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Evaluation of Lutheran World Relief Projects
INDIA
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The evaluation team visited twenty-five projects funded by Lutheran World Relief, Inc., through four project-holders. Project types ranged from producer's cooperatives to lift-irrigation systems and mobile veterinary services. Three of the project-holders were located in the drought-prone sectors of Maharashtra, the fourth was located in a cyclone-prone area of Andhra Pradesh.

L.W.R. has been funding relief and development projects through these four project-holders for about ten years. The first projects were undertaken as responses to disaster situations in the early 1970s when Maharashtra had a series of devastating droughts and in the late 1970s when several severe cyclones struck coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh. The purpose of this evaluation study was to assess the impact and effectiveness of the twenty-five projects funded for almost \$1.5 million between 1976-1982. While it was recognized that many of these projects were not yet completed (see Summary Table below), the leadership of L.W.R. wanted a descriptive assessment of project progress to date. The mandate of the evaluation team included an emphasis on assessing the degree to which projects reflect awareness of L.W.R. Development Strategy concerns. The evaluation team was comprised of four members: L.W.R.'s Director of Grant Management and Evaluation, an agricultural extension specialist who directs the Inter-Church Service Agency's project research office, an American-trained Indian sociologist with Maharashtra field experience, and an anthropologist with research experience among Indian voluntary agencies doing rural development work.

Highlights of the study findings are presented below in summary comments organized by type of project:

<u>Type of Project</u>	<u>Findings</u>
Lift-Irrigation	Offers potential of higher crop production but takes long time to complete because of electrical connection delays. Tends to benefit limited groups of beneficiaries who may be already at top end of "poorest majority". Tends to concentrate benefits, broader community impacts unknown.
Well-Completion	Little or no impacts because of pumpset and electrical connection delays. Beneficiaries unwilling to seek bank loans to complete irrigation facilities. When completed, will provide benefits to small group of beneficiary families. This creates resentment among non-beneficiaries. Process for beneficiary selection for this project and lift-irrigation projects is unclear.

<u>Type of Project (cont'd.)</u>	<u>Findings</u>
Livestock Production	Has been operational only a short time but offers promise of positive, direct impact on beneficiaries. Also has built-in process for project perpetuation: beneficiaries replace same number of livestock as they received; these animals are distributed to new families.
Livestock Improvement	This approach has recently become partially operational. It appears this project type will assist needy beneficiaries for whom livestock rearing is a main income source.
Forestation	Although this project type has important ecological potential benefits, the studied projects have no clear impact on intended beneficiaries at this point. Forestation work has a long "payback" period which may never be achieved if local beneficiaries do not assume some voluntary maintenance of the new (future) forests soon.
Agricultural Extension	Although these projects seem to be a logical means of reaching more beneficiaries, they have had implementation problems that make clear benefits hard to see now.
Family Welfare	These projects offer the most direct, observable impacts of any project type studied. They clearly aid a needy group of beneficiaries in large number, promise long-term social development outcomes, and operate inexpensively. As they are designed, however, these projects have little hope of achieving economic self-sufficiency.
Non-Agricultural Economic Development	The cobblers' and brickmaking cooperatives provide an important, replicable model of ways to help beneficiary groups with low social status and few fiscal resources. Efforts should be made to develop this model with emphasis on identification of viable forms of income-generation and more attention to developing self-management skills.

Because of the incomplete status of almost all projects studied, it is not possible to provide specific details concerning project outcomes at this time. Thus, the above findings, as well as the detailed project descriptions in the main report, must be viewed as interim summary statements of project impacts to date.

Findings about the four project-holder organizations are briefly summarized in this table:

<u>Project-Holder</u>	<u>Findings</u>
Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati (A.D.T.,B.)	The arid, formerly ignored region of Baramati Taluka is provided with agricultural and animal husbandry aid by A.D.T.,B. Its leadership includes a mixture of well-known, politically powerful politicians and foreign missionaries. Main beneficiaries of these projects are the "village middle class": small and moderate-sized landholders who have achieved some degree of prosperity (by village standards, although they are not in any sense wealthy or well-to-do by world standards).

Project-Holder (cont'd.)

Centre for Studies in Rural Development (C.S.R.D.)	This organization has long-term experience as a development education institution in its area. Has specialized in two types of unrelated projects: lift-irrigation and family welfare. Has recently undertaken some urban community development projects as well as rural ones. Completed lift-irrigation works show a healthy cost-benefit factor. C.S.R.D. views <u>itself foremost as an educational institution.</u>
Christa Seva Mandir [Neighborhood House] (C.S.M.)	This recent rural development outreach program of the Sholapur-based neighborhood house mission has not been involved in many projects to date. Those which they have undertaken most recently seem to be reaching the poorest majority effectively. This organization is understaffed temporarily so a full assessment is not justified at this point. Nonetheless, what has been <u>accomplished with only one field staff is impressive.</u>
Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church (A.E.L.C.)	RECORDS project has the largest staff of those projects visited. It also has the only truly comprehensive program reviewed by the team. Staff members have close rapport with community members and serve a large number of people, most of whom are poor Christians of Harijan heritage. Possibly because of the scope of its program, administration of far-flung projects needs to be tightened.

The following general recommendations pertain to the projects and project-holders now funded by L.W.R.:

--There needs to be closer, clearer, and more frequent input from L.W.R. in project conceptualization and implementation stages;

--L.W.R. may wish to only fund those projects in which project-holders show greatest aptitude and interest;

--L.W.R. should consider seeking new project-holders that will build projects more directly responsive to L.W.R. Development Strategy themes;

--Staff of old and new project-holders need enhanced skills which can be provided by high-quality training in applied research, extension, and project implementation;

--L.W.R. should strongly consider assigning a full-time staff member in India to facilitate implementation of the above suggestions.

These recommendations are offered as suggestions for improving the L.W.R./India program. It is an important and needed program which needs some "fine-tuning". A staff presence would improve the cost-effectiveness of current and future projects as well as improve the quality and quantity of project outcomes.

PROJECT STATUS SUMMARY TABLE*
(BY PROJECT TITLE)

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Project-Holder</u>	<u>Date Approved</u>	<u>Current Status</u>	<u>Basis of Incompleteness</u>
Lift-Irrigation	Jamb	C.S.R.D.	1976	Incomplete	Needs electrical connection
"	Tandali	"	1979	"	"
"	Shiradhon	"	1979	"	"
"	Sakat I	"	1980	"	Changes in project plan
"	Sakat II	"	1980	"	"
"	Gaudgaon	C.S.M.	1978	"	Needs electrical connection
"	Jamgaon	"	1981	"	"
Well-Completion	Prakasam	A.E.L.C.	1978	"	"
Mobile Vet. Dispensary	Baramati Area	A.D.T.,B.	1980	"	Completion Date: December, 1983
Poultry-Raising	"	"	1980	"	"
Goat-Cross- breeding	Gaudgaon Area	C.S.M.	1981	"	Crossbreeding stock not complete
Shepherds' Project	"	"	1982	"	Completion date: March, 1987
Forestation	Baramati Area	A.D.T.,B.	1979	"	Community management system for plantation has not been set up
Forestation II	"	"	1981	"	Trees yet to be planted
Afforestation	Six Villages	C.S.R.D.	1976	?	See I.C.S.A. evaluation report
Young Farmer Training	Baramati Area	A.D.T.,B.	1980	Incomplete	Completion date: December, 1983
Demo. & Exten. Centre	"	"	1980	"	"

PROJECT STATUS SUMMARY TABLE
(cont'd.)

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Project-Holder</u>	<u>Date Approved</u>	<u>Current Status</u>	<u>Basis of Incompleteness</u>
Comm. Health Education	A'Nagar Area	C.S.R.D.	1977	Ongoing**	
Family Welf. Training	"	"	1978	"	
Community Centre	"	"	1979	Incomplete	Project delayed due to litigation
RECORDS	Repalle Area	A.E.L.C.	1978	Ongoing**	
Cyclone Housing	Prakasam Area	"	1978	Completed***	
Cobblers' Cooperative	A'Nagar	C.S.R.D.	1981	Incomplete	Formation of cooperative delayed
Brickmaking Cooperative	Osmanabad	C.S.M.	1982	"	Completion date: March, 1985

* This table summarizes those projects actually visited by the evaluation team.

** It is difficult to determine when these projects will be 'completed'. For example, the C.S.R.D. Family Welfare Education and Training Center project has this current status according to a report received by L.W.R./N.Y. on 7 September, 1982: The project was approved in September, 1977 for a one-year period with a sanctioned budget of \$20,800. As of Sept., 1982, C.S.R.D. reported that "the project is in progress", L.W.R. had released \$21,242.25 for the project thus far, and a balance of Rs. 30,000 still remained in this account. So far as impacts of this project go, the C.S.R.D. report notes hopefully that: "There is no information on the member (sic) of families benefited by this programme. Information about the impact of this programme on the beneficiary families will be useful."

*** The evaluation team spent only a few minutes observing, for the most part, the constructed housing because one of the team members, Dr. Ernest, had already done a complete evaluation study of this project.

Projs.
 CSRD - 10
 ADTB - 6
 CSM - 5
 AFLC - 3
 Tot - 24

80

PREFACE

This report is the final product of an evaluation team study of twenty-five Lutheran World Relief (L.W.R.) funded projects in rural India. These projects spanned a broad range of technical and topical specialties including child care, health education, forestation, lift-irrigation systems, housing, and animal husbandry. Because of the complexity and diversity of these projects, L.W.R./N.Y. decided upon a team approach to this evaluation, one that brought together the talents of Mr. Joseph Sprunger, formerly associated with C.A.S.A. (as the L.W.R. representative) in New Delhi and now L.W.R. Director of Grant Management and Evaluation; Dr. R.S. Ernest, an agricultural extension specialist who is Project Research Officer with the Interchurch Service Agency in Madras; Dr. Ushadevi Kolhatkar, an American trained sociologist who has extensive experience with Maharashtrian conditions and traditions; and Dr. Terry Alliband, an anthropologist who has made extensive study of voluntary agencies in India's rural development. Dr. Alliband was designated author of the final report.

The team members toured four different project-holders between January 6-20, 1983. They spent about three days each with the Agricultural Development Trust /Baramati, Centre for Studies in Rural Development, Christa Seva Mandir, and the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church. The former three organizations are situated in western Maharashtra and the latter in eastern Andhra Pradesh (see map in Appendix B). During these site visits, the team members gathered information from many sources including project-holder trustees and staff members, project beneficiaries of both sexes and a wide range of ages, villagers who were not beneficiaries of projects in their communities, government officials, and other concerned individuals and parties in the surrounding area. They also consulted any available documents that were pertinent to their inquiry; this included project reports, project proposals, monitoring and interim progress reports, and relevant government materials such as district development plans. In addition, the team members used each other's past experience with project-holders, similar beneficiary groups, and prior research on projects as a valuable data source.

As the team worked together, a more-or-less standardized research procedure evolved in response to the concerns and kinds of questions which the team needed to address (see Appendix A). At each of the four project-holders, the team collected data in this sequence: (1) they met with the project-holder staff to discuss the focus of the study and decide on logistical details, (2) visited some villages with L.W.R.-funded projects and spoke there with beneficiaries and (to a lesser extent due to time constraints) non-beneficiaries, (3) paid short visits to government officials with the project-holder staff, and (4) had a "wrap-up" session with project-holder staff to discuss preliminary findings and ask any follow-up questions. By this means, the study team was able to gain a reasonably comprehensive view of not only the extent of project progress but also some notion of the inner workings of the project-holder organization and its local reputation.

Each of the study team members brought specialized skills and interests to the group. Inevitably this specialization led to a rough division of labor with respect to the kinds of topics and issues that were studied most intensively by each member. Dr. Kolhatkar focused on those projects which aimed project benefits at women and children. This focus developed because of her past research activities with Harijan women and, frankly, because she was the only team member who could carry on informal conversations with village women. Dr. Ernest brought his expertise as an extension agent and agricultural specialist to the team as well as his intimate knowledge of each project based on previous monitoring visits. Joseph Sprunger provided some important insights concerning project administrative details (especially those relating to CASA projects) as well as some expertise in assessing economic impacts. Dr. Alliband acted as the research team leader and pursued questions regarding potential social impacts of projects.

Each of the team members provided the report author, Dr. Alliband, with written and/or verbal data, comments, observations, and recommendations regarding the studied projects. This report represents an effort to synthesize the descriptive data collected by the team but most of the observations and evaluative comments are the work of the author...with the exception of the specific project recommendations. The author made wholesale use of the excellent recommendations set forth by Joseph Sprunger, not because he was encouraged or expected to, but because they seemed so apt and pithy. As in all such efforts, the author assumes full responsibility for the flaws.

INTRODUCTION

A 1974 position paper titled "Proposal for a Strategy to Deal with World Hunger" detailed Lutheran World Relief's basic expectations concerning desirable characteristics of development projects and project-holders. This proposal was revised in November, 1975, into a set of eight "strategy guidelines" which are itemized and explicated in the LWR Project System Manual.

The eight core guidelines are reiterated below:

- (1) PROJECT IDEAS MUST ORIGINATE IN THE TARGET GROUP;
- (2) PROJECTS SHOULD SERVE THE POOREST MAJORITY;
- (3) THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF PROJECTS SHOULD WORK IN FAVOR OF THE ULTIMATE WELL-BEING OF THE TARGET GROUP;
- (4) PROJECTS SHOULD STIMULATE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL STRUCTURES, ENABLING THEM TO IDENTIFY PROBLEMS, PLAN SOLUTIONS, AND ORGANIZE WORK;
- (5) PROJECTS SHOULD USE INDIGENOUS HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE;
- (6) PROJECT ACTIVITIES SHOULD BECOME SELF-SUPPORTING;
- (7) PROJECTS SHOULD BE TECHNICALLY SOUND;
- (8) INDIVIDUAL PROJECT ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE INTEGRATED INTO A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM.

These guidelines represent a clear set of principles concerning the intended impacts of development projects, especially with respect to the process impacts. That is, there is great emphasis directed toward the stimulation of certain growth processes in both individuals and institutions. Specifically, the members of target groups should be encouraged to identify felt needs (1), provide as many inputs as possible (5), eventually integrate project activities into daily life (6), and respond to particular projects in a comprehensive manner. The project-holder initiating LWR-funded projects is encouraged to specifically target projects on the most needy (2), tailor the spin-off impacts as carefully as possible to benefit the poorest majority (3), develop their own institutional capacity for designing and implementing projects (4), and design contextually-appropriate solutions to local problems (7). Thus, the major thrust of these guidelines places great weight on the projects as means for the development of economic self-sufficiency, problem-solving capacity, and heightened self-confidence among both target group members and project-holder staff.

At the same time, it must be recalled that these guidelines originated in a document describing LWR's strategy for dealing with world hunger. While the guidelines focus considerable attention on the way in which projects will be planned and implemented, the immediate problem toward which projects are aimed is alleviation of food shortages and the sheer physical survival of beneficiaries. As indicated in Table A below, by far the majority of LWR financial resources committed to India during the years 1976-1982 has been directed specifically toward projects that will increase food production. The great bulk of that money has been focused on the food production input priorities of Maharashtra where the majority of LWR funds have been allocated during those years: irrigation, livestock improvement, and forestation/fodder production projects.

THE STUDY APPROACH

The research strategy employed by the LWR/India evaluation team is outlined in Appendix A. The evaluation team sought to understand the extent to which LWR-funded projects were consistent with the LWR Development Strategy Guidelines by collecting information concerning the actual, "on the ground" characteristics of (a) the villages and villagers intended as the targets/recipients of projects, (b) the staff of the project-holders, and (c) concerned persons and agencies in the immediate, surrounding context. To the extent time and other factors permitted, we were also interested in seeking "control" villages and villagers...groups with similar social and economic conditions as target groups but which had not been the beneficiary of project activities. Due to time constraints, we were not able to identify and study many "control" groups although more detailed project studies could make use of this comparative approach to more accurately gauge project impacts.

The main concern of the evaluation team was a summary description of the extent to which LWR funds had achieved their intended outcomes through observation and discussion with those responsible for implementing projects (project-holder staff) and those targeted as the beneficiaries (villagers). The findings, conclusions, and recommendations which follow must be viewed against the background of field research realities: they are based on incomplete information collected quickly but with as much accuracy and care as time and human energy permitted. While the study findings may include some element of factual error and incorrect analysis, by and large they are a reasonably thorough and balanced depiction of the strengths and weaknesses of particular projects as well as the unique aspects of project-holders.

SUMMARY OF SANCTIONED PROJECTS

Total funding by L.W.R. of projects reviewed by this evaluation totaled amounted to \$ 1,442,230 during the years 1976-1982. Over seventy percent (73.1%) of that total was allocated to food-production-related projects. Almost one-half million dollars was spent on lift-irrigation projects (\$440,141) and close to \$600,000 was expended on livestock, fodder, forestation, and other food-production projects (see Table A).

By contrast, less than one-quarter (22.1%) of L.W.R. funding during this period was directed at family welfare projects. The remaining project funds were directed toward non-agricultural economic development projects and institutional operations (4.7%)

Table A

TOTAL L.W.R./INDIA PROJECTS AUTHORIZED, 1976-1982

Project Type	Project-Holder/ Project-Title	Year Sanctioned	Amount Sanctioned (US\$)
I. FCCD PRODUCTION			
A. Irrigation			
	C.S.R.D./Jamb	1976	\$18,060
	" /Tandali	1979	13,075
	" /Vadgaon	1979	18,185
	" /Shiradhon	1979	32,865
	" /Paragaon	1979	30,460
	" /Sakat I	1980	58,123
	" /Sakat II	1980	22,665
	" /Dhanora	1981	54,218
	" /"Cost Overruns" to Date*		<u>4,491</u>
		Subtotal=	252,147
	C.S.M./Gaudgaon	1978	32,346
	" /Eunnur	1979	27,760
	" /Jamgaon	1981	<u>45,573</u>
		Subtotal=	106,119

*Source: C.S.R.D. Table titled "LWR Funded Lift Irrigation Schemes".

Table A (Cont'd.)

Project Type	Project-Holder/ Project-Title	Year Sanctioned	Amount Sanctioned (US\$)
	AELC/Gajjulakonda	1978	35,000
	" /Prakasam	1978	<u>46,875</u>
		Subtotal=	81,875
		Irrigation Total=	<u>440,141</u> =====
B. LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION			
	ADTB/Mobile Vet. Dispensary	1980	48,839
	" /Poultry-Raising for Women	1980	<u>12,300*</u>
		Subtotal=	61,139
	CSM/Goat Crossbreeding	1981	30,190
	" /Shepherd Project	1982	<u>37,080</u>
		Subtotal=	67,270
		Livestock Total=	<u>128,409</u> =====
C. FORESTATION/FODDER PRODUCTION			
	ADTB/Forestation I	1979	68,800
	" /Forestation II	1981	<u>180,680</u>
		Subtotal=	249,480
	CSR/D/Afforestation in Six Villages	1976	12,937
	" /Afforestation in Seven Villages	1980	<u>18,162</u>
		Subtotal=	31,099
		Fodder/Forestation Total=	<u>280,579</u> =====
D. OTHER FOOD PRODUCTION-RELATED			
	ADTB/ Young Farmer's Training	1980	28,200
	" / Demonstration & Extension Center	1980	24,027
	" / Citrus Cultivation	1982	<u>16,540</u>
		Subtotal=	68,767
	CSM/ Well Steening	1979	126,800
	" / Coop Grain Bank	1981	<u>9,900</u>
		Subtotal=	136,700
		Other Related Total=	<u>205,467</u> =====
FOOD PRODUCTION TOTAL= <u>\$ 1,054,596</u> =====			

* The total amount sanctioned for this project--\$24,600--has been divided among two categories (Livestock Production and Family Welfare) since its goal is to both increase food production and increase women's economic security.

Table A (Cont'd.)

Project Type	Project-Holder/ Project Title	Year Sanctioned	Amount Sanctioned (US\$)
II. FAMILY WELFARE			
	ADTB/Poultry Raising for Women	1980	12,300*
	CSR/D/Community Health Education	1977	62,000
	" /Family Welfare Ed. & Training	1978	20,800
	" /Community Centre	1979	31,250
	A.E.L.C./Additional Assistance to Cyclone Victims (RECORDS)	1978	153,000
	" /Housing for Cyclone Victims	1978	40,000
FAMILY WELFARE TOTAL=			319,350
III. OTHER PROJECTS			
A. Non-Agricultural Economic Development			
	CSR/D/Cobblers' Cooperative	1981	17,700
	CSM/Brickmaking Cooperative	1982	7,334
Subtotal=			<u>25,034</u>
B. Institutional Operations			
	CSR/D/Basic Operations	1979	31,250
	" /Social Work Scholarships	1982	12,000
Subtotal=			<u>43,250</u>
OTHER PROJECTS TOTAL=			68,284
GRAND TOTAL=			<u>\$ 1,442,230</u>

Current projects being undertaken by major project-holders in India are reviewed further on in this report, Project Reports and Recommendations. That section includes project face sheets, current status of the projects, a summary of their impacts, and other information.

*See footnote on preceding page.

**RECORDS is a complex, multi-faceted program which is placed in this category because of the difficulty of calculating the percentage of its funds allocated to non-family welfare activities.

RELATIONSHIP OF PROJECTS TO OBJECTIVES

This report has been tailored to correlate, in some degree, with the format used in the evaluation team study of LWR/Niger projects undertaken by Hoskins and Weber in 1982. A major aspect of that study was specification of the extent to which projects were consistent with Lutheran World Relief development concerns and interests. These findings were summarized in a chart titled 'Project Performance by Individual Objectives' and the rationale for particular rankings was explained in narrative form.

The same procedure is used in this report for ease of comparison. That is, all twenty five studied projects are grouped into twelve categories for ranking purposes. Projects in these twelve categories are ranked as a group for their degree of correspondence with L.W.R. Development Strategy guidelines, A.I.D. Matching Grant purposes, Scope of Work guidelines (for the Niger study), Environmental Impact "mini-guidelines" (CODEL), and others of interest to Hoskins and Weber.

Rankings for the grouped India projects are provided in chart form below and explained in the following narrative.

Chart: PROJECT PERFORMANCE BY INDIVIDUAL OBJECTIVES

IMPACT SCALE

H=High impact
 M=Moderate impact
 L=Low impact
 O=No impact

	LWR Objectives								Grant Objectives		SOW		Other		COEEL Environmental Impact Mini-Guidelines								
	1	2/3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
	Idea originated with target group	Serves poorest majority	Stimulation of local and national organizations	Accent on local, natural and human resources	Degree to which activities can become self-supporting?	Technical soundness	How much is project part of the overall plan?	Periodic review/evaluation by LWR	Stimulate community's own development	Support infrastructure network	Promotes project-holder management capability	Adequacy of LWR staff support	Applicability of credit-financing	Applicability of project efforts	Significance of effort (size, number of people involved, etc.)	Priority in terms of local needs, perceived values, urgency, etc.	Physical environment--soil, water, natural vegetation	Health	Economics (local)	Socio-political factors (stability)	Cultural	Administration, government agencies	Energy
(1) Lift-Irrigation/CSRD	M	M	M	M	H	M	H	M	M	L	M	L	H	M	M	H	H	O	H	M	L	L	O
(2) Lift-Irrigation/CSM	M	M	H	M	H	H	H	M	M	H	H	L	H	M	M	H	H	O	H	M	L	L	O
(3) Well-Completion/AELC	H	M	L	L	M	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	H	M	L	H	H	O	H	M	L	L	O
(4) Livestock Prod./ADTB	M	L	M	H	H	H	M	M	M	H	M	L	M	M	M	M	M	O	H	M	L	M	O
(5) Livestock Impr./CSM	M	H	M	H	H	H	H	M	M	H	M	L	M	M	M	M	M	O	H	M	L	M	O
(6) Forestation/ADTB	L	L	L	M	M	H	H	H	M	L	M	L	M	M	M	M	M	O	H	M	L	M	O
(7) Forestation/CSRD	L	L	L	H	H	H	H	H	L	L	M	L	L	L	M	L	H	O	O	M	L	O	M
(8) Agric. Exten./ADTB	L	L	L	M	L	M	M	M	H	L	L	L	L	M	M	M	M	O	O	M	L	O	M
(9) Family Welfare/CSRD	M	H	H	M	L	H	H	M	M	M	H	L	L	M	M	H	L	H	O	H	H	L	O
(10) Family Welfare/AELC	M	H	H	M	L	H	M	M	M	M	H	L	L	M	M	H	L	H	O	H	H	L	O
(11) Cobblers' Coop./CSRD	M	H	L	M	M	L	H	M	M	L	L	L	H	H	H	H	L	H	O	H	H	L	O
(12) Brickmaking Coop./CSM	M	H	H	H	H	M	H	M	H	M	M	L	H	H	M	H	L	O	M	M	H	O	O

1. Project Ideas Should Originate with the Target Group

Many of the project ideas which underlie the India projects studied developed in a two-part process: villager discussion with project-holders concerning their needs (part one) and project-holder discussion with LWR and/or CASA representatives about possible need-meeting projects (part two).

