5 | 9.3 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 252 | 12.7 | 43.7 | 34.1 | 9.5 |
| TOTAL | 3234 | 10.9 | 41.1 | 39.4 | 8.6 |

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition, Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

by Seoane and Latham, 28% of the boys suffered from current long duration malnutrition, 3% from short term malnutrition, and 43% from past-chronic malnutrition (see Table 10). Figures indicated females were slightly better off, according to Seoane and Latham (see Table 11).

In the school-age children weight and height for age were also found to be markedly below the standards set by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR)¹⁰, although the situation was not as severe as in the pre-school group. Signs of vitamin A and B-complex deficiencies, however, were more widespread among school children.

For example, the prevalence of vitamin A deficiency among school children ranged from 0.8% in Maharashtra to 27.0% in Madhya Pradesh. Vitamin B-complex deficiency signs in this group were highest in Karnataka and lowest in Maharashtra (see Table 12).

D. Contribution of Title II

The present and potential contribution of Title II programs to improved nutritional, economic, educational or social status of the target groups is limited. The size of the problems Title II addresses is at least two orders of magnitude larger than the resource input of the program.

There are close to 650 million Indians. Two hundred and ninety million are estimated to be below the poverty line. This estimate (of the GOI Planning Commission) is based on the number of people who have a deficient intake of calories. We perceived little or no impact of Title II food on the overall widespread problem. Indeed,

10. C. Gopalan and Narasinga Rao. Dietary Allowances for Indians, Special Report Series no. 60 (Hyderabad: Indian Council of Medical Research, 1977).

TABLE 10

Percent Distribution of Pre-School Children (1-5 Years)
According to Seoane and Latham Classification - Boys *

| State | No. of Children | Normal (NNN) | Current Short term Malnutrition (NLL) | Past Chronic Malnutrition (Nutritional Dwarfs) (LLN) | Current Long Duration Malnutrition (LLL) |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| Kerala | 236 | 27.5 | 6.8 | 36.9 | 28.8 |
| Tamil Nadu | 302 | 32.8 | 5.3 | 33.1 | 28.8 |
| Karnataka | 462 | 26.0 | 2.2 | 42.8 | 29.0 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 496 | 22.4 | 4.2 | 44.4 | 29.0 |
| Maharashtra | 335 | 17.6 | 2.1 | 51.6 | 28.7 |
| Gujarat | 624 | 23.6 | 2.7 | 42.3 | 31.4 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 357 | 22.1 | 1.1 | 59.7 | 17.1 |
| West Bengal | 419 | 21.7 | 5.0 | 31.3 | 42.0 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 310 | 29.3 | 1.3 | 48.1 | 21.3 |
| Total | 3541 | 24.8 | 3.4 | 43.4 | 28.4 |

Note: Height for age Weight for age Weight for height

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|-----|
| Normal | Normal | Normal | NNN |
| Normal | Low | Low | NLL |
| Low | Low | Normal | LLN |
| Low | Low | Low | LLL |

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition, Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

TABLE 11

Percent Distribution of Pre-School Children (1-5 Years)

According to Seoane and Latham Classification - Girls*

| State | No. of Children | Normal (NNN) | Current Short term Malnutrition (NNL) | Past Chronic Malnutrition (Nutritional Dwarfs) (LLN) | Current Long Duration Malnutrition (LLL) |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| Kerala | 234 | 39.7 | 9.0 | 31.6 | 19.7 |
| Tamil Nadu | 315 | 40.3 | 7.3 | 30.8 | 21.6 |
| Karnataka | 426 | 35.0 | 4.9 | 36.9 | 23.2 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 445 | 35.1 | 7.9 | 33.0 | 24.0 |
| Maharashtra | 297 | 30.6 | 4.0 | 43.2 | 22.2 |
| Gujarat | 551 | 28.9 | 5.1 | 40.1 | 25.9 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 314 | 38.5 | 4.1 | 48.2 | 9.2 |
| West Bengal | 400 | 33.3 | 5.7 | 30.2 | 30.8 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 252 | 43.7 | 2.4 | 36.1 | 17.8 |
| Total | 3234 | 36.1 | 5.6 | 36.7 | 21.6 |

Note: Height for age Weight for age Weight for height

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|-----|
| Normal | Normal | Normal | NNN |
| Normal | Low | Low | NLL |
| Low | Low | Normal | LLN |
| Low | Low | Low | LLL |

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition, Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

TABLE 12

Percentage Prevalence of Deficiency Signs *

| State | Kerala | Tamil Nadu | Karnataka | Andhra Pradesh | Maharashtra | Gujarat | Madhya Pradesh | West Bengal | Uttar Pradesh |
|-----------------------------|--------|------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|---------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
| Vitamin A Deficiency | | | | | | | | | |
| Years: 0-1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2.4 | - | - |
| 1-5 | 0.7 | 6.3 | 3.6 | 4.4 | - | 1.4 | 8.7 | 1.0 | 6.0 |
| 5-12 | 5.3 | 8.6 | 7.7 | 6.5 | 0.8 | 4.0 | 27.1 | 4.5 | 12.2 |
| 12-21 | 6.0 | 8.6 | 7.2 | 5.9 | 1.5 | 6.2 | 16.5 | - | 2.6 |
| B-Complex Deficiency | | | | | | | | | |
| Years: 0-1 | - | - | 0.9 | 1.3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1-5 | 2.2 | 11.7 | 22.1 | 14.3 | 0.5 | 2.0 | - | 3.5 | 4.2 |
| 5-12 | 10.5 | 14.4 | 32.9 | 20.8 | 0.5 | 9.2 | 1.7 | 7.3 | 6.9 |
| 12-21 | 9.4 | 10.6 | 19.8 | 15.6 | 0.5 | 10.1 | - | 5.5 | 6.1 |

*National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau, Report for the Year 1976, National Institute of Nutrition, Indian Council of Medical Research, Hyderabad, 1977.

the total Title II food represents considerably less than 2% of the total calorie and nutrient requirements of this group. Although this percentage does not indicate impact on individuals to which the program is targeted, it does illustrate the relatively small magnitude of the Title II inputs.

The MCH program is supposed to improve nutritional status among pregnant and lactating women and children under six years of age. Of the 43 million pre-school children who are estimated to be malnourished, less than 7 million are presently receiving food donated by Title II. This means that the program reaches 16% of the affected population.

For the small percentage of needy women and children reached by the program, the MCH ration in the CARE program usually provides about 350 calories/day for 240 days/year. Assuming an average feeding day efficiency of 80% (occasionally this is greater, but usually less), the food supplies about 15% of the average daily requirement. This assumes no ration sharing or substitution, which is an ideal scenario which we do not believe exists. If the food is diluted (through sharing and substitution) among an average of 5.7 family members, it provides 1.8% of the family's total needs. Therefore, the calorie input to the beneficiary will fall between 2% and 12% of the daily requirement, depending on the degree of sharing and substitution. (See Appendix B for calculations.)

Similarly, the ration in the CRS MCH feeding program is 3.5 kg of cereal and 0.5 kg of oil which provides 550 calories per day. Since this is usually a take-home ration and serves as a family food, it supplies about 5.7% of each family's total calorie requirement. (See Appendix B for calculations.)

We believe that the nutritional effect of an increment which, based on the calculations discussed above, is likely to be less than 10%

of a child's total requirements, will be very difficult to find against a background of intermittent infection, fluctuating family food supply, and the numerous other variables affecting nutritional status. We could not observe any effect of the food on recipients many of whom had signs of protein-calorie malnutrition. The ration also has little value in addressing the vitamin and mineral deficiencies discussed previously. Fortification with those nutrients identified as deficient in the Indian diet should be considered.

The SF ration is similar in size to that of MCH and is provided even fewer days of the year. Assuming complete ration dilution, the supplement would increase a family's total food supply by 2% at most. The potential nutritional impact of this small increment is minimal and likewise will be difficult to measure.

The FFW ration on the other hand, provides about 110% of an average family's nutritional requirements during the time a laborer is working for food. Often, more than one family member works, and as a result some exchange or sell excess food. At first sight, the nutritional effect of such a program should be noticeable and have a greater effect than MCH or SF. However, as we have already noted, cereal grains are bulky and thus a poor food for children under three years old who are most deficient in calories. Furthermore, FFW workers often participate in such projects only sporadically. The nutritional impact of FFW may be that in a period of scarcity it prevents individuals whose food consumption is marginal from becoming severely malnourished.

The GOI's massive FFW undertakings seem to be having other economic benefits besides direct relief. (See Chapter III for a more complete discussion of this subject.) In some parts of Orissa, one of the states to participate first and most extensively in FFW, surplus labor has disappeared, and other laborers are reported to be bargaining for fair wages for the first time in memory. The FFW

program appears to have placed a floor under wages for unskilled labor. If the GOI achieves the consumption goal of 1.5 million MT of grain through FFW during 1979, we calculate that the food could reach some 10% of the poor families (assuming 120 days participation by each family per year). The wage effect of such a measure could be significant in selected labor markets as it apparently has been in Orissa.

