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PLANNING, MONITORING AND EVALUATION AND INSTITUTIONAL SUSTAINABILITY: LESSONS FROM A SOCIAL FORESTRY PROJECT

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1. INTRODUCTION

Institutional sustainability (IS) is a necessary element of most of rural development projects -i.e. natural resources management projects. All components of rural development projects are in some extent related to institutional sustainability. Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (PM&E) as one of these components may play a worthy role towards institutional sustainability.

This Research Paper aims to illustrate how PM&E activities may promote Institutional Sustainability in governmental institutions and peasant institutions. The IS is defined as the permanent capability of any institution to develop by itself mechanisms to pursue efficiently its objectives, using its resources -i.e. human, physical and financial- at its best possibilities, regarding not only the short but especially long term perspective.

The point is addressed from a case study, looking to the strong and weak points of this particular experience. The key concepts are Institutional Sustainability, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and Social Forestry; all of them approached from a participatory perspective.

The case study refers to a social forestry project, developed in the Peruvian Highlands. It is named "Support to forestry plantations for energy purposes and the development of the rural communities in the Peruvian Andes". Indeed, its main objective is broader than the original one: the development of а participatory extension methodology to achieve a peasant sustainable forestry development. Thus, we will better identify a "Peasant Forestry Development (PFD)" project. It is a it as governmental project co-funded by the Peruvian and the Dutch governments and executed by the Agriculture Ministry and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

The project coverage includes more than 400 communities distributed in several provinces of the Peruvian highlands. The project started in 1982 and today it is being institutionalized within the National Programmes of Watershed Management and Soil Conservation (PRONAMACHCS) of the Agriculture Ministry.

The period chosen for the case study refers to 1989 to 1992, when the project was able to generate a sound Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation System (PMES) with a strong participatory character. This PMES is the core of our critical analysis. The sources of data are mainly internal documentation from the project and the experience of the author as national monitoring and evaluation officer of the PFD project. Various governmental, international cooperation and peasant institutions are linked to the project actions. Amongst them we will focus on the project itself as a governmental institution and three peasant institutions: local government, peasant group institutions and peasant households as these have been the main actors of the case study.

The major research issues considered are: what were the purposes of the PMES; how were PM&E activities conceptualized and implemented; how was the PMES related to other aspects of the project, what were the positive and negative effects in government and peasant institutions and finally what can be learned for rural development and peasant institutions about the relation between institutional sustainability and planning, monitoring and evaluation.

We expect that this research paper may be relevant for those working in rural development at different stages, mainly on project appraisal, formulation and negotiation as well as project management. It is expected that projects and development institutions that keep in mind the lessons highlighted here may improve their performance in terms of institutional sustainability.

In the development management field, the research paper may also shed some light on the importance of improving the information flows between the actors of a project, on doing that through a participatory approach and in general to find some reasons why many projects fail to achieve their objectives -i.e. institutionalization of the project.

The paper consists of six chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter outlines and defines the basic concepts that we are going to deal with. The third chapter describes the main features of project needed to understand the concrete analysis that is offered in the next chapters. The forth chapter is centred on a specific review of the PMES of the project, while the fifth discusses the weak and strong impacts of the PMES in achieving Institutional Sustainability. Finally, a concluding chapter emphases the lessons learned from this experience in relation to the paper's main question: institutional sustainability building up through PMES.

Finally, a general limitation applicable to any case study is the specificity of some aspects of the study to the main subject or area analyzed -i.e. the Peruvian highlands peasantry, the forestry activity and the role of the state in the rural development process of the area.

2. SUMMARIZING BASIC CONCEPTS

This chapter defines the key concepts that we are going to deal with. They have been formulated in an interlinked manner, in the sense that the main aspects of each definition are to some extent functionally dependent on the others.

It is necessary to observe that we have to limit the discussion to introduce each concept. A thorough discussion of each concept would require space out of proportion to the length limitations of this paper.

2.1. Social Forestry Projects¹

Social forestry² is an umbrella term for forestry-oriented projects³ that are people-centred and that are planned and implemented with a process-approach, rather than a blueprint approach.

In relation with the forestry contents of the approach, social forestry embraces the various forestry activities -production, planting, management, transformation and commercialization- and considers trees and forestry resources as multi-purpose resources. In this sense the various linkages between forestry and other natural resources are very significant⁴.

Social forestry projects are implemented through many strategies, depending on many factors in relation with the rural environment

¹ This section is based in Skutsch (1994) and Arnold (1991).

² Different institutions -i.e. FAO (Arnold 1991), The World Bank (Cernea 1991) and Oxfam (1985)- have developed various synonym terms -i.e. community forestry, rural forestry, participatory forestry and so on. The differences are usually of emphasis. For instance on the community as a grassroots approach, the scale of the plantation -i.e. agroforestry-, the nonmonetized-side importance, etc.

³ A Project is defined in the simplest terms as "an intervention in a limited area and over a limited timed period, which attempts to enhance development activities" (Skutsch 1994:33).

⁴ For instance agroforestry, soil conservation and irrigation channels.

-i.e. ownership, land use and economic opportunities. The key feature is that the peasants decide in negotiation with projects staff the specific activities to be executed and to be implemented by themselves with the support of the projects. This concept has evolved from a process that started in the mid 1970s when forestry became gradually an integral part of the Rural Development trends aimed at the rural poor to become self reliant. Hence, the orientation was participatory and directed towards rural needs. However, the role of forestry was basically to supply firewood through plantations. Initially little or no attention was paid to other functions of and benefits from such as industrial purposes, forestry and tree resources, conservation for wildlife and protection of watershed and any other peasant need. This concept gradually changed in the 1980s towards a more comprehensive approach that understands the forest and tree resources as multi-purposes resources integrated with other natural resources, into an integrated land management system, (see for instance Gueye et al. 1994).

The first approach was implemented through promoting fastgrowing exotic species produced by government nurseries and planted by peasants mainly in communal schemes⁵. It was still a top-down methodology in which peasants participated in activities planned by outsiders.

In the 1980s, the developmental practitioners began to be aware of the complexity of farming systems and the need to include the peasant in the whole project cycle. The foresters, in particular, realized the ever presence of the forestry component in farming systems -i.e. native species- and its multiple-purposes. Before, firewood was considered the main -if not the only- use of trees and forestry resources and specific species were the only

⁵ Our case study -in its first phase- is a good example of this type of project. Formulated in the very beginning of the 1980s was named "Support to forestry plantations for energy purposes and the development of the rural communities in the Peruvian Andes".

ones valid for this purpose -i.e. eucalyptus in various varieties⁶. Although firewood production continued to be present in the projects, other benefits of forestry and tree resources such as support for agriculture and pasture, soil conservation, alleviation of climatic risks, and even improvement of the panorama, received more and more attention.

A major characteristic of social forestry then was the shift from a mono-objective and mono-strategy, top-down approach to a multiobjective, diversified and participatory approach. What exactly a participatory approach means is addressed in the next section.

2.2. Participatory perspective in Social Forestry Projects

forestry projects by definition have to include a Social participatory perspective in their activities at various stages. Participation in the first place can be defined at local level as the active involvement of insiders and outsiders⁷ in all decisions related to objectives and activities, as well as the activities themselves. Its primary purpose is to encourage community self-determination and thus foster sustainable development (Davis 1990). Looking at the concept from a provincial, regional or national perspective, we should add a second purpose of participation, the improvement of the institutional capacity of non-peasant institutions (i.e. governmental institutions) to support and promote social forestry in as many communities as possible.

Key questions to be raised are who participates, how they participate and for what they participate⁸.

⁷ The insiders are the peasants that identify with and belong to a rural village or community. The outsiders are those that do not identify themselves or are not identified by the peasants as belonging to the community and that involve with a community only for a period of time.

⁸ This framework is based on the Rural Cornell Committee proposal (Uphoff 1991:505).

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⁶ This statement do not applies of course for rainforest areas where trees and forestry resources were always an obvious resource for the local population.

Those who participate may be grouped in four categories by crossing two criteria: the character of the participation (Bhatangar & Williams 1992:2) and the role in the project process. The various actors are described in table 1⁹.

ROLE IN THE PROCESS	INSIDERS	OUTSIDERS	
CHARACTER			
DIRECT	Peasants executing the project activities	Personnel of the project from downiest to the highest level	
INDIRECT	Non-participants within the selected communities and other peasants of the microregion	Personnel of other govt. rural devel. departmets, Finance Mininstry, Donors and NGOs	

	Table	1.	Actors	in	the	parti	.cipatory	process	in	а	proj	ect
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Amongst the various groups we are going to deal mainly -although not only- with those who have a direct relation with the project (first row in table 1). Even though, it is necessary to remark that these direct actors are never fully represented (Lahiri 1992:557). Internal differences within any group are present in terms of access to power, resources, etc. and hence problems of fully representation.

How each actor participates? It depends on the degree of his/her influence over the project (Bhanagar & Williams 1992:2). The key aspect is the way each actor participates in the decision-making and monitoring & evaluation processes (based on Cohen and Uphoff 1980 in Lele 1991). For instance, a bottom-up development often requires topdown participation (Uphoff 1991:502).

Finally 'for what' do people participate? In relation to the peasants, participation must be oriented to develop individual and collective capabilities to manage -in its broad sense- resources and

⁹ The categorization of Participation in four types is still roughly but enough for our purpose.

to build or strengthen local institutions. In relation with government and donor institutions, the aims may be related to several objectives.

In general, the different actors involved have different objectives to be achieved through their participation¹⁰ and some trade-offs between actors' objectives happens when the projects are finally implemented. For instance, the government and the donor may be interested in increasing the number of poor farmers who are capable of developing forest resources. The government's interest, at the same time, may be mainly to strengthen the institutional capacity of its regional offices. From the peasants side various objectives may also be present. It is possible that only the middle peasants are attracted to the proposal or that the communal organization prefers that only one group of the community -i.e. promoters- be trained for the whole community as part of its organizational system. And so the poor farmers would not necessarily improve their forestry capacities. The presence of these various objectives, at the same time, requires a negotiation process to conciliate the various objectives and to define the final objectives. Even though, these final objectives will not fully satisfy each actor, at least they will partially satisfy some of the each actor's interests.

It is important to remember that when we are talking about participation in social forestry, it does not mean to open a new book either at governmental or at peasant level. There have been always patterns of participation and how participatory approaches develop is a combination of previous and new experiences.

Closing this section, we would like to remark that, due also to the relative importance of forestry activity for the peasant in many areas -i.e. the Andean highlands- we have to be very modest about the possibility that a Social Forestry Project would produce significant changes in the community in terms of empowerment, natural resources management systems, etc.

2.3. Institutional Sustainability at Governmental Institutions and Peasant Institutions

Institutional sustainability is defined as the permanent capability

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¹⁰ The Sri Lanka case for Social forestry Projects is well developed by Skutsch (1994).

of any institution to develop by itself mechanisms to pursue efficiently its objectives, using its resources -i.e. human, physical and financial- at its best possibilities, regarding not only the short- but specially long- term perspective and structural settings where it is situated (based on Israel 1987).

Two issues that arise from the definition require further precision: the meaning of Institution and its relation to the agency concept (Guiddens in Long et al 1994:66) and the mechanisms to pursue its objectives.

2.3.1. The Governmental and Peasant institutions

We are going to deal with two kind of institutions: governmental and peasant institutions, excluding NGOs due to scope of the paper, but not without recognizing the importance they deserve as rural institutions¹¹.