This approach has been used in several project types including lift-irrigation, family welfare, and non-agricultural economic development.

Lift Irrigation--Villagers in the Ahmednagar and Sholapur area share a common concern with finding water for crop irrigation. The project-holder staffs at C.S.R.D. and C.S.M. have responded to this need with the lift-irrigation system. Note that the villagers did not specifically ask for lift-irrigation initially but, in both areas, when a lift-irrigation project was undertaken, farmers in other villages saw that to be a practical system for them. Now, villagers ask specifically for percolation tanks (in the A.D.T.,B. area) or for lift-irrigation works.

Family Welfare--Family welfare activities in both the Ahmednagar and Repalle area have resulted from project-holder analysis of expressed local needs. At C.S.R.D., the current family welfare project director spent some months living with and talking to families in Paragaon and other villages. In the RECORDS project, staff members have been in close and frequent contact with villagers concerning their self-perceived needs.

Non-Agricultural Economic Development--In the case of the C.S.M.-sponsored brickmaking cooperative, it is not clear who suggested the brickmaking production itself, but C.S.M. staff was aware of social and economic problems confronting Harijans in one village. Similarly, the C.S.R.D. cobblers' cooperative project may not have been specifically suggested by the beneficiaries but is a response to their overall predicament.

Several projects rate low and one rates high on this scale. The "Incomplete Wells" project undertaken by the A.E.L.C. was a very high need in the eyes of its immediate beneficiaries; it is not at all certain that this project was a high priority in the overall community. The forestation projects undertaken by A.D.T.,B. and C.S.R.D. do not offer any evidence that these ideas originated with villagers. Rather,

like the lift-irrigation systems, the forestation projects were begun by project-holders in response to general problems facing villagers: need for fodder, soil conservation, additional income, etc. But these projects do not seem to have generated much villager enthusiasm or support. No cases were reported of villagers requesting forestation projects.

Finally, the demonstration and training centres of the A.D.T.,B. seem to have been started in keeping with the project-holder's desire to extend the impact and scope of its Farm's activities.

In summary, it would be fair to say that:

--if by 'idea' we refer to a "felt need", then project ideas have originated with target groups to a large extent;

--if by 'idea' we refer to projects intended to meet those "felt needs", then most project ideas have originated with project-holders.

2/3. Projects Should Serve the Poorest Majority

This is a difficult guideline to evaluate for several reasons:

(1) many of these projects have mostly long-term impacts such as the forestation and, due to electrical connection delays, lift-irrigation systems, (2) even projects which have no apparent immediate impact on the poorest majority, such as lift-irrigation, may have "trickle down" effects by providing field labor opportunities for the landless, and, (3) isolating the "poorest majority" in an Indian village can be a very difficult process. Each of these points is briefly discussed:

Long-term Impacts--Obviously the forestation projects as being implemented at A.D.T.,B. will not have any immediate impacts on anyone for years to come. Even when the benefits from those trees "come on-line", it is unclear at this point who will be the beneficiaries. While the C.S.R.D. forestation has short-term impacts to those farmers who have been selected as beneficiaries, this project is concentrating more on "fodder-tree" production than on social forestry.

"Trickle-down" Hopes--Although lift-irrigation mainly benefits those who own land, this type of project may have some long-term economic benefits for landless households as well. However, as currently implemented, even the immediate economic benefits available from well and pipeline construction are monopolized by the land-owner beneficiaries. Another dimension of this project-type is that in dry regions of Maharashtra, a cultivator owning ten or fifteen acres is almost as poor as

a landless person unless irrigation is available.

"Poorest Majority" in Rural Villages--As the point above illustrates, the seemingly simple task of identifying the poorest majority in rural villages is a difficult task. Firm criteria for assessing the relative well-being of individuals and households are not easily created due to many contingencies.

Despite these constraints, it is possible to identify some projects which are having a more rapid and direct response on what seems to be the poorer people in a given community. Among these projects, the family welfare and non-agricultural economic development ones deserve special attention.

The family welfare projects are reaching villagers from a wide-spectrum of social and economic backgrounds, in the case of C.S.R.D., many of whom are from the poorest households as well as from socially-stigmatized backgrounds, as in the RECORDS project. The needs of women and children do not receive great attention even from the male household heads when agricultural production increases: the additional income will most likely go toward better dairy cows or purchasing more land. Thus women and children in many households live in considerable neglect unless they come from the most wealthy households.

The non-agricultural economic development projects are aimed at vulnerable socio-economic groups for whom there are few government welfare and development opportunities. The availability of cheap labor means that landless people, even male household heads, must often work for very low wages or in outright bondage. The cobblers and brickmaking projects are interesting approaches toward solving some of the problems facing these very poor populations.

In none of these projects was there a clear procedure established for insuring that project beneficiaries were among the poorest majority.

4. Stimulation of local and national organizations

None of these projects has had impacts on any national organizations, especially cooperatives.

There have been considerable impacts on the project-holders and on local, beneficiary-based groups the project-holders have tried to establish.

Project-Holders--The L.W.R. funding has played an important institutional "capacity-building" role relative to these four project-holders. As noted below, most of these programs originated in response to environmental crises: droughts and cyclone storms. Over the years of its association with them, L.W.R. has done much to help these project-holders gradually transform themselves into development agencies. Such a nurturing role is a gradual process but begins accelerating as project-holder staffs gain competence and confidence. As noted in the section on project-holders (see below), if L.W.R. chooses to continue association with these project-holders, they should be encouraged to specialize in those areas in which they have shown greatest aptitude and interest.

Cooperatives--Several projects at several project-holders have been aimed at developing a cooperative organizational framework as one important objective. In no case has this objective been achieved with any degree of success. More commonly, the project-holder has grouped a set of beneficiaries into a loose, unofficial "society" or "association". Hopefully these informal groups will one day be converted into formal cooperatives since those organizations are recognized by and receive certain benefits from government programs. On the other hand, if informal societies or associations are carefully supervised, they may provide many immediate benefits to the target populations such as leadership skills and management operations skills.

It should also be noted that India's villages are notoriously difficult places in which to elicit cooperation among households, even from those with a similar caste composition. In light of this trait, it is probably utopian to hope, as the A.D.T.,B. appears to have done, that village panchayats will equitably and effectively take over management of the forestation plantations in a way that will benefit the poorest households. Such an assumption is questionable at present.

5. Accent on local natural and human resources

On the whole, most of these projects score moderately high on this criteria. Projects for lift-irrigation, forestation, and livestock improvement work for the enhancement of local natural resources very well.

If there is any deficiency in this regard, it might be in the way which some projects have not maximized the development of local human resources to full effect. Nor have beneficiaries been encouraged fully

to contribute as much as they can spare toward the fulfillment of project objectives. Some of the lift-irrigation projects at C.S.R.D., for example, have not required that beneficiaries share in expenses for well or pipeline construction beyond a token labor contribution. Nor are beneficiaries encouraged to seek credit-financing for at least part of the construction costs. Similarly, the Well Completion project at A.E.L.C.'s Prakasam District sites has not insisted on beneficiary inputs to any significant degree.

This passivity toward requiring all possible contributions by those who will benefit from L.W.R. resources--even if those contributions take the form of long-term, low-interest loan repayment into a revolving fund--is not fully developing the managerial skills of beneficiaries, doesn't integrate them into local economic structures, nor develop self-reliance.

6. Degree to which projects can become self-supporting

Most of these projects have a high potential for becoming self-supporting in terms of enabling the beneficiaries to achieve a higher level of personal financial self-sufficiency. This is much more true of the lift irrigation, livestock production, and non-agricultural economic development projects than of the family welfare ones.

If we wish to consider the degree to which project-types can become self-supporting, the answer is less optimistic. Some degree of "resource-regeneration" is built into the livestock production and improvement projects: beneficiaries must replace, eventually, what they have been loaned. Some of the lift-irrigation projects could be re-organized to a credit-financing rather than outright grant basis and this would facilitate the opportunity for beneficiaries to "pass the gift" on to others.

Other types of projects such as family welfare activities have little or no means of becoming self-supporting. There is no major economic development component in C.S.R.D.'s family welfare projects and only small ones in the RECORDS projects. Nor do there appear to be any ready answers for means to convert the family welfare-type projects to a self-supporting basis. There have been few successful projects of this type anywhere in India in which a self-supporting financial base has been established; most of those that have been achieved have been in urban areas.

No cost data?

7. Technical Soundness

Most of these projects rate highly on technical soundness. In fact, there is a high level of not only technological ability but also imagination apparent in some of the projects. For example, the lift-irrigation wells and forestation tree sites that have both been blasted out of very hard rock strata show a very assertive and "can-do" outlook toward changing the arid face of drought-prone Maharashtra. There is a high level of technical assistance available to several projects such as good quality veterinary care, dedicated nurses and village health workers, and skilled extension agents. This is one of the stronger points in the field projects of all the project-holders.

There is one persistent problem facing several projects that is fundamentally organizational: gaining electrical connections for lift-irrigation systems. This problem has become a serious flaw in the lift-irrigation approach because it has delayed the start-up time for almost all of the projects visited by the evaluation team. Building a wide-diameter well and laying irrigation pipeline would seem to be the easiest aspect of a lift-irrigation system. The lack of electrical connections for most of these systems has tied up lakhs of rupees in non- or minimally-functioning projects to date. Hopefully some remedy can be found to make the benefits of this approach more immediately available.

8. How much is project part of the overall plan?

Most of these projects essentially constitute the overall plan: they are a single project that is not integrated into a larger comprehensive program.

There are several exceptions to this generalization: RECORDS and the A.D.T.,B. projects. The Repalle Comprehensive Rural Development Scheme is the only fully integrated, multi-functional project among those studied. That is, it includes projects aimed at providing several services to various beneficiary groups within the same villages in a coordinated approach.

The A.D.T.,B. projects also have an integrated aspect because they are closely related to the same project facility: the Trust farm. Thus, the demonstration and extension centre, young farmers training, and mobile veterinary projects are all based upon the existence of and services available at the Trust farm. While this is not a village-wide approach, it provides integrated services to its target group: the

agriculturalists and livestock owners.

Another candidate for the integrated approach category is the C.S.R.D. community health education program which offers a combination of health, child care, adult education, and other services to a target group of women and children.

9. Periodic review/evaluation by L.W.R.

There has been only infrequent and superficial review and evaluation of these projects by L.W.R. staff. Some project-holder staffs expressed the feeling that they wish L.W.R. would make more frequent visits to clarify objectives and offer suggestions. This finding suggests that some in-country L.W.R. capacity might be desirable.

At present, most review and evaluation functions are handled by a very efficient and competent staff member of I.C.S.A. in Madras. Despite the deft observations and often droll understatement of this evaluator's fine monitoring reports and evaluation studies, there would still seem to be need for a "real" L.W.R. staff member's presence. Project-holders know now the I.C.S.A. staff member must clear most important decisions through L.W.R. Thus his comments and suggestions may not carry the same authority as a full-time L.W.R. staff person's words would convey. Such a staff capacity would seem very appropriate for two reasons at this time: (1) to acquaint present and new project-holders with the expectations of LWR/NY and management practices necessary for compliance with the new Project System Manual, and, (2) to search for new prospective projects and project-holders. There would also be merit in having a full-time, in-country training and research staff expert to increase project-holder competencies.

10. Stimulate community's own development

Most of these projects only score moderately well on this criteria^{on}. A major flaw in many of these projects is their narrow benefit-dispersal pattern. Many projects seem targeted on only a small fraction of the village's population and, ironically, may often benefit those who are already in the best relative situation; this is especially so of the lift-irrigation systems and agricultural extension projects. As noted above, it can be argued and must be assumed that these projects will

ultimately have some "trickle down" positive economic impacts on the poorest majority...for they have little immediate benefit.

Another perspective on this situation, however, would point out that there must be some initial weighting of benefits toward some villagers if there is to be sufficient resource concentration for effective capital-building. While this perspective has merit, it is not so forceful a perspective if we consider the intentions of the L.W.R. development strategy: to benefit the poorest in the most immediate manner feasible.

The shining example of this comprehensive development approach is the C.S.M. brickmaking project. This project has directly and effectively provided a self-supporting and self-managed economic facility for a socially-despised and economically-deprived subcommunity. The high-gain/low-cost character of this project suggests its basic framework as a model for replication elsewhere.

11. Support infrastructure network

Some project-holders have clear and strong ties to government agencies and officials in their region and state. Others need encouragement to strengthen these ties.

Certainly the A.D.T.,B., with a Trust president who was formerly a chief minister, has very important ties to the state, central, and even international governmental and quasi-governmental infrastructure network. Evaluators were informed, for instance, that the World Bank is being solicited directly by the Trust president for monies to help with an A.D.T.,B. project. Yet, ironically, this same project-holder has some apparent overlap in its project activities with the state government village workers in several project sites. Recently, however, the A.D.T.,B. has been cooperating more closely with taluka-level government officers and organizations such as in a co-sponsored workshop to be held early in 1983.

C.S.M. and C.S.R.D. have little reported contact or communication with the government bureaucracy in their areas. Evaluation team visits to the local district head (collector) revealed that both collectors spoke highly of the work being done by voluntary agencies and expressed the wish for closer communication and coordination with both agencies.

A.E.L.C.'s local projects each have advisory boards with active participation by important taluka and district-level government officials.

Unfortunately, there is little or no coordination or cooperation among the project-holders and any other voluntary agencies in their region.

12. Promotes project-holder management capability

Virtualy, all of these projects promotes the management capacity of the project-holders. In keeping with L.W.R. guidelines, it would be desirable for the projects to more fully promote the managerial abilities of community-based groups such as cooperatives or informal societies. In fact, there are few successful cases, among the studied projects, in which project-holders were able to stimulate long-lasting self-management among beneficiaries involved in a project. Such a skill would be very desirable for project-holders and might well, indirectly, enhance their own management competency.

At times one also has the impression that in some of the projects, the project-holder may have taken too much responsibility relative to its own human resource base. C.S.M.'s field projects seem woefully understaffed at present; presumably this will change when the project-holder directors return to their post. C.S.R.D.'s projects sometimes display a somewhat disorganized appearance as if there was no clear division of responsibility. The degree of staff time involved in operation of the cobbler's cooperative project suggests the need for tighter administration or, preferably, the transfer of major responsibility to cobblers themselves.

13. Adequacy of L.W.R. staff support

As noted in item nine above, L.W.R. does not presently have sufficient staff support in India. There are many favorable potential impacts that an L.W.R. staff presence in India would offer: much closer and clearer communication concerning anticipated project impacts, more rapid feedback when intended objectives are sidetracked or made impossible, and greater scope for identification of projects consonant with L.W.R. development strategy guidelines.

14. Applicability of credit-financing

The possibility of credit-financing is most relevant in these projects to the lift-irrigation schemes. At present, both C.S.R.D. and C.S.M. have not made sufficient use of locally-available loan capital from private banks or government programs. Several projects have completed wells and pipelines but no irrigation because funds have not been secured for electrical connections; charges for these connections are very high in Maharashtra. Project-holders should be encouraged to seek other financial resources in addition to L.W.R. to finish these projects and "get the water flowing". There should also be some rethinking on the part of L.W.R. concerning the long-term appropriateness and impacts of providing lift-irrigation facilities on an outright grant basis as is currently practiced by these two project-holders. An alternative approach would be to offer the L.W.R. funding on a matching basis (e.g., a 50% match with monies raised by the beneficiaries via bank loans and/or government programs) or by providing collateral funds which will be kept by participating banks for loans to small landholders.

Not only would more credit-financing recycle allocated L.W.R. funds for additional projects, it would also integrate beneficiaries into existing economic structures and raise their sense of self-worth by giving them experience in managing responsible business matters.

15. Replicability of project efforts

There is a limited replicability potential for many of these projects for various reasons.

Lift irrigation projects have been replicated extensively within the drought-prone areas of Maharashtra not only by these but other project-holders as well. While such a technique might be applicable to other dry areas of India, it requires a certain level of managerial capacity and technical expertise that might not be available to many project-holders.

Many of these same comments apply to the forestation projects. Both of these project-types are expensive, long-term, high technology approaches that would be very difficult to replicate without some larger institutional base. These types of projects are also "expertise-intensive": successful implementation requires a high level of and consistent supply of skills.

The animal husbandry and agricultural extension projects are themselves replications of ongoing government programs. The special feature of these projects is their limited application of services to a small clientele, thereby providing concentrated resources.

The family welfare projects are replicable within the context of large, or at least, relatively well-financed institutions such as church congregations and colleges. These are not capital-intensive but labor-intensive projects which, once the staff is trained, require only salaries and other expenses for their perpetuation.

The likeliest candidate for replicability of those projects studied is the brickmaking production facility. This low-cost approach can be replicated by many voluntary agencies because it does not require a high level of technical sophistication nor long-term, intensive supervision. Projects of this type--building an income-generating facility for a small group of poor families--can be established in many rural (and urban) settings.

16. Significance of effort (size, number of people involved)

This quantitative measure of significance is difficult to assess in these projects because of two variables: long-term vs. short-term impacts and direct vs. indirect beneficiaries. If we look at these projects in terms of those variables, the following matrix can be formed:

	High Direct Benefit	High Indirect Benefit
Short-Term Impact	Brickmaking Cooperative	Lift-irrigation systems
	Livestock Production	
	Family Welfare	Agricultural extension
	Cobbler's Cooperative	
Long-Term Impact	Livestock Improvement	Forestation

Some of these project-types might justifiably be extended to another category because they offer--such as in the case of some family welfare projects--long-term indirect as well as short-term direct benefits. This matrix could also be expanded by distinguishing between economic and social impacts in relation to the above variables.

Using this matrix as a clue, we find that several project-types are providing the most direct, short-term benefits: the non-agricultural economic development, livestock production, and family welfare projects.

17. Priority in terms of local needs, perceived values, urgency, etc.

As noted in item one, some of these projects developed directly from needs expressed by beneficiary groups. This is most pertinent with regard to the lift-irrigation, family welfare, brickmaking cooperative, and well-completion projects. This is not to say that other projects are not high priorities in their respective communities but only that the above projects are a response to a more-or-less direct appeal.

Some projects would seem to be based upon project-holder staff's sense that a project would provide substantial benefits to a potential beneficiary group. Examples of this are the livestock production and agricultural extension projects.

Finally, at least one project-type--forestation--seems to have been virtually the "brain-child" of the project-holders. This finding is corroborated by the low-degree of villager response to these projects as measured by their low participation level.

This whole topic leads to the larger issue--a crucial one in terms of India's villages--of a suitable methodology for discovering the "real", highest priority needs of a village or community. In India's villages, this process is complicated by the fragmentation of village society and the long-entrenched, endemic competitiveness and factionalism between different subcommunity groups (castes, households, etc.). Simply isolating a project which will have a broad-scale positive impact on the poorest majority in a village can be a frustrating and lengthy task. Moreover, there is no assurance that such a project will be the most pressing need of everyone in the village. It is quite likely that the needs of landowners and landless households will be very different, for example (see Appendix D for details).

18. Physical environment impacts--soil, water, vegetation.

Those project which have the greatest impact on the physical environment are those related to water and forests. The lift-irrigation systems and well-completion projects will have an important effect on transforming the surrounding dry, arid acres into a green, garden-like area. Such a positive environmental impact is already visible in the Baramati area where percolation tanks have channeled water to wells that, in turn, have allowed narrow islands of green in otherwise desert-like conditions. These small oases produce an abundance of subsistence and cash crops that would not otherwise grow. Similarly, once the lift irrigation and well-completion projects are functional, they will provide a healthy impact on the local micro-ecology.

The forestry projects at Baramati, and to a lesser extent at the C.S.R.D. sites, will also have a beneficial environmental result. The carefully-tended seedlings at the Baramati plantations are growing mature in the face of harsh climatic conditions. Once established and flourishing, they may provide important influence to the adjacent area's ability to catch and retain moisture.

19. Health impacts

Only ~~three~~ of these projects will have any direct and immediate impact on human health and one will impact on the well-being of livestock. The family health projects of C.S.R.D. and the RECORDS project of the A.E.L.C. are the three projects which will have a direct impact on the health of beneficiary women and children through disease prevention measures such as inoculations and vaccinations as well as education on personal hygiene and related matters. Health care services are also provided by doctors, nurses, and village health workers.

The mobile veterinary clinic provides health care to livestock.

Vegetable gardens irrigated by lift-irrigation works may improve household health also.

20. Local economic impacts

A majority of those projects studied are intended to have a local economic impact. Once operational, the lift-irrigation systems should

have a sizable economic impact for beneficiary households after several years of double-cropping cash crops such as sugar cane and cotton. Hopefully this impact will spread out to other village households as well.

Moderate economic impact is also anticipated at the non-agricultural economic development projects as well as those related to livestock production and improvement.

21. Socio-political factors

These projects can all be seen as working toward the socio-political stability of their respective areas. Even those neighbors of beneficiaries who might not themselves directly benefit from a lift-irrigation well or a forestation project nonetheless gain a sense of optimism and hope from seeing that change in the direction of improvement is happening nearby them. The promise of possible hope someday is a psychological impact that can stabilize populations that might otherwise create dissension and chaos for those in a better condition.

22. Cultural impacts

Some of these projects will have moderate to high cultural impacts on beneficiary populations. Those with the highest impact will be the women's and children's family welfare projects at C.S.R.D. and RECORDS at the A.E.L.C. Both of these project-holders are sponsoring projects that will have long-term cultural change on their beneficiaries, especially with respect to their social relationships. Evidence collected during the evaluation study suggests that there are already some fundamental, deep-seated changes stirring in the hearts and minds of at least a few village women. They are re-examining their treatment by the men in their life--especially their husbands--and beginning to sound the first feeble sounds of protest at their situation. At the RECORDS project, both men and women are encouraged by the community development officers to take stock of their social and economic situation not as unchangable but as improvable. Through their social education program, the CDOs are planting the seeds for new and positive self-images while the nurses are helping people learn how to take better care of their bodies.

23. Administration, government agencies

As noted in item eleven above, some of the project-holders have a frequent and well-coordinated relationship with government agencies and officers. This is especially true of the A.D.T., B. and the A.E.L.C. The C.S.R.D. and C.S.M. have a less regular relationship with the local government administration and would probably benefit from greater contact. In fact, the local district magistrates in both Sholapur and Ahmednagar Districts encouraged C.S.M. and C.S.R.D., respectively, to enlist his services whenever necessary.

24. Energy

Only the two forestation projects at C.S.R.D. and A.D.T.,B. have any direct impact on local energy production. Those projects will produce some firewood for use by villagers in home cooking. The countryside in the region where these projects are located is notable for its general lack of almost any vegetation outside of irrigated areas. Thus, this firewood will be a boon to the villagers and allow their present cooking fuel--cow dung--to be used for compost.

PROJECT REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The twenty-five L.W.R.-funded projects visited by the evaluation team will be combined into twelve categories for purposes of analysis. Several of these projects are similar in structure and emphasis since they are replications of an earlier model. The twelve categories are

1. Lift Irrigation/C.S.R.D.: Jamb, Tandali, Shiradhon, Sakat I & II;
2. Lift Irrigation/C.S.M.: Gaudgaon, Jamgaon;
3. Well Completion/A.E.L.C.: Prakasam District;
4. Livestock Production/A.D.T.,B.: Mobile Veterinary Dispensary, Poultry-Raising for Women;
5. Livestock Improvement/C.S.M.: Goat Crossbreeding, Shepherds' Project;
6. Forestation/A.D.T.,B.: Forestation, Forestation II;
7. Forestation/C.S.R.D.: Paragaon;
8. Agricultural Extension/A.D.T.,B.: Young Farmers Training, Demonstration and Extension Centres;
9. Family Welfare/C.S.R.D.: Community Health Education, Family Welfare Education and Training Centre, Community Centre;
10. Family Welfare/A.E.L.C.: Additional Assistance for Cyclone Victims, Cyclone Housing;
11. Non-Agricultural Economic Development/C.S.R.D.: Cobblers' Cooperative;
12. Non-Agricultural Economic Development/C.S.M.: Brickmaking Cooperative.

Projects within each of these categories are assessed in terms of these factors: Objectives, Impacts, Potentials, Lessons Learned, and Recommendations.

