

BMZ EVALUATION REPORTS 007

# Country Case Study "Tanga Integrated Rural Development Programme (TIRDEP), Tanzania"

Summary Ex-Post Evaluation – Sustainability of Regional Rural Development Programmes (RRD)



# **Preface**

This study was commissioned by the BMZ (Division for Evaluation of Development Cooperation). It is an independent evaluation, which was carried out by Stoas International, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, by the consultants Winnie Bashagi, Raymond Mnenwa, Mary Liwa and George Lulandala. The views and opinions expressed in the report do not necessarily correspond to those of the BMZ. However, a comment by the BMZ can be found at the end of the summary.

The present document is part of a series of four ex-post evaluations on Regional Rural Development Programmes in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Zambia which were implemented between the 1970s and the 1990s. The evaluation itself was carried out in 2003 and 2004 applying specific questions and methods. One characteristic of the evaluation is that the BMZ commissioned professional local consultants, in order to

obtain a "local perspective". Altogether the key objectives of the evaluation were:

- the widening and deepening of our understanding of the outcome and long-term impact of German cooperation projects and of the underlying conditions for success;
- the introduction of a different vantage point for the analysis of the outputs, outcome and impact of German cooperation projects by charging local research institutions and/or consultants with the actual evaluation work; and
- the further refinement of the ex-post evaluation methodology.

In addition to the four country case studies a synthesis report is available (see inner cover page for contact details).

Division for Evaluation of Development Cooperation

# Summary of Evaluation

The views presented in this study are opinions held by the independent external experts.

#### 1. Introduction

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) through its Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development has cooperated with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) in a range of development assistance activities since independence in 1961. Tanga region has been one of the focus for the bilateral co-operation between the two countries. As part of the co-operation, Tanzania implemented the Tanga Integrated Rural Development Programme (TIRDEP) between 1972 and 1991. TIRDEP was one of the biggest development projects by that time.

A team of experts from FRG started working on the Tanga Integrated Regional Development Plan in December 1972 and, by February 1975, the team completed preparation of TIRDEP Five Years Development Plan (1975 – 1980). The overall goal of the bilateral agreement for implementing TIRDEP was to improve the living standards of the rural population of Tanga Region. In order to realize this general objective, the following outlined activities were implemented in three phases.

# The infrastructural support phase (1975 – 1979)

emphasized on construction of physical infrastructure, supply of services, equipment and materials to respective sectoral regional departments. During this phase, TIRDEP supported the following projects: Provision of Pangani Ferry; Rehabilitation of Rural Roads in Handeni; Construction of schools and teachers' houses; Construction of rural godowns as well as village stores; Provision of materials for water supply; Rehabilitation of regional veterinary services; and Rehabilitation of Mombo Irrigation scheme. After this phase

TIRDEP realized that provision of materials was not enough to solve grassroot problems but that workers' skills also affected quality, quantity and timelines of what was being produced.

Institutional support phase (1977 – 1983) thus, emphasized on improvement of planning as well as operational capabilities of executing departments, and improvement of local talents The following offices were supported in this endeavor: Regional Development Director's office; Regional Agricultural Development office; Regional Ujamaa and Cooperative Development office; Regional Livestock Development office; Regional Water Department Office; and Regional Education Office.

The guiding principle during Target Group Orientation phase (1983 onwards) was the bottom up approach in planning, implementation and management of development projects. This focus was geared towards giving opportunity and guidance to people to formulate their own projects based on their perceived needs and problems. This approach envisaged stimulating self-help spirit and ownership of projects by the target group through effective participation of the target group.

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) commissioned Stoas International Tanzania to carry out TIRDEP Ex-post Evaluation. The Ex-post Evaluation was carried out between October 2003 and May 2004 with the aim of exploring changes that have taken place from the time of phasing out to date.