Both types of institutions can be defined as complexes of norms and rules product of a historical process that persist over a certain period of time for which they serve collectively to valued purposes. The changes of the rules and norms through the time is a result of changes in the society as a whole. We will concentrate on the application of these norms and rules in the practice. Hence, we will talk about the behaviour of the participants in a substantive approach (Uphoff 1986:9) or, from a different approach, about the action of the agents that integrate the institutions.

Within each institution we find actors who develop their capacities and knowledge through changing a situation. The agencies do not act alone, they need a supportive network of actors that, enrolled in the same objectives, organize articulated capabilities (Long et al. 1994:66/9). The notion of agency together with the notion of agency alliances explains the concrete actions of the institutions as we will see in the following chapters.

A difference between governmental institutions and peasant institutions is that the first account to bureaucratic superiors and the second to local members.

Regarding governmental institutions, the paper will focus basically on the project. The connection with other governmental institutions -

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 $^{^{11}}$ For a general presentation about the various rural institutions existing see Uphoff (1986).

i.e. Forestry Department, Regional Agricultural Offices, Ministry of Finance, etc.- will be recalled only in second place¹².

The project can not be seen as a monolithic structure. Two levels with specific behaviour patterns may be distinguished: the national and the regional -decentralized- offices. Formally, the first functions as a support and feedback unit to the seconds, even though the relationship is not always positive because of internal competition that strains for equilibrium.

The peasant institutions that we are going to deal with reach up to the district/community level¹³ (a relatively self-contained socioeconomic residential unit). They account to local residents, operate in collective terms and proceed largely by consensus and persuasion. We include three peasant institutions in our analysis: local government -responsible for collective actions- that comprises various kind of institutions like the district major, the peasant community and the irrigation board¹⁴, group institutions (selfidentified sets of persons having some common interests) and households (socio-economic units with theirs own decision-making capacity that do not confront the problems of collective action), (Uphoff 1986). For more details about the specific institutions at the Peruvian highlands see Chapter 3.

2.3.2. The main mechanisms towards Institutional Sustainability in Governmental and Peasant institutions

There are a lot of mechanisms towards Institutional Sustainability¹⁵. We will discuss only those more closely related

 $^{12}\ {\rm For}\ {\rm more}\ {\rm details}\ {\rm about}\ {\rm the}\ {\rm project}\ {\rm structure}\ {\rm see}\ {\rm Chapter}\ {\rm Three}.$

¹³ In many areas community and district cover the same area. Sometimes communal authorities and political authorities overlap each other with the consequent conflicts.

¹⁴ Depending on the historical political process local government may be more or less accountable to local residents. In the case of the Peruvian peasantry as a rule this accountability applies.

¹⁵For a discussion see Howell (1994), Maddocknand (1994) and Wiggins (1994). Wiggins presents a detailed bibliography from the fields of the organization theory and institutional economics. Quarles van Ufford (1988) focuses in the different interests from different actors. And Israel (1987) develops The World Bank perspective. to the role of a PMES in IS, within the institution and applicable to GIs (Government Institutions) and PIs (Peasant Institutions) -i.e. suprahousehold peasant institutions. A graphical summary of this section is developed at Table 2.

The commitment and accountability of the participants defined as the support to objectives and methods of achieving them act as major mechanisms (Israel 1987 133/5). Commitment and accountability are not enough. In any institution, various sorts of objectives are found. They can be classified in three classes: the official or institutional ones, the informal ones -those of interest for the authorities- and the personal objectives -for each member of the institution (Israel 1987:135/9).

A necessary step towards IS is to build mechanisms through which these three kinds of objectives get as close as possible. The "organizational socialization" is a comprehensive mechanism in this sense. Amitai defines it as "the processes by which beliefs, norms and perspectives of the participants are brought into line with those of the organization" (Israel 1987:149). It is implemented through specific formal mechanisms -i.e. an accurate organizational structure, a participatory training and a personnel policy- as well as informal ones -i.e. general patterns of reward or rejection of specific actions and professionalism in the sense of granting confidence in skills and experience of the participants. These mechanisms may be implemented in different ways in each institution but a common effect is mutual reinforcement of commitment and accountability. They operate as part of a global flexible management and learning process framework. Hence, the goals of IS change through time and space according to the external environment of the institution (Israel 1987).

This situation is not a particularity of government and peasant institutions. Flexibility, continuous learning and adaptation, decentralization and empowerment are elements present in a new paradigm valid for mankind in any field (Chambers 1994c:1449/50)¹⁶. We must be aware however that the institutions that we are analysing differ from the typical private sector. Thus, even though part of a general new paradigm, the addressed mechanisms cannot just be reproduced from those used in the private sector. Different

¹⁶ Therefore, an actor oriented approach is needed hence for understanding the IS evolution.

circumstances -i.e. the presence of politics, the negligible or reduced competence for the activity¹⁷ and the non always financial profitable objectives of its activities- imply different solutions.

2.4. Planning, monitoring and evaluation Systems

It is possible to distinguish two basic systems of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation relevant for our paper: the project system -as part of a governmental institution- and the peasant activities. Even though they are interrelated systems in synergetic terms, they differ in objectives, methodology and institutional settings.

2.4.1. Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation System at Governmental Institutions

Objectives, methodologies and organizational structures of PMES have evolved from a learning process that may be traced to the post Second World War period. During the 1950s and 1960s the main emphasis was in first place on technical and financial analysis planning in the private sector. Later on in the 1970s, the emphasis was shifted to economic analysis from the view point of the national economy. In the 1970s and early 1980s as a consequence of the economic recession and more professionalization in the sector, the technical cooperation sector of donors and international agencies became more interested in results and impacts. Then, Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) emerges as an important activity in projects¹⁸. But still these activities were not well integrated into daily project management. The emphasis was in 'what' rather than 'how' and evaluation was more focused in impacts rather than goals and immediate effects of projects. The major achievement was the change of the focus from a blueprint to a more process approach and from planning to implementation (Uphoff 1986:228). In the 1980s and until nowadays there has been a more positive and comprehensive shift. A more close relationship was established between planning and monitoring & evaluation through the

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¹⁷ When there is competition between institutions -i.e. non governmental organizations- it happens that the competition is concentrated only in specific areas of the country.

¹⁸ See for instance Casley and Kumar (1987) for The World Bank perspective and Clayton et al. (1983) for the FAO perspective.

institutionalization of the Logical Framework within the main agencies¹⁹. The emphasis in monitoring was then oriented to project management purposes and evaluation was oriented to the factors responsible for project performance and not so much to achievements and measurements of ultimate goals (Cusworth 1994 & Binnedijk 1990). Of course the new emphasis on implementation and M&E has not been a panacea and problems in implementation have been detected: exceeding demands to the systems, lack of 'before' data, reluctance from managers are among the problems still present (Coleman 1992).

Together with the new emphasis and partially as a consequence of the critics like the Coleman's (1992) a participatory perspective more linked to the field, to the grassroots, appears on stage -i.e. Rural Rapid Appraisal and later Participatory Rural Appraisal, Chambers (1994a, b & c)²⁰. This perspective is still being further elaborated. Its implementation is not without problems. For instance this perspective "does not fit easily into the planning and financing framework of donors or governments" (Cusworth 1994:62) and the institutional implementation in the government sides is quite complex²¹.

Now we can define the concepts of project's planning, monitoring and evaluation within the project framework.

Planning is the process that defines how specific inputs will be transformed by activities into outputs which together will lead to the achievements of immediate objectives related to a higher development objective (FAO 1990). The planning process has two dimensions: the local dimension where local groups participate in planning and the regional/national dimension - in charge of the government institutions staff- where the project long and mid-term plan is defined taken on account the first dimension. The relation between the two dimensions actually is iterative as both have to fit each other. In practical terms what happens is a negotiation process with some trade-offs between local groups and government staff objectives and activities (see 2.2. above).

¹⁹ For a descriptive discussion about the Logical Framework see MacArthur (1994).

²⁰ These articles present an extensive bibliography in the issue in planning, monitoring and evaluation.

²¹ For an updated discussion see Scoones et al. (1994), specially Part III and Simpson (1995). Monitoring is the continuous or periodic review and surveillance of the project activities at every level to ensure that inputs deliveries, work schedules, expected outputs and the use of project inputs are proceeding according to plan.

Evaluation is a periodic assessment of the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness and impact of the project in the context of its stated objectives.

There are several types of evaluations according to the moment when implemented: ongoing, mid-term, terminal and ex-post. We will focus in the ongoing evaluation that is a continuous -mainly internalprocess during the implementation phase. It examines whether the methodology and strategy defined in the Plan of Operations are still valid or whether adjustments are required to ensure that the overall project activities will be achieved.

The separation between monitoring and ongoing evaluation is rather theoretical; it is only a question of emphasis (implementation issues versus the likely outcomes of the interventions) (Casley & Kumar 1987:100).

The data, analysis and conclusions arrived to come from a Management Information System (MIS) -i.e. computarized type. The MIS is defined as:

"the organization of procedures and infrastructure to deliver appropriate information to decision makers, according to agreed targets of timeliness, relevance, quality, quantity and levels of aggregation and detail" (Lucking 1994:117).

The MIS is complemented by case studies and external evaluations. The content of the MIS should **ideally** include physical inputs and *relevant* financial records; field activities and the outputs effects and impacts; and sufficient information about social, economic or environmental reasons to indicate any unexpected reaction by the participant groups (UN 1985 and Casley & Kumar 1987).

The three components of the project management system -Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation- conform a iterative process. An important characteristic is that the project is a learning arena and the plan is reviewed annually through monitoring and evaluation that results in a improved plan for the next year and so on during the period of implementation -normally three to five years.

2.4.2. The peasants' Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Activities

Parallel and previous to the project intervention in the community the peasants have already their own ways of planning, monitoring and evaluating their activities. Specific characteristics make them distinguishable and more complex than project PM&E systems, although these PM&E peasant activities together encompass MISs that share basic ideas with project systems.

The peasant PM&E activities spread through two interrelated levels responsibilities: collective (local of government and group institutions) and households. Depending on the character of the activity, the responsibility, the commitment and the accountability will be full or partially assumed by one or the other level. The collective and household sides balance their PM&E actions as they complement each other. More precisely, the collective level is in function of the household level. In this sense as part of a general process of individualization at the peasant society the households have became more in charge of PM&E activities. Even though this process has its limits. On one hand specific limits to this individualization process exist because the fragility of many rural areas compels collective decisions and actions -i.e. use of collective resources like water, pastures and forest. On the other hand many of the collective rules have been interiorised by the households themselves 2^{22} .

Including collective and household levels, these peasant activities display two important characteristics. PM&E are holistic²³ and flexible in terms of adaptation to permanent changes under circumstances of scarcity of resources.

The holistic characteristic refers to the integration of the whole range of the peasant activities (agrarian, handcraft, labour in mines and urban areas, etc.) in what can be named the "peasant survival matrix". The peasants analyze this matrix through PM&E in this sense of a unique matrix and not through considering each activity as independent from the others. A remarkable difference with GI PMES is therefore that these activities are not oriented to only one sector,

²² The specific settings of these statements have to be relativised for different areas. Our statement is mainly, although not only, oriented to the Peruvian highlands.

²³ Encompassing the combination of the natural, finance and human resources available and knowledge and skills in a social (i.e. economic, political, legal and social itself) and ecological changing environment.

as it is the case for funded precise project implemented by outsiders.

The flexibility refers especially to the changes on the particular weights deserved to the various activities in which the peasant is involved in the context of the social and ecological environments. For instance, the decision to produce one crop will be related to availability of seed, weather conditions, minimum labour force required, among various other elements (see below). These elements are permanently changing and the peasant has to manage the whole range of variables and establish a constant balance. This decisionmaking process is made through the PM&E activities.