1. LIFT IRRIGATION/C.S.R.D.

Five C.S.R.D. lift-irrigation projects were visited by members of the evaluation team, two in Sakat and one each in Jamb, Tandali, and Shiradhon. Each of these projects is based on the same basic development strategy and all are modeled on comparable successful projects initiated by C.S.R.D. The development strategy involves a common objective at all five project sites but the extent to which each project is an effective replication of earlier, successful models varies between projects.

Objective--Each of these lift-irrigation projects is aimed at increasing agricultural crop production potential in drought-prone sections of the Ahmednagar area. Specifically, ground water for irrigation is provided by the construction of a large-diameter well, a lift pump, and irrigation pipeline to convey the well water to surrounding fields. The main objective of these lift-irrigation projects is irrigation water supply but an important companion objective is to provide this water in such a manner as to foster greater community integration among a village's various subcommunities. This latter objective is described in a C.S.R.D. background paper on this 'community wells' approach: "The beneficiaries in all of the C.S.R.D. projects are a mixed group brought together by accident of the community well being located at a particular site and their lands falling within the command area of the scheme." This same document acknowledges that successful implementation of this approach in each case is difficult because of the complexity of variables involved: inability to secure electrical connections in time for project completion date, water disappearing down fault lines after blasting, squabbles over rights to the land which will be gifted for well construction, controversy concerning which fields and families will and will not participate in the water sharing, and many others.

Impacts--Of the five projects surveyed, three were operational at the time of the team's visit: Jamb, Tandali, and Sakat I. The Shiradhon project was almost completed with the well construction finished but the power connection incomplete. Sakat II is partly excavated but has yet to be steened. This section will assess the impacts of the former three projects.

JAMB: Based on the team's inspection visit, the functioning well at the Jamb site is providing irrigation water to 45 acres owned by 17 farmers. This water is used to provide needed irrigation water to kharif (Fall) season crops and to grow Rabi (Winter) season crops; prior to the lift-irrigation facility, Rabi crops had not been possible. Information provided to the team at the site by C.S.R.D. officials and beneficiaries indicated that the Rabi season production on the 42 acres cultivated during 1982-1983 had produced grains, vegetables, lentils, and fodder with a net value of about Rs. 65,000. A net present value analysis computed by Joseph Sprunger determined the benefit/cost ratio of this project, based on the first year's production, to be 2.17/1. Based on information provided by C.S.R.D., over half the irrigated acreage is owned by farmers classified as large landowners by Government of India definitions, 22% by small landholders, and 27% by cultivators owning marginal holdings. Beneficiary farmers reported that the lift-irrigation facility had greatly increased their ability to grow more diverse crops including high-profit cash crops for the first time. At the Jamb Mahila Mandal building, some women reported that the lift-irrigation has had an impact on their lives as well: now they do not have to leave the village as often for field labor work opportunities. Wives of landless husbands stated that previously their husbands had traveled to Paragaon and Ahmednagar for day-labor jobs.

The evaluation team was shown a well referred to as "Jamb # 2" or "Jamb B", signifying that this was the second attempt at a lift-irrigation community well in the Jamb vicinity. Team members did not ask to see the other or first Jamb well and C.S.R.D. staff did not offer to show it. A C.S.R.D. report on the project states that "...the well which was excavated in the first instance did not have the estimated recharging capacity." When additional blasting was applied to increase the capacity, the water was "diverted" as a result of the "...peculiar rock strata..." in the area. Team members also were puzzled by conflicting statistics concerning the amount of land within the command area of the well(s); the C.S.R.D. report on "Jamb II" reports the acreage as either 77 or 52 acres while team members were told in the field that the total was 45 acres.

TANDALI: This lift-irrigation scheme provides water to 14 beneficiary farmers. Six of these farmers own about 85% of the irrigated land and eight own the remaining fifteen percent; the former farmers are large landholders and the latter marginal landholders by GOI definitions. The total irrigated area during the 1982-1983 Rabi season was about 28 acres. Crops included sugar cane, wheat, sorghum, and lentils with a total net market value of approximately Rs. 58,000. This same acreage without irrigation would have produced about Rs. 18,000 worth of sorghum. Therefore, the irrigation has increased the income potential of these beneficiaries, collectively, by almost Rs. 40,000 in just one season. Joseph Sprunger has used the net present value technique to estimate a benefit/cost ratio of 3.01/1 for this project.

All beneficiaries in this project belong to the Harijan category. One beneficiary reported that he would use the increased income from the irrigated acres to purchase a milk animal and share the cost of a pair of bullocks with his brother. In addition, he intends to send his children to school.

The lift-irrigation cooperative society that was intended to be the management organization for water distribution and financial affairs has disbanded. There were reportedly problems getting the society approved and they were unable to get enough loan money from local banks. C.S.R.D. stepped into the breach and has provided funds for the project on a grant basis. Water distribution and other management aspects are being handled mostly by the 13 harijan and two Maratha beneficiaries through an informal decision-making body termed a "pawnee panchayat" (literally, a "water council"). This is a new institutional creation that may have been innovated here for the first time anywhere. More information on the details of the informal panchayat's operation would be desirable but was not available during the team's short visit.

SAKAT I: This project's implementation was in a state of flux at the time of the evaluation team's visit. Due to a wide range of circumstances, considerable modification has been made in the original proposed project. The portion of the project which has been completed to date and was visited by the team is a 40' diameter well with a pipeline irrigating the land of 7 farmers owning a total of about 30 acres. All of these farmers are Harijans. Data were not available concerning increased crop production resulting from this facility. However, the team observed that water presently supplied by the well's 1000' pipeline was providing much needed irrigation to land that had been owned by these farmers for over 20 years but, in all that time, had not produced an abundant crop.

Potentials

Each of these projects, in varying degree, demonstrated the great economic enhancement potential of the lift-irrigation approach in the perennially dry sections of the Ahmednagar area. Water is the key to transforming that usually barren, parched land into a much more abundant resource. Increased cash flowing from twice-yearly cash crop production will have a significant impact on the households of farmers benefitted by the projects. This added economic power will be translated, on the basis of current patterns, into additional economic-production resources such as bullocks and dairy animals. Social impacts will include more education for children as well as increased funds available for wedding expenses!

The social impacts of these projects, on the other hand, are less clearly visible with respect to the broader community. There is some evidence from the Sakat I project that the C.S.R.D. objective to include a heterogeneous mixture of castes and subcommunities among a lift scheme's beneficiaries has met with resistance. In addition, it is apparent that efforts by C.S.R.D. to encourage the formation of formal cooperative societies as legal owners of some wells has not been successful in any instance. The extent to which these two types of resistance to increased cooperation and enhanced community feeling can be reduced in the future is presently unclear.

Lessons Learned

Despite the lack of success of these anticipated social impacts, C.S.R.D. seems to have achieved some degree of community organization as an indirect result of the lift-irrigation projects. Because of its frequent discussions and consultations with Sakat residents, C.S.R.D. has developed a fairly close working relationship with some villagers. C.S.R.D. staff has won the trust and confidence of Sakat people by its painstaking efforts on their behalf to get approval for a dam on the nearby Sina River, and by C.S.R.D.'s patience in arbitrating disputes stemming from long-standing factional rivalries. This trust on the part of the villagers has been translated into cooperation on several village improvement projects unrelated to the lift-irrigation projects.

The Sakat I project also provides some lessons concerning ways in which proposed plans can require extensive modification as a result of complex factors unforeseen at the time a proposal was prepared. For example, from the one 80' diameter well serving 43 Harijan families owning 250 acres that was originally sanctioned to receive Rs. 435,980, Sakat I project is now being implemented as three "subprojects". Subproject One is the 40' diameter well serving 7 Harijan farmers owning 30 acres visited by the L.W.R. evaluation team. Subproject Two is another 40' diameter well that is to be constructed which will irrigate land owned by another Harijan caste group. Subproject Three is an pipeline which will be constructed to other fields upon the completion of a proposed government-built dam across the Sina River which will irrigate about 500 acres owned by non-Harijans. All of the farmer-beneficiaries were apparently included in the original group of beneficiaries outlined in the Sakat I proposal. But instead of sharing a common community well and the same pipeline, each of the three subcommunities will now have its own lift-irrigation system separate from the others.

Another lesson emerging from these projects is the indirect but important impact of these capital-intensive projects on not only the direct beneficiaries but also other villagers, including the landless. While farmer-beneficiaries saw sharp rises in their disposable income as a result of these projects, other villagers also benefitted indirectly by having more day-labor opportunities in their home village. These increased jobs close to home have decreased poorer villagers need to "commute" to work in other villages, an especial benefit for woman laborers who must not only work in the fields but cook and serve all of her household's meals. Also, because the irrigation facilities permit winter season crops, field labor opportunities are available almost year-round instead of only three or four months out of the year.

Finally, the C.S.R.D. lift-irrigation projects illustrate the tremendous effort and complexity necessary to successfully implement this important strategy. While the benefits of this approach include clear, demonstrable economic improvement in the beneficiary's income, there is equally compelling evidence that these projects absorb considerable administrative, organizational, and transportation resources in addition to the funds involved. It can be reasonably argued that there are important benefits for both villagers and C.S.R.D. staff in being involved in such complex projects. Briefly, the involvement (1) promotes mutual cooperation and rapport between the villagers and staff and, (2) exposes both groups to both organizational complexity and managerial challenges that can generate problem-solving capacity. Unfortunately, what seems equally clear from the record of cost overruns on these projects and the large number of uncompleted projects is that C.S.R.D. may have overstepped the limits of its capacity to initiate lift irrigation projects...at least in nine villages simultaneously.

Recommendations

The following recommendations include currently functional lift-irrigation projects as well as those under construction:

JAMB: Information should be provided concerning the expenditures and current status of the two wells (Jamb II-A and II-B, or whatever the appropriate nomenclature) at Jamb village.

TANDALI: Any additional expenditures at this site should be financed through bank loans by the farmer-beneficiaries. No further L.W.R. assistance should be provided to this project.

SAKAT I: The completed and proposed 40' diameter wells which will benefit 13 Harijan families should be considered as the complete Sakat I project. Upon completion of the proposed second well, any remaining funds should be reimbursed to I.C.S.A.

The proposed pipeline from the government-built dam should be excluded from consideration as a component of the Sakat I project: it is an altogether different type of irrigation system serving a group not intended as primary beneficiaries of the original Sakat proposal. Funds for undertaking this reservoir lift irrigation scheme should be sought by means of a separate proposal to L.W.R. However, we recommend that a more suitable source of funding would be a bank loan. ✓

SAKAT II: Given the significant changes in this project since it was initially approved, a complete beneficiary list should be provided which indicates names, total landholdings, and acres to be irrigated by beneficiary. In addition, no funds should be diverted from other project accounts if this project exceeds its sanctioned amount.

SHIRADHON: No more L.W.R. funds should be expended on this project as the authorized amount has been spent.

The following general recommendations pertain to lift-irrigation projects as implemented by C.S.R.D.:

--There should be a greater degree of contribution by beneficiary farmers and their families to the project, either in the form of volunteer labor, bank loans to finance a portion of the cost, or by other means.

--Extensive effort should be made to insure the success of social impacts described in project proposals. C.S.R.D. should exercise more restraint in agreeing to project modifications which dilute or sabotage the community integration aspects of a project.

--Special attention should be directed to selection of beneficiaries who fall into the marginal landholder category. Farmers owning small and large landholdings should be the exception in these projects rather than the norm.

--Project beneficiaries should be expected to bear part of the facility construction costs through a bank loan-type of arrangement, even if the "bank" is C.S.R.D., by which they pay for a significant percentage (such as 40-50%) of the total project cost from increased earnings over a 10-12 year period. The practice of simply gifting the lift-irrigation system to the beneficiaries denies them the opportunity to participate responsibly in an important "business transaction" and denies other farmers the opportunity to finance similar schemes from a "lift-irrigation project loan fund" financed from loan repayments.

2. Lift Irrigation/C.S.M.: Gaudgaon, Jamgaon.

Two lift-irrigation projects funded through L.W.R. grants provided to Christa Seva Mandir were visited by the evaluation team.

The project at Gaudgaon is currently without electrical connections but is providing water to about 30 acres surrounding the well; all of that land is owned by the cooperating trust, Shivaji Shiksan Prasek Mandel.

The Jamgaon project is at a comparable stage of completion. The well, pumps, and pipelines are in place but electrical connections have yet to be secured. Water from this well is being lifted by a diesel pumpset to irrigate a few acres owned by one of the beneficiaries.

Objective--The two lift-irrigation projects funded by L.W.R. via C.S.M. employ the same basic development model as the ones financed by C.S.R.D. That is, they include the construction of several related physical components--a large diameter well, electrical pumps, and pipeline facilities--as well as certain intended social organizational outcomes. In the case of the C.S.M. projects, the social organizational context surrounding the lift-irrigation projects distinguish these from the C.S.R.D. projects.

Although photographs of a C.S.R.D. and a C.S.M. lift-irrigation facility would be virtually indistinguishable, the team found significant differences in the objectives and implementation approach in these projects. This section will focus on the objectives and the latter section on the implementation.

The objectives of the C.S.M. projects have the intention of providing irrigation water for the improvement of crop cultivation in a very dry region of Sholapur District. In their social context, these projects also have an agenda that is closely intertwined with those of the local co-sponsoring organization, the Shivaji Shiksen Prasek Mandel (SSPM), and of its founder and director, "Guruji" (a man in his 60s named Lohakare). "Guruji" is a committed "social worker" (an English-language term used in rural Maharashtra to denote a 'community-minded person'). He has developed the SSPM as a vehicle for developing and expanding educational opportunities for rural youngsters as well as "weaker sections": widows, destitute women, Harijans. The Gurgaon lift-irrigation facility currently functions as a means for enhancing the social and economic goals of SSPM and its director.

Impacts--Although neither of these projects is fully completed, there were some preliminary benefits visible at both sites.

JAMGAON: The most visible impact at Jamgaon was the extent to which some farmers appeared to have been mobilized by this project. It was not merely those farmers who will be the direct beneficiaries of this project but also other farmers who seemed enthused by the promise of better crop production potential. The direct beneficiaries are already organized into a managing society, albeit unregistered apparently, to deal with the water distribution and operating details of the lift irrigation facility. Other farmers who were not involved in the present project seemed optimistic that the future would bring similar projects to their fields someday. Much of the credit for this enthusiasm is attributable to the work of a young village "social worker" who has been employed at SSPM and is perhaps best described as a protege of "Guruji".

GAUDGAON: Water from this lift-irrigation project has yet to reach the beneficiaries listed in the original project proposal with one exception. Water has been used in the past several years to irrigate about 30 acres of fruit trees and other crops on land owned by SSPM; this land is immediately adjacent to the large well. Although electrical fittings are not completely installed, water is flowing from two small pumpsets which draw water from the well. Irrigation water for the other 27 beneficiaries listed in the proposal is to be provided at sometime in the future. In the meantime, the water now being pumped has helped the SSPM produce an abundant harvest of guava, grapes, mango, and other high-paying cash crops.

Potentials--Both of these projects offer considerable potential for increased agricultural production in the well command area once the necessary electrical connections are made. There is an abundance of water available from a nearby tank, in the case of Jamgaon, should the well run low in the dry season. The large tank at Gaudgaon has a large volume of water capable of irrigating many acres.

Several important future issues hover over the Gaudgaon lift-irrigation system. While this project will produce an abundance of water, it is not clear presently how this resource will be distributed nor with whom the ultimate ownership of the whole system resides. The well itself is on property owned by the SSPM. The ownership of the pumps and the 6,000' pipeline was a matter of some concern to the evaluation team. Does this water delivery system, like the well, belong to the SSPM? If so, how is the distribution of water going to be organized when operational? Given proposal statistics, 170 acres owned by 27 farmers and 80 acres owned by the SSPM will be irrigated by the well when the irrigation equipment is functional. [Note: the L.W.R. proposal mistakenly referred to 120 beneficiaries, a mistake stemming from erroneous information provided on the C.A.S.A. proposal.] The team's concern over this topic is not based on any distrust or suspicion regarding the SSPM or its leader, "Guruji". Rather, it grows from a concern with all benefits and responsibilities of the project being shared equally among all beneficiaries, with the SSPM being only one member of that group.

Lessons Learned--These two projects are probably best seen as a case study in "too much of a good thing". There is consistent and repeated concern in the L.W.R. Development Strategy guidelines as well as in the international development literature on the need to produce "grassroots", indigenous leadership. The work of "Guruji" and the SSPM is clearly an expression of local leadership mobilizing local peoples and external resources to solve village problems. The overall activities of the SSPM include a wide range of education, rehabilitation, relief, and development projects intended to uplift the Gaudgaon area and surrounding villages. In the case of the Gaudgaon well, however, it seems that "Guruji" has provided leadership that is to domineering and self-absorbed. He has allowed little input or participation by other villagers in his zeal to establish

the SSPM on a sound financial footing. We can hope that the good work which "Guruji" has done--and there is little doubt of his dedication and commitment--will be carried on by trained, equally competent proteges and followers. However, it is unlikely that such followers will gain confidence and experience unless "Guruji" learns to delegate more authority. A Gaudgaon lift-irrigation management society would be a healthy step in that direction if it were operated by all potential beneficiaries in a democratic fashion.

Recommendations--The team has these specific recommendations to offer regarding these two projects:

JAMGAON:-The informal management society should be encouraged by C.S.M. to seek funding through a bank loan to finance the electric connection charges, thereby providing irrigation facilities by the next (Kharif) growing season this year.

--Baseline data should be collected before the facility is in operation as well as afterward to record the production patterns (types of crops; acreage, production levels, costs, earnings) before and after the facility is operational. This recommendation applies to the Gaudgaon project as well.

--A beneficiary list of farmers whose land will be irrigated by the facility should be provided at this time. Such a list should also be a standard feature of future project proposals.

GAUDGAON: Both of the latter two recommendations above apply to this project also. In addition, L.W.R. should formally notify C.A.S.A. of the discrepancy between the data it provided to L.W.R. and the information sent to it (describing the Gaudgaon project) by C.S.M.

--C.S.M. needs to clarify to L.W.R. how the water distribution system will be managed (who will distribute the water and the roles which all beneficiaries will play in the management process) and who owns this system. In addition, C.S.M. should indicate the public benefits which it sees as justification for the investment of these resources on property owned by SSPM.

3. Well Completion/A.E.L.C.: Prakasam District

The evaluation team visited several well sites improved by the "Completion of Wells" project undertaken by the Andhra Evangelic Lutheran Church (A.E.L.C.) in Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh. The team visited three well sites in three different villages but found much the same story at each one. L.W.R. money had been allocated in the hope of rehabilitating thirty wells that had been partially constructed, using C.A.S.A. resources, but were unproductive either because they were too shallow or had been damaged during cyclones. Team members were unhappy with the results of this project as demonstrated by the three sites they visited.

Objectives--As stated above, the purpose of these well completion projects was to follow through on work which had been undertaken earlier by C.A.S.A. to construct wells on farmland in arid portions of this district. Assistance provided by A.F.P.R.O. identified which of the 18-20 foot deep wells--too shallow to reach the 30' deep water table--were most technically suitable for deepening. The proposal for this project stated that L.W.R. funding would provide the potential to irrigate 300 acres and provide as many as 150 families with employment.

Impacts--Based on what the team saw first hand at ten percent of the completed wells, the project proposal was overly optimistic in its forecast of probable outcomes. What the team discovered was three wells that are still incomplete, some more so than others. None of the wells is yet equipped with a new diesel pumpset although two of them are using small, older diesel sets that provide some irrigation to their plots. One well was irrigating about five acres, another three acres, and a third, none at all. While these sets are thus providing some degree of assistance to crop production in these acres, the team was disturbed by the attitude of the beneficiaries regarding completion of the improvements on their wells. Both of the beneficiaries whom the team spoke with (the third was working on someone else's fields) felt that it was up to A.E.L.C. and/or L.W.R. to provide them with pipeline--in addition to the already committed pumpsets--to complete their irrigation systems. Neither believed it was their own responsibility or prerogative to secure a bank loan for this purpose. This attitude may be construed as an impact of the approach taken in the implementation of this project by the project-holder.

Potentials--The outcomes of this project, judging from this small sample, have not lived up to the expectation voiced in the proposal. Moreover, there is reason to be concerned that these wells, now completed, may not have great longevity. These wells appear vulnerable to erosion and wind-damage because of their rectangular shape (as opposed to the more sturdy circular design) and because they are not steened (nor do the owners seem interested in steening them). For both of these reasons there is reason to fear that the money invested in these improved facilities will not last as long as possible. Moreover, if the present attitude of the beneficiaries is any clue, it appears that future maintenance and expansion of this gift will not be provided if there is inconvenience for the owner.

Lessons Learned--Several lessons emerged from analysis of this project, although none of these lessons were particularly novel. One of the most important lessons regards the lack of incentive and commitment that beneficiaries may feel when they are simply handed a resource with no risk or investment on their part. The evaluation team was unable to learn how the beneficiaries of the well-completion project were selected, a point that will be discussed at length at a later section in this report. Nor were they able to accept the seeming unwillingness of two of the three visited beneficiaries to make full use of the increased irrigation capacity that had been gifted them by the project-holder. In fact, one of the beneficiaries had not even connected a pumpset of any kind to his well. The bored and deepened well sat useless and unutilized in the middle of unproductive plots.

Another lesson that offers no new insights is the need for follow-up work on the full complement of proposed project activities. In the case of these incomplete wells, many of the points mentioned in the proposal were not followed up on by the projectholder including (1) no technical assistance by the Agriculture Department of the Andhra Pradesh government, (2) no loans by the Syndicate Bank for pumpsets, (3) little or no contribution of their own labor by the beneficiaries, (4) no formation of a registered society by the beneficiaries, (5) no formation of a loan fund pool that could be used to finance costs for other wells, and (6) although the A.E.L.C. pledged its "full endorsement" of the project, it does not appear to have provided sufficient supervision to actual project implementation. This lack of "follow through" by the A.E.L.C. may be partially attributable to the great geographic spread of these projects, scattered here and there over many villages. Given such a broad distribution, adequate project supervision was made difficult at best.

Recommendations: Although this project has been completed, there may be future requests to provide additional funding for pipelines and other irrigation facilities. These requests should be deferred on the grounds that past proposed and agreed upon bank loans for pumpsets have not been honored. Bank loans should be sought by the beneficiaries for any additional improvement costs.

In addition, another proposed wells project referred to as the "Forty Wells" project should be closely scrutinized for feasibility and the likelihood of its being implemented as close to the proposal description as possible. Successful implementation of projects involving the cooperation of parties unaffiliated with the project holder, such as state government departments and commercial banks, should allow for contingencies that may emerge. Moreover, the project holder should be expected to devote sufficient attention and care to proposed projects so that they do not deviate so far from the proposed project as was the case of the incomplete wells.

4. Livestock Production/ADT,B: Mobile Vet. Dispensary, Poultry Raising

Evaluation team members had the opportunity to visit several villages in which the outcomes of these projects were measurable. The team met with the ADT,B veterinary doctor, several villagers who had made use of the mobile veterinary dispensary, and several beneficiaries of the poultry-raising scheme. In addition, they visited the Trust Farm on which the poultry house has been constructed using L.W.R. funds.

Objectives: The intended outcomes of these projects are to increase the production of livestock animals and their products in villages served by the Trust programs. Specifically, these programs are concerned with (1) providing veterinary care to villagers who own improved breeds of dairy cows and goats as well as poultry, and, (2) to make available an improved strain of chicken for egg production, respectively. Each of these projects has important secondary objectives as well. The veterinary dispensary is mandated to provide mobile artificial insemination service and the poultry project was anticipated to have a beneficial effect on the self esteem and income level of women participants. This latter impact was to emerge as a byproduct of the dual focus of this project: literacy training for illiterate women combined with technical education about the care and raising of young White Leghorn chicks.

Impacts: The team found that the veterinary dispensary appeared to have been the more successful of the two projects for two reasons: it has received continual and expert technical assistance during its implementation, and, it provides a service which is eagerly sought by the intended beneficiaries.

