

**United Nations Development Programme
Tajikistan
Final Evaluation
Of
Promotion of Community-based Peace and Confidence
Building Measures Project - TAJ/94/003**

(Suppl. 1)

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BRIEF SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION:

The "Promotion of Community-based Peace and Confidence Building Measures Project (TAJ/94/003)" is one of the first major projects supported by UNDP dealing with a high priority area, peace building, in Tajikistan. The project is operationally closed since the end of December 1999. The Terminal Tripartite Review Meeting organised by UNDP on 13 December 1999 decided to undertake a final evaluation of the project after its completion in, around, mid 2000. The major reasons for the final evaluation, and after the completion of the project, are as follows:

- The project is a major initiative with focus on the development and strengthening of community based organisations; and lessons should be derived for future civil society initiatives.
- The project, towards the end of 1999, developed and implemented an exit strategy. By undertaking the evaluation after project completion in mid 2000, the intention is to learn about the sustainability of project as result of implementing the exit strategy.
- The evaluation is to determine the extent to which the project met its objectives and impacted on the process of confidence building in the project area (Khatlon region).

2. PROJECT CONTEXT:

The project was approved in September 1995 for an initial period of 9 months with Swedish and US funding totalling US\$ 307,000. Through subsequent revisions "D", "Q" and "R", the project was implemented until the end of December 1999, covering a total period of over four years, with resources amounting to US\$ 1,943,137. The project, thus, evolved during the course of implementation to be a major initiative undertaken by the Government with UNDP assistance, including with cost sharing from the Governments of Sweden and USA.

The project was developed to respond to "the" priority need of a nation that had started a very fragile process of recovery from the 1992-1993 civil war; and, moreover, one that had to be combined with the process of nation building towards democratic governance with a market-oriented economy. The civil war, besides costing more than 50,000 lives and displacement of around a million people, severely weakened the local and national level social, institutional, economic, physical and natural capital that had been built over the past century. The project focuses in Khatlon region, bordering Afghanistan, which was most severely affected by the civil conflict and has 35% of the national population. Through community initiatives, it addresses problems related to (1) peace and confidence building, (2) deterioration of social, economic and human security, (3) rehabilitation, integration and reconstruction and (4) negative impact on development.

3. **FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS:**

The project design has evolved, as evident by changes made through revisions, during the process of implementation. These changes show a flexible and accommodative approach to adjusting the design to experiences and emerging needs. This fits very well with need of the project in special development situations where there can be risks and uncertainties and, also, to adopt a learning approach to improving the project.

The concept has a viable approach of forming community-based organisations and to reach out to the most affected populace through different peace, confidence building and development interventions. The idea of promoting community-based organisations was very relevant from the perspective of their being the best option to enhancing local level peace and development. At the same time, it would support the development of the non-governmental or civil society sector that the country could tap in its efforts to both heal from the civil conflict as well as in its transition towards building a democratic and market-oriented society.

The project offices do not exist anymore; however, measures were undertaken to continue the " support roles and functions" which the field offices provided. Towards the end of the project, initiatives were

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undertaken to establish the associations of the CDCs to substitute for the field offices that were being closed. Though the idea of how to sustain these project offices which were functioning as " support organisations" should have been thought of during the beginning, this decision, though late and not the best, was very wise. The association of CDCs in Kurghan-Tyube is functional.

At the time of the evaluation, the 20 CDCs were functioning though with limited capacity and at different levels; but, that these CDCs continue to function six months after the closure of the project is itself an achievement. There are about 40 persons working with the CDCs on voluntary basis. All CDCs are registered as NGOs, work closely with the Hukumats and, currently, function with the limited revenue they generate and the projects funded by UN Agencies (UNHCR and WFP) and INGOs (ACTED).

The challenge of initiating the process of reconciliation, confidence building and integration of society following the civil war of 1992-93 was immense. The project supported the youth clubs to implement sport events, cultural activities and educational initiatives as the entry points that could bring all groups of society, especially those most affected by the civil conflict to re-initiate their social capital. These events or activities provided the common forum for the broad participation of the communities to re-build communal confidence for peace and development. CDCs have implemented credit and enterprise development schemes. They have also leased land from either the local authorities or the management of cooperative farms. The enterprise and land schemes are directed at the poorests and have generated small revenues to cover operational costs. The credit schemes are more directed at helping poor families adjust to peace and development and, functions more like a revolving fund that is making losses due to inflation rather than credit schemes.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS:

The main recommendations are for using the experiences and knowledge gained from the project to further strengthen the development of civil society organisations in Tajikistan. It is also important for the CDCs to enhance their capacity as self-governing and self-promoted organisations. For the Government, it will be beneficial to take stock of the experiences to link field level needs to policy and institutional development. UNDP should also tap into successful experiences, in and outside the region, on the sustainable promotion of self-managed and self-governed community-oriented organisations, especially on peace and development.

5. LESSONS LEARNT:

First, the flexible approach taken by UNDP to accommodate changes in the project document, as required, during the implementation process was able to result in positive outcomes for the project; and, in some respects, this approach was able to overcome the weaknesses in the design though it had some costs. Second, the implementation of the exit strategy, though it came towards the end of the project, was important and solid. Subsequently, it all 20 CDCs and an association continue to function six months after the operational closure of the project, which is a success story. Third, coordination and partnership among the UN Agencies for peace and development has been an important factor for the impact that has been made. UN Agencies have channelled their resources and support through the CDCs as their implementing partners. Fourth, the supply-driven approach led to formation of CDCs and association, largely, with a weak internal foundation without assets. Projects that promote the formation of NGOs or CBOs should be based on the principle of self-governance, self-management and self-promotion. Fifth, the efforts of building NGOs and making impact on peace and development requires long-term investments and locallybased initiatives. The impact may have been greater if local (field) initiatives were linked to policy and institutional development at the upstream level as well. Finally, the project limited the availability of assistance to the NGOs it was helping to develop. The project may have increased its outreach if it has also adopted the "advisory cap" for all interested organisations and transfer of knowledge on resource mobilisation.

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1. INTRODUCTION:

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- The project is a major initiative with focus on the development and strengthening of communitybased organisations; and lessons should be derived for future civil society initiatives.
- The project, towards the end of 1999, developed and implemented an exit strategy. By undertaking the evaluation after project completion in mid 2000, the intention is to learn about the sustainability of project as result of implementing the exit strategy.
- The evaluation is to determine the extent to which the project met its objectives and impacted on the process of confidence building in the project area (Khatlon region).

The evaluation has been conducted during a period of two working weeks in Tajikistan, combined with review of documents prior by the evaluator' at UNDP in Bratislava. The methodology consists of intensive review of documents and extensive consultations with all stakeholder and partner organisations, combined with field visits that covered practically all initiatives undertaken by the project. Besides learning from the different initiatives undertaken by the project, primarily through the Community Development Centres (CDCs) in the field, the evaluator used rapid appraisal methods for information collection and participatory consultations with the different stakeholders for analysis in both Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Zones of Khatlon region. During the field visits that covered 95% of the districts (19 out of 20) in Khatlon region, the evaluator was accompanied by the Chairpersons of the Associations of the CDCs and, in the case of Kulyab Zone, by a former Field Assistant of the project. This provided an opportunity for consultations on different aspects of the project (problems, potentials, constraints and opportunities) as well as to reflect on the different discussions with the CDCs and the Hukumats. The information was analysed by the evaluator with

further discussions of findings with the CDCs, association of CDCs in Kurgan-Tyube, UN Agencies in Kurgan-Tyube and UNDP staff. The evaluation report, thus, presents information and findings that have been discussed with the main stakeholder organisations.