In terms of content the peasant system is oriented to reinforce one year short-term objectives according to the more short-term peasant interest again in relation to the scarcity of resources²⁴. Thus, variables and indicators relevant to the short-term will be monitored and evaluated. This short-term orientation shows an important difference with the PMES of the outsiders institutions.

In order to clarify the peasant PM&E activities we will briefly present a particular example. We will describe how a household plans, monitors and evaluates the production of a crop for one year in the Peruvian highlands²⁵. This household usufructs its own plots and it is member of a peasant community. Hence, he has duties and rights in relation to common resources -i.e. maintenance of roads, canals, communal production, forestry nursery, etc.

The process of planning is based in monitoring and evaluating various issues from different sources. The peasant first collect information about productivity of different seeds, techniques, weather conditions for the season, etc. The collection is done mainly through two ways: on one hand talks and observations when looking and working in other local plots and at the communal assemblies and on the other hand from its own experiments in small areas of its plots. Then the household evaluates the resources available (i.e. labour, land, seeds, other agricultural inputs and capital). The collective level -either at

²⁴ The short-term scope is based on the peasant conditions of live nowadays and not necessarily a characteristic of peasant PM&E activities.

²⁵ The case is based on a previous research done by the author (Furman 1991).

For a discussion focuses on forestry resources see section 4.2.4.

local government or group institutions- is taken on account as providers of resources (i.e. improvements in the productive area, access to credit and cheaper inputs) as well as because it will require labour from the household during specific periods of the year. Through articulating and balancing the whole picture the peasant evaluates the best options and defines its choice. A key point is the use of multiple sources of information.

At collective and household levels the peasant plans are product of negotiations. At collective level the local assemblies are important arenas for these negotiations. A key role is played at the assemblies by the leaders and peasant experimenters. At household level intranegotiations happen, although the process is less known²⁶.

The presence of the project is defined as a third party or level involved in PM&E activities, moreover when it will provide resources, not only physical but especially 'new' knowledge and skills. Hence the peasant system is modified by the participation of the project in its own PMES. A general aim of this intervention is that local collective capabilities will be improved²⁷.

An important issue raised here is that by recognizing the existence of this peasant own system we state the necessity of discussing its strength rather than promote new systems and also taking on account their systems as a point of departure and arriving for strengthening peasant organizations (i.e. collective and household level).

2.4.3. A synergetic approach

Summarizing this sub-section we may say that we conceptualize Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation as a continuous process that proceeds at project institution and at peasant level in different way (i.e. different content), even though with general features in methodology and some merging at local level.

It is the feedback between both systems that will help both parties, project institution and peasants, to improve their capabilities in problem-solving and more accurate definition of priority objectives and outputs for concrete situations (Uphoff 1986:195).

²⁶ A gender perspective clarifies this point.

²⁷ Although some projects actually weakness the local capability by making the organization more dependable from the project.

TABLE 2 PURSUING INSTITUTIONAL SUSTAINABILITY AT GOVERNMENTAL AND PEASANT INSTITUTIONS

		•
1		-
	Account. to Burocr.	
Organizational	&	INSTITUTIONAL
====>		====>
Socialization	&	SUSTAINABILITY
	Account. to Local	
	Members	
le Management and Le	arning Process	
	Organizational ————————————————————————————————————	Account. to Burocr. Superiors Organizational Socialization Socialization Members Management and Learning Process (i.e. Political and Economical) Settings

* Feedback and internal competition

3. THE "PEASANT FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT" PROJECT AND LOCAL PEASANT INSTITUTIONS, MAIN FEATURES

This chapter provides the basic elements to situate the PMES of the case study project within the government and peasant environments where it was set and in relation with the other activities of the project²⁸.

It is important to remark that the temporal frame selected is the period 1989-92 that correspond to the second half of the second phase of the project. The first phase began in 1982 and ended in 1987. The third and last phase has began in 1993 and will finish in 1998.

3.1. The "Peasant Forestry Development" Project 3.1.1. Project Institutional Setting²⁹

The project is a national project oriented specifically to the rural communities of the Andean highlands. Within the highlands the project covered a huge area with different ecological and social environments (see section 3.2.). As a whole more than 400 peasant groups have been or are supported by more than 100 extension workers.

The internal organization comprised one national office in Lima and nine regional offices³⁰. The national office included the National Director and Chief Technical Advisor and a staff of a few forestry professionals and social scientists (anthropologists and sociologists). Their main role was to advice, train, monitor and evaluate the regional offices activities.

The regional teams were composed of a regional coordinator, subregional responsibles ('field specialists') which have advised an average of 5 extension workers and each extension workers assisted 3 to 5 peasant group or communities. The regional coordinator and sub-regional responsible have been forestry professionals and

²⁹ The major points of this chapter have been extracted from the FAO Report of the two first phases of the project (FAO 1991).

²⁸ We will only describe relevant elements necessary for our issue as it was stated in the first chapter. This means that we are not going to analyze the project as a whole.

³⁰ Since 1993 the internal organization has changed as a result of the institutionalization process of the project within the Agriculture Ministry. This new situation is not taken on account here.

occasionally social scientists or other professions³¹. The extension worker group has been composed by young men -and few women-('20s and '30s years old) coming from agricultural vocational secondary schools, again occasionally forestry professionals.

The staff consisted of mainly national personnel contracted by the project plus few expatriate staff and few Agricultural Ministry personnel was transferred to the project (mainly extension workers and administrative support).

The project was part of the Forestry Department within the Agricultural Ministry at the national office and the decentralized counterparts at the regional offices. The funds came from two sources: the National Treasury and Dutch Government through FAO, each one with its own administrative rules and calendars.

In reality the situation was rather difficult because of the national social, political and economic context. During the stated period the country was suffering two serious defeats: hyperinflation as a result of a serious economic crisis and an internal war with the terrorist group 'Shinning Path'.

The economic crisis³² resulted in a significant reduction of the government budget to less than the minimum requirements -i.e. inputs to operate and very low salaries until 1993 when the governmental contribution became very significant. For operational costs the project depended almost completely on the donor budget as the national budget became very small due to inflation. In addition the salaries of the national staff were supplied or heavily complemented by the donor funds.

The internal war had had also critical effects for the project areas. In some way the various areas were affected by the war; some were fully militarized, others had the relatively open presence of Shinning Path. The consequence was a retirement of most of the state institutions from the field, becoming the project and some NGOs the only presence in addition to education and health sectors. The internal war forced the project to retire from some zones and to

³¹ Ideally all should have been forestry professionals, but the relevant experience of many was worth enough to maintain them in their jobs.

 $^{^{32}}$ This situation is more applicable up to 1991. In 1992 the Structural Adjustment Programme that has began to be implemented at the end of 1990 became to have positive effects in macroeconomic terms -i.e. decrease of the inflation.

reduce its presence in other areas -i.e. the direct advice on field from the regional professional personnel as well as from the national office. The main consequence for the project of these facts was the development of a very autonomous style of working. In many aspects the Project was working as a Non-governmental Organization (NGO) that was just reporting its actions and outputs to the government.

3.1.2. Objectives

The project has elaborated since 1984 a working concept called "Communal/Peasant Forestry Development" that summarizes the project purpose. The general objective has been to integrate forestry in the scope of land-use activities practised by the rural communities on a self-sustained basis that was translated in two specific objectives: a) the integration of forestry activities in the peasant economy and b) management -i.e. planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation- of the forestry activities by the communities themselves (Berenschot 1990:4).

The official objectives defined for the period selected (1989-92) were a more precise clarification of the above objectives. The specific or immediate objectives for the stated period were:

a) the (peasants) self-provision of wood and sub-products from forest and trees;

b) the provision of firewood for those communities where firewood is scarce and is the only source of fire-energy available;

c) the generation of employment and resources through forestry (small scale industrial) production and the identification of commercialization activities of forestry products; and

d) the increase of the agricultural and cattle productivity through the promotion of association of trees and bushes with crops and pastures (FAO 1991)³³.

3.1.3. Strategy³⁴

³³ The source is in Spanish and the translation is ours.

³⁴ This is a summary of the main points of interest for our research. The reader interested in more details should refer to the numerous publications and reports of the project. See for instance the summary documents Galvez (1990), Berenschot (1990), Oltheten (1990), FAO (1991) and Support to... (1992).

The strategy of the project has been focused on establishing a dialogue between the extension worker and the rural communities. The main actor from the project has been the extension worker. The other staff members have as their main duty to assist him/her in its activity with the community. The strategy has been implemented trough two comprehensive activities: the Participatory Forestry Extension (i.e. promotion and training sub-activities) and peasant and project Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (i.e. information register and planning, monitoring and evaluation meetings).

The first step has been the pre-selection of the community. A community was pre-selected by the project according to various criteria: social (minimum number of families and to be a relative poor community); ecological (conditions to develop the forestry activities); and administrative (concentrate in ecological representative zone, be part of a micro-watershed and next to other participant communities) (Support to... 1992).

Then the project presents to the community, first through its authorities and then to the general assembly, its technical proposal (i.e. production, plantation, management, transformation and commercialization of forest resources) and extension methodology (participatory approach, practical training and length of the presence of the project at the community). If the community is interested, it starts its "communal forestry plan". Every year, a work plan is elaborated by the community with the advice of the The decision about which specific forestry extension worker. activities are desirable and feasible for the community, the realization of these activities and the management -implementation, self monitoring and evaluation- of the communal forestry plan are responsibility of the community with the advice of the extension worker.

Generally, the community, through its assembly, elects a forestry committee or select an already existing committee (i.e. irrigation, agriculture or women's clubs) to manage -implement, monitor and evaluate-

the forestry plan. This committee is subject to the authority of the board of governors and the general assembly of the community. The project (by the person of the extension worker) accompanies the community in this process, gives technical advice in the planning, monitoring, evaluation and implementation of the plan, and is responsible for the training of the community members in order to implement the planned activities. Training is given to all participants during the realization of the activities. Even though, because technical limitations related to the nature of the forestry activity and the peasant diversified pattern of simultaneous activities, significant part of the participants usually are not full trained. Hence, special emphasis is given to those designated by the assembly as 'forestry promoters' (generally the members of the committee in charge of the activity), in order to provide a nucleus of persons in each community who dominate the forestry activity well and will be able to train the other members of the community once the project will have retired after an ideal five years of intervention -that may be prolonged up to seven years. This is of particular importance in view of the pursued sustainability of forestry activities in the community.

The process of intervention is not static. It runs through two broad phases: a first of three years focuses on participatory training, planning, monitoring and evaluation and a second of two years focuses on monitoring and evaluation the community. Through these phases the community is expected to have developed the practical forestry knowledge and skills to develop the activity in a sustainable way at collective and family level.

The process flows in a continuum that begin every year when a work plan is elaborated by the community and the project, thus allowing the gradual evolvement of the communal forestry plan in accordance with the experiences gained and perspectives developed **in practice** by the farmers. Besides, formal planning methods have been omitted. Discussion between participating community members about the results achieved in former years and the things to be done in the next year, form the main basis for next year's work. Agreements reached are approved by the general assembly and formalized in the communities' minutesbook, and form the only written document. The forestry committee is further responsible for managing the realization and monitoring the plan.

During the implementation period the committee and the extension worker hold periodically monitoring and evaluation meetings, usually monthly, where problem-solving capacities are developed and adjustments to the current plan are made.

Parallel to this process, at the community the project has its own strategy for internal activities to support the extension worker in reaching its goals. This strategy focus mainly in monitoring and evaluation the communities plans complemented by training seminars to the extension workers and case-studies for conceptual issues identified through the overall monitoring and evaluation.