MOBILE VETERINARY DISPENSARY: This unit serves six villages within a radius of 25 k.m. from the Trust Farm. The dispensary has provided health coverage for livestock in those villages, introduced and shown proper management of improved varieties of cows, cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry, and has promoted dairying and poultry keeping as subsidiary occupations. Villagers the team spoke with indicated their satisfaction with the program. Team members were impressed with the dedication and competency of the veterinarian. There was clear evidence that new livestock breeds were being widely adopted in at least one of the project target villages. There was also considerable economic impact in that same village because of increased dairying activity in recent years, some of which was attributable to this Trust service. In that particular village, daily milk production has increased from 1-2 cans a few years ago to 45-50 cans today. While part of the credit for this increase may be claimed by a bank and parallel government services, the

village clearly has been helped economically by the mobile dispensary.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that it is difficult to gauge the impact of the dispensary in this village because it is a target village for government veterinary services as well as the Trust. In fact, a close inspection of the villages served by the Trust shows that they are largely clustered fairly close by Baramati and/or the Trust Farm. Thus, the dispensary services are concentrated mostly in those villages which are already likely to have the most easy access to transportation and communication facilities with other aid sources such as government facilities.

POULTRY RAISING: The economic impacts of the poultry raising project were visible to a limited extent during the team's visit. There was no apparent social impact on the lives of the intended beneficiaries at this time for reasons that will be explained later. One woman visited in the village which had the most active overall Trust program indicated that she is earning about Rs. 2 per day from egg sales; a reasonable estimate of her annual income from this source is about Rs. 520 after deduction of expenses. The extent to which this level of impact was widespread in the villages served by Trust staff was not easily determined, partially because of inadequate record-keeping at the poultry shed on the Trust Farm. These records made it difficult to determine many characteristics of those persons who are acquiring the chicks for rearing. It was not even possible to assess the extent to which the beneficiaries of this project were women.

It was possible to determine that the association of literacy training and poultry raising referred to in the project proposal has not been put into operation. The cooperating organization which was to take the lead in providing literacy training to the women beneficiaries has not been active in the past several months because of the absence of its main leader, one of the Trust officers.

Prospects: These projects seem to be well-received because they are perceived as helpful and necessary by their target populations. The major concern of the team concerning their future operation was a desire to see these projects extended to more remote villages that may not yet be receiving comparable services from government agents or other sources. Also, there was concern that the project benefits be clearly available to the poorest majority in those villages that are being served.

Lessons Learned: These projects illustrate the receptivity of villagers to those projects that are perceived to be (1) low risk to the participants, and (2) offer clear and significant, immediate gains.

At the same time, these projects also illustrate the need for projects to go beyond the immediate task of providing a needed service to be sure that the secondary aspects of a project, such as targeting those programs on particularly disadvantaged populations and villages, are not neglected.

Recommendations: The team had these specific recommendations to offer these projects:

MOBILE VETERINARY DISPENSARY: This project should be continued to the end of the sanctioned project agreement. At the same time, the project holder should consider modifications in this project so that those villages in outlying areas might receive some of the dispensary's services.

It was also unclear to the team whether or not a fee was being charged for the dispensary's services. If there is not any at present, what is the rationale for this practice? If there is a fee, it should be included on the fiscal reports. .

POULTRY RAISING: This project needs to keep more detailed records on those persons receiving chicks from the poultry unit. The team provided a reporting sheet for this purpose. In addition, the project needs to be certain that the beneficiaries of this project are members of the poorest majority in their respective villages with preference to women clients. No additional funding commitments should be made by L.W.R. unless there is a clear policy by the Trust to target the poorest majority as its target group.

5. Livestock Improvement/C.S.M.

The involvement of C.S.M. in livestock improvement projects represents a major new initiative by the organization undertaken only recently. This initiative is a "new direction" for C.S.M. in several respects: it requires expertise in a different type of rural development work than they had previously been associated with, requires a more heavy staff involvement with beneficiaries, and will necessitate more direct extension work by the main field officer. In essence, this project is an important building block for C.S.M.'s transition from an urban-based neighborhood house into a rural development organization. The stationing of a well-trained and seasoned rural extension agent in Osmanabad with partial oversight responsibilities for these projects is an important step toward building this new institutional capacity.

The evaluation team visited the goat-breeding facility, which is virtually completed, and spoke with numerous beneficiaries of both the goat-breeding and "shepherd's" project.

Objectives--Both of these projects are concerned with enhancing the income level of rural households through non-agricultural economic activities. The focal point of these activities is sheep-raising by members of the Dhangar community, a traditional shepherd caste, and increasing the milk-producing capacity of dairy goats by introducing improved breeding stock. Each project has similar but somewhat different emphases:

"Shepherd's Project"--This project is intended as "occupational rehabilitation", in a sense, by providing the needed economic resources that one-time shepherds had lost due to drought and financial distress. Shepherd community members are once again able to follow their traditional occupational calling because they have been provided with a small "starter" flock. At the same time, these shepherds are being supplied with improved sheep varieties which, because of their superior wool-bearing qualities, will provide more financial returns than local varieties.

Goat-Breeding Scheme--This project is aimed at upgrading the milk-production level of local goats by introducing Etawah breeds which also are a heavier animal. Male goats will be distributed to villagers who will supervise the loans of animals for breeding purposes. At the same time, this project was expected to train village goat-owners in proper health practices and animal care.

Impacts--At the time of the team's visit, the basic components of both projects had only been operational for a very short time. Consequently, no long-term impacts are yet visible. Nonetheless, the team did have some comments concerning the direction in which these projects appear to be heading at this time.

"Shepherd's Project"--The L.W.R. proposal cites three specific objectives for this project. These include (1) distribution of twenty female and one male sheep to 93 households, (2) increased economic prosperity for these households, and (3) a mortality rate of only 8% for the sheep. None of these objectives can be measured at this time.

However, it seemed to the evaluation team that this project has a generally good beginning. The C.S.M. field staff person has done an excellent job of establishing a complete set of baseline data on the households and their flocks. In addition, the seriousness and high level of responsibility on the shoulders of the shepherd-owners has been impressed on them by the official documents they signed as part of the ownership process.

Goat-breeding Project--The L.W.R. proposal for this project contained no specified objectives. At this point, the project has achieved one of the major purposes of the project, the completion of the goat-breeding building. In addition, some villages are now serviced by the improved goat breeds....fourteen goats to thirteen villages at the time of our visit in mid-January.

Potentials--Team members felt that both of these projects offered hope for significant and well-targeted impact. Each project seems to have been well-managed so far and has provided the improved breeds and services to some of the more needy villagers. Further progress and the successful fulfillment of these projects' intended outcomes will depend upon the continued care and attention of C.S.M. staff, government technical assistance, and the cooperation of the beneficiaries (some of whom have very traditional notions about animal health care) as well as the SSPM. A very healthy and productive relationship exists between the C.S.M. field staff person and the government veterinarian who works closely with the project.

Lessons Learned--Team members were impressed by the enthusiasm of beneficiaries for their new sheep. Their enthusiasm may be an example of the principle stated in L.W.R. Development Strategy Guidelines that "projects should be technically sound". In this case, the project is built upon the traditional occupation of the shepherds, a situation which provides some degree of familiarity and sense of continuity for the beneficiaries. [At the same time, of course, this situation could be seen as a reinforcement of traditional caste identities]. Both these projects have the capability of increasing income levels while causing little social disruption. In addition, it seemed evident that the beneficiaries felt a stake in this project. They have invested time, energy, and other resources to its success.

Recommendations--While these projects were among the most successful that the team visited, there are these specific recommendations:

Goat-breeding Project--Good record-keeping is essential to this project in order to measure the project outcomes. Specifically, quarterly reports to L.W.R. should include statistics on (1) the number of cross-breed goats distributed by village, (2) the total production of cross-bred kids during that quarter as well as the cumulative total, and (3), spot reports on the milk and meat production of both cross-breeds and local breeds.

"Shepherd's Project"--This project needs more specific project objectives including the types of income to be generated, services to be assured, wool and meat marketing goals, etc. In addition, indicators should be established to measure progress toward these objectives and clear guidelines established between C.S.M. and Dr. Ernest of I.C.S.A. concerning how these data will be gathered and analyzed. Finally, C.S.M.'s quarterly reports on this project should indicate any progress in the direction of increased cooperation among the shepherd groups, especially with respect to sharing grazing duties. The reports should also provide more specific details concerning such ancilliary activities and income sources as shearing, spinning and weaving, carpets, and meat production.

6. Forestation/ A.D.T.,B.

The dry, stony hills of Baramati Taluka attract little rainfall annually. The almost denuded hillsides offer little grazing and no forest. The A.D.T.,B. has strived to change that landscape through two ambitious and well-managed forestation projects.

The evaluation team visited both project sites, planted trees by their own hands, and had the opportunity to speak to some potential beneficiaries of these plantations. While the technical aspect of these forestation projects had succeeded admirably, there was reason for concern that the transfer of ownership to village panchayats was an aspect of the projects that had not received sufficient attention.

Objectives--The forestation projects were intended to provide small groves of useful trees that might have important economic consequences for the nearby beneficiary villages. These plantations of neem (acacia), tamarind, babul and other varieties are expected to (1) stabilize the soil cover, (2) attract rain when the trees are fully mature, (3) provide fuel wood, fodder, and cash crops for village panchayats, and (4) provide a model for replication by other villagers, villages, and voluntary agencies. The specific approach of these projects calls for benefits to be transmitted to beneficiary communities through the agency of the village panchayat. While some poor families might make use of the twigs in the mature plantations for firewood, the main anticipated economic impact of these projects is from the contract sale of fruit and trees to the highest bidder. Proceeds from these sales are intended to be collected by village panchayats which will then allocate the contract-income in ways which panchayat members deem fit. Thus, the elected representatives of the village will determine the uses to which income from the plantation trees will be applied.

Impacts--The expected impacts of these projects can be divided into short-range and long-range outcomes. In order for the long-range impacts (economic benefits for target villages) to be successful, the short-range effectiveness of these projects--survival of the seedlings--must be achieved. This is, in fact, the present situation at these projects: the plantations show a very high survival rate, largely because of the close attention and care by the paid staff. In an earlier visit to these projects, Dr. Ernest found that the percentage of surviving seedlings was 90%, a much higher level than comparable projects undertaken on government plantations.

While the short-term effectiveness of the tree plantation aspect of these projects is definitely verifiable, the same cannot be said for the long-term institutional arrangements intended as the means for distribution of the plantation's economic rewards. The team found a lack of sufficient attention to the important task of preparing the beneficiary villagers for the day when the plantations would become their collective property. While the village headman in one village said readily that the tree income would be used for new roads, a hostel for school children who live outside the village center, and other community purposes, most villagers had little awareness that the trees would eventually become their shared property. What seemed to have been neglected was an important educational and social process dimension of this project: the slow, gradual preparation of the villagers for the day when they will have to agree upon what uses the tree income will be spent. This preparation is essential if the future maintenance of the trees and the equitable, village-wide distribution of the plantation benefits is to be achieved. Such preparation is especially needed when, as in one village, a long-standing feud presently divides the village households into two hostile factions.

Potentials--The long-range potential of these projects is good so long as progress is made toward the task of villager education about the fact that these plantations are to become their property. As long as villagers conceive of the trees as "belonging to the Trust", they will not feel responsible for future forest maintenance nor will they see much reason to cooperate with one another for their mutual betterment. Unless some progress is made toward this long-range goal, there is danger that the trees will benefit a limited, possibly less needy segment of the village such as the local panchayat members and their allies. While some of the project's expected outcomes would be achieved in spite of this limited benefit distribution, the development of village cooperation is at least as important as the survival of the trees.

Lessons Learned--The main lesson visible from this project is the attention to detail and sustained attention that is necessary for successful rural development. In the case of the tree plantations, this care and attention has produced a remarkably high rate of successful sapling survival, no small achievement in that inhospitable natural environment. At the same time, that same level of attention and sustained effort has not been directed toward the ultimate intended beneficiaries of all the effort and expense: the neighboring village communities. People, like tree seedlings, need more-or-less continual encouragement and cultivation if they are to blossom in a harsh environment.

Recommendations--Given the lack of a strong community base to these projects, there should be no more L.W.R. funding for similar projects unless they demonstrate a clear strategy for involving the intended beneficiaries in a participatory management role early on and throughout the project period.

7. Forestation/C.S.R.D.

The evaluation team was able to visit only one forestation project undertaken by the C.S.R.D. This project was a grove of ku-babul and an experimental plot of Napier grass within the Paragaon area. Technically, neither of these crops qualify as forestry plants since their main use is as fodder sources.

While the team was only able to visit one forestation project, a lengthy report by Dr. Ernest of I.C.S.A. based on his field visits to all the C.S.R.D. forestation sites has been prepared for L.W.R. A series of letters commenting on this report have been exchanged between C.S.R.D. staff and L.W.R. headquarters in New York. The team did not have sufficient time to investigate the total project which is unfortunate given the great amount of attention that has been directed toward it. The recommendations section of this report suggests an intensive examination of this project.

Objectives--The project proposal refers to a wide range of impacts expected to result from the forestation projects in six villages. These impacts included soil conservation, water preservation, establishing a new ecological balance in the area after a long period of time, and the provision of fodder and firewood to villagers. Thus, the broad objectives of this project parallel those of the A.D.T., B. forestation project with two important exceptions: (1) the C.S.R.D. proposal does not envision the village-wide use of tree income and other benefits in any organized or collective manner, and (2) there is no specification of the types of trees to be planted, except for a reference to "fruit trees".

Impacts--As noted above, the team was unable to visit more than one forestation site. The plot which they visited had two flourishing fodder-type crops growing on them, a thick stand of Napier grass being raised by the Chitrakoot method of intensive cultivation and densely planted Ku-Babul "fodder trees" that were tall and leafy because they had received irrigation. The C.S.R.D. staff reported that they are encouraging villagers to take up fodder crop production, especially of the Napier grass because it is possible to grow a large amount of fodder in an area as small as one acre using the method pioneered at Chitrakoot, U.P., at a rural development project funded by the Mafatial Industries group.

The economic impacts of this project on local villagers were not ascertained nor were the beneficiaries of the forestation project clearly identified to the team.

Potentials--The team was unable to spend sufficient time with this project to learn the extent of its feasibility for adoption by the poorest majority in villages. In fact, the intensive cultivation method being used were not apparently being adopted by any villagers in the Paragaon area.

Of greater concern to the potential of this project is the temporary nature of the "would-be" forest. None of the crops being planted there will achieve most of the objectives identified in the proposal. The Ku-Babul "fodder tree" as well as the Napier grass are both totally ill-suited as a means to provide a long-term forest cover. They are useful for short-term fodder production purposes but offer only immediate, quickly-used benefits. If the C.S.R.D. intends for there to be forests created in the target villages, they must begin introducing other tree species as well.

Lessons Learned--The major lesson for L.W.R. in this instance is the need for (1) specificity and thoroughness in project proposal descriptions, and (2) close monitoring of project implementation, especially during the initial stages. The use of L.W.R. funds for activities not specified in the proposal should best be viewed as overly-enthusiastic experimentation with a new fodder-production technique rather than as use of funds for an unapproved activity. Closer communication between C.S.R.D. staff and that of L.W.R. and I.C.S.A. is necessary to prevent recurrences of this problem.

Recommendations--In order to gain a clearer understanding of the long-term impacts of this project, which was sanctioned seven years ago, the following recommendations are offered:

Dr. Ernest of I.C.S.A. should make an extensive field site visit in order to determine at each L.W.R.-sponsored forestation site:

- the survival rate of trees at these sites,
- measurable ecological benefits to the surrounding area,
- economic benefits reported by various beneficiaries in the area,
- significant differences in the above factors distinguishable between (1) community plots vs. private plots, (2) forestry for timber, fuel, fodder and other purposes vs. forestry for horticultural purposes.

In addition, Dr. Ernest should review the relationship of L.W.R.-funded forestry projects to those funded by other donors.

8. Agricultural Extension/A.D.T.,B.

Evaluators visited the two villages served by A.D.T., B. extension agents and spoke with several villagers who had taken part in Young Farmer's training programs. There appeared to be difficulties with retention of the extension agents who, reportedly, were continually lured to more secure positions with the state government program. While the two villages we visited had extension agents, three others had lost theirs to government service. The Young Farmer's training program has provided instruction to village youths in farming and animal husbandry. We spoke with several young men who had participated in these courses.

Objectives--These two programs are grouped in the same category because they are both directed toward extending the information and expertise of the Trust Farm out to surrounding villages. The extension agents associated with the Demonstration and Extension Centre project are intended to take useful information out to farmers where they live; the Young Farmer's training project is focused on attracting farmers to the Farm where they can receive systematic, comprehensive training on improved agricultural and animal husbandry techniques. The larger goal of these projects is to enrich the agricultural production levels of the taluka's "dry area" by providing expert guidance and production resources (improved livestock varieties, fruit seedlings, etc.) which will maximize the local capacity. This strategy thus taps the potential which the numerous percolation tanks have provided the taluka. That potential would be largely dormant and latent without efforts to upgrade the agricultural practices of local cultivators.

Impacts--While there is great potential advantage to target villages in these two projects, the evaluation team had difficulty in seeing any particularly impressive impacts so far. Our ability to observe impacts would have been aided by more complete record-keeping by the A.D.T.,B. staff. Comments on each of these projects offer some general findings:

Young Farmers Training Project--The training program center at the Trust Farm seems to be a very well-designed instructional facility complete with charts, cut-away models, diagrams, and many opportunities for "hands on" training. Although the team was not present during one of

the training sessions, they were shown registers of class members from previous periods. Students were residents not only of Baramati Taluka but also of the whole state of Maharashtra. Unfortunately, very little of the information concerning trainees' social background and economic condition has been compiled. It is impossible to tell how many are members of the poorest majority, how much land they own, what crops they had been growing prior to and after the courses, etc., without these data.

Team members were introduced to some former trainees in one or two villages. For example, one young man had taken the Trust's course on animal husbandry with an emphasis on improved dairy cows. This man and his family have several Holstein cows which they are raising with considerable success. The young man keeps important medicines on hand and can administer them himself. He also knows when a problem requires the veterinarian's attention. At the same time, there were gaps in his knowledge that might well have been filled with a refresher course.

Evaluation team members felt that this was generally a necessary and important project. At the same time, there need to be refinements in administrative procedures such as better record-keeping, follow-up on trainees' post-training agricultural and animal husbandry practices, and possible periodic refresher courses. There may also need to be more attention focused on targeting these courses at farmers from the poorer majority of the villages.

Demonstration and Extension Training Centres Project--As noted above, this project had difficulty maintaining its staff members. Only two of the five authorized field extension agents were employed at the time of the team's visit. The team was not able to observe very noticeable impacts of this project in the villages where the extension agents were operating. There was some question also whether the agricultural extension agent with whom the team had the most contact was sufficiently trained himself so that he could offer expert advice to village farmers. Their main function at this time seems to concentrate on the distribution of seeds and seedlings; while this is an important function, there are other extension aspects that are not being addressed.

The larger issue that was recognized but unresolved during the team's visit was the extent of and significance of overlapping extension services between the Trust and the Maharashtra state government. This is a complex and potentially controversial topic because the Trust is providing a service which it claims is not being offered adequately by the government.

There were conflicting claims here (as well as at other project sites in all three of the Maharashtra project-holder sites, it should be noted) concerning the competency, dedication, effectiveness, and availability of the government extension agents. The evaluation team attempted to gain some insight about this issue by meeting with the Baramati Taluka B.D.O. (Block Development Officer) who is officially charged with responsibility for the development progress of the whole taluka. The B.D.O. was an impressive young man who seemed quite capable and energetic. One of the V.L.W.s (Village Level Worker) he introduced to us was also a competent, experienced extension specialist who was obviously in command of his own jurisdiction... which was not one that had a Trust extension agent assigned to it. The team was unable to resolve this issue in the short time it was there. But it seems clear that there are some capable people working in government service (which is, after all, the employer of at least three former Trust extension agents!). What is not clear is the extent of duplication between Trust and government extension efforts. If they are in fact delivering different types of service, then there is no serious overlap, quite probably. The reality of the government extension service is that those services provided differ widely from village to village, depending largely on the personality of the V.L.W.!

Potentials--The Young Farmers training program is basically sound and offers the potential of improving local agricultural practices. However, the program needs some refinement as a precondition for its improvement.

The Demonstration and Extension Centre program does not seem to have worked out in the way that it was intended. The whole approach may need to be reconceptualized if it is to provide any measurable impact.

Recommendations--These specific recommendations are offered about each program:

Young Farmer's training--Continue to conclusion of present project agreement. No future funding authorizations should be made without documented use of the training by the trainees and documentation of the portion of trainees coming from poorest majority target groups.

Demonstration and Extension Centres--Funding to this program should be limited to (1) the currently authorized amount, or (2) the currently authorized project period, whichever comes first. L.W.R. should encourage the Trust to discontinue the project in those villages without extension agents now.

9. Family Welfare/C.S.R.D.

This category is comprised of several projects which share family welfare as a key concern. These include the Community Health Education Programme and the Family Welfare Education and Training Centre. There is also reference made to a Community Centre funded by L.W.R. but no other information is available about this project.

During the evaluation teams visit to the C.S.R.D. projects, the two programs which focus on family welfare were visited by all the team members, both in Ahmednagar and in several villages. The team was fortunate to have a female member which enabled an in-depth look at the impacts of these projects on their intended target populations. Much of the information in this section of the report is based upon the findings of the team's sociologist, Dr. Ushadevi Kolhatkar.*

Objectives--Both the Community Health Education Programme and the Family Welfare Education and Training Centre are aimed at (1) providing much needed health, homemaking, child care, and occupational training to women from some of the poorer rural and town households while, at the same time, (2) providing field practicum training to M.S.W. students from Ahmednagar College. Both of these projects appear, on the basis of the team's findings and C.S.R.D. reports, to be providing useful and unique help to their target groups of women and children and also offering good-quality instruction to the student trainees. The services received by the target groups and the kind of instruction received by the trainees include a wide range of topics such as hygiene, sanitation, family planning, sewing classes, nutrition, and child care.

An essential element of these projects has been their outreach component. Both projects have field site stations where services and training take place in the "backyard" of the target groups. This field site approach not only is convenient for the target groups but also provides ready and frequent access to the facilities.

Impacts--Although there are close parallels in the impacts of both projects, each will be discussed separately in this section:

Community Health Education Programme--Based on interviews with a number of women in several villages, it is apparent that this program has played a very important educational and direct-service role in the target

*Also, see Appendix for her suggestions on special programming needs of women and children.

villages. Village women are now much more conscious of basic survival prerequisites that are not part of traditional village patterns: the importance of cleanliness with respect to personal hygiene and in child care, the desirability and feasibility of controlling their family's population size, means of gaining greater economic control over their life situation by opening saving accounts, and a broader knowledge of the outside world. While this project has produced little direct economic benefit, it is surely producing a long-term and significant indirect economic impact by increasing the competency of village women as mothers, health providers, workers, and health educators of their children. All of these indirect benefits are very difficult to measure.

What seemed equally significant to the evaluators was the social impacts that this project appears to be generating. The Mahila Mandals (women's organizations) in several villages include a large number of members who have learned not only to speak out in public but also know how to listen carefully and closely. In fact, the village women in these organizations provide a model of "village democracy" in action that their male counterparts would do well to emulate. As a result of the health education work, the nursery school program (balwadis), adult literacy classes, and kitchen garden projects, women in the target villages may well be "becoming modern" at a faster rate and in a more coherent manner than their husbands.

Family Welfare Education and Training Centre--The Centre's program at Anand Sadan in the heart of Ahmednagar has provided some important assistance to very disadvantaged people. A clean, educational, and healthful environment is offered to those neighborhood children fortunate enough to be enrolled at the Centre. Sewing classes for young women provide them with skills that can be used to earn extra income by sewing for others or to tailor clothing for their own family. Counseling about family problems and personal problems such as alcohol abuse are also available to family members. There is a very visible difference between the well-dressed and clean children at the Centre's creche program and comparable children their own age in the surrounding streets. Like the Community Health Education project, this project also provides long-term impacts through its function as an educational experience for future social workers and community organizers.

Potentials--The Community Education Centre offers the greater potential, as presently conceived and operated, of the two projects. This is true for two reasons: (1) the Community Education program is working with adults, a factor which enhances the multiplier effect of the project's impacts--a well-trained mother can instruct all her children in proper hygiene, and, (2) the Family Welfare project stands by itself as a single, isolated project with a small target population who receive only a few--albeit important--types of instruction.

The Community Education Centre has an impact on whole communities in a meaningful way because it provides virtually comprehensive services to a large percentage of the total village population. The Family Welfare project seems more clearly a training venue for M.S.W. students: a small laboratory in the midst of an urban setting. While internship opportunities for M.S.W. students are an educational necessity, it is not clear that this project has a significant development dimension.

Lessons Learned--The Community Education Centre project offers fresh affirmation of the necessity for comprehensiveness in development work. Village women represent an essential component of a well-rounded village modernization program because they hold the key to future, self-actualizing change. "The hand that rocks the cradle" in the village has great influence over the aspirations and outlooks of her children, both male and female. As is so often the case in village contexts, young girls' education is seen by many fathers as a non-essential luxury that is not a worthwhile investment. Because women were not educated as young girls does not close them off from education later in life, however, and the impact of that instruction--based on the team's observations--is a good investment for L.W.R. funds.