The methodology successfully resulted in the necessary information for the evaluation. However since the evaluation was being done after the closure of the project offices, the evaluator had to deal primarily with the field-level stakeholders. Most staff involved in implementing the project were not available; but, fortunately, it was possible to have extensive consultations with two former staff members, an international UNV specialist and national Programme Assistant, who had led the project efforts in Kulyab Zone. Both are, currently, working with the WFP and are in touch with the CDCs in the Khatlon region. There have been changes in staff at UNDP also. The Resident Representative and the Deputy Resident Representative have taken up their responsibilities recently, and the Programme Officer started dealing with project responsibilities towards its closure. With the operational closure of the project, UNDP has initiated the handing-over of project equipment and files to the Government. The situation, after the closure of the project, did not create the best enabling environment to access comprehensive information. However, the support provided by the UNDP programme staff, WFP staff (who had worked with the project), association of CDCs and the CDCs was very helpful and up to the level required for the evaluation.

The evaluation has been carried out, following the provisions in the Programme Manual and UNDP guidelines. The report is structured, accordingly, to provide information about the project context, findings and conclusions, recommendations and lessons learnt. The major issues covered are related to processes, methods, outputs and performance as well as relevance and success.

¹ The evaluator is from the Sub-regional Resource Facility located at UNDP in Bratislava.

2. PROJECT CONTEXT:

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The project was developed to respond to "the" priority need of a nation that had started a very fragile process of recovery from the 1992-1993 civil war; and, moreover, one that had to be combined with the process of nation building towards democratic governance with a market-oriented economy. The civil war, besides costing more than 50,000 lives and displacement of around a million people, severely weakened the local and national level social, institutional, economic, physical and natural capital that had been built over the past century. The project focuses in Khatlon region, bordering Afghanistan, which was most severely affected by the civil conflict and has 35% of the national population. Through community initiatives, it addresses problems related to (1) peace and confidence building, (2) deterioration of social, economic and human security, (3) rehabilitation, integration and reconstruction and (4) negative impact on development.

Tajikistan has gone through a development reversal process, taking it from middle to a low-income country. Up to 80% of the population is estimated to live in-poverty and human development has declined, taking Tajikistan to from 88th in 1993 to around 115th position by the end of 1999. The GDP is around 40% of what it was in 1991, the present per capita income is around US\$ 215 and the average salary is around US\$ 11 per month. Of the household expenditure, estimates show 77% is on food, 18% on non-food and 5% is on services. The peace agreement signed between the Government and the United Tajik Opposition in July 1997 in Moscow has created a favourable climate for change. In support of initiatives to reverse this unfortunate developmental trend, the Country Cooperation Framework (

CCF) approved in January 1999 for the period 1999-2000 has adopted the strategy "to ensure that the peace process gradually leads to stability in the country as the pre-condition for longer-term sustainable human development". Rehabilitation, reconstruction and development is one of the three main areas identified for UNDP assistance, along with the major outputs related to peace and confidence building. Thus, this project, which was initiated in 1995, is given a prominent place in the CCF. The Government and UNDP recognise in the CCF that the peace process is fragile and the need for the proactive strengthening of the process through political support and developmental investments.

The objectives of the project have changed as well as increased over time with the approval of major revisions. The trend in the changes and the increase can be grouped into three (refer to Table 1):

Table 1 - Trend in the Development Objectives

	Objective
Document of Revision	D
	Focus of Objective (Analysis)
	Initial
	To promote the confidence building process in "A" approved on Khatlon region through confidence building amongst September 1995 the local authorities, returnees, refugees, conflict victims and helping to create a nucleus of national capacity for conflict resolution, mediation and facilitation.
	document
	Focus is on confidence building measures at the local level (in Khatlon region) and, also, to develop national capacity.
Revision	"D" To promote the confidence building process in the document approved West Khatlon, Kulyab and Garm regions through on August 1996 capacity building amongst the local authorities and community-based organisations (including returnees, refugees, conflict victims and youth) and to encourage sustainable grassroots initiatives in rehabilitation, <u>peace building and income generating activities.</u>
	Focus shifts entirely to local level initiatives, with emphasis on local authorities and community-based organisations (which had to be developed) and to initiatives on rehabilitation, peace and income <u>generation.</u>
	Revision "R" on Immediate Objective "to achieve sustainability of 60% Focus on sustainability at the end of <u>October 1999 of the CDCs by the end of 1999</u> " was added. <u>the project.</u>

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From the original intention of building or linking local and national capacity development, the project placed emphasis largely on local level initiatives through capacity building amongst local authorities and community-based organisations (which had to be developed). Towards the end of the project, the emphasis was given to sustainability of the Community Development Centres that the project helped to develop. Altogether, through the different revisions, the project was to address 12 Immediate Objectives and 9 of them since 1996 (refer to Table 2).

Document of Revision

Table 2 - List of Immediate Objectives

Initial document	To create a nucleus of national capacity for conflict resolution, mediation and facilitation.
"A" approved on	

September 1995. To raise awareness and respect for human rights and inter-communal partnerships

3. To identify and promote confidence building measures at the community level.

Revision "D" document approved on August 1996

4. To support confidence building activities for peace through capacity building measures in support of community-based organisations.

5. To support peace building and reconciliation through sports, culture and educational events.

6. To assist in the prevention of the creation of a population of street children.

7. To support grassroots initiatives in credit loan activity among local-based organisations.

8. To support grassroots initiatives in organising small scale enterprises amongst local communitybased organisations.

9. To support grassroots initiatives in food growing among local community-based organisations.

10. To support peace and confidence building measures in east Khatlon through replication of project activities in west Khatlon.

11. Peace information and communication.

Inter communal peace building efforts promoted by the UN can be enhanced effectively through the use of experienced conflict resolution facilitators, such as UNVs, are demonstrated.

At least 10 community-based model youth clubs in east Khatlon and, security permitting, a similar number in the Gramis Region are formed.

Sports and cultural activities will have taken place.

Income generating activities will have commenced.

Support to educational peace initiatives in schools and orphanages will have taken place.

Local development NGOs will have been supported and empowered.

Revision "R" on 12. To achieve sustainability of a minimum of 60% Not mentioned in the document.

The revisions and changes in the objectives are indications of the Country Office taking a flexible approach and, also, the desire to focus on local peace and confidence building initiatives and sustainability. Since the approval of revision "D", the focus shifted away from the initial three to the eight Immediate Objectives (which have overlaps). The number of Immediate Objectives is related, however, to weaknesses in project design rather than adoption of a flexible approach. Most of the Immediate Objectives are more like Outputs and could have been clustered for better understanding, planning and management. Though it happened towards the end of the project, the concern about sustainability is important. The revisions (see Table 2 for expected results) show the trend in the project of thinking towards "how to make impact on peace and confidence building through local initiatives" in Khatlon region. This is certainly an appreciated move away from the original expectation of merely demonstrating that "inter-communal peace building efforts promoted by the UN can be enhanced effectively through the use of UNV facilitators". Thus, the changes made in the project through revisions have clearly been of benefit in making better use of the resources. The expected results, from revision "D" of the project, clearly indicate that the project is to concentrate on the development of 20 community-based organisations, empowerment of local NGOs and undertaking of sports, cultural, educational and income generating activities to enhance peace and confidence building.

The identification of the stakeholders became clearer with revision "D" which provides a list of different institutions that are to be engaged for successful implementation of the project. However, experiences from implementation shows, as recorded in the Terminal TPR Meeting and the TOR for the evaluation, that the major stakeholders are the Ministry of Labour, UN Agencies, local authorities (Hukumats), association of the CDCs and 20 CDCs. International NGOs, such as ACTED, have also joined in through partnerships.

October 1999

of the CDCs by the end of 1999.

The project was, thus developed at a time when the civil war had just ended, the UN had initiated its support for peace building and development and UNDP had established its office. It was the time when the government was weak, without the required capacity and needed international support to initiate peace, confidence and harmony in the Tajik society. At the same time, non-government and civil society organisations were underdeveloped, with concepts of self-management, self-promotion and development hardly understood due to the long period of centralised soviet rule. During the project period, the peace agreement between the government and the opposition was signed, paving the way towards more stability and, also, changing the context of peace and development in the country. The project has gone through changes, indicating that the Government, project and UNDP were finding workable solutions or options to make better use of resources and greater impact. However, it would appear to the evaluator that some the changes made through revisions could have easily been accommodated or anticipated during the formulation stage by adopting an institutional and sustainable approach and by learning from experiences of UNDP in similar situations, including from neighbouring countries. This is especially relevant after the peace agreement of July 1997.

3. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS:

3.1 Project Design and

Concept: [a] Design:

The project design has evolved, as evident by changes made through revisions, during the process of implementation. These changes show a flexible and accommodative approach to adjusting the design to experiences and emerging needs. This fits very well with need of the project in special development situations where there can be risks and uncertainties and, also, to adopt a learning approach to improving the project. The design of the project has improved with time though some of the major objectives identified during subsequent revisions could have been identified in the beginning if lessons about UNDP experiences in special development situations had been considered.

The problems identified by the project were of "highest priority" in Tajikistan and continue to be very relevant² at present as well. However, the design of the objectives, outputs and activities is very weak and is a loose compilation of different initiatives that could have been better packaged or clustered in order to have more focus, effective management, efficiency and impact. The documents, including all revisions, do not have success or results indicators to measure performance or impact; and the list of expectations at the end of the project are not indicative of the outcomes or impact that the project will make. In the opinion of the Evaluator, the overall quality of project design is very poor. While maintaining flexibility to accommodate changes in project design as per experiences during implementation, the design could have been of higher quality if the objectives and outputs were developed appropriately, together with minimal consideration of flexible indicators to measure performance and impact.

[b] Concept:

The project concept has emerged more clearly and successfully through practice (or during implementation). With revision "D", the project advocated a community-based and partnership approach towards peace, confidence building, reconciliation, integration and rehabilitation. Reconciliation at the local level was expected through formation of community-based organisations, covering all groups in the society and their undertaking jointly different social, cultural and economic development initiatives. Partnership between the local authorities and community-based organisations was expected to enhance the development of community-based organisations and increase institutional capacity for peace, human security and development. Similar, the development of community-based organisations was to demonstrate how non-governmental or civil society organisations can be promoted in Tajikistan and create an enabling environment for partnership between international donor organisations and the communities for peace and

² Relevance of the problems is also evident from the CCF that was approved in January 1999 and from the field visits of the Evaluator.

development. This was very relevant at a time when non-governmental and civil society organisations were highly underdeveloped or practically not existing in the country.

The concept has a viable approach of forming community-based organisations and to reach out to the most affected populace through different peace, confidence building and development interventions. It was directed at tapping into the culture of volunteerism that exists in Tajik society and the genuine desire of the populace for peace and development. The concept, as developed, is relevant to the UNDP thematic areas of governance (civil society development and conflict resolution), poverty alleviation and gender. The idea of promoting community-based organisations was very relevant from the perspective of their being the best option to enhancing local level peace and development. At the same time, it would support the development of the non-governmental or civil society sector that the country could tap in its efforts to both heal from the civil conflict as well as in its transition towards building a democratic and market-oriented society.

The project implemented the concept, as provided for by relevant objectives in the document, by establishing a youth club in each district in the region. These youth clubs were later registered as NGOs in the form of CDCs. In Kulyab, some of the CDCs were directly registered as NGOs (and did not start as youth clubs). Thus, implementation of the concept by the project concentrated around establishing a CDC to serve as a peace making and development NGO for the whole district. This was done by the project to accommodate with the difficult post-conflict situation and the weak understanding of non-governmental and civil society organisations in Tajikistan. At the time of this evaluation, the efforts at establishing the 20 CDCs, which are still functioning, has been successful. However, in doing so, the whole idea of using UNDP assistance to promote community-based organisations that could have had a better outreach and impact might have been compromised as a result of weak project design.

The project had to adopt a top-down and supply-driven approach, starting from the establishment of the youth clubs and CDCs and the utilisation of its assistance. Given the situation of post-conflict in Tajikistan, there might not have been another choice. However, as is usually the case with top-down and supply-driven approaches, the project staff managed, decided and delivered while the CDCs received and implemented. Thus, the existence of the CDCs and their initiatives are, largely, supply-driven and dependent on flow of external support. The decision by UNDP to focus on sustenance of the CDCs during the latter half of 1999, though late, has certainly been of help. At the time of the evaluation, the CDCs continue to function but largely related to its receiving continued assistance from UN Agencies (UNHCR and WFP).

The project concept has been further developed, through implementation in each of the districts of Khatlon region, by the project as follows:

- The project, together with the local authorities, identified the best location in each district for forming an organisation as a Youth Club. Based on a mass meeting in the selected settlement (village or town) in which the public were informed of the project, one Youth Club consisting of officials and members was formed for each.
- As the entry point for peace and confidence building, the project supported the Youth Clubs, with funding, to undertake sport, cultural and educational activities. These activities brought different groups of people, with large coverage at the district and regional levels, to work together and reinitiate the social capital lost during the conflict.
- The project provided training to the officials of the Youth Clubs on management and project development skills. Youth Clubs prepared different proposals for funding that linked peace and confidence building with reconciliation, integration, rehabilitation and reconstruction together with social and economic development. Project provided funding to selected proposals.
- The Youth Clubs were transformed into Community Development Centres (CDCs) and registered as NGOs to incorporate legal requirements. The process of preparing proposals by the CDCs and approval by the project for funding continued. However, emphasis was placed on supporting CDCs with projects that could generate income for their sustenance and, at the same time, contribute to peace and development of the people. Projects were to benefit as many people as possible through employment generation. Credit schemes were also initiated.

- The CDCs were utilised by UN Agencies (UNHCR, WFP and UNOPS) as well as international NGOs, such as ACTED, to channel their resources to the people as well.

The above gives a brief outline of how the concept of the project was operationalised in reality. Focus was on developing the Youth Clubs (that turned into Community Development Centres) and to use these centres to reach out to the general populace. With full acknowledgement for the need to adjust project initiatives to local conditions, the impact of the project would be, however, of greater significance if the existing UNDP experiences in community mobilisation for social capital formation and development in both conflict and non-conflict situations were considered. There would have been policy and institutional impact if the local initiatives were linked to central level outcomes.

[c] Relevance:

The concept of promoting non-governmental and civil society organisations is highly relevant even today for Tajikistan. Given the low resource base and economic instability, the formation of community-based organisations can have important impact in mobilisation of communities and their resources for peace, harmony and development. At the same time, non-governmental and community-based organisations can provide the local authorities and the government the necessary institutional platform and link for small resources to have increased and rapid impact. Thus, the current achievements of the project in tapping into committed community level "social activists" (CDC leaders) could be further utilised to promote peace and development, reaching out to each village and town, through formation of community-based organisations. If this is done, the current investments could contribute towards making far-reaching impact on strengthening local governance system for poverty alleviation.

3.2 Project Implementation:

[a] Implementation and Management Arrangements:

The Ministry of Labour and Employment (MOLE) is executing the project under NEX with substantive programme and administrative support from the UNDP Country Office. Given the weak capacity, the role of the Ministry in actual execution was minimal; and UNDP practically managed all recruitment, subcontracts, training, procurement, resource management and other issues. Changes in the focal points for the project in the Ministry has also been a problem.

There is no evidence that the Ministry has increased its capacity or capability for execution. The Ministry was, however, appreciative of UNDP assistance. The Ministry played a crucial role in supporting the implementation of the project, for example in bringing up suggestions for sustenance of the project and in mobilising the support of government agencies. The Ministry has suggested that more effective support could have been provided to the project if it had been involved actively during the formulation stage. With the completion of the project and the closer of the project office, there is no institutional capacity or evidence of it remaining in the Ministry for continued support to project initiatives. Use of the NEX modality in which decisions are owned and institutionalised by the Ministry will be very important in the future.