The main project activities in this area encompass recording data, monitoring and evaluation meetings and "support and advice field visits". The first refers to the permanent record of the field activities and outputs achieved per community in the SICCA (Sistema de Información Computarizado de Comunidades Atendidas - Computarized Information System of Participant Communities). The second refers to the monthly monitoring and evaluation meetings of the sub-regional responsibles/regional coordinator with their extension workers to analyze the information and define the project specific actions to be taken during the next month and the annual regional and national meetings to evaluate the last year plan and consolidate the new plan. Last but not least, the third refers to the field visits to the communities to check the recorded information, evaluate the extension performance and give the necessarily advice to him.

Two general comments about the whole strategy are important to close this section.

First, the project perspective assumes that qualitative and quantitative, as well as social and forestry technical aspects are not opposed or independent categories, rather they merge on field. Hence quantitative indicators express qualitative outputs and success in forestry outputs means also success in social terms -although some social-specific indicators are designed. The point is that concrete and measurable indicators are the core of the way to monitor and evaluate the success or failure of the project achievements. Second, extension as well as planning, monitoring and evaluation are two broad activities within which heavy feedback is present and both

two broad activities within which heavy feedback is present and both are equally important at peasant and at project level and for sure in the relationship between both levels.

3.2. THE LOCAL PEASANT INSTITUTIONS³⁵

The Peruvian Andean peasantry organizes its livelihood through institutional strategies that combines collective and household institutions. The collective institutions encompass two kinds of

³⁵ This section is based on Golte et al. (1986), Kervyn (1988) and Mayer (1979) in addition to our own experience.

institutions: local government institutions and group institutions that are residential or functional groups organized under the umbrella of the local governments.

The collective institutions have their roots in the long-term history of the Andean area that goes many centuries ago -even before Inca times. Important reasons for the relevance of these institutions in the Andean area are the ecological constrains of the environment natural resources, weather, etc.- for any household to develop only by itself. Collective activities, strong cooperation between families and regulatory rules are needed for infrastructure as well as for most of productive activities, especially at peak points on the agricultural calendar.

Nowadays it is possible to find various local government institutions at the Peruvian Andean area that share the central historical organizational principles: the Peasant Community ("Comunidad Campesina), the Irrigation Board ("Junta de Regantes"), the Peasant Patrol ("Ronda Campesina"), the District Municipality ("Municipalidad Distrital") and the Sub-district Unit ("Caserío or Anexo"). Amongst all of them, the most spread institution is the Peasant Community. Although, a review at regional and microregional levels displays significant areas where other than the Peasant Community is the basic local government institution and cases where overlapping between these institutions happens³⁶. For instance, at some areas of the North Andean area -i.e. Cajamarca- we find as the principal institution the Peasant Patrol, in the South-Eastern Slopes the Irrigation Board, in some valleys -i.e. Mantaro Valley at the Central Andean area- the District Municipality and in different microregions through all the highlands the Sub-districts Unit. The preeminence of any of the named institutions is the product of various factors, including among them the colonial organization of the peasantry in communities in the seventeen century, diverse local cultural backgrounds, the urbanization process from 1960s and the special importance of a resource as water for irrigation for some areas. Roughly in the Central and Southern Andes most communities are Quechua speaking with communal land -even though mainly in individual use- and strong Peasant Communities; in the Northern Andes individual

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³⁶ In cases of overlapping a delicate balance is built in each village and no general rule can be claim.

peasants with less strong communal links among them predominate.³⁷. Regardless the differences that exist in terms of objectives, origins and structure, all these institutions share common organizational principles and practical functions based on a common cultural background and common needs about management of natural resources and political institutionability in relation with the national political and economic structure. For example, even though the District Municipality is part of the national political system, the way the persons are appointed as candidates, the charges in the lower levels and so on, make this institution to operate in the rural Andean area in fact under the same patterns than any other more "traditional" institution like the Peasant Community. Thus, we will focus in three aspects that applying to all the institutions stated and that may give us the basic elements for understanding the Andean peasant institutions.

First, the core of the decision-making process is held by the Assembly and decisions are executed by the Board of authorities. Assemblies are held regularly with the participation of all the members of the institution and decisions are accorded through voting. The membership is based on residential criteria and fulfilment of the duties related to -i.e. attendance to the assembly, participation in collective works and payment of quotas and fines. The Board of authorities that executes the decisions reached at the assembly is very important and quite particular to the Andean area. The board is elected democratically by voting for all the members of the institution. Two organizational principles rules its actions: hierarchy and rotation of charges. Indeed the board is composed of numerous charges that rank from punctual duties (like check the assistance at the collective labours) until the highest ranks of President, Secretary and Treasurer. The charges constitute together a process of socialization about the structure of the institution, the role of the institution in natural resources management as well as about cultural knowledge and values of the society. The person

³⁷ This whole picture has to be considered as simple generalization. Some characteristics for communities of an area can be present in the other areas in specific sub-areas due to historical process out of the scope of this paper. For a general overview see the Peruvian map in the annex 8.3.

begin at the lowest ranks when he is young³⁸ and to be elected for a higher charge requires to have accomplished the previous lower charges. In this sense the charge organization may be represented as a stair in which every member of the institution will travel over. Second, these local governments have the role of coordination and regulation the use of natural resources such as pastures, forestry resources (i.e. forestry nursery) and access to irrigation water; and the creation and maintenance of productive and social infrastructure such as irrigation canals, local roads, schools, etc. These functions are accomplished through two approaches. First, by issuing and enforcing rules about the use of natural resources in order to avoid the "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968). Second by organizing collective labour ("faenas or mingas") that are compulsory for the members.

Third, the local government represents its members in relation to the major society. This role includes the political and legal defense of the territory -i.e. the natural resources- as well as the negotiation with the state and NGOs to obtain financial, material and political support -i.e. funds and advice for social and productive infrastructure and legal actions- to improve the life standards of the local population.

The Peasant community appears as the more solid institution among the various institutions stated. The reason for it is that, in addition to the common characteristics sharing by all of them, the Peasant Community is the only one which owns the territory that is given in usufruct to its members -i.e. agricultural land, although this land in most of the cases has been in fact privatized.

Under the umbrella of the local governments the peasant are organized also in many groups institutions. The criteria for organizing these groups are various: residential areas (i.e. quarters or "barrios"), gender (i.e. mother's club or "club de madres"), affinity (i.e. football team), age (i.e. youth club or "club de jóvenes") and purpose (i.e. forestry group, handcrafts' group and so on). Every peasant may be member simultaneously of more than one of these groups. The groups are structured in a similar way to the local government institutions: basically an assembly with a committee of few members as executive authority, responsible of organizing the

 $^{^{38}}$ In some communities this means as young as fourteen years old. In many others when the person begin a member of the institution -i.e. when he marries.

collective activities and the distribution of the benefits from the activities developed. These kind of institutions are generally recognized by the local government through the assembly approval. Usually they are directly articulated to the local government through assuming some responsibilities transferred from the local government, like construction and maintenance of a building, or usufructing a communal resource, like agriculture in communal land.

The collective institutions -local government and group institutionsare designed to support the household units. Each household owns or usufructs its own plots and generally have access to communal pastures and -when still existing- to forestry communal resources. But households are not fully independent units. They are closely interlinked within a territorial area. The linkages are expressed through kin relation and cultural identity. These cultural linkages have been built on -among various reasons- a material base: the mutually necessity of share labour because of the ecological conditions of the area that grant short periods for a specific activity, for instance for each crop in agriculture. It is very required to invest a lot of human labour in short-term periods during peak moments of agricultural calendar -i.e. sowing and harvesting times. In this sense a basic principle that interrelates households is the Reciprocity that acts as the principal cultural element of the Andean peasant culture and can be illustrated through the statement "Today for you, tomorrow for me".

An additional aspect of peasant livelihood that is important to be highlighted is the festivals' equity mechanisms. At any peasant village in the Peruvian Andes it is possible to identify several festivals, some at household level (i.e. first hair cutting of a baby "corte de pelo" and marking of cattle "Santiago") and some at collective level (saint of the village "fiesta patronal", carnival "carnaval", etc). These festivals are actually related to the agricultural calendar. They are setting in light periods of working as leisure time and for thanking the nature for the harvest or asking to have a good season. They require an important investment in terms of food and drinks. The way of financing them acts as an equalizing mechanism as the person on charge rotate every year and is supported by its kin network. This support is develop in the reciprocity frame. Anyone who helps knows that he will be helped in the next future at the same rate. The important point here for us is that these festivals by having a collective participation and a rotative

collective finance strengthen the cultural unity of the community. Finally it is necessary to express that the picture presented here is somehow an abstraction of elements of the Andean peasant culture and organization, but the reality is more diverse. Many of the principles can be manipulated in particular situations to benefit certain groups at any village and the process of "modernization" is also changing some of these traditional values. Even though, as a general rule we can maintain the relevance of the ideas developed in this section for the present times.

4. AN ANALYTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING, MONITORING AND EVALUATION SYSTEM

4.1. The PMES within the Project, arriving to the SICCA³⁹

4.1.1. From the beginning to the SICCA

Since the very beginning when the project began to work directly with communities -a pilot program in 24 communities in three departments in 1984- the necessity of a PMES was raised. Peasant and Project planning, monitoring and evaluation activities were promoted in parallel paths with some intersections.

In terms of a peasant PMES a proposal was developed in 1985 and experimented during three years. It was named the "Proyecto Comunal de Reforestación - PCR" (or Communal Reforestation Project). The core of the proposal was that the community with the support of the project would elaborate a global plan identifying their forestry needs and the ways to satisfy them during several years; and every year an annual plan would cover a part of this big plan. Very briefly, the proposal considered five steps: first a motivational step to make the population aware about the importance of the forestry resources, second a diagnostic focused in the present forestry resources and needs of the community, third the discussion with the communal assembly about the results of the diagnostic and the possible trees to be produced and planted -i.e. species and quantities-, fourth a specific analysis of the areas to be planted the first year and preparation of the draft plan for the first year, and fifth the approval of the plan by the communal assembly and organization of the community for the execution, monitoring and evaluation of the plan. From then, every year only M&E of the plan and formulation and approval of the next year plan would be repeated. Every step was accompanied by forms to be filled by the peasants, (Van Dam & Hettema 1988).

This proposal was heavily revised in 1989. It had been found that some changes were needed in terms of procedure to make the proposal more practical and flexible. A national meeting defined the main changes. Among them it is worthy for us to highlight the followings.

³⁹ The information referred in this section comes mainly from Support to... (1989), Support to... (1989?b), Berenschot (1991), Oltheten (1990), and our personal knowledge.

The first step -a motivational one- was eliminated⁴⁰. The long-term planning in a new field as forestry did not correspond with the peasant "experimental step by step" perspective and short-term planning style; beginning with small trials and when something works, it would be increased the next year and so on. Hence instead of it, annual plans would be developed, they would be the core of the project and would be named "Planes Forestales Comunales - PFCs" (Forestry Communal Plans). These PFCs would not cover only production and plantation but any forestry activity to be developed -i.e. smallscale industry, commercialization, etc. The forms were cancelled, leaving up to each community -with the support of the extension worker- the specific way to formalize the plan. Finally, in order to eliminate the actual contradiction between the top-down outputs planning style and this grassroots proposal the aggregation of the PFCs would define the project outputs and not likewise (Support to Forestry... 1989a).

The planning process of the project during the PCR period has been the traditional top-down approach. When the PFC approach was introduced, the process took a more bottom-up character, although it is important to remark that the grassroots planning is not a pure peasant plan: the local plan is a negotiation between peasant interests and project support in addition to a minimum technical i.e. ecological aspects- feasibility for the proposed plan.