This same lesson--the need for comprehensiveness--implies a less positive conclusion concerning the Family Welfare project. Here there is a piecemeal, partial approach to development. In fact, the main emphasis seems to be almost a replication of earlier missionary efforts. While those efforts provided the most advanced, "state of the art" relief measures, it is not clear that those approaches are still the most appropriate. Another problem with this whole project is the issue of what a center concerned with rural development is doing engaged in welfare work in an urban slum area? The hallmark of the C.S.R.D. social welfare approach has been its emphasis on rural populations and their unique needs. Is not the C.S.R.D. effort diluted by taking up projects in non-rural areas? There is still much to be done in the surrounding villages!

Recommendations--These specific recommendations are offered about each of these projects:

Family Welfare Education and Training Centre--No further funding should be provided beyond the current authorized amount unless C.S.R.D. can provide justification for this project from a development perspective, rather than as merely a training facility. Also, there should be closer record-keeping regarding the social and economic characteristics of the project beneficiaries.

Community Health Education Program--this program may be a good candidate for refunding, particularly if these conditions apply: (1) no new villages should be added to the project, (2) the work done under the project to date should be seen as "phase one" of this program, and (3) an advanced nonformal educational program ("phase two") for past project participants should be designed and implemented.

10. Family Welfare/A.E.L.C.

This category includes two types of projects: cyclone victim housing and RECORDS (Repalle Area Comprehensive Development Scheme). The evaluation team was able to spend only a brief time at the housing rehabilitation project but spent most of one day with the RECORDS staff in two of their target villages. There was great contrast between these two projects in terms of the extent to which each incorporated non-Christians among beneficiaries and the degree of A.E.L.C. staff involvement with the target villages.

It should be noted that half of the evaluation team had had very limited prior experience in Andhra Pradesh. Only one team member had even rudimentary knowledge of Telegu and translation assistance often afforded great room for improvement.

OBJECTIVES--The objectives of these two programs differed substantially because one was intended as emergency relief (to deal with the upheaval caused by a cyclone) while the other was intended as a long-range development project. The cyclone housing project was initiated by the A.E.L.C. with use of L.W.R. funds to help finance reconstruction of destroyed and damaged homes in Andhra Pradesh. The RECORDS project was undertaken as a comprehensive development program aimed at a more broad-scale rehabilitation effort in seventeen cyclone-struck villages near Repalle. The objectives of the first project were narrow and sharply focused while those of the second were more open-ended and thorough. The shared commonality between these two projects is that they were both administered by the same project-holder organization.

IMPACTS--The evaluation team spent very little time with the cyclone housing project beneficiaries. It was possible for the team to observe that there had been good quality housing constructed (by the standards of that village) with L.W.R. support channeled through the A.E.L.C. While some villagers complained that it had taken six months for materials to reach them, the housing that they have now is better than that they owned before the cyclone.

There were some interesting social impacts of the cyclone housing projects. The team observed that there are strong caste barriers in the village; these barriers were represented physically by a fence between the Baptist and Lutheran neighborhoods. The "communal" animosities were a major dimension of this village's social atmosphere. The housing reconstruction program had become entangled in these factional feelings because (1) the Baptist Church provided financial aid for the reconstruction of houses owned by Baptists in the village, thus encouraging the Lutherans, presumably, to build houses at least as good as the Baptists!, and, (2) the A.E.L.C. extended some housing assistance to non-Lutherans--Dhobi (washer) caste Hindus and tribal shepherds--with the result that higher caste Hindus (mostly Reddis) were angry with the A.E.L.C. and village Lutherans. This anger stemmed from their feeling that the Lutherans were seeking to win more Christian converts in the village. In fact, members of both recipient groups had been attending Lutheran church services after receiving the assistance in order, apparently, to "show gratitude".

The issue of "the church as development agency" and possible fears of conversion motives among potential non-Christian beneficiaries is a latent source of tension between the staffs of all the project-holders visited and their non-Christian beneficiaries. Charges that the A.E.L.C. was only helping Christians in the Repalle area--especially members of the A.E.L.C.--were refuted by RECORDS staff members during the evaluation team's visit. The actual extent of A.E.L.C. membership among those villagers served by RECORDS could not be established given the short time and limited language resources of the team...but it was a question of great interest to them. RECORDS staff made sure that team members were introduced to members of a young sewing class who were clearly and repeatedly identified as being mostly from Harijan households: only three of the fifteen were Christian.

Evaluation team members felt frustrated that they did not have more time to spend at the villages served by the RECORDS project, for two reasons: (1) some of their findings during the brief village visits were interesting, and (2) the RECORDS staff seemed to be competent, capable people with a great deal of potential. They were, in fact, the only development team (a group of workers organized in a closely coordinated manner) that we visited during the whole evaluation trip. Some of the interesting findings that emerged during our brief village stops included information on "spin-off impacts". For example, the young women in the tailoring classes reported that the class--because it has only one sewing machine--gave them much idle time together. During that time, the women have been comparing notes: talking about family problems, social issues, and other topics. Apparently, they were finding common "bridge" topics that transcended their caste and community differences. This project also gave us insight into the force of social and communal pressures on field workers. Village nurses reported they received considerable persuasion from villagers--including abusive language and threats--if they did not give medicines away free rather than charge for them. Likewise, one Village Health Worker said she--out of caste loyalties--provides free midwife services to caste-mates (she is a Hindu from a scheduled tribe). Another social impact emerging from this project was health education work that must overcome many deep-rooted superstitions and fears.

POTENTIALS--A brief visit to the A.E.L.C. leaves a visitor unsatisfied. This is a project that has done good work, that is apparent. Yet one has the nagging feeling that there is still room for advancement, for refinement of their work--especially a "tightening up" of their administrative structure. This impression is bolstered by the in-depth study of one L.W.R.-supported project administered by the A.E.L.C. to help with reconstruction of houses destroyed and damaged by cyclones. This study, prepared by the I.C.S.A. organization in 1981, suggests that closer attention to detail is needed in future A.E.L.C. projects. Nonetheless, the evaluation team was impressed by the vigor, enthusiasm, and close rapport that the RECORDS staff have with their villages. It is hoped that this rapport is based upon the impact of the staff's work rather than on shared religious characteristics. The RECORDS work must be classified as "high risk/high gain".

LESSONS LEARNED--Probably the greatest lesson that emerges from these projects is the fact that a Christian church acting as a development agency in rural India is walking a thin tightrope. In order to provide the image that it is not indirectly engaged in conversion to the Lutheran faith, groups such as the A.E.L.C. must "bend over backwards" to ensure that (1) the distribution of their resources and services to non-Lutherans is clearly and highly visible, and (2) that there is not even the hint that there is some unspoken expectation that accepting these services and resources will obligate one to attend church services or, in some other way, to "show ones gratitude". This is, no doubt, a very important and potentially controversial topic for L.W.R. but one which, the evaluation team discovered, cannot be avoided: at several locations this issue raised its head in one way or another. For example, at one of the villages served by RECORDS, a village women stated that she was so happy that RECORDS was receiving help "from the missions".

The obverse of this problem is the advantages which such a situation provides. There is a close sense of community, rapport, and fellow-feeling among the RECORDS staff and their beneficiaries. This close relationship is a major barrier for many development projects to overcome. C.S.R.D., for instance, reports that it took them 6-7 years of interaction to gain the trust of some target villages. Thus, a church working with its congregation provides a short-cut to gain trust...with those who are part of ones "flock" already. The problem is, of course, that it may create distrust among other segments of a village's poorest majority.

RECOMMENDATIONS--These specific recommendations can be offered about the RECORDS project, which is ongoing:

The RECORDS staff needs to have clear guidelines from L.W.R. and I.C.S.A. concerning project criteria and guidelines, the kinds of records which they should be keeping, what they should be reporting to L.W.R. and I.C.S.A., help with project conceptualization, and guidance/assistance in actual project implementation.

11. Other Economic Development/C.S.R.D.

The Cobbler's Cooperative Project was undertaken by C.S.R.D. at the same site as the Family Welfare Education and Training Centre (Anand Sadan in the Mochigalli section of Ahmednagar) and apparently with the same intention: as a first step toward C.S.R.D.'s involvement in Urban Community Development.

Objectives--The original intention of this project was twofold: (1) to provide a means of increasing the income level of a group of men from a traditional caste occupational background, and (2) to implement this economic change through the vehicle of a new social organization--a producer's cooperative. By forming the cooperative and establishing it on a sound footing, C.S.R.D. hoped to begin a virtually self-governing, autonomous organization that could provide the leadership and management skills needed for the project's success and perpetuation. Coop members would not only earn more income but would also learn important business and organizational skills as well. Once the cooperative model was established and refined, C.S.R.D. hoped to replicate this pattern in rural villages.

Impacts--At the time of the evaluation team's visit, the project had been underway for almost one year. The actual outcomes of the project were quite different, in some important respects, than the original objectives. Although there were some cobblers employed at the project workshop (inside of Anand Sadan), C.S.R.D. had found itself in the position of operating a small-scale industry as the owner/manager rather than the helpful adviser of a producer's cooperative. The original intention of organizing the cobblers into a cooperative had been abandoned early on in the project when about half of the projected beneficiaries had split off from the organization, apparently because of a long-standing family feud. Nonetheless, despite this setback, the C.S.R.D. staff persevered with the first objective: organizing a shoe and sandal production facility.

There are now about eleven families participating in the informal producer's society. C.S.R.D. has what it terms a "trusteeship" role with respect to these families. C.S.R.D. provides funds for the cobbler's wages, raw materials, and for maintaining the workplace. To date, the cobblers themselves have played no part in the management of the workshop and there is no evidence that C.S.R.D. has attempted to organize these families into a cooperative.

Despite the fact that C.S.R.D. staff have been supervising and managing the facility since its inception--apparently at great cost in terms of staff time--the cobbler's project has not turned a profit. In fact, at the time of the team's visit, the project had produced from Rs. 25,000-30,000 of unsold merchandise that might have to be written off as a loss. To date, the major impacts of this project have been (1) the payment of income to cobbler workers employed in the C.S.R.D. workplace, (2) some education and child care provided to cobbler family members in the Family Welfare Education training project, and (3) increased information and experience for C.S.R.D. staff on the operation of a shoe and sandal factory.

Potentials--A paid staff member has been hired for the shoe and sandal factory with previous marketing and manufacturing experience. He is expected to help correct some of the management and marketing problems that have produced a deficit balance sheet for this project. It is hoped by the C.S.R.D. that this model can be transferred to cobblers living in rural villages, thus providing another source of non-agricultural employment. Such a projection is largely hypothetical, however, at this point given the numerous "teething" problems that have plagued the current effort.

Lessons Learned--The most important lesson that emerges from this project is the need for C.S.R.D. to define its function more clearly. If it is principally concerned with education of its students, then there are certain types of projects that will accomplish that end most effectively. If, on the other hand, as this present project suggests, it views itself as a development agency, then there is need for more expertise in its operations both in terms of technical knowledge and extension procedures.

The cobbler's project shows a curious disregard for the original social organizational objectives of the proposal. Why has so little attention been directed toward efforts to organize a cooperative even though the first one failed? Did not C.S.R.D. consider the dissolution of the first cooperative effort, when half the cobblers split off, a major enough change in the proposed project to either (1) organize another group with different members, or (2) notify L.W.R. and I.C.S.A. that it could not complete the proposal as authorized? Certainly the stockpile of unsold and possibly unsalable sandals in its warehouse calls in question the wisdom of C.S.R.D.'s decision to persevere with half of the project objectives...probably the lesser half... intact.

Recommendations--These specific recommendations apply to this project:

No additional funds should be allocated for this project. Quarterly financial reports to I.C.S.A. should include information on income and expenditures using a format provided already to C.S.R.D. at the time of the team's visit.

12. Other Economic Development/C.S.M.

The Brickmaker's Cooperative has been organized recently in Osmanabad District. It is the first rural development endeavor of C.S.M.--which the evaluation team visited, at least--that is being organized and operated apart from the SSPM at Gaudgaon. The project has been superintended by the C.S.M. field staff person but is largely being operated by the brickmakers themselves. They and their families live on the brickyard premises. Both husbands and wives are involved in the brickmaking process.

Objectives--This project was undertaken as a means of (1) providing a source of income to socially disadvantaged and economically exploited villagers of harijan background by (2) helping them organize and operate a cooperative brick manufacturing facility. The intentions of this project thus included the development of a new occupational opportunity for members of a "backward" group by helping them set up a viable, economically self-supporting and self-governing workplace. The objectives of this project closely parallel those of the C.S.R.D. cobbler's cooperative proposal.

Impacts--Although it had been operating only five months at the time of the evaluation team's visit, this project had already produced some impressive results. Workers--many of whom had been bonded laborers before joining this project--are earning money from the sale of bricks. This is a profitable operation and shows good growth potential. According to the workers, their bricks are sought after by customers because they produce a heavier and sturdier product than some competitors.

An equally important outcome of this project to date has been the social effect. This project more than any other visited by the evaluation team gave the greatest impression that L.W.R. money was being spent effectively on the poorest majority. This impact was apparent in the new living arrangement that project funds had provided for a group of young harijans who had been in a very unpleasant situation before. Now, instead of being the pariahs of their natal village (and "leased" in some cases, by their parents to labor agents) they have established a small wadi (hamlet) of their own. There they have their own small community with husband and wife working together toward their common betterment. Wives, for instance, reported that their husbands treat them well, possibly because they work together in brick production. Another important social impact has been the C.S.M. field worker's effort to encourage cooperative members to open savings accounts with local banks. They have followed his advice, in some cases, to save Rs. 10--from their income of Rs. 80--per week.

Potentials--This project shows considerable growth potential if some of the logistical problems can be solved. One problem is the fate of the workers and their products during a healthy monsoon season. During those months they will be unable to manufacture bricks. In addition, there are some problems with their present site in terms of healthy drinking water and other facilities. The independence of the cooperative members from the exploitation and interference by other villagers (which they have escaped) has as a disadvantage the fact of their physical isolation and separation from relatives and other individuals who might provide aid.

Nonetheless, evaluation team members were impressed by the progress that this project has made in a very short time and with relatively little funds. The spirit and optimism of the cooperative members offers promise of overcoming many future obstacles.

Lessons Learned--This project demonstrates the success that can result when several basic "development principles" are followed: (1) it is an outgrowth of expressed needs by the target community, (2) it is based on a locally feasible and proven technology--there are several other brickyards in this area, (3) the project-holder seems to have stayed in the background with respect to day-to-day operations which results in (4) the beneficiaries having the opportunity to learn some self-reliance in managing their own affairs. Thus, this project offers a positive example of how L.W.R. funds can be used to not only accomplish important task objectives--establishment of a viable workplace--but also larger human growth objectives--encouraging beneficiaries to "take charge" of that workplace and gain new skills in the process.

The contrasts between this project's present and foreseeable impacts and those of the Cobbler's Cooperative project are striking and sharp.

Recommendations--One specific recommendation is offered regarding this project: Financial reporting should include an income and expenditures or profit and loss statement for each quarter in order to provide a measure of the cooperative's financial health.

PROJECT-HOLDERS: CHARACTERISTICS
AND COMMENTS.

This brief review of some important characteristics of the four project-holders visited by the evaluation team will reveal some historical dimensions that might otherwise be overlooked. Most crucial among these factors is the word 'relief'. This word is the binding tie, it would appear, between L.W.R. and all four project-holders. This word applies in two respects: (1) as the basis upon which L.W.R. originally initiated a donor/project-holder relationship with each, and (2) as the basis upon which each project-holder became involved in rural work in the first place.

With respect to the first point, L.W.R. first began supporting projects among the three Maharashtra project-holders in the early 1970s. At the time there were several serious famines in Maharashtra related to drought conditions. Keith Gingrich, working for L.W.R. on the C.A.S.A. staff, was assigned to Maharashtrian relief programs. He was based in both Bombay and Poona and, from that base of operations became well acquainted with the project-holders in Ahmednagar, Baramati, and Sholapur. Similarly, L.W.R. became involved with the A.E.L.C. program as a result of disaster-relief work in the late 1970s.

Interestingly, a close look at each of the project-holders reveals that they were organized primarily to deal with relief situations. The Agricultural Development Trust at Baramati grew out of local famine and drought relief efforts undertaken in the late 1960s. The Centre for Studies in Rural Development at Ahmednagar had its roots in a general educational program called the Rural Life Project begun in the late 1950s. A major factor in the initiation of that project was recurrent drought conditions in the Ahmednagar area. It was also the famine of 1971-1972 that precipitated the rural development work of Christa Seva Mandir in the Sholapur area. Finally, the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church's major development program at Repalle, RECORDS, developed in response to a cyclone disaster; the A.E.L.C.'s other major rural work--wells and dams--are responses to drought conditions.

Despite these similar origins, each of the four project-holders has a different emphasis in its program today. These differences stem from differences in (1) project-holder's perceived "sense of mission", (2) the special interests of their boards of directors, (3) the special skills and talents of their staff members, and (4) the special needs and characteristics of their beneficiary, "client" groups. These factors will be briefly summarized for each project-holder:

I. Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati

1. "Sense of Mission"--The special concern of this organization is summarized in its booklet, "Plants to Live":

"The accent is deliberately placed on the mobilization and recycling of the locally available resources of land, water, manpower and animals for raising the living standard of the community--particularly the farmers from the weaker sections. The local leadership for this purpose founded a Trust, strived hard with determination and changed the entire scene. The story is a saga of man's war against the caprice of monsoon."

This statement clearly circumscribes the major mission of the A.D.T., B. as focused on agricultural development of Baramati Taluka with an emphasis on local resources--especially leadership--in seeking ways to overcome the impact of drought conditions. The tone of this passage implies a concern with building local capacity and searching for approaches that will assist the most needy.

2. Special Interests of Board Members--The trustees of the A.D.T., B. clearly reflect the twin concerns of developing local agricultural production capacity and assisting the poorest majority. The board is composed principally of progressive agriculturalists and of "social workers" (using that term in the Indian sense: concerned citizens). Together these board interests have shaped a Trust program that has sought to focus on a comprehensive approach to providing resources--the Farm, the extension agents and veterinarian, percolation tanks, forestation--that would, in combination, make the "dry" area of the taluka blossom like the "wet" area.

3. Special Talents of Staff Members--The small group of paid staff members mirror the organization's priorities in their professional

skills: animal husbandry, horticulture, crop production, agricultural extension, and irrigation. In addition, some of the trustees contribute their volunteer work in the form of administrative tasks, relations with donor agencies, and project supervision.

4. Special Needs of Beneficiaries--The A.D.T.,B. has focused on an important spectrum of village life--its agricultural production capacity. This is a widely-perceived need in the dry section of the taluka among many villagers, especially the agriculturalists. While the A.D.T.,B. projects do not address the needs of the whole population in a direct manner, their program has some limited, indirect benefit for other sectors including women and the landless households.

Summary--The A.D.T.,B. program developed in response to specific conditions that constrained the economic livelihood and social advancement of many villages. A somewhat unusual combination of Christian foreign missionaries and non-Christian entrepreneurs and politicians joined hands to advance the agricultural sector of the local economy. This joint effort has produced an effective and important economic improvement for some families within the target communities.

Based on the findings of the evaluation team, it is not clear that the overall L.W.R.-funded projects have directly or immediately benefited the poorest majority in very many villages. Part of the problem for this situation rests on lack of specific beneficiary targeting by most of these projects. That is, the projects have been founded on the assumption that there will be some poorer households represented in those who receive the benefits from the extension agent, veterinary facilities, young farmer's training, and other projects. The evaluation team's research can neither support nor challenge this assumption because the lack of specific records describing the beneficiaries of most projects--including the one project really targeted on a specific sector: the poultry-raising for women--leaves this question unresolvable. It was not clear, however, that these projects were demonstrating a high degree of "trickle down" benefits to poorer households.

This assessment is in no way meant to demean or belittle the mighty and long effort that has been made by the Trust members over the years. They have accomplished a remarkable change in the economic ecology of that taluka. But the L.W.R.-funded projects do not, as a group, seem so successful.

In fact, the time may be ripe for L.W.R. to declare a "strategic success" and state that its objectives in working with the A.D.T.,B. have been met. The aid provided by L.W.R. has helped the organization try out some new ways of expanding their program by finding optional program areas in addition to percolation tank construction. Based on that help, the A.D.T.,B. may well wish to boast--justifiably--that it has now reached the point where it does not need much more assistance from L.W.R. It may well have reached the "take off" point at which a healthy and vigorous community-based voluntary agency breaks off from external support-sources and becomes a totally indigenously supported organization. The Trust, based on our discussions there, may well be ready to accept such a role at this time. No voluntary agency, just like no member of the poorest majority, can expect indefinite support: there must come a time to "cut the cord".

II. Centre for Studies in Rural Development, Adhmednagar

1. "Sense of Mission"--The C.S.R.D. director and faculty members are first and foremost concerned with effective education for future field workers and officers in community-related professions. The Centre evolved from a Rural Life Project begun in the late 1950s to offer college students the opportunity to become engaged in village development and relief activities. This involvement was intended as a "real world" complement to the students' classroom learning about economics, sociology, and the problems facing modern India.

This educational emphasis continues today. During its visit, the evaluation team was informed by the C.S.R.D. director that (1) C.S.R.D is an educational institution, not a development agency and, (2) development is secondary to educational objectives...although it is education for and about development. Thus, the organization is perceived by its members as fundamentally concerned with teaching, instruction, and learning and with searching for the best strategies and techniques to advance those interests.

2. Special Interests of Board Members--The B. P. Hivale Educational Society, which oversees the C.S.R.D. operations through its special 'C.S.R.D. Standing Committee' includes several college administrators and members of Christian donor agencies. These members highlight the origins of Ahmednagar College as a product of the American Marathi Mission. While those roots are no longer so visible or strong, they still have a considerable influence over college policy, in general, and C.S.R.D. policy indirectly. Thus, the college administration strongly backed the establishment of C.S.R.D. at the time of its initiation and has consistently supported the Centre's ties with foreign Christian donor agencies.

3. Special Talents of Staff Members--The educational emphasis of the C.S.R.D. program is demonstrated by the involvement of faculty members in many of the field projects. These faculty members--trained primarily in social work and economics--act as field supervisors of students, instructors of students and other college's faculty members in N.S.S. training sessions, and engaged to limited degree in related research and publishing activities. Their staff also includes some non-teaching field workers and organizers that have direct-service responsibilities for women's organizations and community health outreach, lift irrigation societies and construction work, and National Service Scheme camps as well as young farmer's clubs. These last activities often involve some student and faculty participation during certain phases of these projects.

4. Special Needs of Beneficiaries--This region, like others in Maharashtra, has been plagued by drought over the years. Many villages have sought help in building percolation tanks, lift irrigation systems, and check dams. C.S.R.D. has focused on the water supply aspect of agriculture almost exclusively, unlike A.D.T.,B. The Centre has also taken up programs to meet other needs within its target villages: those of women, children, and landless villagers. C.S.R.D. makes frequent mention of the role which villagers play in defining the needs which are addressed by its projects; they state that villagers come to C.S.R.D. and request a particular type of aid. The Centre has worked with a large number of area villages over its 20+ year existence, with greater success in some villages than in others.

Summary--C.S.R.D.'s operations have emphasized development education with a focus on programs designed for specific needs and population sectors in villages. It has generated an important model for other colleges and universities--the N.S.S. approach--concerning a feasible method for higher educational institutions to assist in India's rural development. Many of C.S.R.D.'s students are now employed in a wide range of government and private organizations and agencies in occupations related to their rural-focused education. Its M.S.W. degree program has a long waiting-list of applicants. C.S.R.D. has received substantial financial support from foreign donor agencies, over the years, as well as from Indian government agencies. Thus we must, by any reasonable standard, assess its accomplishments as an educational institution to be substantial and significant. It has pioneered, with a respectable degree of success, a "new horizon in university education."