In economic terms, the income supplement represented by both MCH and SF rations would not be as great as the nutritional increments to the family (which is usually around 2%), due to the low value placed on the commodities (such as bulgur) by the recipients.

As discussed in Chapter III, an education impact of the SF program has been claimed and substantiated. Likewise, MCH programs offering appropriate services and including educational inputs can successfully encourage proper hygiene and child care practices.

We found no reason to believe that the Title II program improves the social status of its participants. To the contrary, questions of increasing the dependency of recipients on government and resources outside their community as well as reducing self-motivation, were often raised by critics of the programs. While these impacts are difficult to measure, it is clear that Title II has not increased initiative toward community problem solving as much as possible if the food was used effectively as an incentive. In many communities visited, a clear social distinction existed between those receiving and not receiving the food ration. Those in the latter group often scorned the thought of being so destitute as to rely on Title II food.

Overall, the 452,408 MT's of food commodities shipped to India in FY '79 must be viewed as a limited resource. Its value does not result from quantity, but rather from the quality of programs in which food is used.

V. LINKAGES BETWEEN VOLAGS AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF INDIA

Since the word "linkage" as used in the statement of work is jargon, a dictionary definition is of little help in understanding what is meant. We offer the following operational definition.

LINKAGE: The mechanism by which two or more separate bureaucracies jointly achieve their respective goals.

At least two observations follow from this definition. First, that the goals of the linked bodies may be quite different and second, that the mechanism obliges a joint effort to achieve a mutually agreed-to target which may not be either body's ultimate goal. We believe that bureaucratic linkages are usually formal agreements but not necessarily binding or contractual.

With this definition in mind, we can now identify "linkages" between the volags and the center, state and local governments.

A. Indo-US Agreement

This document establishes the basis for operation of the American volags (CRS, CWS, LWR) which might provide food and other assistance to India for the furtherance of "humanitarian and developmental goals." The agreement makes no mention of feeding programs or nutrition activities and thus cannot coordinate objectives of the parties to the agreement. It does however contribute to the ease (though perhaps not the "efficacy") with which volags operating under it can carry out their programs, feeding or otherwise, by providing for berth space, expeditious port clearances, free entry, payment of inland freight, and storage and handling of commodities imported by the volag in furtherance of the stated goal and for which the U.S. government has paid shipping charge.

B. Indo-CARE Agreement

This agreement provides for the payment by the states of freight, port handling, and inland transportation charges for movement of CARE donated foods. It also exempts CARE commodities from duties and port charges.

At the state level, only CARE has linkages with the Government. These take the form of agreements to undertake specific feeding programs jointly. Appended to the "List of Provisions," which is the operative document under which CARE and the GOI work, is a section which establishes the number of beneficiaries, number of feeding days, kinds of commodities and projected commodity tonnages. The states further agree to pay CARE for making sure that the food is moved from Indian ports to local warehouses and for monitoring its flow and usage at levels 'minimally acceptable' to CARE. In the past few months, the cost of such monitoring has been an issue of some concern to the GOI which ordered states to suspend payments to CARE for monitoring. CARE delayed further Title II commodity calls forward because of fear that the GOI would not accept its 'minimal' monitoring requirement. The GOI has recently ordered resumption of payments by the states of CARE's administrative costs, and the food has been ordered by CARE. However, indications are that this question of CARE administrative recovery cost is still of very much concern to the GOI.

The states also usually agree to provide complementary program inputs such as certain health services, on-site storage, indigenous foods or center in-charge. Our field observations indicate that compliance is uneven. To the degree that complementary inputs are provided, there is agreement that efficacy of the program is enhanced.

Thus an 'integrated' scheme with inputs from CARE and the state, such as the Kerala "Composite Program for Women and Pre-school

Children" which provides health services, day care and preschool education and mother and child feeding in a context of community responsibility for the center, is widely acknowledged as an "ideal" program type. In contrast, street-side dole is viewed as inefficient, even by those requesting expansion of the program.

C. Local Level

With respect to local level linkages, CRS has formal written agreements in several cities with the Municipal Corporation for the purpose of providing mid-day meals to school children. These, like the state-level agreements of CARE, operate as contracts for provision of food and monitoring in return for a fee. Since the service fee is considerably less than even the local value of the food, and since freight and port charges are paid by the GOI, it is good business for cities and states to avail themselves of volag services. To the degree that such programs could not operate without subsidized food, the links contribute to program efficacy.

Other local level linkages for both CRS and CASA are more tenuous. Usually some sort of project description is provided to CRS or CASA by the person or group requesting food. This is reviewed, first to determine recipient eligibility and, secondly for plausibility - is the proposed consignee likely to do what the project says?

If the project is approved, usually a letter is sent to the consignee, indicating approval and setting out the reporting and operational conditions under which specified commodities will flow. Thus, the linkages are: (1) a project description stating what the consignee will do (with food and other inputs) and (2) a confirmatory letter from CRS or CASA.

To the degree that the volags carefully screen project proposals or actually assist in their preparation as ensure complementarity of food with other goods or services, this part of the linkage

can contribute to the quality of feeding programs. Unfortunately, linkages, in the sense we have defined, are not sufficient to ensure efficacious programs. The volags must look beyond the formal agreements and question whether their own imperative to "move the food" may not distract them from undertaking qualitative review of their programs. The team observed such a range of quality in projects that it is difficult to believe that all the volags are doing every thing possible to select actively for program quality. However, CARE contends that since they are constrained to operate through the government they are doing all that is possible to upgrade services.

Chapter VII proposes a list of elements of "ideal" projects. This is based on what we observed in the field, not on theory. We suggest that the volags, with USAID, agree on some common list of desirable program characteristics and work together to measure the quality and efficacy of the projects in terms of these characteristics. A first step in this direction would be the description and quantification of projects and their beneficiaries. This effort is already being made by CARE with their Random Sample Survey, which should be supported. USAID is considering similar data collection and should carefully coordinate with the laudable efforts of CARE. The second step would be to select (and reject) projects based on conclusions derived from the sample survey results (i.e., which kinds of projects to promote, in general, not which specific projects in the sample to eliminate). If such decisions can be built into linkages, efficacy of the programs should be enhanced.

VI. TITLE II INTEGRATION WITH GOI, VOLAGS AND AID ACTIVITIES

A. AID

The narratives of the Annual Budget Submission (ABS) and Country Development Strategy Statement (CDSS) describe how the Title II program works in support of the welfare and economic development objectives of the overall plan. However, Title II inputs have not been specifically allocated for use in any other AID projects. This is presumably because the entire Title II program is operated through private voluntary agencies and it might create an anomalous situation were AID to grant food to a private agency and then arrange to get it back for its own purposes. Nonetheless, it is ironic that the USAID supported projects make no use of Title II food as a resource. The possibility of doing otherwise should be explored by USAID and the volags, perhaps with a view toward devising a government-to-government program, where needs detected.

However, we would say that the uses of Title II food in the voluntary agency programs are generally not in conflict with the overall goals and programs of the USAID mission, and while they are not closely coordinated, they do work toward the same ends.

B. GOI

In the GOI's Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-1983, the nutrition section concerning the high priority "Minimum Needs Programme" states the following: "Nutrition - The coverage of the mid-day meals program for undernourished (school) children and supplementary nutrition program for mothers and infants will be preferentially extended to blocks (counties) which have a high proportion of Scheduled Castes (low caste and Harijans) and Scheduled Tribe population. The estimated numbers of additional beneficiaries would be 2.6 million children under the nutrition scheme (MCH) and 4 million children under the mid-day meals scheme (SF)." For the operation of these MCH and SF programs, the GOI currently depends to a great extent on the donated food from the World Food Program and the volags.

The point should be made, however, that AID's priorities for Title II food, which place maternal and child feeding first and school feeding last, do not reflect the priorities of the Indian Government. The Sixth Plan explicitly places universal elementary education highest on the list of priorities in the minimum needs program and devotes 80% of the 5 million beneficiary increase in centrally funded (GOI) feeding programs to school feeding in support of education. Maternal and child feeding is implicitly lowest priority of the three feeding categories and faces acknowledged difficulties in infrastructures (e.g., feeding centers) and complementary services. Once again, to quote the GOI Draft Five Year Plan in reference to the Special Nutrition Programme which is largely supported by Title II commodities: "It was noticed that in spite of enormous inputs, the feeding programmes had not produced impact to an appreciable extent on the community."

The GOI has demonstrated its support of the food-for-work concept by undertaking a massive program with its own contribution of wheat, rice, and millet. For the Indian fiscal year just ended, more than one million tons of food were distributed - more than double the total authorized Title II program for FY 1979.

The evaluation team suggests that Title II inputs should be used according to the stated priorities of the recipient country. In this regard, AID/W should be aware of the enormous Indian resource being used in FFW, the high priority being placed on education and the problems with MCH feeding acknowledged by the GOI.