In relation to the other two components, M&E, during the PCR period the approach was more conceptual (or qualitative)⁴¹. This is understandable due to the fact that the project strategy -as well as its technical proposal- was still in a design stage.

Nevertheless, some actions were taken in this sense to implement a M&E System⁴² but they failed mainly because not enough serious time and effort was allocated by the project staff.

 $^{^{40}}$ It was not necessary because it has been realized that the peasants were already aware about the importance of the forestry resources.

⁴¹ We state qualitative as a surrogate term because from our point of view the association between qualitative with social and conceptual and quantitative with natural sciences is a wrong idea. We will come back to this point.

⁴² In 1984 the International Expert in Communal Development travelled to Nepal to get first-hand information about it and later GREDES, a local NGO, designed a M&E System that was not implemented.
In 1987 the project has had its own forestry proposal, the PCR, and the next step should have been to improve the quality of its components. For this purpose a new organizational structure was implemented through specialists in various issues⁴³ at the national office and at regional offices. The M&E area continued to focus in conceptual aspects of the PCR. Its main duty was to monitor in depth two to four communities at each regional office.

But this conceptual perspective was parallel with a more clear concern about the necessity to have systematic information of the whole of the communities. This concern was product also of the identification of incoherence on diverse sources of information about production, plantations and training activities and more demands from FAO and the Donor to have more precise information about outputs.

In this context the requirement of a systematic PMES was clear enough and it was reinforced through the new perspective of the project: the area expanded with new regional offices and more communities; the technical proposal became more complex by encompassing not only production and plantations but also agroforestry, management, transformation and commercialization; and special attention in focusing not only on men, but also on women and children in the community⁴⁴.

At the middle of the second phase (1988) an additional positive factor was presented for beginning to implement a PMES. As part of a project evaluation, the organizational structure of the project Simultaneously with the changes in the community changed. intervention strategy -represented by the change from the PCR to the PFC approach- the internal organization of the project, according to specific thematic working areas, disappeared. Instead of it, subregional advisor position in charge of five extension workers was created and only in Lima specific working areas continued to exist⁴⁵. In this structure every regional professional has then to be concerned with the whole range of activities -i.e. technical and

⁴³ The issues were Agroforestry, Women, Small Scale industry, Communal Organization, M&E and the PCR itself.

⁴⁴ National and Regional Responsibles for women were attached and a school education package was designed and implemented.

⁴⁵ The Lima areas were Nurseries, Plantations, Transformation and Commercialization as part of the Forestry Area; and Training and PM&E as part of the Social Area.

social aspects- in the communities of the area in charge, hence monitor and evaluate the whole range of activities was a major duty. A computarized MIS was a must. A MIS named SICCA should have been as soon as possible the main tool of the Project M&E.

The three components of the systems were defined: the software (to be designed), the hardware (computers to be bought) and the orgware (the current organizational structure).

Now we can centre in the SICCA. As the backbone of the PMES of the project, the SICCA deserves a detailed description of how it was conceived as well as of its structure and operation.

4.1.2. The design of the SICCA

A first version of the SICCA was designed in 1988/9 and implemented in the early 1989 by a consultant. It failed and a second version with more involvement from the project team was designed and successfully implemented.

The failures of the first version may be explained by the capacity of the consultant to develop the system and by the very weak identification and understanding from the project staff -at national and regional offices- about the consultant objectives.

The term "capacity of the consultant" considers several aspects that can be summarized in the fact that he was not enough aware of the specific characteristics of the intervention strategy of the project and the staff information needs⁴⁶.

The attitude from the staff can be summarized in two ideas: the design and implementation was the consultant job and the system was a tool to report donor and government institutions rather than a tool for internal PM&E.

Learning from this first SICCA experience, its second version was developed in a participatory process by the project staff. The design process was longer than for the first version and intensive timeconsuming although more grassroots. It gave the opportunity to the staff to realize the possibilities of the system for themselves. The whole process took around seven months with an average half time of the national office time allocated to it. A computer programmer technician was hired as technical support, but the Lima staff was in

⁴⁶ Being Social forestry in the highlands Andes a new field in forestry and in development trends, was very difficult to find people with that knowledge.

charge of the design with all the regional offices and Lima staff with the opportunity to test and revise the input reports.

In terms of content, while the first version focused in final outputs, the second version reproduced the sequence of the intervention strategy step by step, making easy to the project actors to be recognized in it (see 4.1.3.).

A complementary element that made more complex the process in the first as well as the second SICCA version was the limited knowledge of the staff about hardware and software. First this determined the partial wrong selection of the equipment when buying lap top computers for some regional offices. The computers were very inaccurate for registering information and worse enough for printing, making the job very hard for the regional offices and hence discouraging. Second a "cultural shock" in the sense of understanding computer capacities and defining needs of information suited to the computer practical possibilities. And third the lack of support within the country for any technical problem (i.e. DOS and DeBASE Programme)⁴⁷.

The first limitation was solved through a trial and error process that delayed the implementation in several offices.

The second and third limitations were harder to be solved. At the first moment one member of each regional team was trained in DOS and Debase plus the operation of the SICCA. The multiplication effect expected did not happen. Three situations explained it. One, the coordinator assumed that this person would be the computer operator; it would be "inefficient" to invest time of each member in a "mechanical" activity. Two, the trained person was reluctant to share "his/her" new knowledge. And three, resistance of professionals to allocate their time in something very different and complicate.

In order to remove these major "cultural" limitations it was necessary to invest a lot of effort from the national office -and even within it- for around two years. As part of the implementation process, intense direct training showing and reinforcing the use of the system, motivation and national directives had to be done. The point was to show them that they could use the computers (i.e. that it was not so difficult and "it was possible to commit errors without destroying the computer"), and that it was not additional work,

 $^{^{47}}$ Now the situation is very different but in the late 1980s Peru has not yet entered in the computer boom.

likewise its use would easy their duties due to a better analysis of what was happening in the field, hence there was a clear advantage that each team member use the system by himself (see 4.1.4.).

4.1.3. The SICCA objectives and content

The SICCA as a MIS was aimed to generate information about the project activities and outputs in the communities, (besides the financial records).

It was designed to provide the staff with the information that was needed to assure quality control and proper management. Its main objective was to function as the main tool for internal M&E and in second place as a source for reporting to government, donor, etc. The SICCA contents can be easily visualized through the way the input screens were organized. The register unit was the community or peasant group. It included three blocks:

- a. Diagnostic: the basic geographical, ecologic, demographic and organizational information
- b. Communal Forestry Development: the project intervention actions, number of trained people, qualitative elements of the planning peasant process and relation of the community with the project (date of start, name of extension worker in charge, etc.)
- c. Forestry Communal Plan: nursery production, plantations management, transformation and commercialization⁴⁸.

In term of outputs the SICCA produced tables that aggregate the information at various levels from the registering unit, through subregional, regional and up to the national level. In temporal frame the tables presented the information per year in annually or complete series -all years- tables. The tables did not cross information in terms of relate issues, for instance production and plantation or these with training, etc. The information was only arranged according to time and area⁴⁹.

The specific limits in scope have to be understood in terms of a learning process and historical context of the governmental institutional setting (see chapter 3). The project team was not

⁴⁸ For more details see Support to... (1989c).

⁴⁹ For a full list of tables see Annex 8.3.

involved before in using a MIS. They were just beginning to appreciate its benefits. It would have been too complex to include all the project actions at different levels -i.e. internal, in relation with NGOs and other GIs and the financial records. In addition, the weakness of the State institutionality and economic crisis gave little room to invest efforts in the MIS about register specific information to strengthen GI as a whole.

The absence of financial record in the system deserves special explanation as it is considered a must in any PMES (Casley and Kumar 1987). In addition to what was stated above, a conceptual weakness has to be mentioned. In view of the fact that the project was being implemented under conditions which were not conductive for its institutionalization⁵⁰, the issue of cost-benefit analysis was not raised. In 1988, for the first time, a cost-benefit analysis was done (Salinas 1988). A discussion within the project team about which costs should and which should not be considered was not continued until 1993 when the design of the new version of the system⁵¹ The only good financial records were the ones kept by administrative offices -FAO funds and national funds in charge of its respective

administrative officers. Of course, they were not related to any analytical perspective. The record was only in book-keeping manner.

4.1.4. The implementation of the SICCA

The process of implementation was in fact the corollary of the design process due to the participatory style of the design stage and of the previous experience with the first version SICCA.

Initially it was expected that the SICCA should also contain information about the past period before the system was implemented – from 1984 to 1988. After two years it became clear however that this objective could be achieved only partially⁵². It had to be

⁵⁰ A weak government in economic crisis and leaving the rural areas because of the presence of the Shining Path group (see chapter 3).

⁵¹ The description of this proposal is out of the scope of the timeframe we have assigned ourselves.

⁵² Although the list of communities was there and some continued to be part of the work area of the project, no clear records existed in the community or at the regional offices.

recognized that the SICCA would be only a tool since 1988 onwards. In addition the recording for 1989 presented some doubts on its validity due to the initial technical problems and it was necessary to consider that the MIS became fully valid from 1990. The year 1989 may be named the "experimenting" year in the sense of being the year when the staff did more errors as part of its learning process. The implementation comprised two aspects: the recording and the use of the produced tables. In the process development of attitudes, analytical skills and common criteria were key elements at any level within the project. For this purpose practical training (in actual situations), strict use of the SICCA as the only information source

for measurable outputs and actions and explicit national directives on M&E procedures were necessary.

The strategy combined a top-down organisation of the whole system (i.e. common procedures and criteria) with a participatory use of the system.

The information to be recorded had to be registred with a common criteria and responding to the veracity of what happened in the field. This was a pre-condition to make the system valuable. Various actions were taken to assure this achievement. A SICCA Register Handbook was produced with detailed criteria about each variable to be filled⁵³. The handbook was distributed from the extension worker level and its use was compulsory. A strict check of the recorded information was done from the national office and from regional offices, analysing the reasons of the errors (i.e. misunderstanding of national criteria or no consideration of it) and making the office to correct them. Significant amount of time was allocated on telephone calls and field visits to regional offices, as well as numerous letters to discuss and clarify criteria. Finally a complementary directive was acted, false information on purpose was a valid reason for expelling the one on duty (and it was applied). The major difficulty to apply a common criteria at all the offices was derived many times from the fact that officers tried to apply their own criteria. They stated that their criteria "were more accurate" to the reality. For instance various contradictory codes from same activities (i.e. production techniques and training activities) were registering. Even if the intention could have been

⁵³ The handbook was product of the experience during the implementation phase and was improving during several editions.

good, a national MIS has to be homogenous.

The use of produced tables was considered as a complementary stage with the good recording of information. It was assumed that to put effort in good recording it was important to show the utility of its results. Again the national office (i.e. the "godfathers", see 4.2.2) began as soon as possible to use the reports to analyse the progress of the field work. It was made compulsory that any project report had to use the SICCA tables as the unique measurable information source. But this was not an easy job, intensive practice was required. A key moment was the National Annual Evaluation and Planning Meeting at the end of 1990. The national evaluation was full centred around conclusions aroused from the SICCA tables and intensive practice was done in the meeting on analysing tables, including producing tables with computers at disposal of the participants.

At the end of 1991 it was detected that the tables had been used in many regional offices very superficially, measuring final and intermediate outputs rather than for analytical purposes (i.e. intertables analysis). A handbook about ways for a better analysis of the SICCA tables was produced (Furman 1991) while simultaneously promoting through the several mechanisms already on motion better exploitation of the produced information.