Implementation was supported by the project management recruited with UNDP funding. The project was first initiated in the Kurgan-Tyube Zone (1996) and later expanded into the Kulyab Zone (1997). Besides a project office at Dushanbe, the project had two field offices in Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab. The project has started with two UNVs; but since 1996, it had a more organised structure with an international Project Manager heading the office in Dushanbe, another international staff heading the field office in KurganTyube³ and a UNV heading the field office in Kulyab. Each of the three offices had two program assistant (or field assistant) level staff and a total of 6 support staff. The total staff of the project, thus, recruited with UNDP funding numbered 14. The two UNVs recruited initially were upgraded with ALD contracts, issued

³ Both the Project Manager and the Chief of the field office in Kurgan-Tyube were initially recruited as UNVs and with revision "D". both were upgraded to international ALD contracts issued by UNDP Headquarter on behalf of the Country Office.

by UNDP, to function as Project Manager and chief of the Kurgan-Tyube field office. The change of

contract from UNV to ALD resulted in significant increase of operation costs to the project.

Staffing arrangement to support implementation was adequate, given the backup support provided by the UNDP programme staff as well as from the Government. The project area is well linked by motorable roads, as well, for field monitoring and support. Fully acknowledging the work that goes into management related paper work in the project office, the project had one international staff per 6.7 CDCs⁴ (or at least one per 10 CDCs if only field personnel are considered). In terms of program assistants, there was one per 3.3 CDCs (or at least one per 5 CDCs if only field personnel are considered). Considerable efforts were made in both Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Zones in the formation of the CDCs, their training and implementation of different sports, cultural, educational and income generating projects. With due credit to all the achievements, the following constraints are identified:

- Management did not have a good understanding of UNDP policies and procedures.⁵
- Quality of professional support, especially for capacity building of the CDCs, is low.
- Monitoring and support from the project office to the field was not timely.
- There was internal communication problems and weak cohesiveness between the international staff at the cost of project performance.

It is very important that projects are supported with high quality professionals with a firm understanding of UNDP policies and procedures and competencies in teamwork.

As the Youth Clubs, or later the CDCs, were registered, the project used them as implementing agents through sub-contracts for their own capacity building as well as to undertake project activities. This way, the CDCs, the field offices and the project office formed the core implementing arrangements. Based on project proposals, which were actually prepared largely with support from project staff, CDCs received funding for implementation of projects directed at peace, harmony and income generation. So, the CDCs were being used, upon registration, as implementing agents.

ibi Working Planning and Monitoring:

The system of work planning at the project office, field office and in the CDCs does not exist. The project document is without success or results indicators; and during implementation, there were no indicators to guide the performance or impact of the project. Such a situation may have resulted from consideration of the security situation in the project area and the process-oriented implementation approach. However, implementation through process-oriented approaches become more significant when backed with a system of results-oriented work planning and budgeting based on minimal set of indicators on performance and impact.

The CDCs received very strong backup support from the field offices. As usual in a top-down approach, the support was direct involvement of the project field staff in implementation. CDCs report that the field office team visiting them 3 to 4 times per week. The strong support by the field offices in both KurganTyube and Kulyab was crucial in ensuring that CDCs did function and it is well appreciated and recognised by the local authorities as well as the CDCs. The support which the central office provided to the field offices seem to be very weak, especially with regard to project initiatives in Kulyab. CDCs in Kulyab report of not receiving timely support from the central office, which often hampered project performance.

[c] Resource Management:

As mentioned, the project had a total budget of US\$ 1,943,137 and was supported with 14 staff. Expenditure analysis shows that the operation cost (personnel plus miscellaneous) to be 48% of the total

⁴ Comparison is made with the number of CDCs as the primary initiative of the project, in practice, was in their formation and development.

⁵ Please refer to the 1998 Audit Report of the project to see the findings of the Auditors and the comments made by the project management. There was weak understanding of UNDP norms and, hence, management was weak as well.

budget, indicating operation to program cost to be in the ratio of almost 1:1 (refer to Figure 1). If the

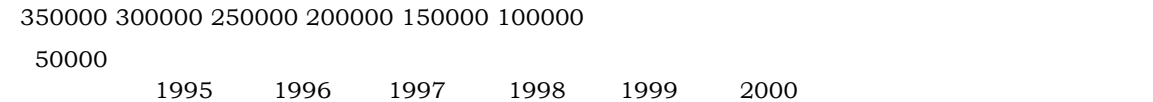
cost for vehicles, furniture and office facilities are considered, the ratio of operation to program cost will be higher. It is usual for costs to deliver programs in situations of conflict or post-conflict to be higher. From the perspective of setting up the CDCs, the cost of human resources is more than US\$ 50,000 per CDC (without considering the program cost). Given the travel time from Dushanbe to Kurgan-Tyube of about one hour, good accessibility to all districts, low local costs and the environment created by the peace process, the operational cost is on a higher side.

The CDCs have, however, been able to reach out to approximately more than 6000 beneficiaries with employment opportunities (largely temporary in nature) and have developed partnership arrangements with the local authorities, UN Agencies, donors, INGOs and other organisations. From the local authorities, the CDCs have access to significant size of land for agricultural activities as well as to premises for office and entrepreneurial activities. UN Agencies, primarily UNHCR, WFP and UNOPS, have channelled resources by funding projects prepared by the CDCs. INGOs, such as ACTED, have also implemented their initiatives by funding the CDC projects. There are about 40 or more volunteers working on a daily basis, supporting the CDCs. These initiatives, especially partnerships, of the CDCs will continue to bring benefits to the people they serve.

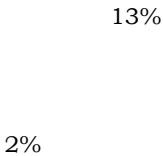
Figure 1 - Pattern of Project Expenditure by Budget Lines

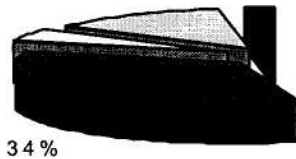


Figure 2 - Trend of Project Expenditure by Time

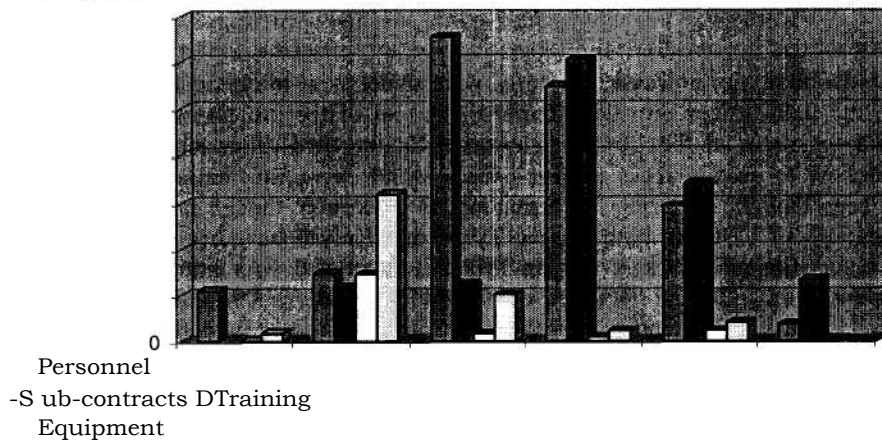


From the trend in project expenditures, the period from 1995 to 1996 was primarily invested in setting up the offices, recruitment of staff, procurement of equipment and setting up the youth clubs. In 1997, initiative for setting up of the youth clubs, with small-scale activities implemented through sub-contracts. Implementation of core activities by the CDCs has primarily taken place during 1998 to 1999.





Personnel
MS ub-contracts QTraining DEquipment MM iscellenous



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Thus, if one reasons from the angle that the project was operating with high risks and in difficult situations of post-conflict, then high operation costs are rational. However, given the peace process which had already started, strong support from the local authorities, good access to the project areas, high level of receptivity by the communities and the voluntary work done by the CDCs (as implementing agents), the operation cost of the project is high and inefficient.