If one looks closely at the development work that has been undertaken by C.S.R.D., the picture becomes fuzzier. Some of the work is of high quality and serves a very deserving group of beneficiaries such as the Community Health Education program. Some other projects, notably the lift-irrigation work, has tied up large amounts of money, in several cases, for months and even years while producing little in the way of tangible results. Some projects seem to be ill-conceived and poorly managed such as the cobbler's cooperative that isn't a cooperative and the forestation projects that are growing more acres of fodder trees than of forest. ✓

It would seem that in its approach to development projects, the C.S.R.D. staff must gain more control over its program by taking on fewer assignments and doing each one with great care and attention to detail. Not only would such an attitude be more cost-effective, but it would also provide a better teaching model to the Centre's students. ✓

III. Christa Seva Mandir, Sholapur

1. "Sense of Mission"--This American Marathi Mission-supported organization is the most clearly Christian-based of the three Maharashtra projects. Given that basis, the C.S.M. approach is one that stresses the historic Christian response to "humanity in need"...no matter what their race, religion, or creed. The C.S.M. has been involved in rural development work only in the past decade and is the least elaborate or organizationally complex of the project-holders. Yet despite its small size (possibly because of it?) this program possesses an atmosphere of dedicated work and carefully executed programming. At least some of that atmosphere stems from the long pedigree of its parent organization, the A.M.M., but much is due also to the high quality efforts and accomplishments the team witnessed in the field.

2. Special Interests of Board Members--We did not have the opportunity to meet any board members--or even the director--of C.S.M. However, as noted above, it is an organizational appendage of the A.M.M. Presumably the Mission board endorses the C.S.M. emphasis on assisting rural people through local leaders and targeting assistance to the "poorest of the poor".

3. Special Talents of Staff Members--There is only one C.S.M. field staff person at present. While that individual impressed the evaluation team as talented, personable, and well-experienced, he is spread thin covering the various projects under his supervision. Although that staff member may be overworked, he has been well-trained through both his classroom education and years of practical experience in other Maharashtra sites.

4. Special Needs of Beneficiaries--The recent projects of the C.S.M. have been particularly appropriate to the special needs of some deserving groups in the Sholapur and Osmanabad areas. These projects have been well-conceptualized, taking into account the past occupational experience and social conditions of the beneficiaries. In addition, the field worker seems able to establish good rapport with many kinds of people.

Summary--This project-holder has not attempted many projects nor very many that are on a large scale. Yet this project, of the four visited, seemed most finely-tuned to the special needs of its beneficiaries and to implementing appropriate programs given those needs. Those projects which C.S.M. has undertaken most recently are most clearly serving the poorest majority although the earlier work with the S.S.P.M. will affect some of the smaller farmers, eventually.

IV. Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church, Guntur

1. "Sense of Mission"--This project-holder's self-perceived objectives are stated clearly by its president in a published booklet:

The A.E.L.C. is an ecclesiastical, religious, and charitable organization catering to the needs of the people through teaching, preaching, and Social Mission (Development Projects). From its inception, the church is striving to achieve these goals by establishing Congregations for Worship and witness; Schools and Colleges for teaching; Hospitals and Health Centres and Projects for Socio-economic Development.

This self-assigned mandate is operationalized through means of the most comprehensive and multi-faceted of all the projects which were visited by the team: RECORDS. This project encloses within its mission both sexes, people of all ages and religious backgrounds, and persons with various occupational pursuits. Thus, the A.E.L.C. conceives of its role as all-encompassing, ranging from advocacy and social education to house construction and agricultural extension.

2. Special Interests of the Board Members--This project-holder has a board made up of both Christian ministers and local government officials. While the religious members provide the main leadership to the board, they are actively assisted by rural development experts both currently employed with and retired from the government cadres. This board, with a composition similar in many respects to that of the A.D.T. in Baramati, provides a blend of inspirational enthusiasm and pragmatic expertise for the project-holder's benefit.

3. Special Talents of Staff Members--The Community Development Officers and Village Health Workers are mainstays of the A.E.L.C.'s village work. The CDCs see themselves as multi-purpose workers with a work agenda set by the priorities and immediate needs of their village clients. If they are specialists at any skill, they are best described as "social education experts", because that is a role which they seem to pride themselves on and discuss with great earnestness. The VHWs, assisted periodically by the traveling nurses, are trained on the "Arole Model": they are local women who live in the village and receive a fixed, small salary for providing 24-hour health care, education, and advice.

4. Special Needs of Beneficiaries--There is an especially close rapport between the field staff and many beneficiaries of the A.E.L.C. projects in Prakasam District and the Repalle area. This closeness stems from the shared social identity of both groups as (for the most part, with some exceptions) Lutherans. This shared identity can be seen as a source of great benefit to the success of their field work because the field workers have little difficulty in winning the trust and confidence of their clients. The obverse of this situation is that their distinct identity raises problems in assisting non-Lutherans...even other Christians such as Baptists. In the social context which the A.E.L.C. operates, sharp lines are drawn between different caste and religious groups. There may be some necessity in the A.E.L.C. focusing its project benefits on "its own kind": there may be no alternative clientele!

The fact that the A.E.L.C. RECORDS project is as comprehensive as it is speaks of the project-holder's recognition for well-rounded people as the best bearers of modern ideas and skills.

Summary--The A.E.L.C. offers an interesting case study of the challenges facing Christian churches as development agencies in India. In the case of this project-holder, there is little doubt that it is capable of doing high-quality, locally appropriate, and comprehensive development work aimed at the poorest majority. Moreover, it has a "built-in", "natural" client: its congregation. But at the same time, its close connections with proselytizing, evangelistic groups intent on gathering as many new converts to Christianity as possible cause some hesitation among non-Lutheran beneficiaries...and raises the ire of higher-caste Hindus. Yet there is little doubt that if the Christian churches in India do not practice their Christian teachings and faith, they will lose their sense of purpose and special meaning. They have no choice but to do "good works" to all who are needy--regardless of their social or religious identity. They will have to deal with the political and other ramifications as best they can.

There is another aspect of the A.E.L.C. projects that requires more discussion: the need for tighter administrative control over the organizations operations and budget. A previous I.C.S.A. evaluation of cyclone housing reconstruction revealed wastage and inefficiency in the distribution of construction materials. In addition, there is a reliable report that RECORDS staff members were at one time being paid "bonuses" for each time they persuaded a beneficiary to have a family planning operation or enter a training program. That is, field staff were receiving special incentives for doing their jobs! Such practices may stem from the stereotyped notion that foreign donor agencies "have money to throw away". This misperception is not a totally ridiculous conclusion based on the record of some--especially West European--donor agencies which do seem to "throw money at problems". In American voluntary agency circles, great fiscal accountability is increasingly the norm rather than the exception. Moreover, the end objective of development projects entails the self-reliance of beneficiary groups, a goal that is frustrated by the notion that assistance is available for the asking.

Carefully planned and well managed development projects will assist the productivity of A.E.L.C. staff and have the greatest long-range benefits on their clientele.

L.W.R. DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS IN INDIA

Four options can be derived logically as choices facing L.W.R. in assessing its future India program. These principles include varied combinations of two factors: staying with the same projects and/or project-holders. Thus, the four possible combinations are

- (1) Keep the same project types; keep the same project-holders.
- (2) Implement new project types; keep the same project-holders.
- (3) Keep the same project types; find new project-holders.
- (4) Implement new project types; find new project-holders.

L.W.R.'s situation in India is quite different from the Niger projects; in the latter case, L.W.R. has no choice concerning the project-holder since it must be the Government of Niger. In India, on the other hand, there are literally thousands of possible project-holders. Moreover, this evaluation represents a comprehensive stock-taking of not just the projects at these four sites but also of the project-holders themselves. All of the project-holder directors and staff understood, by the end of our evaluation team's visit, that our study included an assessment of their overall project administration, not merely of a single project. This evaluation study thereby offers L.W.R. the opportunity to "part company" with any project-holder it might so choose with a minimum of hard feelings. Or, at least, it would not come as a big surprise.

There are many advantages and disadvantages to each of the four options outlined above. Each of these is briefly summarized here:

Option One: Same Projects, Same Project-Holders.

Advantages--L.W.R. now has a clear insight into the strengths and weaknesses of each type of project and the staff and approach of each project-holder.

Disadvantages--Project-holders may interpret continued funding of existing programs as full support for "business as usual". That is, they may not take advice and recommended modifications seriously.

Option Two: New Projects, Same Project-Holders.

Advantages--L.W.R. staff and the project-holder staff are already acquainted and have some understanding of mutual expectations. This would foster the concept of institution-building.

Disadvantages--Project-holder staff may not be interested or qualified to undertake new kinds of projects. If they were, they might have already suggested such a project themselves.

Option Three: Same Projects, New Project-Holders.

Advantages--This approach would allow L.W.R. to continue funding types of projects which it now has some expertise in and which may best fulfill the Development Strategy guidelines. It would also be a firm declaration that L.W.R. is interested in finding the most resourceful use of its money above all other considerations.

Disadvantages--Exposes L.W.R. to a whole new cast of characters whose strengths and weaknesses must be assessed from scratch. At the same time, finding new organizations to do the work previously done by long-time client project-holders may create an unfavorable image.

Option Four: New Projects, New Project-Holders.

Advantages--This approach allows L.W.R. to start from scratch with new project-holders, establishing certain expectations and understandings as the operational mode which will apply to L.W.R.-funded projects.

Disadvantages--This approach would require the most field work and attention on L.W.R.'s part. It would also allow the accumulated experience and skills developed in the other project-holders to dissipate.

In light of this analysis, there is no "perfect" or easy option. Each has points to recommend it and points that will produce problems. The option(s) decided upon by L.W.R. will be based upon not only those factors noted above but also the internal policies of L.W.R./New York.

L.W.R. DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS IN INDIA:
RECOMMENDATIONS.

Based on the above considerations and the evaluation study, the author offers the following recommendations for future L.W.R. development strategy in India. These suggestions are built upon the premise that successful, cost-effective projects in India are the result of excellence in project conceptualization and execution. Further, this excellence can only occur in two ways: accidentally and spontaneously as the result of a fortunate combination of factors, or, more commonly, by hard work and careful planning. These recommendations encourage L.W.R. to fund spontaneously, "naturally" excellent projects wherever they might be discovered. But the bulk of L.W.R. funds should be directed toward activities and efforts that will create patterns of excellence in project-holders' planning and implementation capacities.

Recommendations:

(A) Continue funding those projects which current project-holders are doing with a high level of expertise. This is a qualified endorsement of Option 'A' in the preceding section.

This recommendation translates into these specific steps toward present project-holders:

1. Provide further funding for the Community Health Education Unit at C.S.R.D.
2. Provide further funding for almost any reasonable project suggested at C.S.M.
3. Provide further funding for the RECORDS project of the A.E.L.C. under conditions of close and frequent supervision/assistance.
4. Provide further assistance to A.D.T., B. in community organizing to see that the benefits of the forestation work are not lost.

This set of suggestions recognizes the importance of showing some recognition of past success to long-term project-holders while, at the same time, indicating some concern with ill-conceived or poorly managed projects. Thus, L.W.R. would provide these project-holders with some concrete and important feedback about their operations. Hopefully the project-holder staffs will respond positively to this feedback and seek assistance, clarification, and technical help in the design and implementation of future projects.

At the same time, these former project-holders should be put on an "equal funding opportunity" footing with all other potential project-holders with respect to new project types. That is, if one of the long-term project-holders wants to undertake a new type of project, they should be expected to demonstrate the same degree of forethought and background research on the project's appropriateness, feasibility, and effectiveness as any new project-holder.

(B) Seek new project-holders which will use the L.W.R. Development Strategy Guidelines as the framework and foundation for their proposed projects. This is an endorsement of Option 'D' noted in the preceding section.

This recommendation is built on the recognition that there are many potential and actual project-holder organizations throughout India. Some of these organizations may have higher priority for L.W.R. funds because they (1) are working more closely or effectively with 'poorest majority' populations, (2) show special skill in encouraging beneficiaries to become self-supporting economically, (3) demonstrate a high degree of sensitivity to the need for a comprehensive, multifaceted approach to rural development, or (4) combine any of the preceding characteristics. This suggestion is based on the assumption, it should be noted, that the L.W.R. Development Strategy Guidelines are the main criteria for the identification of fund-worthy projects and project-holders.

In fact, one option open to L.W.R. is to insure that its guidelines will be paramount in the formulation of projects by (a) using a "Request For Bid" (RFP) system, such as employed by several U.S. government agencies, in which various project-holders might bid to carry out an L.W.R.-designed project, or (b) establish project-holder organizations with some appropriate host or sponsor...such as Lutheran congregations? These project-holders would then be organized solely and specially to implement L.W.R. projects; such an approach would give L.W.R. fairly full control over project conceptualization and implementation.

(C) L.W.R. should invest in appropriate training and applied research as a cost-containment measure. Whether Option 'A' or 'D'-- or for that matter, 'B' or 'C'--are adopted, there is need for greater and more rapid understanding of project impacts. In several of the studied

projects, there were resources either lying idle or being spent on expenses that need not have occurred. Some cases in point:

- Between 20,000-25,000 rupees worth of sandals at the C.S.R.D. project for cobblers;
- Several bored wells at the A.E.L.C. Praskasm District project that were doing little or no irrigation;
- An agricultural extension program at A.D.T.,B. that had had only indifferent impact when its staff roster could be filled;
- Costly lift-irrigation equipment lying idle at both C.S.M. and C.S.R.D. projects because electrical connections had not been made. While some of this resource-wastage is beyond the immediate control of the project-holders--especially the electrical connections--these and other examples are situations in which they could have made use of more skills in impact assessment and project management.

The kinds of management, research, and extension skills needed to successfully carry out a major development project are rarely found in an organization that was created to meet the needs of a relief crisis. These are different kinds of skills than ones needed to dispense door frames and provide wheat-payment to day laborers. Many project-holder directors and their staff have not had specific training in some of the more important aspects of project administration and planning. They often have some experience in a related field such as agriculture or economics but little specialized training in designing impact models, monitoring impacts and adjusting project components, or other skills. While these skills can be learned slowly and gradually by on-the-job training, it is wasteful of human resources, time, and opportunity for project-holders' staffs to be trained by osmosis and introspection.

If project-holders such as the ones visited by the evaluation team are to become effective development agencies, then they must be willing to adopt higher performance standards for their project work, and they must be responsive to greater expectations from donor agencies. It is not at all "out of line" or unreasonable for donor agencies such as L.W.R. to incorporate a staff-training dimension into virtually every project proposal. This training is a much firmer guarantee than presently exists that a project-holder will have the expertise to carry out the technical aspects of its projects. There might also be a proviso in proposals which delays the transmission of grant funds if training is not adequate or rapid enough. This would indicate that L.W.R. is serious about it.

APPENDICES

Appendix A--Questions and Concerns of the Evaluation Team Members.

Appendix B--Map of L.W.R./India Sites Visited by Team.

Appendix C--Project Face Sheets.

Appendix D--India: Contextual Considerations.

Appendix E--Scope of Work Statement.

Appendix F--Cost/Benefit Examples for Lift-Irrigation Projects.

Appendix G--Special Programming Needs of Women and Children.

Appendix A

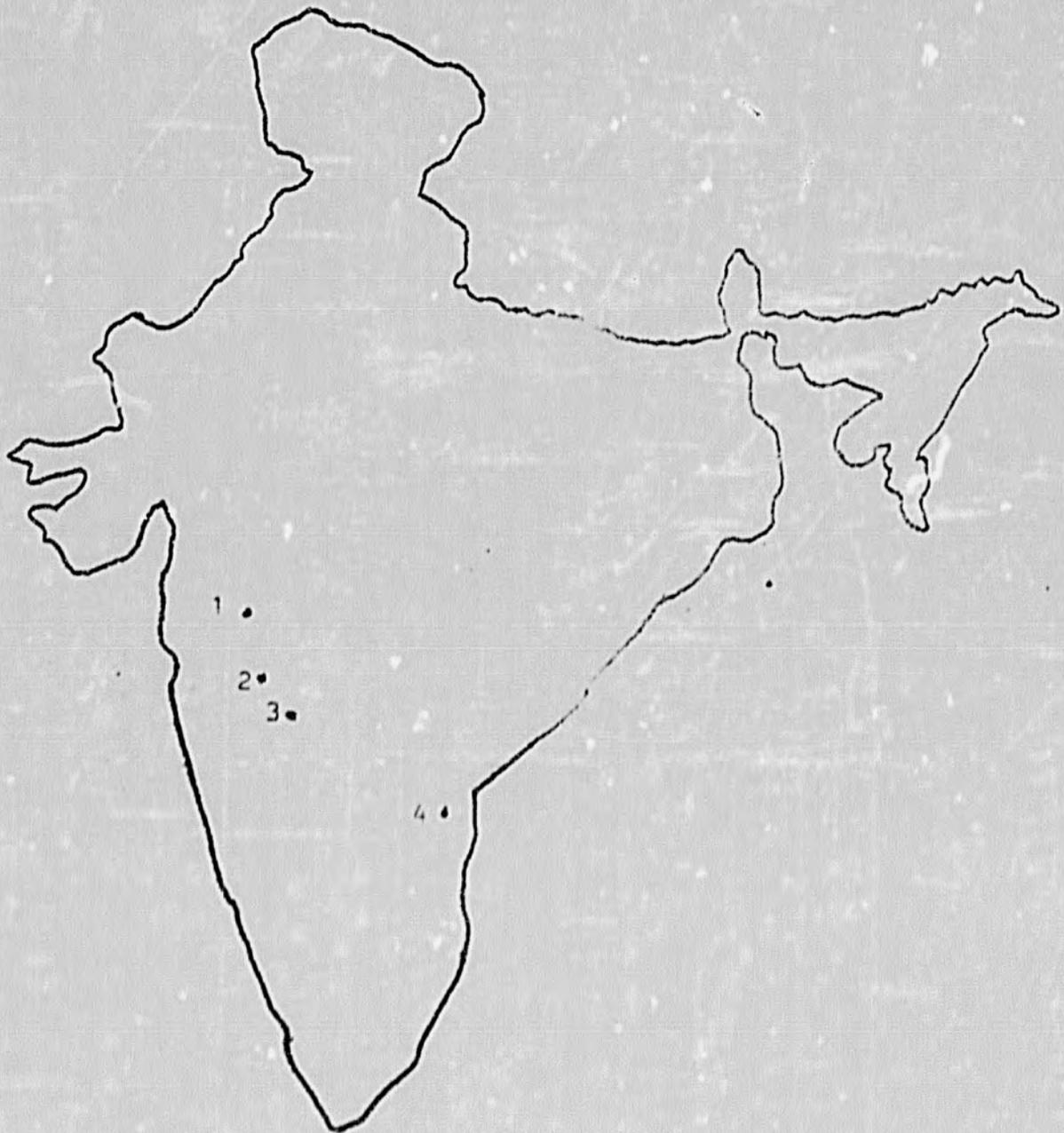
Questions and Concerns of the Evaluation
Team Members.

- I. Village Characteristics:
- A) Economic and social impacts of projects.
 - B) Is the whole community being reached?
 - C) Degree of special attention to "weaker sections": women, landless, etc.
 - D) Indicators of developmental change.
 - E) Evidence of effective use of L.W.R. resources.
 - F) Evidence of project-holder's acceptance by target communities.
- II. Program and Project Characteristics:
- A) Recognition of L.W.R. development priorities and concerns.
 - B) Evidence of efforts to implement these priorities.
 - C) Internal management policies that reflect competence, community accessibility, and efficiency.
 - D) Indicators of effective resource allocation.
 - E) Commitment to stimulating self-help, problem-solving approaches.
 - F) Presence of committed, talented staff members.
- III. Contextual Characteristics:
- A) Evidence of spin-off effects of L.W.R. projects on government efforts.
 - B) New or expanded relationships between project-holder and government agencies or with other project-holders.
 - C) New or expanded relationships between project villages and outside world.
 - D) Overall reputational assessment of project-holder by local government officials, villagers, other project-holder staff, etc.
- IV. Question Emphasis:
- A) Villagers--
 - * How have they benefitted from the project(s)? How have others?
 - * What are their social and economic circumstances/conditions... now and before they began participating in projects?
 - * Why did they choose to participate? Why did others decide not to?
 - * How often do villagers see project staff in the village?
 - * What are the most serious problems facing the village?
 - * What is the most serious problem facing their household?
 - * What are their feelings toward project staff--are they caring, competent, concerned, committed?

- B) Project Staff--
- * What are the project-holder's organizational goals?
 - * What is the proper role of villagers in program initiation, design, implementation, and evaluation?
 - * Who in the village benefits most from their projects?
 - * What are the main strengths of their project(s)? Weaknesses?
 - * What are project-holder's internal management policies: staff participation, villager input, office atmosphere, incentive system, etc.
 - * What is the educational background and specialized training of project-holder staff members?
- C) Board Members/Trustees/Directors--
- * What is the goal of the project-holder organization?
 - * What are the strengths and weaknesses of the project-holder?
 - * What are major village needs?
 - * What is the proper role of villagers in project design, operation, and evaluation?
- D) Government Officials, Other Project-Holder Staff in the Vicinity, Local Intelligensia, and other knowledgeable parties--
- * Same questions as in 'C' above.

Appendix E

Map of L.W.R./India Sites Visited by Team.



- 1= Centre for Studies in Rural Development, Ahmednagar
- 2= Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati
- 3= Christa Seva Mandir, Sholapur
- 4= Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church, Guntur

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Lift Irrigation, Jamb

Dates:

1976-1982

L.W.R. Budget:

\$18,060

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Local Participation: Beneficiaries dug water pipeline trench and provided some free labor in well-steening.

Activities:

Construction of lift-irrigation facility with water for 45 acres owned by 17 families.

Status:

Well is operational and irrigated 30 acres during current season.

Recommendation:

Ask for cost information and separate status reports on wells identified as 'Jamb II-A' and 'Jamb II-B'.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Lift Irrigation, Tandali [Included in 'Four Lift Irrigation']

Dates:

1979--Present

L.W.R. Budget:

\$13,075

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Local Participation: Beneficiaries contributed three weeks of free labor in digging pipeline trench.

Activities:

Construction of lift-irrigation facility to provide well water for 37.25 acres owned by 14 families.

Status:

Well was completed in two years but needs more boring for sufficient water capacity. Used to irrigate 25 acres during current season.

Recommendation:

Additional expenditures to complete this facility should be funded by bank loans secured by C.S.R.D. and beneficiaries: no L.W.R. funds.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Lift Irrigation, Shiradhon

Dates:

1979--Present

L.W.R. Budget:

\$32,865

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Activities:

Lift-irrigation facility has been constructed to irrigate 176
acres owned by 30 families.

Status:

Well and pipeline are completed but electrical connection is not
provided.

Recommendation:

No additional L.W.R. funds should be provided toward this project.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Lift Irrigation, Sakat I

Dates:

1980--Present

L.W.R. Budget:

\$58,128

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development •

Local Participation: Beneficiaries have contributed land for well and pump house. Also provided eight man-days of donated labor per family.

Activities:

Original scheme called for one 80' well to provide water for 43 families owning 250 acres.

Status:

Original scheme has been revised by project-holder at request of villagers.
One 40' well has been constructed and is irrigating a few acres with a diesel pump.

Recommendation:

Recognize plan for two 40' wells benefiting 13 Harijan families as completion of project. Request new project proposal for any additional modifications to original scheme.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Lift Irrigation, Sakat II

Dates:

1980--Present

L.W.R. Budget:

\$22,665

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Local Participation: Beneficiaries have contributed land for well and pump site.

Activities:

Lift-irrigation facility to irrigate undetermined number of acres (minimum of 35-40 acres) for 7--10 families.

Status:

Well has been dug. Number of beneficiaries still being discussed.

Recommendation:

Ask for a complete beneficiary list indicating names, total acres owned by each, acres to be irrigated for each. Allow no "advances" from other project funds if project costs exceed authorized amount.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Lift Irrigation, Gaudgaon

Dates:

1978--Present

L.W.R. Budget:

\$32,845

Participants:

Project-Holder: Christa Seva Mandir

Cooperating Agency: Shivaji Shiksha Prasek Mandel

Other Donor Agencies: Week of Compassion, World Council of Churches.

Activities:

Construction of lift-irrigation facility from enlarged well to irrigate 157 acres of land owned by 23 cultivators as well as 34 acres owned by the S.S.P.M.

Status:

Well is completed and pumps are in place but electrical connection is incomplete. Some water being pumped by diesel-powered set to 30 acres of S.S.P.M. land.

Recommendations:

Request clarification from C.S.M. concerning plans for future operation and management of lift-irrigation system, especially role to be played by marginal farmers.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Lift Irrigation, Jamgaon

Dates:

1981--Present (Ongoing)

L.W.R. Budget:

\$45,573

Participants:

Project-Holder: Christa Seva Mandir

Local Participation: Beneficiaries contributed some labor to the pipeline construction.

Activities:

Construction of a lift-irrigation facility to supply water to about 300 acres owned by 60 families.

Status:

Well and pipeline are in place but electrical connection is incomplete. Some water being supplied to a few acres with a diesel pumpset.