The mechanisms in use included the use of the system by the national office personnel in reports and field visits as well as practical training at the regional offices. This combination of practical training with additional material, the handbook, reinforcing the exercises was found very effective.

4.2. The Regular Use of the Project PMES (1989/92)

In this section we will describe how the different moments and tools for planning, monitoring and evaluation have been articulated, looking separated to the project and peasant levels. A summary of this section is presented in Table 3.

The main tool of the PMES for the analyzed period has been the SICCA and hence, to understand its information flows is a good mode to explain how the system has worked. We have already given a general view of what the SICCA was in section 4.1. and Annexes 8.2 and 8.3.

4.2.1. The Planning process

The Planning process may be addressed from various positions in territory -from local to national- and from different time-periods: the global Plan of Operations; the annual project work plan⁵⁴; the specific annual communal plan.

In this section we are going to deal with the annual project work plan -at regional and national level- that is framed within the Project Plan of Operations, specially in terms of objectives and outputs.

The planning methodology has combined project orientation (i.e. global objectives, outputs and activities) with peasant interests (i.e. specific activities, outputs and objectives to be met from the project menu). The PFC was the core of the regional and national plans. This meant changes in the schedule of the plan⁵⁵ and a difficult harmonization not fully solved.

Three steps comprised the national work plan: the PFCs, the regional plan (i.e. the aggregation of the regional PFC plus the project team actions to support those PFCs including peasant and internal project actions) and the aggregation of the regional plans plus the national office staff actions to support the regional activities.

At each step the participation of the local, regional and national team was a must and special meetings were organized. At local level the participation of the extension worker and the Forestry Committee and the Communal Assembly. At regional level extension workers, subregional advisors and coordinator in an annual evaluation and planning meeting of few days of duration. And at national level the same procedure as at the regional level but including the national staff.

4.2.2. The Monitoring and Evaluation process

The SICCA have been the backbone of the M&E system. The process

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⁵⁴ Some could include a monthly plan but actually that is schedule rather than planning.

⁵⁵ According to the area the PFC was done between August and December. Hence, the plans could cover the January-December calendar that did not correspond either to the FAO calendar (October-September) or to the government calendar -i.e. Ministry of Finance.

For instance plantations done in the first months of the year corresponded budgetary to the previous year and they had to be reported as well.

comprised two flows (up and down) with various break points where the feedback acted.

A first step in the process was the recording of the information in the MIS. For this purpose the extension worker had a notebook per intervened community that contained the information to be registred in the SICCA. It included actually the whole information-input SICCA screens. These forms were filled at two moments: the outputs monthly when was applicable and the activities whenever were done. In this sense the filling was not an activity in its way in terms of taking time, actually when the extension worker had had enough practice the process would not take more than 10 minutes each time. The notebook constituted the report of the extension worker activities and its communities progress and was given to his field adviser monthly to record the information in the MIS.

The field adviser revised the updated information and then had had a first-hand look to the community as well as he could detect some errors on registering. Hence, the registering of the information in the SICCA was not a mechanic process that might be done by a typist i.e. an administrative staff. Actually it was part of the M&E process.

The next step was the monthly M&E meeting of the extension workers either at sub-regional or regional level⁵⁶. Extension workers from the same area gathered in order to form a self-learning group -i.e. the sub-regional adviser and the regional coordinator- through interchanging basic information and problems faced in the participating communities.

The notebook information and the SICCA reports were the main source of empirical data for the analysis. In some sense this single source unified the language of everybody, easing the discussion and the interchange of experiences.

The previous check of the Community notebooks by the advisor was an important input, combined with the reports and field visits of the advisor to the field.

The articulation with the national office was done through formal and informal channels. Formally in a month and quarterly basis. In a monthly basis, the recorded information was sent to Lima in a

⁵⁶ This is also the monthly time when the extension worker has to arrive to the regional or sub-regional office for administrative purposes.

diskette and thus, Lima had the same updated information as the regional offices at actually the same time. Quaterly analytical regional reports were sent to Lima. Informally the regional office through the coordinator was free to ask any question and seek for advice at any point, by telephone or through a field visit. At Lima a member of the staff was the link person -named the "godfather"- to orient the regional office about its problems and how to solve them and ask for help from the Lima staff. The godfather was responsible in general for a close monitoring of the regional office activities. The national office met in a monthly basis also to discuss the achievements and problems of the diverse regions and to define the strategy to tackle the main problems. The major data and points for the discussion came from several sources: the analysis of the monthly updated SICCA, the informal contacts of the godfather with the regions on which he/she was responsible, informal discussions and proposals outlined during the month at the national office. In the meetings the month plan of the national office was prepared and approved, including especially those actions required to support the regional offices. In practice this monthly plan formalized proposals informally discussed during the month.

4.2.3. The use of the project system for GI and Donors Reports

The second role of the SICCA was to provide information to external institutions whenever asked and especially for the quarterly and semestral reports to the National Government and to the FAO. Actually, this was an important additional reason for implementing the system as two Tripartite Evaluation Missions (the end first phase and mid-second phase) recommended it.

Even though, the design did not fit the needs of the national government, donor and FAO as it can be illustrated as follows. The tables aggregated the information from the community to the national level, but with the exception of the diagnostic reports no detail tables included the information listed separeted each community. The aggregation criteria at regional level were not related to the political organization of the regions (districts and provinces) but to the project areas (defined in other administrative units comprising many times districts of two provinces in one sub-region). The problem was not the registering variables but the code system for the communities that required to be change in function of the

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political organization of the country and the necessity of particular desegregated tables. In practice a new software was necessary to cover the demand of outsiders institution. Two detailed examples help to illustrate the point.

The code system for each community, composed of seven letters, in the SICCA was initially designed to fit the logic "department, province and community", later on it was changed to "department, sub-regions project defined areas and community". Neither in the first logic, nor in the second the district level was considered.

The tables produced information in an aggregate way. It was possible to obtain for instance the number of trees planted in a community, in a province or sub-region, in a department or at national level; but it was not possible to obtain one table with the information listing the outputs of several communities (i.e. a department, province, etc.) in one table.

4.2.4. The Peasant Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Activities and the Project PMES

In the section 4.1.1. we have discussed the project proposal for a peasant PMES for forestry (PCR & PFC). In this section we will return to the PFC and particular we will focus on operative aspects. But before, it is necessary to point how the peasants plan, monitor and evaluate forestry activities without the project intervention.

4.2.4.1. The Forestry Peasant Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Activities

Forestry Peasant PM&E can be defined as a weak field in the Peruvian Andean peasantry before the 1990s. Forestry has been a relatively new issue in the Andean peasantry -i.e. production- with the exception of the "experimenter" peasants. Even though, trees and forestry resources have been always used in various ways (i.e. firewood and house-building), the rule has been to use the existent forest or, from the 1960s to plant eucalyptus (imported species) provided from state nurseries in communal schemes and in small scale plantations (few trees next to a plot). Various sources shows that there is no historical forestry tradition at a general level (Ansion 1986, Furman

The peasant historical tradition on PM&E of forestry activities was then focused on management and use and not on production and plantation. Although, still in these fields the PM&E actions were very few as trees and forestry resources were considered enough in relation with their needs and population and no special care was taken in its use. It was not only until the mid of this century that depredation of forestry resources became to be realized because increase of the total population supposed pressure on natural resources -i.e. trees and forestry resources (Burga et al. 1991:41). In this context, the peasants faced two -not necessarily contradictory choices. The first was to develop their own forestry technology. Meanwhile, the second was to receive plants produced at the state nurseries for communal and individual plantations⁵⁸. The second choice was the more accurate to the peasant interests. The first choice presented a serious obstacle to be implemented by the peasants as a whole, forestry is a long-term activities in the Andean environment. Trees take several years to be useful and the peasant survival strategies were of short term. So the field was left to the experimenters peasants. The second choice presented on the contrary two important advantages. The trees were given free (and even food for work schemes were implemented) and there was no need to invest time in producing the plants⁵⁹.

From the 1990s the situation has changed. On one hand, the development of the production techniques have made possible to get earlier positive results from tree and forestry resources and peasants have became more aware and knowledgeable about it and the positive interrelation with other natural resources. On the other

 $^{\rm 57}$ Both documents present an extensive bibliography to support this statement.

⁵⁸ The individual plantations happened when there were plants produced and not distributed on time by the government through the communal schemes. This situation was actually very common.

⁵⁹ The consequence of the strategy implemented was that low quality plants were planted with a very low rate of survival. Social forestry has its origin partially in this factor. Unfortunately the discussion of this point is out of the scope of this paper.

The references stated in this section develops this subject in detail.

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1994 and Van Dam 1986)⁵⁷.

hand, several governmental projects and NGOs are working with a social forestry approach -i.e. communal forestry nurseries- very similar to our case study approach. These peasant and outsiders activities includes the PM&E component and hence, better management is achieving.

Summarizing, our main point here is that the peasant had not develop a forestry technology and together with it they had not included the PM&E activities as forestry was a long-term activity and there was at least a minimum supply of trees from the state. But this situation has changing in a positive direction, including peasant PM&E component as well.

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4.2.4.2. The Forestry Peasant Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Activities during the Project Intervention

The project offered to the community as part of its proposal a peasant PMES. The community have accepted normally to try the proposed methodology. First, the community is always interested at the start in anything offered to them. Second, forestry was a new activity for them (see 4.2.4.1.). Hence, valid reasons justified the need to include planning, monitoring and evaluation as contents in the training package. Rather different from other "traditional" activities like agriculture (see above 2.4.2.).

The most important aspect was the identification by the peasant of the key variables and indicators as part of the learning doing process. The sustainability of the activity required, among other issues, not only to develop technical knowledge and skills but also analytical ones and here planning, monitoring and evaluation were basic components.

The Forestry Committee (plus the local authorities) and forestry promoters (whether or not members of the Forestry Committee) were the focus in the PM&E training activities; even though, it was not excluded the participation of other community members. In addition, on one hand it was expected that in the next few years these forestry leaders would transfer these new capacities and knowledge to the other community peasants. On the other hand, as the peasants would begin to get results from its plantations, they should also begin to take more serious PM&E actions.

The Forestry Committee formulated the PFC through one or two meetings to evaluate the last year plan results and outline a feasible proposal to be presented to the communal assembly, where the plan was revised and with modifications approved.

During performing of the plan the Forestry Committee was monitoring and evaluating the plan through two actions: the register of the progress of the activities and the participation of the beneficiaries⁶⁰ and a monthly meeting to discuss the progress and the delays. Many issues were not recorded in these meetings as the peasant culture is mainly an oral culture (beside the main formal agreements).

The whole forestry process could not also expected to be registred with the same detail as in the project SICCA. The forestry activities were executed in two dimensions: the communal (or more precise collective) and the household dimensions. Production, transformation commercialization mainly communal activities and were while plantation was basically a household activity⁶¹. Hence the capacity and interest of the collective bodies to register information about plantation was very limited and was more a result of the presence of the project when it happened. This point marked an important difference between the interests of the project and peasants on M&E. The survival of the plantations -i.e. after three years of being planted-

has been always a bottleneck of forestry, hence for the project was particular important to monitor this issue. On the contrary, the peasants -although knowing the importance of the issue- considered the plantation a household activity out of the collective actions to be monitored. In some cases, through the presence of the extension worker or when a strong community organization existed, collective M&E of plantations was done.

Nevertheless, analytical skills and capacities in forestry problemsolving developed in these meetings and they were central for clarifying the weaknesses and strengtheners of the activities. There was an important feedback between the project and peasant

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⁶⁰ This item varies between communities where the forestry activity is part of the Community Work Plan and those which the forestry group is autonomous. In the first case whoever participate in forestry activities, every member of the community will benefit fairly with the forest benefits; on the contrary the member of the groups will receive benefits according with its rate of participation.