3.3 **Project Results:**

The project results are analysed by Immediate Objectives and Outputs, as per revision "D", in terms of their performance, relevance and success. In doing so, the evaluator has clustered similar objectives and outputs and uses the scale of unsatisfactory - satisfactory - good - very good. Performance is considered, here, in terms of effectiveness and timeliness. Relevance is considered as the degree to which the objectives of the project remain valid and pertinent within the immediate context and external environment of the project. Success is considered in terms of impact, sustainability and contribution to capacity building.

3.3.1 **Immediate Objectives 1 and 7:**

Immediate Objectives: (1) Support confidence building activities for peace through the capacity building measures in support of community-based organisations. (7) Support peace and confidence building measures in east Khatlon through replication of project activities in west Khatlon.

[a] Outputs and Performance:

Outputs 1.1 and 7.1 -Project Offices in (1.1) Kurgan-Tyube and (7.1) Kulyab:

Though expressed in the document as outputs, the establishment of the project offices in Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab were part of setting up the implementation arrangement for the project. The offices were established and are not functioning after the operational closure of the project. Of the three international staff, two have left. The third continues to service as an UNV Specialist with the WFP's Food for Aid Project in Khatlon region; and as part of WFP initiatives, he continues to support the CDCs. Among the national staff who worked for the project, the Field Assistant serving in Kulyab is currently working with the WFP and, similar to the UNV, he continues to be in touch with the CDCs. However, the national staff on whom investments were made through external training opportunities are no longer linked to the peace and confidence building initiatives on-going in Khatlong region. The dedication and commitment of both the UNV and the national staff, currently, serving with WFP is remarkable and has been crucial in building the confidence with the international organisations working in Khatlon region to use CDCs for peace and development.

The project offices do not exist anymore; however, measures were undertaken to continue the "support roles and functions" which the field offices provided. Towards the end of the project, initiatives were undertaken to establish the associations of the CDCs to substitute for the field offices that were being closed. Though the idea of how to sustain these project offices which were functioning as "support organisations" should have been thought of during the beginning, this decision, though late and not the best, was very wise. Associations of CDCs in both Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab have been registered as NGOs; however, only the association of CDCs in Kurgan-Tyube is functional with limited but useful capacity. UNDP has transferred the different facilities of the field office in Kurgan-Tyube to the association; and with its limited capacity, it functions as the "coordination" and "partnership or liaison" centre for the CDCs. The association in Kulyab is not functional and UNDP has not transferred the facilities of the Kulyab field office. Given the progress and initial success demonstrated by the association in Kurgan-Tyube, the Kulyab CDCs have increased determination to make their association a success as well; and even though the project is already closed, the deliberations among the CDCs are on-going. Measures should have been taken during the project period to ensure both associations were functional as support organisations to continue supporting the development of the CDCs before the closure of the field office. With regard to the association in Kulyab, the evaluator recommends two options:

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- Given the on-going deliberations and determination among the CDCs in Kulyab, UNDP should transfer the facilities of the Kulyab field office to the registered association as a first option. This should be done, however, after the association has its premises and are able to conduct their activities, such as collection of member contributions and organisation of monthly coordination meetings, largely on their own (as it is done in Kurgan-Tyube).
- If the CDCs in Kulyab are not successful in making their association self-functional, UNDP should transfer the facilities to enhance the capacity of the association in Kurgan-Tyube to provide its services at the regional level, as the second option. This will allow all CDCs in the region to obtain support from an association that is functional. In doing so, consideration of social and cultural factors should be done.

The scenario on sustaining the functions of the field offices would have resulted in higher capacity and capability in the associations if their development were linked to the use of the national staff trained by the project. Alternative options of ensuring development of the associations with professional and managerial capacity should have been explored, with adequate overlap with the field offices for gradual transfer of capability and responsibilities. This could have provided the associations access to trained professional and managerial staff. Currently, the association in Kurgan-Tyube, though with initial successes, is functioning largely under the leadership of a highly committed leader who could have yielded higher quality results with professional and managerial support. Thus, at present, the functioning of the association is highly dependent on the individual commitment of the Chairperson; and the institutional foundation for its sustenance as well as effective provision of its services to member CDCs is very weak.

The association in Kurgan-Tyube receives limited membership contributions from the CDCs and relies on a number of income generating projects it undertook with project funding to meet its

minimal operation cost. The project has provided the association with a car to enabling it to reach out to the CDCs. The current level of income is certainly not adequate for the association to reach out with quality services to the CDCs and it basically keep the office operational. Under the leadership of its charismatic Chairperson, who was selected very well, the association continues to function rather successfully, despite its limited capacity and low level of assets. It is liaising with international organisations for mobilisation of assistance to the CDCs and, also, assists them in preparation of project proposals, including English translations. The association has the support of the local authorities as well. It has also tapped into potential interns and volunteers who provide support for the work of the association.

The association has the potential and being the node of the network of CDCs, it can do much more. It can be the centre for further development of the CDCs and, in fact, in promoting the development of nongovernmental and civil society organisations. An example of a functioning association with an active network of CDCs, which currently exists in limited scale, can be a good example of how to promote the non-governmental sector in Tajikistan. However, for this, the association will have to stretch its hands of partnership to the further development of as well as participation of other non-governmental organisations. This can be achieved by strengthening the association as a "resource facility" for peace and development through non-government and community-based organisations.

Outputs 1.2, 1.3, 7.2 and 7.3 - (1.2) Nine current model clubs to become formal NGOs under Tajik law; (7.2) Formation of 10 model youth clubs in Kulyab; (7.3) 10 sustainable, independently managed model youth clubs; and (1.3) 45 independently managed satellite clubs and more self-reliant model youth clubs;

These Outputs are, basically, related to the establishment of the 20 Community Development Centres (CDCs) and 45 satellite youth clubs in the Khatlon region. At the time of the evaluation, the 20 CDCs were functioning though with limited capacity and at different levels; but, that these CDCs continue to function six months after the closure of the project is itself an achievement. There are about 40 persons working with the CDCs on voluntary basis.

The CDCs are an outcome of the joint efforts of the local authorities (Hukumats), communities of selected locations and the project. For information on the processes, please refer to Section 3.1 (concepts). All CDCs are registered as NGOs, work closely with the Hukumats and, currently, function with the limited revenue they generate and the projects funded by UN Agencies (UNHCR and WFP) and INGOs (ACTED).

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The CDCs have members, Executive Committee, General Council and Advisory Committee. The Executive Committee, besides the leadership of the CDC, has representatives from the Hukumats as well. The General Council, largely, consists of the members of the CDC and is the main decision-making body of the organisation. The Advisory Committee have been formed to mobilise the support and assistance of school teachers and other important people in the community. Each of these bodies, in the current context of Tajikistan, provides the CDCs with support from the local authorities as well as community members for its existence and success. It is interesting that Hukumats participate in the decision-making body of the CDCs. This can bring governmental influence in the decisions of the CDCs as well as compromise the neutrality that an ideal NGO should have; and, in many respects, takes the form of a "government supported NGO". In the case of Tajikistan, such a combination of forces in the CDCs have successfully acquired the necessary trust and support of the local authorities and government agencies that are very vital to promote local peace and development. Such an approach has, thus, created the necessary enabling environment for the CDCs to function successfully (at least in the current context of Tajikistan).

immediate village or town. The CDCs do rely on external project funding that usually CDCs members is not clear except that in many instances, there is no differentiation of benefits from CDC projects, such as are loosely built around members who do not receive funding of projects. As a result, the CDC charismatic leadership of committed community institutional foundations.

Membership in the CDC is open to community members based on criteria, who usually come from the area and do not have the system of member contributions and are, largely, free to come with fixed decisions. Thus, the roles and functions of some cases, members have better access to CDC benefits. In made between members and non-members in the acquisition of employment opportunities. Thus, the foundation of the CDCs are a potential incentive structure and largely depends on external factors as are functioning quite successfully so far, more due to the persons and, similar to the association, do

not have strong

The members, it seems as a policy of the project, come from the settlement (village/town) where the CDC is located and, except for some minor exceptions, do not have members from other villages and towns. Of the CDCs visited by the evaluator, members of the CDCs represented in the range of 2 to 21 percent of the households of the settlements. Approximately 35% of the CDCs have members representing 10% or above of the households and, thus, have quite a good membership base in the locality. At the same time, the evaluator notes that the CDCs, except for the sports and cultural activities, did not have any significant outreach beyond the villages or towns where they were located.