In regard to coordination with government, a distinction must be made between the activities of CARE and those of the other two voluntary agencies. CARE works exclusively through the state governments. As a result, its programs are naturally well integrated with both central and state government; in reality, they are one and the same. Examples of this integration are school mid-day

meals programs in which CARE and the states provide food on alternate days, or food for work programs in which government subsidies and guaranteed loans are coordinated with Title II food inputs for construction of irrigation wells.

CARE follows the priorities established by the GOI to the extent possible. For example, it has pushed for increase in the school feeding programs in response to expressed GOI priorities even though this was not the highest priority of AID.

With the exception of a few cities in which CRS has contracts with the Municipal Corporation to provide food for the mid-day meals program, the other volag programs of CRS and CWS/LWR/CASA, operate independently of governments. They do work to fulfill needs which are recognized as basic by the GOI and the state governments, although they are not explicitly coordinated with government efforts. In general, both CRS and CASA follow the priorities of the governments by trying to serve the poor, especially tribals, and lower castes.

While at the program level the integration of Title II and government programs is quite good, there is a level at which there is no integration at all. This is the level at which it is decided which commodities are to be donated under the Title II agreements. India is at present dealing with unprecedented, bountiful cereal grain harvests and consequent storage headaches. It may be true, as several Indian officials contend, that a few bad monsoons could wipe out the reserve stocks; nonetheless India's immediate need is clearly not for cereals, and yet this is what the United States is giving. At the same time there is a serious shortage of edible oil and milk. The volags and USAID discussed with GOI officials the possibility that grain from India's stock be made available

to existing Title II programs if donations of an equivalent value were made in the form of edible oil. This would fill a genuine commodity need as well as providing a means for the GOI to draw down some of its reserve stock excess. We encourage further consideration of this idea.

Conversely, the Oilseeds Producers Cooperative Development Project to be implemented by CLUSA and the NDDB starting in fiscal 1980 is well integrated with GOI objectives, strategies and implementation approaches. The Sixth Plan states, "The output target for major oilseeds is fixed at 112 lakhs (hundred thousands) tons. This implies a step up of 20 lakh tons over the output level in the current year. This step up is considered absolutely necessary to prevent serious shortages of edible oil."

C. Volags

All three voluntary agencies make use of Title II food in the context of their overall program; this means, almost by definition, that the food is well integrated into their activities. The CARE program in India is almost exclusively concerned with food distribution, and its other projects are primarily in support of its food program. Its cash expenditures are well integrated into food programs, as they go primarily for construction of balwadis and payment for support services for maternal-child feeding, food processing facilities, and godowns for storage of Title II food. A heavy focus of the CARE program is on moving the food, which entails considerable logistical effort, and which they do quite well. Unfortunately, this may distract attention from broader development questions and limit activities in non-food programs. The GOI has recently imposed a restriction on CARE activities which requires that they not undertake projects which are not directly in support of food programs, so this limitation may not be entirely by choice. Nonetheless, this means that as far as CARE is concerned, the question of integration of food into its activities is almost meaningless.

Title II food virtually constitutes its program in India. Its role is largely that of a contractor to the state governments to move food through mutually agreed programs. This is not to say that CARE plays a passive role, as they exert considerable leverage toward program improvement, and play an advocacy role in terms of integrated programming.

The program of CRS makes considerable use of Title II food in conjunction with other inputs available from other sources. While coordination is not always optimal, the food and other resources often complement each other in a given program. Unfortunately, there are a number of projects, especially in the MCH category, which involve little or no integration with other activities.

Some CRS projects are being undertaken which explicitly attempt to achieve independence of Title II food. For example, the Nutrition Education Program (NEP), which teaches village women how to make better use of indigenous foods, uses donated foreign foods such as soy-fortified bulgur or CSM as incentives for attendance. Nevertheless, the object is to limit the use of such foods.

Some CRS implementors are concerned about the risk of creating dependency on outside resources, but most implementors do not deal with this issue and do make use of the food in their programs. CRS basically views itself as a responder, making food available to those who request it. The NEP is one of the few agency-wide attempts to integrate food use into a complete package. Otherwise, all aspects of program management are left to the institutions of the local diocese, priest or in-charge, whose methods of operation vary widely.

The policy of CWS/LWR, operated through the local agency, CASA, is explicitly to focus on "development," interpreted as increased self-reliance of communities in developing countries. At the policy

makers' level (Delhi), concern was expressed about using Title II food in their programs, once again because of a fear of creating dependency. As a result, program planners make a conscious effort to limit the role of food to one which is complementary to other inputs. However, they acknowledge that this goal is difficult to achieve and that it is often not met. Once again, the quality of the program in-charge is the variable which most influences the individual program. Projects are specifically avoided which have no other inputs besides food.

VII. CRITERIA FOR REVIEWING REQUESTS FOR TITLE II

Good management practice dictates that criteria for reviewing requests for Title II should vary according to the level of decision making. The criteria used must reflect the program objectives, which are perceived differently at each decision making level. Furthermore, the data and information which are available at the different levels also condition the criteria used. If one decision making level must ask another for "further information," it may be encroaching on decisions which should legitimately be made at the other level, i.e., "second guessing."

There are some unique and some shared objectives at the Washington, Delhi (USAID and GOI), state and local levels. We suggest that those which are unique to a particular level should be its primary concern. If an objective is shared by several levels, it should be primarily addressed by the level closest to implementation. Criteria for review of Title II requests should be derived primarily from the unique concerns at each level.

A. Washington

Washington should review Title II Program Plans annexed to the USAID's Annual Budget Submission (ABS). This should be done in light of: (1) adherence to broad program limits set forth in prior AID/W guidance; and (2) pressing international (and, if unavoidable, domestic) political concerns. Washington should compare the Program Plan with CDSS and ABS objectives to assure that Title II inputs support other U.S. humanitarian and development efforts and are consistent with GOI development strategies and goals. We would discourage the application of narrow programming priorities (e.g., MCH first, FFW second, SF third) at all levels, and especially by Washington, for several reasons. First, they undermine the programming autonomy of the volags which is based on their unique experience and knowledge. Second, they discourage constructive

experimentation with food as a development resource. Third, they allow administrators at different levels, whose legitimate concerns have little or nothing to do with how the Title II food is used in the particular Indian setting, to interject themselves in the decision making process. Washington's review questions should be similar to the following:

1. Do we have enough of the food requested within the limits already established?
2. Have Mission political concerns been adequately addressed?
3. Does the proposed Title II program support stated USAID and GOI objectives?
4. Has the Mission determined that the volag program addresses Congressional imperatives to:
 - reach the poor majority;
 - provide humanitarian assistance ; and
 - further development?

B. USAID

The USAID, because of its proximity to the GOI and volags and knowledge of their activities, is in a position to review Title II requests. The Mission also has primary responsibility for monitoring program implementation. Its review questions should be of the following kind:

1. Is the Plan consistent with the Mission political concerns?
2. Is the Plan consistent with the CDSS?
3. Does the total resource transfer respond to India's development needs?
4. Can the volag do what it proposes?
5. Are GOI priority areas and groups given preference (e.g., tribals, scheduled castes, non-enrolled, school-aged children, drought-prone areas)?

6. Does the program show movement towards mutually agreed program types or constructive experimentation to overcome program obstacles (e.g., reaching those under three years old)?
7. Are there ways in which the volags could provide (food) support to other USAID projects?
8. Have programming questions in Handbook No. 9, Regulation 11,¹¹ been adequately answered (e.g., adequate port and storage, non-duplication of programs)?

C. Volags

The volags are essentially responsible for the design and implementation of Title II programs in India, and they control to a large degree the actual setting in which the Title II food is used. Therefore, their review of Title II requests should be based primarily on their assessment of the extent to which programs are likely to meet the developmental, nutritional and humanitarian objectives. The decision of the cooperating sponsor about which activities to undertake and what criteria to use for their review will ultimately have the greatest impact on the overall results of Title II programs.

Initially, a determination should be made whether the food is being used optimally. Often there are trade-offs between the effort of the undertaking and its possible benefits. Whether it means overcoming logistical constraints (e.g., reaching an inaccessible area or overcoming lack of infrastructure), or political constraints (e.g., requiring the use of leverage with government or consignee to include local inputs, including related services and indigenous food), the volag should review Title II activities with the aim of maximizing impact.

More specifically, volags should consider: (1) whether proposed projects are moving in the direction of the high quality programs;

11. U.S. Agency for International Development. "Handbook No. 9 - Food for Peace Title II," Washington, D.C. (Mimeographed).

and (2) whether there is a way to determine when program goals have been achieved so that resources could be moved from programs or areas where goals have been accomplished into those backward areas which are poorly served at present.

Since this assessment is "qualitative," we wish to make some qualitative judgments at this point. Our field observations revealed a broad spectrum of "quality" within any given program type. We suggested that the best of these can be easily identified along with the elements which make them so. We believe that the cooperating sponsor, GOI and state governments, and USAID can agree to incorporate these elements into programs or projects where they are now missing and thus move in the direction of ideal models. We present herewith a list of some of the elements which we would like to see incorporated. The list is not complete and should be made so by the volags and counterparts in consultation with USAID.