⁶¹ Eighty per cent or more of the plantations were in family areas. In many communities -i.e. North area- the percentage reached the hundred per cent.

PMESs. The SICCA, and in general the project analysis (i.e. the internal M&E meetings of the project staff), played an important role in the PM&E activities of the peasants through the participation of the extension worker. First the peasant watched the extension worker registering in his notebook (i.e. sometimes helping him) and became aware of how the SICCA works (recording, output tables, etc.) reinforcing the importance of $M\&E^{62}$. Second the relevant questions raised in the project M&E meetings returned to the community through the participation of the extension worker.

The peasant PM&E activities were also important for the project. Through the participation of the extension worker in the peasant PM&E activities -from an active position to a gradually passive positionhe could clarify the institutional proposal and be more aware of the real needs and interest of the community, hence the Forestry Committee meetings were privileged spaces for understanding those aspects than could not be provided by the SICCA.

⁶² In extreme cases some peasant groups asked for the SICCA reports as part of its own monitoring. In these cases the extension worker had to be very explicit in the separation between the peasant and project PMESs and the need for the peasant to develop its own system.

TABLE 3 INFORMATION AND FEEDBACK FLOWS OF THE PMES

	INST. LEVEL	COMMUNITY				PROJECT		GOVERNM. INSTIT.,
FREQ.	ACTORS	FORESTRY	FAMILIES	ALL PROJ.	EXTENSION	SUBREG. RESP./	NATIONAL OFFICE	DONOR INSTIT.
L		COMMITEE *		ACTORS	WORKER	REG. COORD.	STAFF	& INTERN. INSTIT.
PERMANENT		Register			Register<+	Visit to communities <-	Visits to reg. offices	
				A	- +	A <++++++	+++++	
		ļ		N	***		1	
				А	>	Check of regist>		
MONTHLY		↓	>	L	>	Updating of SICCA <>	Updating of SICCA	
		M&E meeting	<+++++++++++		<+++Monit. & E	meeting <	M&E Meeting <	
QUAT	FERNLY/	1		0		Quatern. report <		
SEME	ESTRAL			F		>	Quatern. report>	Quat. Rep. to Nat. Govt.
		4					Semestral report>	Sem. Rep. FAO & Donor
		Planning	>	S	>	Planning &>	Planning & <	
ANNUAL		Evaluation<+++++++		l	<++++++++++++	Evaluation <+++++++++++	Evaluation <++++	
		Meeting		C	(Eval. only)	Meeting	Meeting +	
MORI	E THAN			С			+ '	Plan of Operations
ONE	YEAR			A			+	Tripartite Missions
							↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑	Consultances <

-----> Information flow <++++++ Feedback flow

* Plus Communal Authorities and Forestry Peasant Promoters

Note: This table show only the flows within PM&E activities and not the effects of these flows

5. INSTITUTIONAL SUSTAINABILITY AND PLANNING, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

We have already stated in Chapter 2 that Institutional sustainability is defined as the permanent capability of any institution -i.e. a project, a local government, a group institution and a household- to develop by itself mechanisms to pursue efficiently its objectives, using its resources -i.e. human, physical and financial- at its best possibilities, regarding not only the short but specially long term perspective and structural settings where is embodied. In this chapter we want to discuss how much a PMES is fitted to it,

looking to its strong and weak points in relation to this issue, taking elements from the previous chapters.

5.1. Achievements and limitations for GI

An important characteristic that defines how much a PMES supports IS at GI is related to the balance between addressing the present needs of the GI and being enough flexible to change contents, methodology, etc. when new environment develops and new goals defined by the governments and/or donors and/or peasants appear. The environment comprises the political, social, technological and natural conditions in which a project operates as Paul states (Skutsch 1994:34).

In this sense the PMES of the PFD project was designed from its beginning as a learning process and the main tool of the system, the SICCA, was not designed as an unalterable tool. It was assumed as part of that permanent learning process. From its inception it was clear that it has already had vacuums -i.e. cost analysis- and weak developed thematic blocks in terms of indicators and variables -i.e. training and transformation/commercialization blocks.

In this context changes in the system should be expected around every three years as part of the normal development of a $PMES^{63}$.

The changes are related to changes in the environment and changes as a result of a evolution of the institutional proposal.

To maintain the necessary flexibility and at the same time easy adaptability for the present time every few years, an extra element should be kept in mind: the key personnel at the institution -i.e. those who lead the process at different levels of the institution.

⁶³ In the project studied in 1993 a new system was designed as institutional setting changed and new demands were required, (see for more details Support to... 1994). Any institution -i.e. a project or a programme- has its particularities and time is demanded always to understand it, so the permanencies of this key personnel is worthy.

A fundamental aspect of the achievement of the experience of our case study experience was the participatory approach adopted for the PMES design and implementation. Specific achievements related to it deserve being highlighted.

The variables and indicators identified were not assumed as a forced blueprint upon the staff. Even though, these variables and indicators were sometimes neither the more suitable nor the sufficient for some blocks -i.e. training- they were chosen by the staff. It was expected that they will be revised after few years in a new version of the SICCA.

The demands and needs of the direct clients -the project personnelwere taken on account. PM&E were heavily reoriented when the SICCA was designed. First the methodology of M&E was re-orientated from its conceptual approach to an operative way of doing M&E and in charge not of specific responsibles but of the whole team at all levels from the extension worker to the national office. Second the new PMES reinforced the training actions by regarding the actions not as a mechanic routine of register and report but as a critical analysis of the practice with a strong feedback character.

The accountability was also reinforced with the system. Once the staff, especially the lowest level like the extension workers, realized that the main purpose of the system was to easy their jobs through clarifying the analysis and not to control their duties, their accountability to bureaucratic superiors was more simple, fluently and even lighter as reports were reduced to fill the communal notebooks.

The extension worker even found that the record of the information was not an extra duty as in practical terms it did not require extra time (a normal problem in collecting data for M&E systems), only ten minutes were necessary to fill the information of the activity.

In relation with accountability also the sometimes aimless disagreements between central and regional offices were minimized as common and confident information reduced room for personal subjective points of view and then feedback, as well as arriving to consensus, was more simple and possible.

Simultaneously the PMES favoured the project decentralization - autonomy for regional offices and strengthening the M&E role of the

central office- because the regional and sub-regional levels had more direct access to comparative systematized information about field activities in their own region and thus they could improve their own analytic capacities without help from the central office. The system was a way to find right questions to be answered from field information that could not be systemized in a M&E system.

An important achievement of the PMES arised. The system, operating for the internal staff from the lowest position level, empowered the field staff as they managed more information. In addition in the case of the extension worker put him as the central actor of the process of de-constructing the reality from information he produced.

In general all these points directed to several major achievements related to the common understanding of objectives and content of the institutional proposal for the peasants.

First, the PMES has acted as a formal mechanism for helping to find ways to approach the official, informal and personal objectives (see 2.3.2.) through a better understanding of the institutional proposal product of the review of the content of the SICCA. By learning how to use the software one learns the content of the institutional proposal. The whole range of variables included and the way they were presented actually summarized the institutional proposal and strategy.

Second, the SICCA not only summarized the institutional technical and social proposal, but suppressed the dichotomous distinction drawn between social and technical aspects⁶⁴.

Third, the system was designed to arise key qualitative questions from the information recorded. In this sense quantitative and qualitative aspects of the social forestry activities were not completely separated issues. The system gave not only measurable outputs but oriented the general development process by defining the bottlenecks. The fact that quantitative indicators expressed qualitative statements have been an important goal in this sense. Two examples show this last point: in technical aspects quality of produced plants at nurseries was evaluated by the height of the produced plant at specific moments; and in relation to participation the interrelation among number of peasant promoters working as that, number of meetings conducted by them and number of peasants

⁶⁴ The social and technical aspect merged in the SICCA -e.g. the whole process was registered and analyzed from the same source of information.

participating raised proper questions about the participation of the population in the process (that was then confronted with quantitative forestry outputs). The analysis of SICCA was also important for instance in determining those subjects that were weak in the field and hence required more training for the extension workers -when it was clear that no other reason would explain the weakness.

A limitation of the PMES designed -i.e. the SICCA software- was that internal project needs were the only one considered. As a consequence, administrative use of the system for government reports -for the Forestry Department, the Agricultural Regional Offices and the, Finance Ministry- was very difficult. For instance the administrative definition of sub-regions and regions for the project -hence for the SICCA- was different from the national political system. Also the software did not elaborate the reports listing the communities for an area, only offered aggregated reports for a community and then a sub-region and so on.

An explanation for this limitation is that the design of the system was in charge of the professional staff, very apart from the administrative staff (i.e. both national and international funds officers)⁶⁵ as well as with no direct relation with the other government offices⁶⁶.

In terms of long term sustainability this restriction is important. Looking only to the specific objectives and project strategy many variables relevant for a national forest strategy were not in technical forestry issues state considered. For instance, nurseries productions was registred only as trees origins for plantations but no more relevant data was included. In relation with the integration of forestry with other natural resources and agricultural activities -i.e. soil conservation, irrigation channels, etc.- also secondary information was included. Hence, when higher institutions at government departments -i.e. Agriculture Minister Rural development Authorities- payed attention to this PMES, they would not find it so worthy. They would even find it with an "unnecessary social forestry bias".

This bias is a component of a concept used by Baker in another

⁶⁶ The project worked actually as a NGO (see chapter 3).

⁶⁵ Even though additional reasons may be found in the need to set priorities in the design and the limitations of the staff to include this issue, we believe that the practical reason were more important.

context and named the "administrative trap" (Skutsch 1994:30). The point is that by focusing into a narrow issue by an specific institution -a social forestry project in our case- we do not help to sustain the right institution that may tackled the problem more from its roots and actually we can even exacerbate the problem in the long term.

5.2. Achievements and limitations for PI

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The system developed by the project has also achievements in term of IS at the peasant level.

A somehow obvious achievement is that the peasant capabilities for forestry development has been expanded. In addition to the developing of technical skills on producing, planting, managing and transforming trees; problem identification and solving-oriented attitudes and in general analytical skills were developed. As well as in the project case the inclusion of the PM&E subject in the intervention strategy provides the opportunity to assure that the training actions would not be a mechanic development of techniques but a critical analysis of the practice.

The strengthen of the peasant capabilities has had effects at two levels: collective (local government and group institution) and household, being the achievements stronger at the first level.

At the first level, the collective one, better leadership and simultaneously more accountability to community members were possible because better systemized information⁶⁷ was disposable and more clear reports⁶⁸ can be presented to the assemblies for more serious decisions about the forestry actions.

At the second level, the household, the effect was less impressive. It was rather restricted to the "forestry leader group" (Forestry Committee and peasant forestry promoters), to a variable extent to the communal authorities and the group institution members who by being directly involved in the PM&E process were receptive for themselves about the skills and capacities to be useful.

⁶⁷ Systemized information is conceptualized not as formal document summarizing information or researches but as an organized set of information. It could be presented in written, oral, graphic or any other sort of shape.

⁶⁸ Reports is used in a large sense as referred in the last note.

The main reason for this limitation in the effects of PM&E in IS is the restriction to work specific elements in big groups. A debate on achievements and problems in the implementation of a work plan is difficult in big groups and unsustainable for long time. Even though innovative participatory methodologies -i.e. Participatory Rural Appraisal (Chambers 1994a, b & c)- ease the burden of these meetings, it is not simple to produce them regularly in that manner. An additional reason is the secondary role of the forestry resources in the Andean peasant economy and hence short-time allocated by the peasants.