Towards the end of the project, UNDP took important initiatives for organisational and financial sustenance of the initially established youth clubs. The youth clubs were legally registered as NGOs and UNDP, together with UNHCR and WFP, supported them to undertake income generating enterprises as the means to derive minimal income for sustaining operations (see section on Immediate Objectives 4,5,6). In Kulyab, many of the NGOs were directly established as CDCs. Small funds were provided by UNDP to the CDCs to initiate small credit schemes as well. CDCs have accessed land from either the local authorities, kolkhoz or sovkhoz and, with the support of WFP, are implementing the landless project, basically supporting the poorest to lease land with the help of small inputs. These initiatives have resulted in very important employment and income generating opportunities to the most needy, with certain percentages of the income returning as revenue to the CDCs. The CDCs have, thus, generated varying levels of income and have been able to meet the "bare" minimum operation costs, such as for stationary supplies. Approximately 25% of the CDCs pay minimal salaries to lower level staff such as assistants, cleaners or guards and the number of staff paid ranges from 2 to 6. These incomes are certainly not adequate to fully sustain the organisations. Financial constraints to meet different costs for their advancement exist; however, due to the selection of highly committed leaders of the CDCs and the status it provides in the society, the current minimal level of income is not deterring the CDCs from successfully functioning.

An important factor that has kept the CDCs functioning is the support and funding provided by partner UN Agencies (UNHCR and WFP), ACTED and other international organisations working for peace and development in the region. These organisations are using the CDCs as institutional partners to channel their assistance. As a result, the CDCs have continued preparing various project proposals, though with difficulty, that are eventually funded or supported by UNHCR, WFP and ACTED. This "platform of partnership" has provided the CDCs with incentives to function; and this is an example of UN co-operation.

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The other factor, of equal importance, is the commitment of the CDCs leaders and the enabling environment they have created with the local authorities and the immediate society.

The initiative for sustenance of the CDCs and project assistance was introduced at a time when peace building and development have to be more strongly linked in Tajikistan. This means transformation from a supply-oriented approach devoted to bringing the parties in conflict towards reconciliation, peace and human security towards using concepts and methods directed at creating the institutional and financial basis for the sustenance of development initiatives. In this regard, the CDCs have continued to function, due primarily, to external assistance from UNHCR and WFP; and it will be important for the CDCs to have institutional and financial instruments to further strengthen their capacity to function with both external and internal resources. Also, by introducing the idea of sustaining the CDCs through income generating enterprises, there is the danger that their attention will be diverted from peace and development as they focus to ensure the viability of the enterprises they now own. Nonetheless, the experience shows that in an environment where donor organisations continue to provide assistance, the CDCs will always have the opportunity to continue functioning by mobilising funds for their project through partnerships. This scenario might change as other NGOs also compete for the same resources.

The evaluator has noted that the project shifted from the development of community-based organisations, as intended in the objectives, to NGOs (CDCs). However, the organisational shape taken by the CDCs has emerged in some form of "member-based, voluntary organisations that own economic enterprises and implement projects funded, primarily, by UN Agencies and ACTED". The development of the CDCs has been supply-driven and the organisational foundation is based on funding from external sources that is temporary in nature⁶. It will, thus, be very important for the CDCs to strengthen their organisational foundations by incorporating the major elements of self-governing, self-managed and self-promoted organisations, which do not exist at present. Some of

these are - (1) framework of organisational rules; (2) participatory and appropriate management structure and system; (3) formation of internal organisational asset; (4) incentive structure for members to contribute and benefit; (5) transparent and consensus decisionmaking; (6) sanctions for free-riders; (7) fixation of the boundaries of functions; (8) documentation and information systems. This is, also, important from the perspective that with increase in the growth of NGOs and CSOs that will eventually take place, CDCs will have to compete in the market place for partners.

The decision by UNDP to focus, though quite late, on the sustenance of the CDCs has yielded successful results. All 20 CDCs are functioning with varying degrees of activities, especially due to continued funding by UNHCR, WFP and ACTED. That the CDCs have continued functioning without UNDP assistance, and in such a short period, is well recognised and is, also, linked to the successful coordination and partnership which was established with UN Agencies and other international organisations. However, there is a lot more of institutional strengthening that the CDCs will have to achieve for long-term sustainability which will take time and practice. The evaluator rates the performance as "good".

[b] Relevance and Success:

The objective is very relevant in the immediate context of both Khatlon region and Tajikistan as whole where the development of non-government and civil society organisations has just been initiated. As conceptualised by the project, non-government and civil society organisations can have higher level of acceptance and impact on peace and development, especially in the context where people look for trustful partners and the Government has limited capacity. The current achievement of the project in establishing the CDCs and their associations is just the first step. As mentioned by several Hukumats and CDCs, the experience, together with the trained human resources, could be utilised to promote a network of community-based organisations and development initiatives covering all villages and towns at the district levels. These organisations with strong links with the local authorities could easily be the engine for local level sustainable human development. The experiences of the project in developing the CDCs at the local

⁶ It is noted that there are NGOs in many countries that have sustained themselves due to their capabilities to tap into external funding sources on a continued basis. At the same time, strong NGOs have internal institutional and financial foundations. There is no reason why the CDCs should not sustain through partnerships as they have been doing without UNDP assistance; however, the potentials of their continuing to do so will be enhanced through organisational strengthening measures.

level and networked into an association at the regional level provide a very potential basis for creating a strong institutional basis not only for peace and harmony but to strengthen democratic local governance and enhance poverty alleviation significantly.

The achievements have been a success, especially since all the CDCs and an association are functioning and are active. The partnership between the CDCs and international organisations is working and there is appreciation for their work by both the local authorities and their immediate society. The evaluator rates the success as "satisfactory", especially given that this has happened in a short period of time.

3.3.2 Immediate Objective 2:

Immediate Objective: (2) Support peace building and reconciliation through sports, culture and educational events.

[a] Outputs and Performance:

Outputs 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 - (2.1) District, regional, inter-regional and national sports activities; (2.2) District regional, inter-regional and national cultural activities; and (3) District, regional, inter-regional education activities, especially in the area of peace education:

The challenge of initiating the process of reconciliation, confidence -building and integration -of, society following the civil war of 1992-93 was immense. The project supported the youth clubs to implement sport events, cultural activities and educational initiatives as the entry points that could bring all groups of society, especially those most affected by the civil conflict to re-initiate their social capital. These events or activities, as listed below, provided the common forum for the broad

participation of the communities to rebuild communal confidence for peace and development:

- For sport events, the youth clubs formed teams from members of the communities of the district, for example in football. The project provided necessary uniforms, boots and other necessary facilities. Local authorities, sport authorities, youth clubs and others came together to organise district and regional level competitions with wide-scale participation of the public.
- For cultural activities, the youth clubs established music groups and organised open concerts for the public, making significant impact on the youth. The project provided each youth club with Yamaha musical instruments on repayment basis. The youth clubs and, later, the CDCs used the music groups for generating income, for example by staging concerts during weddings on private demand. The CDCs have returned the costs for the instruments to the project which, in turn, provided the amount for use as "credit fund".
- For educational peace activities, debates, essays and art competition were organised in schools.

The evaluator received wide appreciation from the local authorities, CDCs and other partners of the project, particularly for the sport and cultural events. The organisers and beneficiaries of the events felt strongly that the investment helped in bringing harmony, diverting attention from conflict to rebuilding happier lives and sustainable livelihoods.