MCH

1. Complementary inputs such as pre- and post natal, parent/child education, and immunization.
2. Presence of trained personnel (in-charge) to run and monitor programs.
3. Provision of an appropriate low bulk, high nutrient density food for children under three years of age (e.g., CSM).
4. Community support and participation.
5. Provision for the continuation of program structure and activities even if food donation is terminated.

FFW

1. Community participates in selection of project and program beneficiaries.
2. Project produces an asset or skill which will continue to generate income or employment for the beneficiaries/community.
3. Recipients of program assets (i.e., marginal farmers) are selected on the basis of economic ed.

4. The benefit of the project does not demand a continued food input.

SF

1. Local preparation of food in rural areas.
2. Central kitchen preparation in urban slum areas.
3. Community operation of programs.
4. Increasing state and local (indigenous) food inputs.

Again, we must stress that the elements suggested above were all observed in some of the presently operating programs. They should be used as a framework around which the volags and USAID can construct a more comprehensive listing of essential program characteristics.

VIII. DATA COLLECTION FOR PROGRAM REVIEW AND EVALUATION

There are two separate reasons for collecting data on Title II food distribution programs. Information is needed to manage the programs and to monitor the flow of food. Information is also needed to evaluate the impact of the programs and their success in achieving the purposes and goals that have been established for them. These two functions, management and evaluation, require different kinds of data and different approaches to sampling and data collection. There may be some commonality in the information required for these two purposes, and of course an effort should be made to coordinate the respective activities. However, it should be recognized that they may require separate efforts.

For program monitoring and management, limited amounts of information are needed, but the information must be available for large numbers of programs on a continuing basis. Evaluation requires information which is more difficult and costly to obtain, but may be collected only once or at a few points in time. It may require a different approach to sample selection as well. Incorporating evaluation into the data collection system for program management would probably overburden that system and at the same time result in compromising the kinds of data needed for thorough evaluation. Therefore we believe that initially a decision must be made as to whether the Title II program should be monitored and/or evaluated. Subsequently, the information needs for the two functions should be identified separately, and the data collection systems should be combined only when it is efficient to do so.

A. Program Monitoring and Management

An important principle in the design of management information systems is that at each level of management, only that information should be obtained which is necessary for the decisions made at that level. Before any data are collected, it should be known how the data are to be used, and by whom. At present, fairly detailed program information is often requested not only by the USAID but

even by AID/W. It is not clear how, or even whether this information is used.

We heard complaints from the voluntary agencies, particularly from CARE, that AID's reporting requirements were burdensome both because of the detail requested and because the format in which it was required did not conform to their internal data collection system. The other volags are more decentralized and monitor individual programs less closely, but CARE has an extensive system of its own which they feel has not been adequately recognized or used by the USAID or by AID/W. It is our suggestion that AID/W and the USAID re-evaluate their needs for information for program monitoring purposes, and that the USAID and representatives of the volags meet to work out a system which, as far as possible, can be used by the volags for their own purposes as well as to meet their reporting requirements.

We would suggest that appropriate information for the USAID to seek should concern the quantities of food distributed, the numbers and types of beneficiaries and number of days they receive food, the quantities of food given per beneficiary, the number of programs in each location and the amount and type of complementary resources available (e.g., indigenous food, other health services).

Some inconsistencies in the present report system should be eliminated. For example, in FFW programs, each worker should be counted as a beneficiary. At present, some volags report FFW beneficiaries as the number of workers multiplied by a theoretical family size of five.

This adds unnecessary inaccuracy and confusion. Also, the number of beneficiaries (in SF, for example) must be matched with the number of days each received food. In the present reporting system it is not possible to distinguish those who receive food daily from those who receive food once a year.

For the monitoring system, sampling should be done on a random basis from the universe of all programs of a particular program type. Spot checking of programs in the field by USAID staff, as by volag personnel is also a necessary part of the monitoring effort and will contribute to the confidence which is placed in the data obtained. Selection of sites to be visited however, should follow an orderly system with explicit criteria - not just sites that happen to be convenient.

At the time we were in Delhi, the USAID was initiating the process which we have here suggested. The mission was planning to hire a management information specialist to assist in developing a data system for program monitoring. We would hope that the management data needs of Washington as well as the USAID and the volags will be incorporated into this single system.

B. Program Evaluation

The PL 480 Title II program started as a food resource looking for an appropriate purpose. Food was available in the U.S. for distribution in poor countries, and the voluntary agencies designed programs which could make use of the food resource, rather than designing programs to address an identified need. This is an important consideration in evaluating goal achievement, because it means that the food and not the goals came first in designing the programs. This is not necessarily a criticism of the programs which may still be effective in using the resources available to them. But it does suggest that a thorough program evaluation should explore potential spinoff effects which were originally not stated goals of the program but which might be equally important.

The first programs in India which made use of the Title II food were school feeding and food for work. Later, at the request of AID/W food was also used in maternal and child feeding. Except for the

specification of humanitarian and development objectives, specific purposes and goals for the Title II programs were not identified until the early 1970's. The purposes which were given to the programs at that time were: (1) education; (2) improved nutrition and health status; and (3) employment generation and the creation of physical infrastructure. The achievement of these purposes was presumed to contribute to the broader, underlying goal of development (see Figure 2, page 16, for an inverted logical framework describing these relationships).

The links between the program outputs and purposes and between the purposes and the goal of development are a set of hypotheses which have not often been explicitly stated and which, therefore have not been adequately tested. For example, it is hypothesized that school feeding (output), by acting as an incentive for attendance will improve education or the use of educational infrastructure (purpose). The improved level of education of the population is expected to contribute to development (goal).

For the food provided in the MCH program (output) to have an impact on a child's health and nutritional status (purpose), several conditions must be met. These were listed in Chapter III, and are summarized below:

1. Nutrient intake in the target group, in the absence of the feeding program is deficient.
2. Food reaches and is consumed by the individuals in the target groups in the quantities specified (no sharing).
3. The food distributed meets the nutrient deficiencies in the target group.
4. Substitution for other family food does not occur.
5. Nutrient losses due to infection or parasite infestation do not occur.

If these conditions are not met, then nutritional impact of the food will be reduced. For example, if the supplemental food is shared with other family members, the quantity reaching the target individual will be smaller and therefore, of less nutritional benefit. Similarly, if targeting is inadequate and some beneficiaries are not nutritionally deficient, then the food which goes to them is wasted.

For MCH feeding it is subsequently held that the improved nutritional status (purpose) will result in improving the quality of human resources and furthermore the cause of development (goal). That is, it is believed that, in the absence of nutritional supplementation, poor nutrition would result in a population whose mental and physical capacities were diminished and whose productivity would be reduced. This relationship between chronic undernutrition and reduced productivity is itself a hypothesis which has not been fully tested.

The logical design of the FFW program which links outputs to purposes and purposes to goals, rests on different assumptions from those underlying SF or MCH.

Initially, however, we must measure the extent to which the food (input) is being used in program activities (outputs). This is accomplished by the monitoring system, which is therefore a precondition to further evaluation efforts.

The next step is the verification of the assumptions listed above in order to demonstrate that the outputs (i.e., programs) will result in the achievement of the stated purposes (improved health and nutritional status, increased education, and employment generation and infrastructure development). These assumptions should be tested before purpose achievement is measured. The testing of these assumptions alone involves a considerable research effort, and it may represent a saving to complete this work before proceeding to assess program impacts, since this information may be easier to obtain and may even make it unnecessary to proceed further. (This has been

recognized by CARE, which has undertaken evaluations of what they call 'interim goal achievement'.) Even if it is decided to measure success in reaching final purposes or goals, in any case, it is still necessary to verify the assumptions which link program output to purposes. For example, if one measures attainment of program purposes with an indicator such as change in an anthropometric measure, it is first necessary to verify the critical assumptions in order to attribute change in status to program output.

As we mentioned earlier, these assumptions are specific to the type of program being studied. Thus a single research instrument cannot be used for evaluating MCH, SF, and FFW programs. Furthermore, even within a given project category, there is a tremendous variation in the program structure and function. Within FFW, for example, a road building project will be very different from one which trains village women in needlework. Likewise, the Composite Program for Women and Pre-school Children in Kerala is a very different MCH program from the take-home feeding which passes for a supplementary nutrition program in some states.

Given this high level of variability in programs, the use of a large-scale, random sample survey will obscure precisely those programmatic differences which would allow project managers to decide which activities to emphasize or de-emphasize. Furthermore, the large intra-program variability detracts from what can be said meaningfully about the various program forms.

For these reasons, we feel that a series of in-depth studies of particular programs or groups of programs with similar characteristics, will be more fruitful than a large-scale sample survey which perforce cannot be tailor-made to each program.