A remarkable achievement of the PM&E methodology was its flexibility about the exact procedure and its contents. The extension worker gave directions and asked for basic outputs for each stage, but the other aspects, the details, depended on the peasant demands and experience. For instance what was registred, how was presented to the assembly, etc. varied between communities.

6. LESSONS LEARNED

In this chapter we would like to summarize the major lessons that can be useful for any rural development institution interested on improving the IS of their projects. The achievements and failures of the case described are translated in actions and approaches that should be taken into account for the design and implementation of PMES in PI and PM&E activities in PI when IS is an aim of the institution.

We split the lessons in three sections: those that arise from the project PMES, those that arise from the peasant PM&E activities and finally those that arise from the interrelation between both, project and peasant sides.

6.1. Lessons from the Project Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation System

1. A PMES has to be designed from the beginning, taking into account the needs of all the actors who require it -i.e. staff of the project, GIs, Donors and International Institutions. When the PMES is designed mainly for internal management purposes, as recommended for instance by Casley and Kumar (1987), the other users are forgotten and later it is very complicated to incorporate their needs in the system.

This lesson is even worthier in the case of computarized system that are less flexible for changes in the short term.

 The design and implementation of any PMES has to be considered as a permanent learning process.

First, the institutional environment, institutional objectives, etc. are changing in the course of time. Hence, the requirements from the institutions to the PMES vary.

Second, the PMES reflects the progress in the institutional proposal. Hence, the proposal tends to improve and new variables, indicators, issues, etc. appear and should be incorporated in the system while others should or could be discontinued.

Thus, the PMES has to be designed having in mind that it is a tool which needs to be updated every several years -normally about three to four. The severity of this updating will depend on other components and environment changes.

3. The learning process does not develop spontaneously. Specific

moments to systemize the main findings are necessary, especially for big area projects with several offices.

In these cases, the changes should be coordinated at national level and the comparative advantage of working in various geographic areas can be capitalized.

4. The design of the PMES should always be done in a participatory way, by the own institutional technical staff with inputs from the field staff.

The participatory approach in the design presents advantages in two aspects. First, it assures the development of a system closer to the staff needs. Second, it eases the understanding of the system by the staff as it was built by themselves. Two necessary conditions to keep on mind are the longer time

needed and the requirement of serious commitment from the top level to allocate the time from the staff.

- 5. When the system is operational, the participatory approach needs to be translated in feedback flows with various breakpoint moments -meetings, field visits, punctual telephone calls and so on.
- 6. When the PMES is computarized, specific actions have to be planned at the implementation stage in order to develop a "cultural understanding" of a new way of managing information as new opportunities are present now.

These actions are time-consuming and may take one year or more, comprising not only formal sessions but also practical training -examples of applications, monitoring of the use of the systemand management directives to enforce the better use of the system.

7. With regard to the use of reports and tables from a computarized system, it is important to avoid the usual interpretation of reports and table as figures that only show quantitative results of measurable outputs. These systems have to be capable of arising qualitative questions.

To achieve this goal from the very beginning of the design stage, it is necessary to formulate indicators oriented to identify quantitative as well as qualitative aspects of the intervention process (i.e. social as well as technical aspects). This point demands that the design-team be clear that figures can and should help to detect qualitative bottlenecks in the project actions. The questions identified through the PMES may be answered through the system itself, through an analytical discussion by the staff or may be studied in deep through case studies. What is important is not only to analyze, but also to identify practical use in terms of providing a feedback to re-orient actions or to pursue in the way it is oriented.

- 8. The last issue, discussed above, is particularly worthy for projects encompassing big areas. More bigger the area, less possibilities to have a close direct assessment of what happens on the field. The only way to get quickly and accurate information at community level is through complex PMES -i.e. computarized type. Hence the need that these systems includes qualitative indicators.
- 9. The interpretation of the data does not always give answers, but should raises new questions that advocate for more analysis or specific research. This function is important. The computarized system mainly systemizes lot of information but it has its limits. It does not solve the problems and many times either identifies the causes.
- 10. A PMES increases accountability from the lowest levels of the staff. The positive accountability can be translated in empowerment and decentralization.
- 11. The system displays the whole institutional proposal, clarifying the goals and objectives pursued for all the users and also through a feedback reinforce good results. Hence, the personnel is more aware of what to do and when is it achieved.
- 12. The decision to design a computarized PMES drives to settle differences within the institution around points of the institutional, technical and social proposal, as major points have to be defined to design the system. In this sense it consolidates the institutional proposal. Once the proposal is implemented, the PMES also gives room to

analysis based on more accurate information and hence, facilitate the arrival to more solid conclusions.

6.2. Lessons from the Peasant Planning Monitoring and Evaluation activities

13. Peasant PM&E activities are important to strengthen IS because

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they develop problem-solving capacities.

However, these activities can -in some subjects like forestrybe primarily directed to the leader group -i.e. Forestry Committee, local authorities and forestry promoters- and therefore the direct effect on the households is generally weaker.

This limitation means that we should not overestimate the outcomes of developing PM&E activities in the community, in terms of immediate effects at household level versus collective action. The effect into the families will take longer than project permanence at the community.

- 14. The central importance of the PM&E activities, as part of the training package, is the emphasis on developing the analytical capacities of the institutions and avoiding a mechanical training in technical knowledge and skills.
- 6.3. Lessons from the interrelation between the project Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation System and the peasant Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation activities
- 15. The project and the peasant systems have its own particularities in term of objectives, contents, procedures and resources. When promoting PM&E activities among peasants, one has to be aware of the particularities of the peasant needs and interests. One should not just transfer a PM&E methodology that might be only assumed temporarily while the project is present, but that will not be sustainable as it does not fit the peasant needs.
- 16. A participatory approach in PM&E must not be understood as one where GI and PI work together under the same umbrella. On the contrary it means to help the other party to develop its own system according to its own interests and resources. Further, the peasant communities present a diversity of interests and situations, in addition to the general differences between GIs and PIs. Hence, it should be realized that the peasant PM&E activities have to be designed by the peasants themselves in every community according to their own interests with the support role of the project.
- 17. However these specific characteristics do not deny the importance of the feedback between both systems in terms of new

contents (variables, indicators as well as issues) and identification of problems and possible solutions on both sides. This feedback is not only possible but worthy.

GI and PI are components of the rural society and they should develop a synergetic approach.

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8. ANNEXES

8.1.	Project	Area	
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8.1.1. Peru in the World8.1.2. Peru in South America8.1.3. The Project Area in Peru

8.2. SICCA Input Items

8.3. List of SICCA Tables

8.4. Abbreviations





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8.2. SICCA INPUT ITEMS (per community)

DIAGNOSTIC OF THE COMMUNITY Α.

- 1. Geographic Location
- 2. Ecological Data
- 3. Demographic Data
- 4. Economic Activities
- 5. Land Use
- Forestry Resources 6.
- 7. Communal Organization
- 8. Presence of Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations in the Community

STRATEGY ACTIVITIES в.

- Community intervention basic information 1.
- Number of peasant forestry promoters (men and women) 2.
- з. Name of the extension worker and date of entry and exit from the community Communal Forestry Plan Evaluation (main features)
- 4.
- 5. Plan Formulation and Approval by the Communal Assembly (main features)
- б. Promotion/Information Sessions
- 7. Training Sessions
- 9. Primary Schools (Forestry Education Programme)

C. COMMUNAL FORESTRY PLAN

- Communal Nursery Production 1.
 - 1.1. Planned Production
 - 1.2. Collecting Material
 - 1.3. Communal Nursery Production Activities
 - 1.4. Family Nurseries
- Plantations 2.

3.

- 2.1. Number of plants providing from the Communal Nursery for plantation at familiar and communal level
- 2.2. Number of plants providing from the State Nursery for plantation at familiar and communal level
- 2.3. Maintenance of the Plantations
- Transformation/Commercialization
 - 3.1. Planned Activities
 - 3.2. Performed Activities
- 4. Plantations Management
FEATURES OF THE COMMUNITIES Α.

- 1. Geographic Location
- Ecological Data 2.
- 3. Demographic Data
- Economic Activities 4.
- 5. Land Use
- Forestry Resources 6.
- 7. Communal Organization
- 8. Presence of Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations in the Community

в. PROJECT AREA

- 1. List of Communities (software) Codes
- Project Area (district, province and department/region) 2.
- List of Intervened Communities and date of intervention start 3.
- List of Communities where the intervention was suspended and the 4. cause of the suspension
- 5. Rate of change of extension workers per community (at department level)

C. PROMOTION AND TRAINING

- 1. Promotion/Information Sessions in the Intervened Communities
- 2. Communal Training Sessions
- 3. Promoters/Forestry Committee Members Training Sessions
- 4. Number of Promoters and Families Participating

D. COMMUNAL FORESTRY PLAN (PFC)

- Evaluation of the PFC 1.
- 2. Approval of the PFC by the Communal Assembly
- 3. Planned Plants Production
- 4. Collecting of Propagation Material
- Communal Nurseries Production (annual report) 5.
- 6. Communal Nurseries Production (chronological report)
- 7. Family Nurseries
- 8. Plantations
- Survival Level of Family Plantations Survival Level of Communal Plantations 9.
- 10.
- Management of Plantations (annual report) 11.
- Management of Plantations (monthly report) 12.
- 12. Transformation & Commercialization Activities (annual report)
- 13. Transformation & Commercialization Activities (chronological
- report)
- List of Communities with Transformation & Commercialization 14. Activities

8.4. ABBREVIATIONS

GI .	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	٠	٠	•	•	٠	• •	•	•	Gc	ve	eri	nme	ent	-	Ir	ıst	it	ut	ior	l
IS .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•		•		•	•	•	In	st	it	ut	ic	on	Su	st	ta	in	ab	il:	ity	7
MIS .	•	•	٠	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•		Man	ag	;en	ner	ıt	Ir	ıfo	orm	at	t	lon	S	ys [.]	ter	n
M&E .	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	٠			•	•	Μ	lor	it	.01	ir	ŋg	an	d	E	Eva	lu	at:	ioı	ı
NGO .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	٠		•		Non	-g	lor	er	nn	ıeı	nta	al	01	r	yan	iz	at:	ioı	נ
PCR .	•	•		•	•	•	•		•		•	•	•		Ρ	rc ((ру Сс	ect	o na	Cc 1	omu Re	ina efc	al pre	de est	e R cat	ei	fo or	ore 1 p	st ro	ac. je	ió: ct	ב)
PFC .	•	•	•	•	•		•	Ρ	la	n	Fo	re	st	al	L	Сс	эπ	iuna	1	(0	lon	mu	ina	al	Fo	r	e	str	У	Pl	an)
PFD .	•	•		•	•	•	•		•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	Pe	as	ar	nt	Fc	ore	est	rry	I	D€	eve	lo	pm	ent	C
PI.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•		•	•	•	E	ea,	asa	ant		Iı	ıst	it	ut	ioı	n
PM&E	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•		P]	La	n	ni	.ng,	Μ	lor	nit	or	ii	ng	an	d	1	Eva	lu	at	io	n
PMES	•	•		•	•	•	•		•	P	la	nn	ir	ıg,	,	Mo	on	ito	ri	.nç	j ĉ	inc	1 1	Eva	alu	at	t:	ion	S	ys [.]	ter	n
SICCA	• •	•	At	en	ti	Si da	st s	em (C	a om	de ipu	I Ite	nf ri	or ze	rma ed	ac I	:id (n:	ón Éc	Co rma	mp ti	out or	ar 1 S	riz Sys	ad ste	da ∋m	de of	(]]	Co Pa Co	omu art omm	ni ic un	da ip it	des and ies	S S

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