At the time of the evaluation, except for music groups of most CDCs (not all), the other activities were more or less not being done anymore. The music groups usually perform for fees, especially on private functions. The cost is lower for members of the CDCs and is one of the few incentives for the membership.

[b] Relevance and Success:

The objective was highly relevant at the time when the project was first initiated. It was the critical moment for peace, confidence building, harmony and human security. Activities that mobilised communities into undertaking collective action were crucial in rebuilding the lost social capital and societal linkages. In this context, the local authorities and beneficiaries appreciate the sport and cultural activities as being successful. The selection of these activities as entry point to create communal partnership and harmony was very relevant and, according to the beneficiaries, very helpful and timely.

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In the present context, there is already a peace agreement and there is more political and social stability. Thus, the objective of supporting peace and reconciliation through sports, cultural and educational activities is not of the same priority. These events are not organised any longer; and it would have been desirable if the local authorities and the CDCs had continued organising these events as they do have social impact. The local authorities and the CDCs had organised these events with basically all inputs, ranging from football boots, uniforms, balls and other supplies, coming from the project. Once the project closed and supplies were no longer received, the events could not be continued. This is a good example of how the supply-driven approach, even though it has initial successful impact, did not lead to sustenance. The musical groups of most CDCs have, however, survived due to revenues they generate from private functions. This indicates that CDCs have continued with initiatives that bring income but the total income is not sufficient to continue with all of the project activities.

The evaluator's rating, in terms of sustainability, is "

unsatisfactory". 3.3.3 **Immediate Objectives 4, 5 and 6:**

Immediate Objectives: (4) Support to grassroots initiatives in credit loan activity among local based organisations; (5) Support to grassroots initiatives in organising small-scale enterprises amongst the local community-based organisations; and (6) Support to grassroots initiatives in food growing among the local community-based organisations.

[a] Outputs and Performance:

Outputs 4.1, 4.2, 5.1 and 5.2 - (4.1) Improved management and monitoring of credit loan activity:

and (4.2) Credit loan activity in satellite clubs; (5.1) Improved management and monitoring of existing enterprises; and (5.2) New small-scale enterprises to be managed by youth clubs;

The CDCs, mostly in the latter half of 1999, implemented credit and enterprise development initiatives. The project funded these initiatives with the intentions (1) to engage the CDCs to promote peace and confidence building by linking communities with development activities and (2) to establish the basis for the financial sustenance of the CDCs through revenues generated from credit and enterprise schemes. These two intentions are very challenging, especially in situations of conflict or post-conflict, where the desire to support peace and confidence building among communities facing high levels of deprivations has to be balanced with the need to generate income through credit and enterprise schemes for the sustenance of the CDCs. Though final results of impact on the communities and actual sustenance of the CDCs will take several years to determine, the project has, nevertheless, successfully linked the CDCs to using small revenues, primarily, from the enterprise schemes to meet its minimum recurrent costs. This can not, however, substitute for the total costs that will be required for sustenance of the CDCs and, currently, met through implementation of different projects of UNHCR, WFP and ACTED through partnerships.

The project provided the CDCs in the range from US\$ 300 to 500 as principal amount for credit schemes, with about 10% of them receiving higher up to US\$ 800. The amount received by each CDC is very insignificant to make considerable impact on the community, especially in consideration of the price and inflation prevalent in Tajikistan. It did provide the CDCs the opportunity to build capacity, through practice, in managing small credit funds; however, the evaluator did not find the CDCs having an understanding of the fundamentals of "whats and hows" about credit schemes (especially when funds are small). The evaluator understands, as is normally the case in special development situations, the project supported the credit schemes of the CDCs to reach out to as many vulnerable community members as possible with less emphasis on interest rates. This could, most probably, be better served through formation of revolving funds, with short repayment periods as possible, instead of credit schemes. The CDCs have different regulations governing their credit schemes that are highly subsidised and are not considerate of the inflation rate. Consequently, the value of the principal amount, given the high inflation rate in the country, is decreasing and the coverage of the credit schemes is very insignificant. In its current form, the credit schemes are, practically, at loss, can not contribute to the sustenance of the CDC and do not have impact on peace, confidence building and development of value.

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The project provided small grants to a range of different project proposals of the CDCs. The project proposals were largely prepared with the support of the project staff, especially since they had to be in English language; and at present, writing of project proposals in English is one of the severe difficulties faced by CDCs to mobilise resources from international partners. Emphasis was given to project proposals that (1) promoted employment (which is a major problem), (2) provided sources of income to community members and (3) generated revenues for the sustenance of the CDC. Thus, with funding from the project as well as UN Agencies (UNHCR and WFP), the CDCs implemented a range of different enterprises that they, now, have a stake in and manage (see Box 1). At the time of the evaluation, most of the enterprises were functioning, providing small-scale income to the employed community members and, also, small revenues to the CDCs. The development of the enterprises, their management and distribution of benefits were more or less done as follows:

- Identification of the enterprises was, primarily, based on the providing employment to people who had skills but were unemployed as a consequence of the civil war and break down of the soviet social and economic system. The CDCs were, in many ways, re-engaging the skilled community members into new businesses. Employment is recognised by the communities to be their major problem.
- The enterprises were either directly managed by the CDCs or, in many cases, were managed by those who were employed. Records of transactions and other information are maintained. Both the CDCs and the employees manage marketing to the best of their abilities.
- The income from the marketing of products is used to pay the salaries of the employees and a certain percentage of the income is returned to the CDCs.

Most CDCs have utilised the small revenue they receive from the enterprises to meet their minimal recurrent costs; and in many ways, these resources have kept the CDCs successfully functioning. The size of the enterprises and scale of production is small; and the revenue generated, depending on the CDCs, is more or less equal to operational requirements. These resources are not adequate to

sustain the costs required for the CDCs to function effectively. At present, the CDCs function more as owners of the enterprises, and there is a risk that their attention can be more focused on management of the enterprises than on peace and development. The outreach of the enterprise initiative is larger than for the credit scheme but only a minimal, in comparison to the total community households, benefits.

A priority concern for all CDCs visited by the evaluator was to have increased numbers of enterprises to generate adequate revenues to support them increasingly in supporting community members in the process of their development. Towards the end of the project, the CDCs were trained to believe that they need income generating projects for sustenance; and, somehow, the other important elements for institutional and financial sustainability of member-based organisations were missed. The project should have also taken due consideration of promoting private sector oriented self-managed and self-promoted entrepreneurial organisations which were networked and in which the CDCs could have a percentage share.

Outputs 6.1 and 6.2 - (6.1) Written agreements with the local authorities, covering land allocation and use by the protect clubs; and (6.2) Production of food by the model youth clubs as well as by the satellite clubs:

CDCs, most of them in Kulyab, have leased land from either the local authorities or the management of cooperative farms. With the inputs provided, primarily by WFP, the CDCs sub-lease parcels of land to the most vulnerable community members. The CDCs also provide the small farmers access to scarce agricultural inputs such as seeds and other technology. This is supportive of small farmers who, otherwise, do not have sufficient resources to undertake agricultural activities even though they possess the skills. Besides food production, the CDCs, in co-operation with local authorities, have implemented rehabilitation, sanitation and energy related initiatives that provided, primarily, temporary employment and, also, mobilised community members for collective action.

Rehabilitation of residential and public buildings, cleaning of villages, promoting health care (such as malaria prevention) and preparing coal-bricks for heating of schools, health posts and houses of the poor have resulted in mobilising community members and making impact on peace and confidence building. The joint initiative of the local authorities, project and community members in building the barage in

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Sovietsky district during a critical time of flooding brought together all concerned for collective action that has resulted in peace and confidence. These are initiatives of importance to all members of the community were recognised as having good impact.