Recommendation:

The beneficiary society should be encouraged to seek a Rs. 80,000 loan to finance the electrical connection. C.S.M. should provide information about beneficiaries (size of holdings) and the impact of irrigation on their financial situation: increased production levels, etc.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Well Completion,, Prakasam District

Dates:

1978--Present

L.W.R. Budget:

\$46,875

Participants:

Project-Holder: Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church

Activities:

Well completion activities including deepening and boring as well as provision of pumpsets.

Status:

Wells have been bored and enlarged but pumpsets are not yet distributed.

Recommendations:

Beneficiaries should be encouraged to seek bank financing for any additional needed facilities. L.W.R. should not provide any more funding to this project.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Mobile Veterinary Dispensary, Baramati Taluka

Dates:

1980--Present
[Authorized in proposal for three years]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$48,839

Participants:

Project-Holder: Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati

Activities:

Operation of a mobile veterinary van which visits communities in Baramati Taluka to provide veterinary services including artificial insemination and vaccinations.

Status:

Van and veterinarian are visiting 4-5 villages to provide mostly health-related services; artificial insemination service not fully operational.

Recommendation:

Continue to end of grant agreement.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Poultry Raising for Women, Baramati

Dates:

1980--Present
[Authorized in proposal for three years]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$24,600

Participants:

Project-Holder: Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati

Cooperating Agency: Indian Institute of Education (Pune)

Activities:

A poultry-raising facility on the A.D.T.,B. farm will provide young white leghorn chicks to women from five villages who are participating in literacy classes.

Status:

A poultry-raising facility has been constructed and chicks have been distributed, although not necessarily to the recipients identified in the proposal. The literacy classes have not been meeting in recent months due to staff vacancies and lack of time among intended beneficiaries., i.e.,

Recommendation:

A.D.T.,B. should keep more thorough records on recipient characteristics as per a new reporting format provided them. No further funding should be provided beyond the current agreement unless evidence is provided that actual recipients are members of the targeted beneficiary group, i.e., the households in the lowest income quartile.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Goat Crossbreeding, Gaudgaon

Dates:

1981--Present
[Authorized in proposal for one year]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$30,190

Participants:

Project-Holder: Christa Seva Mandir

Cooperating Agency: Shivaji Shikshan Prasek Mandel

Activities:

A goat crossbreeding center is to provide services for goat owners in 30 surrounding villages. Services will include training in improved animal husbandry, access to improved breeding stock, and marketing and credit assistance.

Status:

Center has been constructed. Twenty male and ten female goats have been purchased for crossbreeding services. Fourteen male goats have been placed in 13 villages for stud services.

Recommendation:

C.S.M. should encourage the Center managers to keep accurate records of crossbreeding activities and results.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Shepherds' Project

Dates:

1982--Present
[Authorized in proposal for 5 years]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$37,080

Participants:

Project-Holder: Christa Seva Mandir

Activities:

To provide 93 shepherd caste people with 20 local ewes and one ram of improved breed in order to rehabilitate their flocks.

Status:

Seventeen ewe and ram units have been distributed among 8 or 9 villages. Loose association of shepherds' caste members has been formed. Sheep care seminar scheduled for February, 1983.

Reccmmendation:

Continue funding to end of present agreement. I.C.S.A. and C.S.M. should mutually identify specific project objectives, indicators, and measures of progress related to both sheep production and formation of viable shepherds' societies. This information should be forwarded to L.W.R. by May 1, 1983.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Forestation I & II, Baramati

Dates:

- I: February, 1979--Present
[Authorized in proposal for three years]
- II: December, 1981--Present
[Authorized in proposal for five years]

L.W.R. Budget:

- I: \$68,800
- II: \$180,680

Participants:

Project-Holder: Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati

Cooperating Agency: Government of Maharashtra

Activities:

- I: Plant 50,000 seedlings using pot irrigation method. Mature trees to be used by community panchayat as income source from sale of firewood and fruit.
- II: Plant up to 105,000 seedlings on 500 acres of government revenue lands to encourage soil conservation and reduce silting into percolation tanks. In addition, fodder, fruit, and firewood will be produced for sale by local panchayats. Proceeds will be used for community projects.

Status:

- I: Most of the planned 50,000 trees have been planted and a very high percentage have survived.
- II: This project is off to a good beginning with many trees already planted.

In neither project has the local beneficiary community been involved in any aspect of plantation management or decision-making.

Recommendation:

No more forestry projects should be funded unless they are clearly community-based social forestry undertakings. A.D.T.,B. should be requested to involve beneficiary villagers in the management and care of these plantations as per project guidelines.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Forestation, Paragaon [Included in 'Afforestation in Six Villages'*
and 'Afforestation in Seven Villages'**]

Dates:

*1976--Present
**1980--Present

L.W.R. Budget

*\$12,937 [Total for all six village projects]
**\$18,162 [Total for all seven village projects]

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Local Participation: Beneficiaries have provided land

Activities:

Sixty-one acres of land around and nearby Paragaon was to have improved soil erosion protection, better ground moisture, and produce grass fodder for livestock as a result of a plantation.

Status:

Some fodder trees are growing as well as an experimental plot of Napier grass for fodder.

Recommendation:

I.C.S.A. should conduct a study to determine these data about the C.S.R.D. forestation project: survival rates of seedlings, ecological benefits to area, economic benefits to beneficiaries, and related information. In addition, funding sources for all C.S.R.D. forestation projects should be clarified.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Young Farmers' Training Courses

Dates:

December, 1980--Present
[Authorized in proposal for three years]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$28,200

Participants:

Project-Holder: Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati

Activities:

Training courses for classes of young farmer trainees are held five or six times annually. About 35 students attend and receive instruction in livestock care and improved agriculture.

Status:

Numerous classes have been held with students from all over Maharashtra as well as Baramati Taluka. Specific records on students' socio-economic characteristics will be forwarded to L.W.R. as per evaluation team's request.

Recommendation:

Continue to end of present agreement. Any future funding authorization should be based on demonstration of trainees' use of instruction and poorest majority background.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Demonstration and Extension Centres

Dates:

December, 1980--Present
[Authorized in proposal for three years]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$24,027

Participants:

Project-Holder: Agricultural Development Trust, Baramati

Activities:

Five extension workers were to be stationed in each of five villages to establish and operate demonstration and extension centers. These centers were intended to provide information and assistance related to veterinary and agricultural needs.

Status:

Two extension workers are stationed in two villages. They have been providing some seedlings and veterinary assistance.

This project has lost three extension agents to government extension agencies.

Recommendation:

Funding should be limited to the amount currently approved or the period originally approved, whichever comes first. In the villages that no longer have extension agents, replacements need not be hired.

Further, the team feels future funding on projects of this kind should not be provided without clarification of duplication relative to government programs.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Community Health Education Program, Ahmednagar

Dates:

1977--Present
[Authorized in proposal for five years]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$62,000

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Activities:

Establishment of a community health education and family planning training program to serve rural villages.

Status:

Seven target villages are active project recipients with ongoing mahila mandals, adult literacy, balwadis, and other projects involving large numbers of women and children.

Recommendation:

Other projects of this type should be encouraged.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Family Welfare Education and Training Centre, Ahmednagar

Dates:

1978--Present
[Authorized in proposal for one year]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$20,800

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Activities:

Counselling, sewing classes, slum improvement, recreational and library facilities as well as a creche program were to be provided to beneficiaries at a building in Ahmednagar. In addition, social work students were to receive their internship training by providing services and doing research here.

Status: .

Sewing classes, creche program, and family planning counselling are being carried out for limited number of women and children beneficiaries of slum neighborhood of "inner Ahmednagar", mostly from lower caste and/or poverty-stricken households.

Recommendation:

This project should not be refunded unless there is clear demonstration of self-supporting outcomes from project activities. L.W.R. funds should not simply provide welfare services.

PROJECT FACE SHEETS

Title:

Housing for Cyclone Victims, Tarlupadu

Dates:

1979--1981

L.W.R. Budget:

\$40,000

Participants:

Project-Holder: Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church

Other Donor Agencies: Lutheran World Federation

Local Participation: Beneficiaries provided laoor to rebuild houses using donated materials.

Activities:

Technical assistance and building materials were supplied to victims of a cyclone that destroyed many houses.

Status:

Project completed.

Recommendation:

Similar projects in the future must be more carefully administered. See I.C.S.A. evaluation report for full details.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Additional Assistance to Cyclone Sufferers [A.K.A. 'RECORDS']

Dates:

1978--Present

L.W.R. Budget:

\$153,000

Participants:

Project-Holder: Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church

Activities:

Rebuilding of houses and churches in cyclone-struck area. Also, training community development workers to help villagers rebuild houses in improved manner, help provide clean drinking water, plant fruit trees, and other development activities.

Status:

Repalle Area Comprehensive Development program has been organized to carry out broad development program serving 991 families in 18 villages. Projects include adult education, village health care, village youth and women's clubs, and carpentry training in addition to housing construction.

Recommendation:

L.W.R. and I.C.S.A. should provide A.E.L.C. with clear guidelines regarding project criteria, reporting requirements, and record-keeping. In addition, technical assistance should be provided about project conceptualization and implementation.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Cobbler's Cooperative Society

Dates:

February, 1981--Present
[Authorized in proposal for one year]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$17,700

Participants:

Project-Holder: Centre for Studies in Rural Development

Activities:

A cooperative society comprised of 21 "cobbler caste" Harijans will be organized to produce and market shoes and sandals in the Ahmednagar area. The production facility will be managed by the cobblers with technical assistance from C.S.R.D. and government services.

Status:

Production facility is in place and more than Rs. 40,000 worth of footwear has been produced. The cooperative society has not succeeded. Workers are essentially employees since C.S.R.D. staff provide the management.

Recommendation:

No new funding for this project. Quarterly reports to I.C.S.A. should indicate expenditures and incomes from shoe and sandal sales.

PROJECT FACE SHEET

Title:

Cooperative Brickmaking and Training

Dates:

March, 1982--Present
[Authorized in proposal for three years]

L.W.R. Budget:

\$7,334

Participants:

Project-Holder: Christa Seva Mandir

Activities:

To establish a brickmaking training and production cooperative which will be operated by Harijan youths.

Status:

Eleven young Harijan men have received training and are producing bricks. They have not yet formed a cooperative, but the trainees are gradually assuming some management functions. There is a good local market for their bricks.

Recommendation:

Continue funding until end of current agreement. Quarterly reports should indicate expenditures and income from brick works.

Appendix D

INDIA: CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The L.W.R. Development Strategy Guidelines are a set of general principles concerning desirable qualities among target groups, project-holders, and the relationship of both these groups with each other and L.W.R. The extent to which these principles can be actualized in any given village or community is influenced greatly by the milieu in which the project operates. Social, cultural, economic, political, and psychological factors are significant filters which may impact the extent to which the guidelines can be feasibly implemented.

In order to more thoroughly understand the findings and conclusions of this evaluation study, it is necessary to briefly review some of the major contextual features of rural India. This review will demonstrate that (1) the types of individual and institutional growth process considerations spelled out in the L.W.R. Development Strategy are particularly relevant to Indian society, and, (2) those process factors are important precisely because they are an alternative to deeply engrained, historical patterns that have operated to centralize and concentrate resources in the hands of a privileged minority.

Four types of contextual considerations are reviewed in this section: (A) constraints to change, (B) incentives to change, (C) criteria for development success, and (D) disadvantaged populations in India.

(A) Constraints to Change

Four types of constraints will be summarized--sociocultural, psychological, economic, and political. Documentation to substantiate these characterizations is available although not provided here for the sake of brevity.

1. Sociocultural

--Hierarchical principle of social organization: men over women, high caste over low caste, old over young;

--Hierarchical structure of Indian society rationalized/ legitimated by concepts concerning "natural superiority" of some groups;

--Knowledge about the "proper" or "right" course of action is conceived to be limited to those endowed with superior insight/ability;

--Exaggerated (in Western eyes) esteem and social prestige is accorded those ascribed with superior mental or moral powers/gifts;

--Insufficient (in Western eyes) respect and humaneness may be shown to those individuals and groups historically identified as "weak" or "less endowed".

2. Psychological

--Individuals concerned with fulfilling their unique social responsibilities, moral obligations, and filial duties;

--Daily village life is interpreted less in terms of current "here-and-now" opportunities and situations than in terms of ones long-range fulfillment of socially-expected role obligations: as a good son (males) or as a good wife (females);

--Given the heterogeneous, diverse statuses of individuals in the village, there is great concern with maintaining social order;

--The quest for social order and moral continuity produces a conservative, skeptical attitude toward proffered innovations;

--The identification of "community-wide" felt needs is hampered by the lack of a shared sense of destiny and a strongly developed sense of the appropriateness and importance of social distinctions.

3. Economic

--There is a limited resource base in terms of fertile and productive land, capital for improvements, knowledge about improved agricultural practices, access to irrigation facilities, etc.;

--There is a pattern of resource contribution in the hands of historically powerful families or caste groups, particularly shrewd and/or aggressive individuals, and others among the "more fortunate few";

--Capital-intensive modern agricultural techniques using chemical fertilizers, hybrid seeds, and pumping sets must compete with more traditional economic priorities such as a handsome dowry for ones daughter;

--Landless households must survive by doing field labor or other work which pays nominal wages due to the great availability of laborers;

--Opportunity for upward social and economic mobility is denied to many children and women for economic reasons: they must do menial work to help support the household in many of the poorest families.

4. Political

--Rural people in India have, in historical perspective, had little voice in national priority-setting processes;

--Only recently have rural voters begun to make their impact felt decisively in state and national elections;

--Traditional caste loyalties and antagonisms undercut the potential political solidarity of rural villagers;

--Regional rivalries undermine potential cooperation between states with similar problems;

--Politicians have been able to sway rural voters without making good on their campaign promises...up until very recently at least.

(B) Incentives to Change

Four types of incentives to change in rural India's villages will be briefly summarized--government programs, improved communications, increased urbanization, and the impact of rural education.

1. Government Programs

--Since independence, a large number of rural development programs have been proposed and/or adopted by states and the central government;

--The effectiveness and competency of rural development programs and those charged with their implementation varies widely from village to village, state to state, and region to region;

--There has been a marked increase in the degree of seriousness and earnestness attached by governments in some states (including Maharashtra) to the efficacy and impacts of their rural programs;

--Concern for effective rural programs has resulted in more carefully conceived development projects targeted at particular problems and population sectors;

--Recent rural development programs in Maharashtra include the Small Farmer Development Program, Drought Prone Area Program, Integrated Rural Development Program, Employment Guarantee Scheme, Rural Sanitation Program, Rural Electrification Program, and many others.

2. Improved Communications and Transportation

--Villages have lost their historical social and economic isolation;

--Villages are becoming more tightly interwoven into the national economy and are increasingly reliant on government agencies and extra-village institutions;

--Outside contact and communication has encouraged comparison between village and town or city life;

--Villagers are learning, often by osmosis, about alternatives to their historical customs and technologies.

3. Increased Urbanization

--The impact of urban institutions with their expectations and procedures has introduced new complexity and increased the need for sophisticated understanding of extra-village systems;

--There is increased resource flow (capital, education, raw materials, finished products) between urban and rural communities;

--Because of the increased resource flow there is a growing awareness of the interdependency of city and rural peoples;

--The lure of town and city life is virtually irresistible to many bright, young village youths.

4. Impact of Rural Education

--Despite the ill-preparedness of some teachers and the low productivity of some students, there is a burgeoning cumulative impact as a result of elementary schools in many villages;

--Greater knowledge about the outside world has created clear generational differences in some villages concerning the nature of "the good life";

--There is increasing acceptance of education by villagers due to the clear association between educational credentials and heightened access to higher prestige occupations and greater economic security.

(C) Criteria for Development Success

Given the above constraints and incentives toward modernization change, what are reasonable and feasible expectations for rural development projects in rural India? What kinds of criteria can be established as minimal benchmarks against which to assess the achievements and shortcomings of projects? Four points are considered below: (1) what is attainable?, (2) the pace of change, (3) task vs. process success, and, (4) striking a healthy balance.

1. What is attainable?

--Based on the results of some village projects in the historical past and in recent times, it is possible for projects to be implemented that act in a comprehensive manner to promote village-wide social cohesion, reduce the influence of traditional prejudices toward women and Harijans, and increase economic prosperity. Although such programs are rare, they are not unknown;

--Programs intending to aid the poorest majority seem to have most impact when they can raise the economic level significantly, due partly to the compensating rise in social status accorded them by higher caste groups;

--Designing and effectively implementing programs that will raise the economic level of the poorest majority is a difficult task for a variety of reasons including the lower educational level, poorer credit and capital resources, and lack of acquaintance with alternative economic activities found among many poorer caste groups and households;

--The low level of and poor quality of landholding among many of the poorest majority frustrates attempts to combine increased rural prosperity with the intent of stimulating that prosperity among the poorest households, especially since agriculture is still the "economic engine" of most rural areas;

--Programs which do succeed in raising the economic level of one village population sector may have little direct positive effect on other segments of the village because of the existing patterns of social and economic compartmentalization and segmentation;

--Programs designed to reduce the influence of stereotyped images about women, harijans, and other "weaker sections" seem to work most effectively when they directly confront the existing prejudices. This is not to say the manner in which these prejudices are dealt with must be confrontational but only that the social fact of the existing stigma must be taken into account.

2. The Pace of Change

--Much as the extent of social and economic change that is attainable is constrained by environmental circumstances, so too is the pace with which that limited change can come about;

--The pace of modernization change would seem to be accelerated by certain variables including the density and intensity of development projects in a given village or area, the attention to detail of program planning and implementation provided by project-holder staff, and the expectations of staff and villagers concerning the rapidity with which change is possible;

-- Even virtually unlimited funds do not hasten the pace of change if other crucial ingredients are lacking.

3. Task vs. Process Success

--'Task success', that is the accomplishment of a specific, clearly measurable, "concrete" objective such as the increased production of food grains or the construction of a village health center is crucial to the advancement of rural India;

--'Process success', that is the attainment of certain intangible, often difficult-to-measure outcomes that indicate an enhanced problem-solving capacity among individuals, groups, and institutions can be and, in keeping with L.W.R. Development Strategy Guidelines, should be built into virtually all L.W.R. funded projects no matter what the project's task objectives might be;

--Both task and process objectives share an over-riding concern with the initiation and maturation of development resources in rural India... for the growth of indigenous competencies in solving the kinds of problems that pertain there. Both types of objectives are essential to that ultimate goal;

--Projects that do not incorporate a conscious strategy for nurturing "process success" will generally not achieve that important end. In fact, process success is even difficult to produce when that is the topmost concern of the project-holder;

--Without process success, task success is likely to be short-lived and superficial. Or, even worse, task success will be turned against other population segments and become simply a new tool in an age-old contest.

4. Striking a Healthy Balance

--Project success would appear to be most likely where there is a healthy awareness of the risks and dangers confronting an effort to produce social and economic change in rural India combined with a determination to overcome those obstacles by means of appropriate tactics. In fact, one crucial variable in the success rates for projects might be one very difficult to measure: the enthusiasm and commitment of staff members.

--In order to produce the types of task outcomes consistent with high levels of cost-benefit and to generate the processual changes needed for self-sustaining modernization, development projects must strike a healthy balance of several factors including careful planning, diligent and sensitive implementation, and close scrutiny of impacts. In fact, given the complexity and high variability of India's villages, each project might best be likened to a laboratory experiment in which the generally expected outcomes can be predicted but the specific product depends on many ingredients. To succeed, the project-holder must be a careful observer of those changes which produce the desired outcomes.

(D) Disadvantaged Populations in India

The skill of a project-holder's staff is most sorely tested when designing and implementing project aimed at improving the lot of India's vast numbers of "weaker sections": the historically stigmatized and abused population segments. Harijans ("untouchables"), adivasis ("tribals"), women in various social and economic categories, and other groups are collectively referred to in government and social service terms as "weaker sections". Although this phrase may have a patronizing, pejorative connotation to Westerners, it does underline the traditional powerlessness of many individuals in these groups. Special "uplift" and "rehabilitation" programs have been devised by government agencies and voluntary organizations as means to raise the social prestige and economic circumstances of these groups. A brief survey of special problems facing these target groups is presented below:

1. Harijans/"Untouchables"--Probably the largest percentage of poor people in rural India are in its harijan households. Traditionally relegated to only the most menial and despised occupations, this group today--even after a substantial amount of "positively discriminatory" legislation by the central government and in some states--still faces an uphill battle toward self-respect and social justice. The persisting low social prestige of harijan subcastes (as well as those subcastes that have collectively renounced their Hindu ties by converting en masse to Buddhism or Christianity) mirrors their traditional poverty. Denied access to educational facilities and higher echelon employment for generations, harijans are today gaining greater self-confidence, a change that plainly worries some members of higher-caste groups. Comparisons are drawn of concern of southern American whites about increasing civil rights militancy among southern Blacks during the 1950s and 1960s: harijans have become "uppity".

2. Women--Another major population segment of the poorest majority in rural India is women in certain social and economic circumstances. Not only are women in harijan, tribal, and other low-caste households in a disadvantaged position but many women in other situations. For example, women married to landless men often have to work as field laborers to help meet household expenses. Similarly, young women and girls are less likely to receive more than a rudimentary education in many less prosperous households irrespective of subcaste. The situation of widows and divorcees, no matter what caste or income-level is often not pleasant.

3. Adivasis/"Tribals"--These non-Hindu aboriginal settlers of India were historically pushed into hill regions and other less productive agricultural zones. In recent years, adivasi groups have received preferential treatment in educational access and higher-level government posts by a reserved seat basis (this same programs has applied to some harijan groups). The more able young tribal men have taken some advantage of these opportunities. Yet the great bulk of tribals continue a marginal, subsistence-level lifestyle in their hill areas. Because these areas are often heavily forested, by Indian standards, there is often some non-agricultural employment available in lumbering and related occupations. Efforts by the government to "rehabilitate" the tribals sometimes appear to Western observers as thinly-veiled attempts to strip the adivasis of their indigencus culture and substitute Hinduism in its place.

Thus, programs targeted toward these more socially and economically disadvantaged groups must not only confront the widespread constraints facing any development project in rural India but some added challenges as well. In order to overcome these extra handicaps, a project must consider the special strengths and idiosyncracies of these populations. Without such consideration, there is a low probability for success as well as the danger of insufficient imagination in the design and administration of compensatory program components.

While the preceding litany of problems, constraints, and obstacles may sound overwhelming in their complexity and pervasiveness, there are ways of dealing with them. But unless a development program is aware of and deals with these potential barriers, a project will not achieve its objectives. To say that a project-holder cannot successfully cope with all or most of the major problems that will occur during a project is an untruth...unless the project-holder staff does an inadequate job of conceptualizing the task which it is undertaking.

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Appendix ELUTHERAN WORLD RELIEFSCOPE OF WORKPROGRAM EVALUATION IN INDIABackground

Since 1974 LWR has committed more than \$3,500,000 to over 50 development projects in India. Most of these projects are implemented by local institutions, often church related or of Christian inspiration.

LWR has been cooperating with the Interchurch Service Agency (ICSA) since the early 1970s and with CASA since the 1980s to support development projects. LWR has also supported the work of the LWV/WS in Eastern India where LWV/WS implements its own program. LWR has a history of providing material relief and supporting social welfare activities in India since "partition" in 1947. These activities have led into a number of development projects particularly as a result of Food For Work and Maternal Child Health activities supported with PL 480 Title II food.

Projects funded by LWR have focused on: water resource development for irrigation and human consumption, agricultural inputs and extension for increased food production, livestock development, agricultural credit, agricultural training, institutional support for counterpart agencies,

community-based health care and literacy and skills training. Local institutions managing these projects relate directly to the affected communities.

Given substantial commitments of resources for this diverse program, it is important that LWR have an independent assessment of the impact of the activities it has supported in the region. Such an assessment will inform future program planning and provide a more complete, comprehensive and systematic review of the program than has been available to date.

Objectives of the Evaluation

Based on intensive field visits and interviews, as well as a review of background information and orientation from the LWR staff in New York and LWR's India representative, the evaluators will:

- A. Describe and critically analyze how this program has contributed to the fulfillment of the matching grant purposes;
- B. Report on specific aspects of individual projects that may be of interest for replication or correction in other LWR programs and/or by other agencies.
- C. Highlight lessons learned during the program's implementation and make recommendations for future activity.