A final comment is that any in-depth research effort should consider the broad range of possible effects and should not focus exclusively, or even primarily on nutritional variables. In our field visits we

observed the impact of infrastructure which had been built using Title II food for work, and we were told by many school teachers that school feeding had the effect of stabilizing attendance. But in maternal and child feeding programs, people at all levels, from project managers to policy makers were equivocal about the nutritional impact that was being made. Some people stated as an article of faith (we would call it an untested hypothesis) that the food "must be doing some good," since it was going to poor people with presumed inadequate diets. And many people cited the effect of the food as an incentive drawing people to health care services which they would not otherwise receive. But we encountered no evidence that the food itself had a measurable effect on growth or nutritional status, and we heard of many studies by competent institutions which had looked for such effect and failed to find it. This does not mean that the program is worthless, but it supports our contention that a broad range of program benefits, not solely nutritional ones, should be assessed.

C. Summary

We recommend that Title II data collection efforts in India be separated according to their two functions: on-going program monitoring and periodic evaluation of purpose and goal achievement. The data collection system for program monitoring should be developed based on the minimal data needs of the three administrative levels (volags, USAID, AID/W) as stated above. The system should be based on random sampling of programs within each major category (MCH, SF, FFW), and geographically stratified. It should be planned as a continuous effort. Spot checking by the USAID and the volags should be a part of the plan.

If further program evaluation is desired, it should start with the identification of all expected benefits of a given program, and of the assumptions underlying the expectation that these benefits will

be obtained. A decision can then be made whether it is more efficient and economical to test the assumptions first, or concurrently with the assessment of purpose and goal achievement. Evaluation can be performed on a small sample of programs purposively chosen to be representative of particular variants.

XI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Before presenting our set of recommendations, we would like to recognize the generally excellent efforts which the volags and their collaborators have made and are making in using Title II food to good advantage. They have been bent by the winds of AID policy changes, sapped by bureaucratic information demands and pecked at by an endless stream of evaluators, auditors, visiting firemen and miscellaneous dignitaries. In spite of these, they manage to operate programs which reach nearly 20 million needy Indians, most of them children. They are usually aware of the deficiencies of their programs as well as their strengths.

For this reason, we are directing our recommendations primarily at AID and USAID in the hope that they will further facilitate volag operations and, like the Title II food itself, act as an incentive for the volags to remedy their own recognized deficiencies. We have already rejected as inappropriate the idea of making recommendations to the GOI. The highly capable and motivated Indian officials with whom we talked were fully able themselves to sort out their priorities concerning feeding programs based on costs and benefits.

Our conclusions and recommendations provided in this section fall into two categories. Some are restatements of the comments found in other chapters concerning the three major program types. The second group are made at the general policy level and reflect upon detailed discussion of issues in preceding chapters.

A. Program Level

1. MCH Program - Our conclusion is that the major objectives of Title II food in MCH programs, that of improving health and nutritional status of the target group, are largely not achieved. The basis for this finding is, that according to our observations, the conditions necessary for the achievement of the health and

nutrition objectives (see pg. 37) are not consistently fulfilled. A much larger ration would be needed to counteract the effects of sharing, substitution and losses due to poor health. This finding is confirmed by much of the research done by Indian institutions which failed, in most cases, to find any but marginal nutritional impact of MCH programs.

A second conclusion is that the food does have the potential to act as an incentive for receiving other health services. This potential can only be realized if the other services are available.

We therefore make the following recommendations, recognizing that many of these ideas are not new and that some of them are already being attempted.

- a. Programs which provide food alone should be upgraded to provide other health and educational services. Programs which do not do this should be actively discouraged.
- b. It should be recognized that few children under three years are being reached by the program. Either new delivery methods should be investigated, or the emphasis on the objectives of reaching this target group should be reduced.
- c. Beneficiaries should be selected on the basis of economic and nutritional need. (For example if mothers in the program have low birth weight babies, these should be given a high priority for food supplementation.)
- d. Coarse cereal grains should not be provided as a nutritional supplement for children under three. Low bulk, high nutrient-density food should be programmed for this group.
- e. If the food is to be consumed by a given individual, it should be prepared and eaten on site for maximum control.

f. A greater consideration should be given to the need for improved environmental sanitation to reduce infection and infestation, along with nutritional supplementation.

2. FFW Program - The existing FFW projects are not neutral in their effects. Those which involve the granting of assets to selected individuals or to a community without requiring their participation in planning their contribution of labor or resources, run the risk of perpetuating a dangerous attitude of dependency on outside charity. Furthermore, if projects promise benefits which are not received because of poor planning and lack of other inputs, or if a project's benefits are clearly allocated unfairly and without regard for genuine need, then people will become cynical, skeptical of the value of development programs.

In contrast, projects which use the availability of food as an incentive to organize the community and educate it in planning and problem solving, as well as to create income-generating assets and skills, can have an important positive long-term effect on economic and community development. The nutritional impact of such an effect may well be greater than that of any direct feeding program.

In order to ensure that FFW projects result in these positive economic and nutritional changes, we have made the following recommendations regarding project design. These suggestions are based on observations of successful existing programs, which means that they are not new ideas and that their feasibility has been demonstrated. While local conditions of unemployment low income or lack of food may justify undertaking some projects which do not fulfill all of the recommended criteria, it is our suggestion that these conditions be given greater emphasis in future FFW projects.

- a. If possible, the project should be one that promotes community-wide self-reliance as well as economic growth. This can be achieved if project beneficiaries are involved in planning and execution of the project, if they take responsibility for it, and if they are required to provide some of the project resources themselves.
 - b. The project should be planned with food as a resource with time-limited availability and with specific criteria for the eventual termination of the food input. (In training programs the time limit could be applied to individual trainees.)
 - c. The selection of project beneficiaries (those who receive assets created by the project) should be based on established criteria of economic need. Ideally, from the point of view of community participation, the recipients (those who receive the food) should be the beneficiaries as well. It would be best if the whole community participated in selection of beneficiaries as well as of the project. Recipients of course should also be selected on the basis of need.
 - d. A project should not be undertaken unless all the resources are known to be available. Otherwise, those resources which are used will be wasted, and people's confidence will be lost.
 - e. A project should address an existing constraint on economic development in the community, responding, if possible, to a felt need of the people.
3. SF Program - We have considered the high priority that the GOI has mandated for the universalization of elementary education and the compelling role played by SF in attracting and retaining children in school, especially from the neediest groups - tribals,

low castes and landless. The team strongly supports any efforts by the GOI, the USAID and the voluntary agencies to continue, improve and expand the primary school feeding program utilizing both Title II commodities and locally produced foods. We also concur with the GOI's perception that basic education and human resources development are essential factors in social and economic development. The use of Title II food as an incentive to contribute to this long range development goal is worthwhile and deserving of support. Furthermore, the ease with which Title II commodities can be targeted in an on-the-spot feeding program persuades us to accept the MDM as a relatively effective (as the infrastructure exists and is functioning) means of providing a nutrient supplement to children to meet the program goals of more education. More specific recommendations are as follows.

- a. Headmasters and teachers responsible for the management of the MDM programs should receive special training to enlighten them on the objectives of the feeding program and to demonstrate to them ways by which the program could be made more effective for the benefit of the target groups. This training should explore the myriad ways that the teacher can play a catalytic role in the village or hamlet in social action and community development. In this way the Title II food could serve as an innocent entre in a whole series of development spin-offs culminating in people learning to solve their own problems.
- b. In any expansion of the MDM program with Title II and local stocks, first consideration should be given to the present client schools to realize a more rational head count for the inclusion of all children in need.
- c. Second order of expansion should be to new primary schools serving children from tribal, scheduled caste, or landless families. Related to this expansion should be a special

focus on the eight states where 70% of the nonenrolled primary school age children live. Other areas which should receive special consideration for MDM intervention are city slums and drought-prone rural areas.

- d. The team recommends that all such expansions of the MDM program should be made conditional on significant local participation in the management and support of the programs. This participation could be spontaneous if the matching nature of the expansion is well publicized. Likewise the training envisaged above should lead to fomenting such local initiative.
- e. Our own observations confirmed what has been noted in several research papers, namely that the school children suffer from vitamin deficiencies. For this reason the team recommends that the responsible authorities explore the possibilities of providing vitamin supplements or vitamin-fortified foods to the MDM program. There was a particular need for vitamin A and the B-complex vitamins.

B. General Policy Level

1. For this recommendation, we refer to a recent background paper of the Presidential Commission on World Hunger. "Eliminate rank priorities: (1) MCH; (2) FFW; (3) SF on a world wide basis and allow greater flexibility for individual programming which coincides with the specific needs of various countries."¹² We do not deny the importance of eliminating childhood malnutrition. We do question the validity of numerous unstated assumptions which underlie these targeted feeding efforts. Until these are verified, it would be inappropriate to continue pushing volags and collaborators to increase MCH-feeding, especially at the expense of FFW and SF.