[b] Relevance and Success:

The credit schemes, promotion of enterprise development and undertaking of initiatives of common interest are of most relevance at present as the people in Tajikistan strengthen peace and move towards development. Experience shows that implementation of initiatives that are of common interest, such as rehabilitation, sanitation, heating and others, can lead to successful mobilisation of communities for collective action. Collective action by members of the community does impact on peace, confidence and, depending on the initiative, on development. Given the current situation in Tajikistan, credit and enterprise development schemes are very important tools for promoting local development. Usually, credit and enterprise schemes are strongly linked, which is not the case in this project; however, if this is done, it can make a significant impact on economic development as well as create a more sustainable base for the CDCs.

In terms of successes, except for the credit scheme, the other initiatives have been successful. Their impact would have been much more if the institutional basis for formation of entrepreneurial organisations had been directed towards self-management and self promotion. Training plays an important role and, in the view of the evaluator, the training courses provided to the CDCs are not of satisfactory quality. The evaluator rates the credit schemes as "unsatisfactory" and the other initiatives as "satisfactory".

4. RECOMMENDATIONS:

The recommendations are, primarily, from the perspective of making the optimal utilisation of investments that have already been made by UNDP and the Government, together with the

assistance of USAID and Sweden, for making greater impact on the peace and development process in Tajikistan.

[a] UNDP:

- UNDP should tap into successful experiences, in and outside the region, on the sustainable promotion of self-managed and self-governed community-oriented organisations, especially on peace and development. Some useful examples are the Decentralisation Programme in Kyrgyzstan and the South Asia Poverty Alleviation Programme. These experiences could be potential sources of ideas on how to strengthen the performance and sustenance of the CDCs.
- The CDCs give highest credit for their existence and sustenance to UNDP despite the operational closure of the project. The communities, local authorities and development partners trace the link of CDCs to UNDP. Based on the principles of performing as an advisory centre even if this means non-availability of financial resources, UNDP should continue playing its role as the coordination and advisory centre as follows:
 - UNDP should continue to mobilise the support of UN Agencies, such as WFP and UNHCR, to channel their assistance through the CDCs. Similarly, mobilisation of support of the international organisations, such as ACTED, and UNDP's rehabilitation project executed by UNOPS should be expanded. This is to ensure continuity of the CDCs and associations that are reliant on flow of external assistance. At the same time, advisory and, if necessary, training support should be provided to strengthen the capacity of the CDCs and the associations to forge effective partnerships with donor organisations and for greater recognition as viable implementing agents on peace and development.
 - UNDP should, through participatory dialogue with the major stakeholders, support the CDCs to develop performance and impact indicators, primarily, for their own self-help initiatives. UNDP should continue to monitor the performance and provide advice that CDCs can tap for increased contribution to the development of civil society organisations and, also, for peace and development.

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- International experience shows that the process of building peace and development through the formation of support organisations, such as NGOs or CBOs, is a long-term process. In a period of four years and with an investment totally around US\$ 2 million, very useful knowledge on the processes and methods of forming NGOs (CDCs and associations) has been acquired, together with experiences in promoting the process of peace and development. Even though the CDCs have continued to function even after the operational closure of UNDP assistance, there is a lot to gain by both the Government and UNDP by building upon the wealth of knowledge that has been obtained and has, yet, to be optimally utilised to achieve maximum results, as follows:
 - The potentials of the associations should be further exploited through further strengthening of capacity not only to focus on member CDCs but to transform into a regional resource centre catering to the needs of promoting non-government and civil society organisations as a whole. Taking the solid example of the processes and methods undertaken to promote CDCs, the approach could be utilised by the regional resource facility, as the institutional platform, for development of civil society organisations.
 - Committed leaders of the associations and CDCs, who have continued to perform at the highest levels as social activists, should be trained in the methods of social mobilisation, organisational development and community-level peace and development. The training should be, preferably, organised through a successful project that has demonstrated results. Such training could develop a cadre of social activists-from-the-associations and CDCs into a useful resource base for organising training as well as support services for further development of civil society organisations for peace and development.
- UNDP should utilise the capacity and commitment of the CDCs, which have become more or less settlement-based organisations, as well as the association, as the resource base for formation of selfgoverning settlement-based organisations in other towns and villages in each district. This will result in a powerful network of settlement-based civil society

organisations that can closely liaise and work with the local authorities for maximum coverage; and this will also form the basis for local self-governance which is so important in Tajikistan. A network of self-governing community-oriented organisations would have far-reaching impact on peace, human security, governance and poverty alleviation. The project has already created the resource base for expansion in the form of trained and committed CDC leaders who need to be utilised for further impact. With this, the impact will be far reaching with less cost.

- Finally, UNDP should support the Government in utilising the experiences, especially the difficulties, faced by the project, CDCs and associations in impacting upon both local and national policies for the development of civil society organisations and development. This benefit from the investments should not be lost as much as possible.

[b] CDCs and Association:

The challenge for the CDCs and the associations is to enhance their capacity as self-governing and self-promoted organisations, as follows:

- Besides increasing their capacities for enduring partnerships with international organisations for assistance, they should develop their internal capacities, including generation of internal assets and organisational processes for undertaking self-managed initiatives.
- The CDCs should also review their credit schemes to accommodate genuine principles of successful micro-credit schemes; and mobilise members for generation of internal resources as well as undertaking of entrepreneurial activities. The CDCs should use credit and enterprise development schemes, owned and managed as part of the private sector by members of the communities as a viable approach to covering costs.
- While the CDCs should gain from the enterprises they currently own or manage due to assistance from the project, it would be more effective if principles of self-management and share-holding ownership are introduced.

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- It will be very important for the CDCs to expand their outreach from the limited coverage they currently have to create the genuine base as development organisations.
- Finally, the CDCs and association should gradually move towards cost-recovery while implementing projects funded by international organisations.

[c] Government:

Three important actions are required from the Government, as follows:

- First, the Government should use the experiences, especially those coming from the difficulties faced in building the CDCs and the associations, as an important knowledge base to improve its policies on the development of civil society organisations. The experiences, especially the processes and methods, should be utilised to develop the national framework for promoting the peace process and development.
- Second, the Government should initiate measures to link the use of its regular resources to promote peace and development through the CDCs and association.
- Third, the Government can utilise the association as the institutional platform or as the resource centre to further strengthen the development of NGOs and CBOs.

5. LESSONS LEARNT:

First, the flexible approach taken by UNDP to accommodate changes in the project document, as required, during the implementation process was able to result in positive outcomes for the project; and, in some respects, this approach was able to overcome the weaknesses in the design though it had some costs.

Second, the implementation of the exit strategy, though it came towards the end of the project, was important and solid. This decision, along with the operational closure of the project, has allowed all to test whether the organisations developed by the project can function without UNDP assistance. Subsequently, it all 20 CDCs and an association continue to function six months after the operational closure of the project, which is a success story.

Third, coordination and partnership among the UN Agencies for peace and development has been an important factor for the impact that has been made. UN Agencies have channelled their resources and support through the CDCs as their implementing partners, bringing about cohesiveness in the use of UN assistance. The continued functioning of the CDCs is largely due to the on-going flow of assistance from UNCHR and WFP, making the current sustenance of the project largely due to mobilisation of resources from available international organisations through partnerships.

Fourth, the project adopted a top-down and supply-driven approach which was necessary in conditions prevailing in Tajikistan at the beginning. While the exit strategy was successful, the supply-driven approach led to formation of CDCs and association, largely, with a weak internal foundation without assets. Projects that promote the formation of NGOs or CBOs should be based on the principle of self-governance, self-management and self-promotion.

Fifth, the efforts of building NGOs and making impact on peace and development requires long-term investments and locally-based initiatives. The current achievements of the project are, at best, the first steps in building the institutional basis for long-term processes for peace and development and results can be far more if the knowledge gained is studied and utilised on a continuous basis. However, the impact may have been greater if local (field) initiatives were linked to policy and institutional development at the upstream level as well. Experience shows that project that link the field initiatives to development of policies and institutions are more sustainable and effective.

Finally, the project limited the availability of assistance to the NGOs it was helping to develop. The project may have increased its outreach if it has also adopted the "advisory cap" for all interested organisations and transfer of knowledge on resource mobilisation.