Scope of Work

Specifically, the evaluators will design interview instruments and activities compatible with those of the Niger and Andean Region evaluations and which will enable them to address the following issues:

GENERAL:

1. Were LWR Development Strategy Guidelines followed in implementing this program? Did this have either a positive or negative impact on the program's results? Explain.
2. Was LWR's response adequate in terms of program administration/management, e.g., timely responses to proposals, timely financial support, cultural sensitivity, technical skills of personnel, etc.?
3. What general recommendations can be made in terms of future LWR personnel, financing and activities.?
4. What level of immediate and longer term benefits are going to various groups including the landless, marginally landed, and the well-to-do?
5. What role has Title II support to FFW and MCH programs played in the evolution of participant community, the local implementing agency, or in the planning or implementation of the project.

MATCHING GRANT:

1. Purpose A: To stimulate individual communities to undertake their own development by participating successfully in projects designed to meet basic human needs.
 - . What role did the community play in project identification, design, implementation and evaluation? Describe. Quantify.

- . What relationship, if any, will the community's role have on the future life of the project, beyond the period of LWR's support?
- . What relationship, if any did the community's role have to the ability of the projects to meet basic human needs?
- . What basic human needs were met? Describe and quantify.
- . What impact, if any has there been on the environment as a direct result of the program?
- . Have the communities initiated development activities outside the scope of the LWR program as a result of their experience of working together? List. If not, why not?

Purpose B: To support the development of an infrastructure (network) in third world countries which is capable of and committed to continued development (assistance) beyond the period of the grant.

- . What new linkages exist, as a result of the program, at the community-to-community level?
- . What new linkages exist at the community-to-government services or other private agency level?
- . What new linkages have developed among indigenous agencies?
- . What has LWR's role been in this area?
- . To what degree is the development of linkages dependent on LWR's input, financial or otherwise?
- . What impact, if any, have these linkages had on socio-economic benefits of the program?

Purpose C: To assist indigenous counterpart agencies to become more effective in planning, implementing, and evaluating development programs in collaboration with local communities.

- . What new or improved services for communities have been developed as a result of the LWR program and how have communities responded to these services?
- . What new or improved internal management practices have been developed as a result of the LWR input?
- . What has been the nature of the LWR input, and what recommendations could be made for future activity?
- . Is there evidence that these improvements have been applied on a broader basis than just the LWR program? Other PVOs/ government agencies?
- . What impact, if any, have these activities had on the socioeconomic benefits of the program?
- . To what degree are the new/improved services or management practices dependent on LWR's input, financial and otherwise?

NOTE: It is recognized that while some of the above can be measured based on hard, quantitative information, other conclusions will require inferences to be drawn from field interviews or simply be reasonable, subjective judgements.

Work Plan

LWR will contract two consultants with expertise in appropriate fields. The consultants will be given orientation about LWR, the India program, and the matching grant by LWR staff in New York and additional orientation specific to projects and operations. This orientation will include a program profile listing information on the activities of various projects to be prepared by LWR staff.

The consultants will conduct both joint and separate field visits to project sites. Their field reviews will include discussions and interviews with project participants in affected communities, local officials and appropriate staff of local agencies who implement the project. The specific techniques and instruments to be used for gathering data will be designed by the consultants themselves, taking into consideration what they learn from LWR staff, the methodologies of the Niger and Andean Region evaluation reports and anticipated sensitivities of the people they will interview. On completion of their field work, the consultants will prepare an outline of their findings and recommendations. These will be discussed with LWR staff accompanying the evaluation, and ICOSA staff for feedback prior to the consultants' departure, and with New York staff prior to preparation of the final report.

Actual field work in India will be in January 1983. Up to 3 weeks will be spent in field visits in India. A final draft report will be available by February 28, 1983 and the final report no later than March 15, 1983. LWR staff will participate to the extent possible to be better able to learn from findings of the evaluation.

Precise travel schedules and field visitation schedules will be worked out by mutual agreement with the consultants.

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LWR INDIA PROGRAM EVALUATION

ROUGH BENEFIT/COST ANALYSIS OF TWO LIFT IRRIGATION PROJECTS

by JOSEPH A. SPRUNGER

Based on a beneficiary list, on-site interviews and information received from the project holder, a rough analysis of benefit/cost ratios was developed for 2 project sites: Jamb II and Tandali. Both of these are implemented with CSRD, Ahmednagar, oversight. Both are operating. In reviewing this analysis, it is important to keep in mind that these two projects have the highest per acre costs (Rs 5,700 for Jamb II and Rs 4,800 for Tandali) of all the CSRD lift irrigation projects. The range of per acre costs is Rs 1,500 to 5,700.

1. JAMB II:

1.1 Estimates of production income and expenditure.

A production analysis for 1982/83 Rabi (winter) season for this project is given in the table below:

Rabi Season 82/83

Crop		Per Acre			Scheme (net) Total Income
		Prod'n	Sale	Cost	
Wheat	4 acre	10 Q @	2,500	1,000	6,000
Dingri	3 acre		10,000	500	28,500
Bengal Gram	4 acre	7 Q @	2,500	500	8,000
Jowar	30 acre	7 @	1,050	300	22,500
Fodder grass	1 acre		1,000	300	700
	42				65,700

previous Rabi Season

negligible

Increase in total Rabi Season net income

65,700

Total expended on Jamb II to date

2,60,577

The costs in the above table are overstated, because the amount expended to date includes the amount spent on Jamb II - site B, another well not benefiting this set of farmers. Further no credit is given for increases resulting from the Kharif (wet) season increases in income.

Benefit/cost analysis

To complete the rough benefit/cost analysis, the following assumptions are considered reasonable:

- . Based on interviews with farmers, the value of unirrigated Kharif (wet) season production can be reasonably estimated as Rs 31,500 based on 42 acres each producing 7 quintals of jowar sold at Rs 150 per quintal less Rs 300 per acre production cost.
- . The increase in income from Kharif season production based on normal jowar production alone would be Rs 50,400. This figure is based on an increased yield from 7 to 15 quintals/acre with negligible increases in production costs and a sale price of Rs 150 per quintal.

Therefore total increase in annual net profit from the production is
 $65,700 + 50,400 = 116,100$

1.2 The benefit/cost analysis based on a net present value technique* is as follows:

- . Total net value of production increases is Rs 116,100 and is treated as a 30 year annuity based on this anticipated life of well and pipeline.
- . Rate of interest assumed - 15%
- . Therefore, present value of increased production is... Rs 762,310
- . Adjust the cost of the project by:
 - assuming a 5 year construction period,
 - assuming 15% rate of interest,
 - assuming even expenditure in each of the five years,
 - therefore final cost of project considering the expenditures as the future value of a 5 year annuity is... Rs 350,603.
- . Benefit cost ratio is... 2.17/1

* The net present value technique is a procedure used to discount future benefits to the amount of investment required today to assure earning the anticipated benefits. To compare future benefits and present values to

1.3 The preceding analysis takes into consideration the costs of cultivation, but does not take into consideration the cost of alternate financing, e.g., a bank loan on normal terms in the area. An annualized analysis using the most likely alternative bank loan financing available would be as follows:

- . Use as the total cost of construction Rs 350,000 (taken from the above analysis).
 - 20% loan interest rate
 - 7 years repayment period
 - annual payment required... Rs 84,126
- . Value of annual net increase in production... Rs 116,100
- . value of net production increase over annual payment required for loan financing equals... 1.38/1

During the repayment period, this analysis is a better reflection of reality than the previous analysis. However the previous analysis is more reflective of the benefits after the 7th year.

From the above one must conclude that this project has an inherently high economic viability and would be capable of using bank financing if the terms outlined above were available.

past costs, it is necessary to enhance past costs to their current value by treating them like past investments now reaching maturity. This is how the costs of construction have been treated. The technique requires making explicit assumptions about rate of interest or rate of return and time periods. These assumptions are stated where necessary. For a detailed development of the technique, see most any basic text book on corporate or public finance, e.g. Haim Levy and Marshall Sarnot, Capital Investment and Financial Management Prentice Hall (Englewood Cliffs, NJ) 1982.

2. TANDALI LIFT IRRIGATION SCHEME

2.1 Estimates of production income and expenditure.

The following table outlining production during the 82/83 Rabi (winter) season is based on information gathered during field interviews.

Analysis of economic benefits for the whole scheme.

Rabi Season 82/83

<u>Crop</u>		<u>Per Acre</u>			<u>Scheme (net) Total income</u>
		<u>Prod'n</u>	<u>Sale</u>	<u>Cost</u>	
Sugar Cane	7 acres	40 MT	@ 200	2,500	38,500
Wheat	6 acres	5 Q	@ 300	300	7,200
Jowar	10 acres	6 Q	@ 150	250	6,500
Bengal Gram	5 acres	3 Q	@ 400	100	5,500
	28				57,700

Since the value of previous dry season production was negligible, the entire production outlined above must be considered an increase in production for this season. The normal wet season (Kharif season) production is primarily Jowar in the area. Again, using figures given by the farmers participating, the following information is used to estimate the likely changes in wet season production.

• New potential production based on 15 quintals (Q) per/acre, Rs 150/Q sale value, Rs 300 production costs/acre and 38 acres (total scheme is 45 acres but sugar cane, used in earlier table requires the full year to produce).	Rs 74,100
• less maximum previous production based on 6 Q/acre x Rs 150/Q per quintal sale price less Rs 250 cost of cultivation x 45 acres.	Rs 29,250
• Net increase in the value of Kharif season production	Rs 44,850
• Net increase in the value of Rabi season production	Rs 57,700
• Net value of annual increase in production	Rs 102,550

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Benefit/cost analysis

The above analysis assumes that the entire wet season production before completion of the project was Jowar on all 45 acres. This overstates the amount of earlier production and therefore understates the value of the increase in annual production. The 15 Q/acre production imputed to jowar is lower than the anticipated future production. However, it is higher than the first year's anticipated production since farmers report that it takes 2 or 3 years to reach the new production potential with the combination of irrigation, fertilizer, etc.

The analysis does not consider that the project has not yet irrigated all 45 acres, and therefore understates the increase in the net value of annual production. During the 1982 Kharif season only 18 acres were cultivated. This low level of cultivation was based on technical problems related to initiating the project. The analysis assumes that these problems will be ironed out. If the net increase in value of production on 28 acres during the past Rabi season is extrapolated to 45 acres, the new value would be Rs 92,732; the annual value Rs 137,582.

2.2 The benefit/cost ratio based on a net present value analysis is as follows.

- . Net value of annual increase in production is Rs 102,550 and is treated as a 30 year annuity (based on the anticipated life of the well and pipeline)
- . 15% rate of interest assumed
- . Therefore, present value of increased production is... Rs 673,341
- . The total cost of the project will be Rs 179,458.
- Assuming 15% interest and even expenditure for 4 years of construction, total present value of the cost of construction as of April 1983 based on the above will be.. Rs 224,025
- . Therefore, the benefit ratio would be... 3.01/1

2.3 Estimating an annualized benefit/cost ratio:

- . Total cost of the project will be Rs 179,458. Assuming 15% interest and even expenditure for 4 years of construction, total present value of the cost of construction as of April 1983 based on the above will be... Rs 224,025
- . assuming that the project could have as alternative financing a 7 year loan for the amount of the full value of the cost of construction indicated in the point immediately above at 20% annual, the annual interest plus principal payment would be... Rs 62,145
- . this compares to a total net increase in annual production value of... Rs 102,550.
- . this would be an annualized net present value benefit/cost ratio of over... 1.65:1

From the above one must conclude that this project has an inherently high economic viability and would be capable of using bank financing if the terms outlined above were available.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

(With Special Reference to LWR India Projects)

by DR. USHADEVI VIJAY KOLHATKAR

Women in rural India remain backward because of illiteracy, ignorance, religious traditions, social customs, superstitions and male domination. An example of this is, that women are still neglected in education. The rural women constitute what might be considered an underprivileged group in society. In its initial stages, development and modernization in rural India did not lead to any serious changes in the traditional status of a women. This was partly because the more pressing need at all times was 'survival'. That these women remained satisfied with their secondary status and inferior position does not mean that they did so willingly. As soon as they were given some power and opportunity there definitely was a change, although the rate of change was slow.

Within this context LWR-funded projects such as family welfare and community health education programs can be cited as successful examples of how to encourage social change. These programs showed very effectively that there is potential for more drastic changes in the villages and that these changes can be realized through providing women educational opportunities, good health care and additional sources of income.

Sociocultural change leading to development is possible by increasing one's ability to use new sources of information to change and by controlling one's social and physical environment. The best example of this process is the 'multipurpose worker'. She is the product of the community health and family welfare activities introduced by the Center for Studies in Rural Development (CSR D) seen in a few villages around Ahmednagar. A woman with some high school education from each village was trained to conduct the activities such as Balwadi (pre-primary school), mahila mandal (women's organization), tailoring and adult literacy classes, cooking demonstrations, kitchen gardening, nutrition programs and providing first-aid medicines.

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The active participation and emotional investment of these women in village activities was because they were natives of these villages. It is important to note that the change in the traditional role of the multipurpose worker is accompanied by increased self-reliance. Out of nine workers I interviewed, three were needy destitute women. Another noticeable change is that through participation in these programs these destitute women were rehabilitated and no longer treated as 'outcasts' which was formerly the case. Acceptance of a destitute woman as a Balwadi teacher illustrates remarkable change in the attitudes and outlooks of the villagers.

One more example of the use of new information is the family planning program which was successful in a few villages. This program has its long term benefits which include controlling family size. This will help the family to keep a balance between family size and resources, save women from the burden of additional responsibility, provide them with an opportunity to take care of their health and help in improving the standard of living. If population growth is not controlled, increased food production by lift irrigation will not change the imbalance between population and resources nor the inevitable state of poverty. For example in Prakasham District in Andhra Pradesh a village well construction project was completed in 1980, but the beneficiaries still have the same poor standard of living today. They must now sell part of their crop each season to rent the electric motor necessary for the irrigation, so the economic benefits are minimized.

Acceptance and use of new information as a source of change was also observed in utilization of medical facilities and services such as polio and other immunizations for children, pre-natal and post-natal clinics for women, and annual medical check-ups for all the villagers. Common diseases are now treated immediately, which helps in avoiding further health complications. Mahila mandal activities provide the training in good health habits such as keeping drinking water, clothes and houses clean. However, despite the ready availability of medical care, the villagers are not healthier than before because they do not get enough food.

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Food needs are important for all. For the gratification of this need, projects like lift irrigation and construction of percolation tanks were undertaken. Percolation tanks were the most successful projects we saw in changing the family conditions of a few farmers. They also helped in providing employment opportunities for landless laborers. Women started working on the farms in their own villages. That saved them from walking up to four miles everyday to other villages for work.

The hierarchy in the family enforces inequality, both in the status of men and women, and in their access to income produced by the family. The result is that women get the minimum share of the total income and thus are deprived of the minimum conveniences of life, e.g., being able to take a bus to a nearby market-town. The money made by selling part of the crop is spent on renting tractors, buying improved seeds and fertilizers or repairing equipments needed for farming. These essential priorities of the family require women to play the role of homemaker as well as provider. Village women were, and many of them still are, unskilled workers with farming as the only means of livelihood. There is no stability in the seasonal farm work because it depends on the weather. It is evident from the current projects that small occupations in addition to this uncertain seasonal work have great importance for the women who were provided with poultry, goats, an Australian cow or were trained in skills such as tailoring. In many cases these small occupations proved an important source of supplementary income to help women in fulfilling the most essential household needs, for example:

- . They were enabled to buy oil, soap, match-boxes or a slate for their children.
- . The development of marketable skills significantly altered their traditional role and made them self-reliant to a certain extent.
- . These occupations offered them an alternative to reallocate their time and some of the drudgery of the farm work is eliminated.

To improve the outlook, attitudes, viewpoints and contacts with the educated world is another major means of social change. (However, in some of the projects I visited, adult literacy classes which were started with these objectives in mind were complete failures.) The main reason was that very few women were provided with an alternative in the form of training for occupations to reallocate their time. However, instead of educating these women in a traditional or formal way, it is desirable that short-term functional literacy classes be started. (These women can be given essential knowledge for example, in learning to read and fill out bank, post office and hospital forms, to write letters and to read labels on medicine bottles.) I am aware that acquiring formal education is a means of social, economic and cultural mobility but taking into consideration the amount of time and responsibility these women have, functional literacy program seems to be a better alternative. As stated before, creating small occupations for needy women and saving some of their time can help this program get the desired results. This program can be coordinated with other programs. For example, women who are provided with poultry or goats must attend the functional literacy classes and manila-mandal activities.

Social or cultural development is a cumulative process. Acceptance of new knowledge broadens the outlook and makes room for more development. As a result, these women will not deprive their daughters of going to school and the rate of change will keep on increasing. It can be hoped that these occupations can create some guarantee of uninterrupted education of the children or an assurance for continuity in health care.

MAJOR IMPLICATIONS IF PROJECTS ARE STARTED ONLY FOR WOMEN:

The approach to development involved in family welfare and community health education projects takes into consideration the needs of the entire village. But when it comes to creating diversified sources for supplementary income specifically for women, men's reactions need to be taken into consideration. During these field visits, some women told me that there were changes in their

husband's attitude after they had started earning income for the family. Their husbands cared for them, gave them more attention and there were fewer arguments in the family than before. One woman mentioned that her husband had stopped beating her. I am sure it must have been a highly gratifying experience to be treated as a human being rather than as a possession. This definitely is an example where one can see a major change in the unequal relationships which were once dominated by the principles of dominance and subordination. In some places unmarried girls learned a trade because they thought it might help in their marriage. Their parents might have to pay a dowry of a lesser amount.

Promoting equality to maintain the human rights is yet another hidden component of development involved here. In India promoting equality among men and women would hardly result in breaking up of the family. The reason for this is that Hindu marriage is a sacrament and not a contract. So, if men are educated to realize that the skills learned by the women will be for the welfare and betterment of the entire family, I do not think that starting projects only for women will be difficult. On the other hand, the 'economic/security' aspect of development might help in preserving the integrity of the family in a more effective way. If one thinks of the primary roots of Hindu civilization, there existed the principles of order and change, being and becoming. With my experience in studying these projects related to women, I can positively state that traditional forms continue to persist but the functions undergo major re-adaptations.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SUGGESTIONS AND POSSIBLE WOMEN'S PROJECTS IN RELATION TO FUTURE LWR INDIA PROGRAMS:

1. Limitations of some of the projects studied were mainly because of a lack of knowledge about the details of the particular village social structure, cultural and social traditions and relevant information regarding each household of the village. For example, in the Guntur area, the irrigation

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wells scheme will not result in the desired development and change because almost all the poor villagers have taken loans without interest from Reddis. The Reddis are high-caste money lenders, who own the slate factories near the villages. The conditions for taking this interest-free loan are:

- . work regularly only in the Reddis' factories,
- . no loan may be received from any other sources such as banks.

Working hours are 6 a.m to 12:30 p.m and the rate of wages is two rupees per day. Walking to work and coming back home takes about three hours. Many of these villagers are treated as slaves. In one village, fifty children above the age of ten are drop-outs from school and go to work in these slate factories. These people will have to continue working for Reddis until the loans are repaid and this will continue for generations. Loans from Reddis are a major hinderance in their economic as well as social development. This information should have been taken into account before starting the project.

2. Identifying caste differences for any village is important. For a complex culture like that of India, attitudes, behavior patterns and social interactions are different for different caste groups. "Caste distinction" is a structural challenge to any phase of development, so it needs careful attention. To deal with caste hierarchy, a workable approach needs to be taken into consideration. As stated before, in rural India there still exists a very broad and general co-relation between traditional caste-hierarchy and the western occupational hierarchy. For example, in villages where groups are involved in economic activities, caste remains a real life consideration. I am not sure if this is true in industry, because factories attracted workers from all castes. As brick-making projects do not need large economic investment, funding such projects for men and women would result in desired development as follows:

The growth of small/large factory. factory.

The growth of industrial workers. (men & women)

- 1) Social change and economic development.
- 2) Change in the traditional role of women.
- 3) Modernization
- 4) Employment opportunities

Emergence of the new level of Macro-social structure with less rigid caste barriers and an emphasis on achieved status rather than ascribed status.

The Solapur brick-making project (though on a small scale and with one caste group) has already shown the positive relationship between project activities and social change. It has also encouraged the development of an assertive attitude. The desire for a better life for all poor caste groups can be fulfilled if they are provided with appropriate opportunities and guidance.

Projects with obvious social impact should be funded. For example, mahila mandals, particularly in Ahmednagar area, contribute to reducing social distance due to caste barriers. In addition, field trips arranged for mahila mandal women help them find out that there exist facilities like homes for orphan children and homes for old people. A few needy women have taken advantage of these facilities. If kitchen gardening, nutrition programs and tailoring classes are well co-ordinated with mahila mandal, some of the difficulties they faced, could be solved with their own efforts. A small portion of the money made by selling vegetables from kitchen gardening can be spent on buying bus tickets for those women who cannot afford to go on mahila mandal field trips or for buying clothes for adopted old women. In return, these women can help in nutrition program or public health nurse in her weekly visits to the health clinic. A minimal fee can be charged to tailoring class students. This amount can be used for buying cloth and other necessary things which many girls could not afford to buy.

The "RECORDS" project, Andhra, has registered mahila mandals in nine villages. Three and a half years after the date of registration, mahila mandals are entitled to get some help from the government. The success of some of these projects is clearly an indication that with home-making and child care responsibilities, women can handle choices and opportunities open to them. Thus the cognitive potential of these women can be used for the development of their community and to remedy some of their problems with their own efforts.

3. "Who gets educated?" is an important question in rural India. It is a fact that girls, children from poverty stricken homes and poor scheduled castes (untouchable castes), do not have equal access to education. Along with functional literacy classes, evening classes for such children are an important need in practically every village. This issue did not really receive serious attention so far. A related issue which needs even more serious attention is that of children who have to walk to other villages for high school education.

Especially in Guntur area, every village I visited had about ten children who walked at least three miles one way for school. At one village the distance was 12 kilometers, so the children took the train. Many of them could not afford to buy train tickets so they traveled without tickets. About three years ago a fifteen year old boy jumped out of the train when he saw the ticket collector coming and was killed. To have a bicycle to go to school is a dream of many high school children coming from economically poor homes. To deal with this urgent need it is possible, for farmers to contribute money to buy bicycles if they are provided with pump sets and electric motors. These bicycles could be kept in the grampanchayat office for use by needy students. In return these children could be asked to plant fruit trees and to take care of them. Project holders could be asked to provide plants.

Many children do not have books or mats to sit on in the class room. Only "Anand-Sudan" at Ahmednagar has book sets on a rotating basis. Every village could have book sets for their school children if they paid a minimum amount for the medical services they receive. In some villages people pay only for the injections and not for the medicines. With my observations, I have realized that people generally have a tendency to get things for free. If they do not pay for the medicines, they might misplace them, throw them away or ask for more than needed. When they pay for it, they have to work hard and realize the importance of it. Asking the villagers to pay makes them self-reliant, changes their attitude towards getting everything for free and introduce a self-help concept. Out of this money some amount could be spent on purchasing the books. This way people will learn to recognize their problems, cope with them and accept the responsibility to deal with them.

4. Taking into consideration the importance of pre-primary education, more "Balwadi" proposals should be considered for funding. Balwadis, in current projects, served many purposes. For instance:

- . women have more time to attend to other responsibilities;
- . children get one meal in the balwadi. This means one less mouth to feed once a day, (economic help);
- . food and health care promote cleanliness and improve the health conditions of the children;
- . some villages balwadis also adopted malnourished children;
- . employment opportunities for needy women are provided;
- . destitute women took the required training in some villages and are happy with their present status as it gives them some hope for the future.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion makes it very clear that in rural India today the main concern of the majority is the fulfillment of the basic needs. Therefore 'the basic human needs' approach to development needs to be defined. Based on LWR's ongoing projects, it is evident that this approach to development at least in the initial stages, can be defined in terms of manageable family size, health, functional literacy for adults, education of children and economic freedom. In the future, the project proposals with mainly this approach to development should be given due consideration.

How far LWR-funded projects have been successful in meeting the basic human needs of the rural poor can only be decided after collecting the data to compare the changes that have occurred over a period of time among men and women. So far, projects funded by LWR for 'women-in-development' in villages are very few. In the future more women's projects might be considered for funding to deal with this disparity. This will give LWR justifiable opportunities to keep up with its humanitarian strategic objectives. To carry out these projects more successfully, the means of development (e.g. balwadi building, pump sets or sewing machines), should be owned by the concerned village and there needs to be a positive involvement of the villagers in the development work.

I strongly hope that in the years to come the investment of LWR would speed up the modernization and development processes and help rural Indian women in forming clear ideas regarding the shape of their future.

Based on my recent field visits to LWR India projects, I think the assumption: "developing societies have been static societies" needs revision in the Indian context.