12. Food Aid Discussion Materials, Staff Discussion Paper No. 1. Presidential Commission on World Hunger, 1979.

2. In a hierarchical decision making structure there are decisions appropriate to each level. In the interests of good management, higher, more aggregated (i.e., with less detailed knowledge) levels should refrain from remaking decisions already made at lower, more knowledgeable levels. The corollary is that the higher levels must set the broad policy limits within which programs can be developed.

If the higher level decision-makers feel the need to revise lower-level decisions, it usually means that they were not clear in their objectives or role when they set broad policy and implementation guidelines.

3. USAID and AID should support and encourage the volags to develop alternative methods of programming Title II food. If food aid is used in new ways, they must accept that such experimentation may entail a "risk of relinquishing some control over the programs."¹³
4. As a first step in encouraging experimentation and confining decision making and review to the appropriate levels, AID/W and USAID should review their Title II reporting requirements with the objective of making such reports the minimum, logical products of their own information needs and of volag management systems. Specifically, USAID's intent to undertake such a review with the volags, should be funded and serve as a pre-requisite to development of any management information system.
5. We recommend that Title II program data collection efforts in India be separated according to their two functions: on-going program monitoring and periodic evaluation of purpose and goal achievement. The data collection system for program monitoring should be developed based on the minimal data needs of the three administrative levels (volags, USAID, AID/W) as stated above.

13. Ibid.

The system should be based on random sampling of programs within each major category (MCH, SF, FFW), and geographically stratified. It should be planned as a continuous effort. Spot checking by the USAID and the volags should be a part of the plan.

If further program evaluation is desired, it should start with the identification of all expected benefits of a given program, and of the assumptions underlying the expectation that these benefits will be obtained. A decision can then be made whether it is more efficient and economical to test the assumptions first, or concurrently with the assessment of purpose and goal achievement. Evaluation can be performed on a small sample of programs purposively chosen to be representative of particular variants.

6. We believe that the smooth operation of the Title II program in India depends on a close relationship between USAID and the volags, based to some degree on mutual trust and respect. Feelings play an important part in determining how a person will act in a given situation and thus, what his institution will or will not do. In our qualitative assessment, we have found that some volag people do not feel good about USAID. These feelings were described variously as "being taken for granted," as being viewed as "an extension of USAID," as "suffering from the whims of USAID," and of being the unwilling children in an institutional parent-child relationship. We hesitate to make firm recommendations on this point for obvious reasons. Nevertheless, we feel that it would be useful to deal with these feelings openly and constructively. To deny that such feelings exist and reject this suggestion would probably be a good indicator of the need for just such an effort.

APPENDIX A - Statement of Work

The contractor shall provide a program evaluator (team leader) a program analyst, and a consumption economist who shall carry out the following duties ~~(in cooperation with an AID/direct-hire food-for-peace officer, an Indian nutritionist, and Indian anthropologist, USAID/New Delhi's nutrition advisor, and a representative of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies.~~

1. Assess the policies and program practices of CARE, CRS, CWS, UN, AID, and the Government of India (GOI) to determine congruence and harmony of the strategies and other policy-related matters, objectives and implementation approaches. (It is understood that country programs may differ in the priority they assign to the various food assistance objectives.) Make policy change recommendations as may be appropriate.
2. Examine the background and current structure of CARE, CRS, CWS and LWR Title II programs in India, analyze the roles of the different voluntary agencies and the GOI agencies, the range of inputs and outputs, and identify the target groups benefiting from the programs. Compare this information with the planned outputs and project purposes as defined in available project documentation.
3. Assess the extent, degree, and basic characteristics of malnutrition in the various regions of the country, describe the perceived impact that achievement of current volag program objectives is expected to have on the malnutrition problem. (If a problem of varying objectives has been identified, this should be considered in the analysis.) In particular, assess the contribution to date, and the projected contribution of Title II inputs/outputs to the improved nutritional, economic, education, or social status of the various target groups.
4. Ascertain linkage between the volags and GOI at center, state, and local levels in terms of coordination of objectives regarding feeding programs and nutrition activities, and examine extent to which these linkages contribute to the efficiency of the feeding programs.

5. Assess adequacy of Title II program integration with other GOI, volag, and AID activities and vice versa.
 6. Propose criteria which may be used by volags, GOI, and AID in reviewing requests for Title II assistance.
-
7. Drawing on Nathan Model Scope-of-Work and O'Quinn methodology report, make recommendations on how an improved but relatively inexpensive Title II data collection and review system may be established.
 8. Advise regarding specific areas of concentration during second (long-term) evaluation.
 9. Based on the above review, prepare a set of recommendations for short and long-term actions by USAID, AID, the GOI, CARE, CRS, CWS and LWR for improved policy and program effectiveness. Describe the rational and projected impact of any changes recommended. Areas for recommendation may include the focus of objectives, appropriateness of target groups or geographical areas, appropriateness of organizational structure, and steps which might be taken to improve GOI capacity to real near-term and future management responsibilities associated with the food delivery system and its objectives.

APPENDIX B - Ration as Percentage of Caloric Requirement

Given:

1. Calorie Requirements
 - a. 1500 cal/day for child less than six years of age
 - b. 1700 cal/day for primary school child
2. Size of MCH Rations
 - a. CARE - 350 cal for 240 days
 - b. CRS - 500 cal for 365 days (take home)
3. Size of SF Ration - 300 cal for 180 days

Then for MCH Ration:

a. CARE

- Assuming no sharing or substitution and 80% feeding efficiency

$$\frac{240 \text{ days} \times 0.8 \text{ feeding efficiency}}{365 \text{ days}} \times \frac{350 \text{ cal/day}}{1500 \text{ cal required}} = 12\% \text{ of requirement}$$

- Assuming complete ration dilution and 80% feeding efficiency

$$\frac{240 \text{ days} \times 0.8 \text{ feeding efficiency}}{365 \text{ days}} \times \frac{350 \text{ cal/day}}{5.7 \text{ persons} \times 1700 \text{ cal required}} = 1.8\% \text{ of requirement}$$

b. CRS (which is dry food take home)

- Assuming complete ration dilution and 100% feeding efficiency

$$\frac{365 \text{ days} \times 1.0 \text{ feeding efficiency}}{365 \text{ days}} \times \frac{550 \text{ cal/day}}{5.7 \text{ persons} \times 1700 \text{ cal required}} = 5.7\% \text{ of requirement}$$

SF Ration:

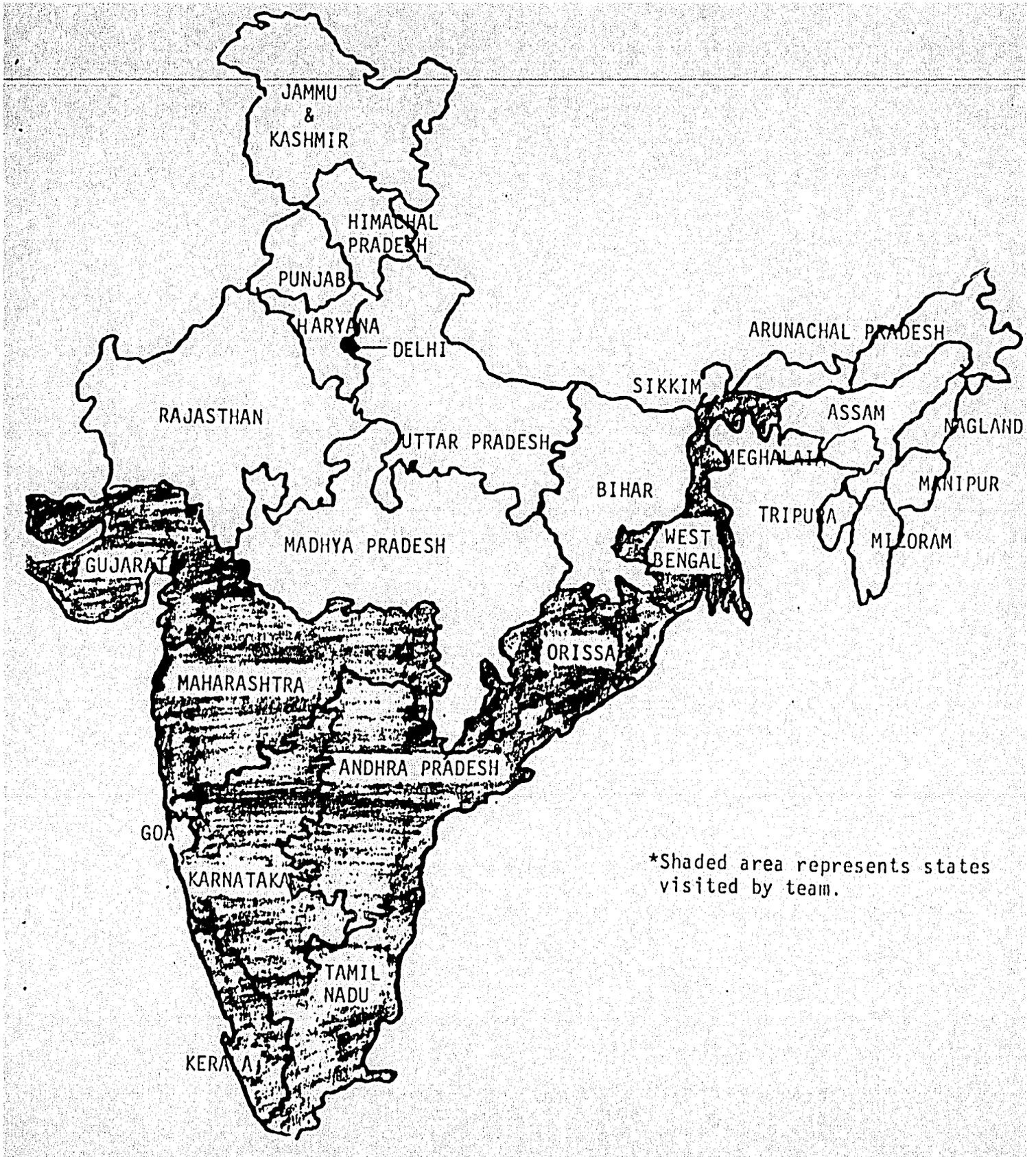
- Assuming no sharing or substitution and 80% feeding efficiency

$$\frac{180 \text{ days} \times 0.8 \text{ feeding efficiency}}{365 \text{ days}} \times \frac{300 \text{ cal}}{1700 \text{ cal required}} = 6.9\% \text{ of requirement}$$

- Assuming complete dilution and 80% feeding efficiency

$$\frac{180 \text{ days} \times 0.8 \text{ feeding efficiency}}{365 \text{ days}} \times \frac{300 \text{ cal}}{5.7 \text{ persons} \times 1700 \text{ cal required}} = 1.2\% \text{ of requirement}$$

APPENDIX C - Sites Visited by Evaluation Team*



*Shaded area represents states visited by team.

SCHOOL FEEDING - (Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Block/Village</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site</u> |
|----------------|--|--------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Gujarat | Jasungpura Village | CARE | Health Department | Rural Tribal |
| | Chhotaudapur Block "Donoda" primary school | CARE | Health Department | Rural Tribal |
| | "Suscal" primary school | CARE | Health Department | Rural Tribal |
| Maharashtra | Thana Dist Bassein Taq Vira Block Nanbhat Village | CRS | Diocese | Rural |
| | Thana Dist Shahpuya Block Dahagan | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| Andhra Pradesh | Khammam Vira Rebbavariam | CRS | Parish Priest | Rural |
| | Warangal Narasanpet Block | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| | Rigimental Bazaar School for boys Hyderabad | CARE | Education Dept | Urban Slum |
| | Hyderabad Primary School | CARE | Education Dept | Urban Lower Middle Class |
| | Yenamalakuduru Village near Vijaiwada | CARE | Education Dept | Semi-Urban |
| | Kankipadu Block near Viajiwada "Penamuhru" primary school | CARE | Education Dept/ Vijaiwada Diocese | Semi Urban |
| | St. John's Vocational School | CRS | Vijaiwada Diocese | Urban |

SCHOOL FEEDING - (Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Block/Village</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site</u> |
|----------------|--|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Andhra Pradesh | St John's Boarding School | CRS | Vijaiwada Diocese | Urban Andhra |
| | Bommireddi Palli Kurnool | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| | Udumlapadu | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| | Kondapeta Dhone | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| | Yudambavithanda | CARE | Education Dept | Tribal |
| West Bengal | Calcutta City | CRS | Auxillium Parish | Urban Slum |
| | Jaynaga Central Primary School | CARE | Education Dept | Large Dist Capita |
| | Rural Jaynagir District | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| Tamil Nadu | Villivakam Chalembedu | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| | Villivakam Ramapunam | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| | Seiperumbadu Vallazabbar Block Utukadu | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| | Madras Corp Kodambakam | CRS | Corporation | Urban |
| | Madras Corp Erangupura T. Nagar | CRS CRS | Corporation Corporation | Urban Slum Urban Slum |
| | Madras Rajbhawan School | CARE | Education Dept | Semi Urban |
| | Madras Velachari | CARE | Education Dept | Semi-Urban |
| | St John's Bosco Primary Madurai | CRS | Parish | Urban |
| Tamil Nadu | Madurai | CASA | Indian Council of Child Welfare | Urban Slum |

SCHOOL FEEDING - (Sites Visited)

| <u>Block/Village</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site</u> |
|---|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| East Panchayat Primary School Madurai | CARE | Education Dept | Semi-Urban |
| Cape Comorin Mary Immaculate Primary St Joseph's | CARE & CRS CARE CARE | Education Dept Diocese Education Dept Education Dept | Rural Rural Rural |
| St Joseph's Venniyoor | CRS | Diocese | Rural |
| Cuttack | CRS | Madrasi Sultana | Urban |
| Phulbarni G.V. Dayagiri Nilangea | CARE | Tribal Areas Rural Welfare Dept of State | Tribal |
| Phulbarni G. Udaygiri Janak mahal | CARE | Education Dept | Tribal |
| Phulbarni G. Udaygiri Kalviga | CARE | Education Dept | Tribal |
| Phulbarni Durangabadi Crembody | CARE | Education Dept | Tribal |
| Phulbarni Raiki | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| "Subulia" Primary School Ganjam Dist | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |
| "Belapada" Primary School Ganjam Dist | CARE | Education Dept | Rural |

MCH - (Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Village/Block</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site</u> |
|--------------|--|--------------|---------------------------|---|
| Delhi | Masigarh | CRS | Holy Family Hospital | Integrated MCH |
| | Okla | CRS | Holy Family Hospital | Integrated MCH |
| West Bengal | Canning Dist. Canning Block | | State Govt | MCH |
| | Calcutta City (2 sites visited) | CARE | Local Volag State Govt | KHS (Balwadi) |
| | Calcutta City (3 sites visited) | CARE | Local Volag State Govt | Urban SNP |
| | Rowland Road | CASA | Basti Welfare Centre | Integrated Health Services & Community Activities |
| | St. Paul's School | CASA | Basti Welfare Centre | Integrated Health Services & Community Activities |
| | Satpeer Club | CASA | Basti Welfare Centre | Integrated Health Services & Community Activities |
| | Calcutta City | CRS | Don Bosco | Urban SNP |
| Orissa | Phulbani District/ Daringbadi Block | | | |
| | Linepara | CARE | State Govt | Tribal SNP |
| | Samanbadi | CARE | State Govt | Tribal SNP |
| | Dinamahala | CARE | State Govt | Tribal SNP |
| | Phulbani District G. Udaygiri Block | | | |
| | Badanaju | Indigenous | State Govt | Tribal SNP |
| | Malikapada | Indigenous | State Govt | Tribal SNP |
| | Kumbharkupa | Indigenous | State Govt | Tribal SNP |
| | Phulbani Block | | | |
| | Nilungia | Indigenous | State Govt | Tribal SNP |
| | Jakamaha | Indigenous | State Govt | Tribal SNP |

MCH - (Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Village/Block</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site</u> | |
|--|--|---|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Orissa | Cuttback City | CRS | Madrussa Sultan Trust | Hostel Feeding | |
| | Behrampur City | CRS | Diocese | Urban NEP | |
| | Ganjam Dist Kallikot Block Bururda Village | CARE | State Govt | Tribal SNP | |
| | Mohana Block Betarsi Village | CARE | State Govt | Tribal SNP | |
| | Palague | CARE | State Govt | Tribal SNP | |
| | Mohana | CARE | State Govt | Urban SNP | |
| | Andhra Pradesh | Hyderabad City Rehmatnagar Hyderabad City | CRS CRS | Diocese Diocese | Semi Urban NEP |
| Vijaywada District/ Kankipadu Yennamallakandu Pennamullur Vijaywada City | | CARE CARE CRS | State Govt State Govt Diocese | Rural Tribal SNP Rural Tribal SNP Semi Urban | |
| Machilipataan District/ Gudivada Block Rajnipeta | | CRS | Holy Cross Hospital | Rural NEP | |
| Gudala Goodimamanpet Patameta | | CRS CRS CRS | Diocese Diocese Diocese | Rural NEP Semi Urban NEP Semi Urban NEP | |
| Warrangal District/ Narampet Block Amrinay ak Tanda | | CARE | State Govt | Rural SNP | |
| Khammam District Gopalapuram | | CARE | State Govt | Rural SNP | |
| Kurnool District Tudambavithanda | | CARE | State Govt | SNP | |
| Maharashtra | | Thana District/ Shahpur Block Sane Dahahan | CARE CARE | State Govt State Govt | Rural SNP Rural SNP |
| | | Virar Block Nanbath | CRS | Diocese | Rural NEP |

MCH (Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Village/Block</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site</u> |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|---|-------------------------|
| Maharashtra | Bombay City | | | |
| | Dharavi Slums | CRS | Govt Hospital | Urban Slum NEP |
| | Tourdes Slums | CRS | Rotary Club/ Sophia College | Urban Slum NEP |
| | Pune City | | | |
| | Chimti Basti | CRS | Diocese | NEP |
| | Ramthekdi Basti | CRS | Diocese | NEP |
| | Pune District Vadu | CASA | KEM Hospital Gandhi Samra Nidhi & Zilla Parishad | Rural Integrated MCH |

FOOD FOR WORK - (Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Block/Village</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site/Project</u> |
|----------------|--|--------------|--|---|
| Orissa | Raikai Alamramu Deebari Kajuri village | CRS | Parish church Raikia town | Rural tribal/dug wells Land clearing and leveling Low cost kutcha housing |
| | G. Udayagiri | CARE | Tribal Dev't Authority | Rural tribal/dug wells land clearing, leveling bundling |
| | Ganjam District near Behrampur | CRS | Parish church Behrampur | Rural; some tribal popula- tion/low cost pukka housing, drinking well; tank |
| | Ganjam District near Chilka Lake | CARE | Farmers Coop- erative Society; Tribal Dev't Authority | Rural/dug wells |
| Tamil Nadu | Rasapalayam Village near Madras | CASA | Mr. James; local school teacher | Rural/land clearing, leveling, bundling |
| | Ramnad District | CRS | St. Francis Bhawan, under diocese | Rural/dug wells |
| | Madurai District | CASA | Guild of Service | Suburban/land development: clearing bunds; tanks; irrigation channels; fish ponds; dormitory construc- tion |
| | Madurai Town | CRS | Madurai diocese | Urban/Training in hand- loom weaving |
| Andhra Pradesh | Hyderabad Distt. Guttupalli Village | CRS | Hyderabad diocese | Rural/dug wells |
| | Hyderabad Distt. Yamjalla Village Goriankota Mariapur | CRS | Hyderabad diocese | Rural/dug wells |
| | Kurnool District Allagadda Block Behoan Peddabodnum and Jangalapalli | CASA | Small and Marginal Farmers Assistance and Relief Society | Rural/Road building |

Food for Work (Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Block/Village</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site/Project</u> |
|----------------|---|--------------|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | Cuddapah Distt Duvvur | CASA | Deena Jana Seva Samithi | Rural/dug wells |
| | Khammam Dist Rupalthanda Vasramthanda Peeklythanda | CASA | Church of South India, Dornakal | Rural-tribal attached land/dug wells, house construction, community canteen construction |
| | Khammam Dist Kongerla Village | CRS | Diocese | Rural/dug well |
| | Warangal Dist Wangapili Rampuram | CRS | Warangal diocese | Villages close to town/ needlework skill training house construction |
| | Naskal | | | dug wells |
| Maharashtra | Baramati Dist Baramati | CASA | Australian Church of Christ | Rural/percolation tanks |
| | Ahmednagar Parvarnagar | CRS | Parvara Sahkari Sakhar Karkhana | tanks and channels, roads |
| Gujerat | Kaira District | CRS | Diocese | Wells, Roads Land development |
| | Bahruch Dist Jaghadia | CRS | Diocese | Rural/land clearing irrigation channel leveling, bunding dug wells |
| Orissa | Ganjam Distt. | CARE | Farmers Coop Society; Tribal Devt Authority | Rural/dug wells, |
| | Berhampur Dist Gram Vikas | CRS CARE | Young students movement for development | Rural/land development near town/dug wells |
| Kerala | Amrabila Village | CASA | Organization for Social Service | Rural/land clearing |
| | Vattavila | CASA | Organization for Social Service | Rural/tank for irrigation |
| | Nalanchila | CRS | Bethany Convent | Rural/Kutchu House construction |

Food for Work -(Sites Visited)

| <u>State</u> | <u>Block/Village</u> | <u>Volag</u> | <u>Counterpart</u> | <u>Type of Site/Project</u> |
|--------------|---|--------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Gujerat | Ahmedabad Dist Bavla Village | CRS | Ahmedabad Social Action Group | Urban/Housing |
| Maharashtra | Thane Dist Bassein Taluka Nanbhat Village | CRS | Thana diocese | Rural/Roads Bunds Fish ponds |
| Orissa | Ganjam Dist Kalikot Block Gudjura Village | CARE | Small Farmers | Rural/dug wells |

APPENDIX D - List of Interviews

Interviews with Opinion Leaders, Decision Makers and Program Officials

| <u>Date</u> | <u>Place</u> | <u>Organization</u> | <u>Name</u> |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 23, 24 February | Washington | AID/PDC/FFP/Coordinator | Kay Bitterman |
| | | AID/ASIA/BIS | Priscilla Boughton |
| | | AID/ASIA/BIS | Bernadette Bundy |
| | | AID/PDC/FFP | Robert Chase |
| | | AID/ASIA/BIS | David Garms |
| | | OMB | Robert Meier |
| | | AID/PDC/FFP/II | Charles Mettam |
| | | USDA | Virginia O'Donnel |
| | | AID/DS/RES | Floyd O'Quinn |
| | | AID/ASIA/TR | Harold Rice |
| | | AID/DS/N | Tina Sanghvi |
| | | AID/PDC/FFP/II | Peggy Sheehan |
| | | AID/DS/N | Hope Sukin |
| USAID/Delhi | John Withers | | |

| <u>Date</u> | <u>Place</u> | <u>Organization</u> | <u>Name</u> |
|-------------|--------------|---|--|
| 01 March | Delhi | CARE | Pat Carey Iven D'curz |
| 02 March | Delhi | CRS | Don Crossen Mr. George Mrs. Managalam Mr. Cruikshank |
| 02 March | Delhi | USAID | John Gunning Natale Bellochi |
| 03 March | Delhi | CWS LWR CASA | Duane Lucas Roberts Joe Sprunger Major Micheal Ivan Clifford Vijay Crowther |
| 03 March | Delhi | GOI Head, Nutrition Cell National Planning Commission | K.G. Krishnamuthy |
| 07 March | Calcutta | CARE | Virginia Ubik Mr. Mahajan |
| 07 March | Calcutta | CRS | Jim De Harppote Joe Chiramal |
| 07 March | Calcutta | CASA | Mr. B. Gosh |
| 07 March | Calcutta | State Government Relief & Welfare Department | Dr. Mukherjee |
| 07 March | Orissa | State Government | Mr. Vala K. V. Verma Miss L. R. Mitra |
| 09 March | Orissa | State Government | Mr. Mishra |
| 09 March | Orissa | CARE | Stanley Dunn |
| 11 March | West Bengal | State Government | Mr. Sengupta G.S. Banerjee R.C. Banerjee Mr. Sinha Roy Dr. P. Mukherjee Dr. Das Dr. Lahiri |

| <u>Date</u> | <u>Place</u> | <u>Organization</u> | <u>Name</u> |
|-------------|--------------|--|--|
| 13 March | Madras | CARE | Stafford Clarry |
| 13 March | Madras | CASA | Joseph John Mr. Victor Mrs. Jones |
| | | CRS | John McIlale |
| | | GOI Ministry of Agriculture | Mr. Subramaniam |
| | | State Govt - Social Welfare | Mrs. Garyali |
| | | State Govt - School Education | K. Venkatsubhamaniam |
| 16 March | Hyderabad | CARE | Stafford Clarry |
| | | CRS | Mr. Rao Mark Kinsella Mr. Sebastian |
| | | State Government | Roda Mistry |
| | | Applied Nutrition Program | Mrs. Krishna Kumar Rao Mr. Krishnan |
| | | State Government - Joint Secy Education | Mrs. Rebello |
| | | National Institute of Rural Development | Dr. George Dr. Trippathy Dr. Sivvayya Dr. Mutthiaya |
| | | National Institute of Nutrition | Dr. Swaminathan Dr. Rao Dr. P. G. Yulpule |
| | | RTE Factory | Mr. Palanabhan |
| | | State Government | Mr. S. Masoom |
| 22 March | Ahmedabad | CARE | Mr. Mahanty Mr. Mishra |
| | | CRS | Fr. Urutia Fr. Civiak |

| <u>Date</u> | <u>Place</u> | <u>Organization</u> | <u>Name</u> |
|-------------|--------------|---|---|
| | Maharashtra | State Govt - Rural Development Department | John Innocent |
| | Gujerat | Xavier College | Fr. Herdero |
| 29 March | Delhi | Natl. Inst. Management USAID-Director WFP GOI - Joint Secy Dept. of Economic Affairs | Dr. Maru Dr. John Withers Mr. Kjell Nordenskiold Mr. S.V.S. Juneja |
| 30 March | | GOI - Joint Secy Dept. of Social Welfare GOI - Director Ministry of Agriculture GOI Dept. of Rural Development | Mr. M. M. Rajendran Dr. Paul Chowdhury Mr. K.P.A. Menon |
| 31 March | | World Health Organization UNICEF | Dr. Gopalan Dr. Greaves Dr. Davies |
| 02 April | | GOI ICAR GOI - Joint Secy Department of Education GOI - Joint Secy Department of Food | Dr. O. P. Gantam Ms. Shah Mrs. Angali Dayanand Mr. Kamla Prasad |