# Approach and Methodology of the study

The analysis of data and information for this Ex-Post Evaluation followed the funnel approach as stipulated in a guide for ex post evaluations prepared by Prof Dr Stockmann. The funnel approach requires that an impact assessment proceeds from observable changes that have occurred in the programme environment, that is, executing agency, the target group and within as well as between sectors. Then causes for these changes are analyzed in a broad perspective in order to find out if they are directly attributable to the project intervention or some other factors. Through this approach, the assessment systematically identifies both intended and unintended; positive and negative impacts as well as underlying causes.

Information was collected on various aspects at three TIRDEP times that is time of project start, time of project completion and time of this ex post evaluation to determine the impacts of TIRDEP projects. Extensive literature review with: government authorities, the private sector, community leaders and households in 30 selected villages were carried out. The empirical component of the study was based on the analysis of data from 156 households, 120 village representatives, and 450 people involved in PRAs in the 30 selected villages. Data were also collected from the District Departments and information from Ex-TIRDEP staff (local and expatriates) who responded to the questions sent to them by email or through personal contacts.

The analysis of qualities on various TIRDEP aspects involved making judgments. Data on the quality of TIRDEP features and extent of TIRDEP effects were generated through rating on the likert scale of 1 to 5 (1 being for very poor or very low, 2 for poor/low, 3 for fair, 4 for good/ high and 5 for very good/very high). Criteria used in this process included people's participation; performance in the sectors; observed changes in various sectors; continuity of projects after end of promotion; contribution of the executing agency including target group; and success stories. The scores were then weighted, condensed and used to compile an overall assessment of the programme projects.

# 2. FINDINGS

# **Project cycle**

Project cycle entails project preparation, implementation, follow-up and end of project promotion. The quality of preparation of TIRDEP projects was considered good and fair. The quality of preparation of 34% of the TIRDEP projects is categorized as good while that of 50% is categorized as fair. Projects that had good preparations were preceded by adequate technical personnel, financial, framework conditions and target group analysis. In turn, most of the projects, which had good preparations met their objectives during the implementation. On the other hand, 15% of the projects were poorly prepared. Projects that had good preparations are characterized by good technical assistance; adequate staff, financial resources, policy back up and target group participation.

The cross-section evaluation of TIRDEP projects' implementation shows that the implementation of 47% of the TIRDEP projects is rated as good while 16% of the projects was good and very good, respectively. On the other hand, the quality of end of project promotion for TIRDEP projects is rated as rather good. About 39% and 8% of the TIRDEP projects had respectively good and very good end of project promotion. About 8% of the projects had fair end of project promotion. The overall assessment by the consultants of the follow up activities shows that 39% of the TIRDEP projects had very poor follow up, while 34% and 13% of the projects had good and very good follow up.

# Project design

TIRDEP innovations were on the whole suitable in terms of needs of people, compatibility to social settings and environment. About 50% and 39% were rated as good and very good, respectively, by the time of project start, most of the innova-

tions continued to be sustainable. At the project completion time, the suitability of 21% of the projects is rated as poor and very poor, while 26% of the projects are rated as very poor. The innovations were found to be useful because they were using local labor, which was in the villages. Some innovations considered the natural environment, for example, the gravity fed water schemes.

# **Project objectives**

At the time of project start, the objectives systems of 47% and 42% of the TIRDEP projects were good and very good, respectively, while at the time of project completion, 50% and 37% of the projects were good and very good. The objectives systems continued to be consistent, clear and feasible even after TIRDEP phasing out. This means that the objectives are still applicable up to now as 61% of the projects' objectives were rated as very good at the time of ex-post evaluation.

Objectives acceptance, at regional level, of 50% and 32% of the projects was rated as very high and just high, respectively, while the acceptance of objectives of 5% of the projects is rated as very low. The degree of acceptance seems to have increased for some projects at the time of completion as very high, acceptance of objectives changed from 50% to 58% of the projects. At the time of evaluation, projects with very high acceptance increased to 76% while those with very low acceptance increased to 13%. These results imply that the degree of acceptance has been increasing steadily for the majority of the projects.

The TIRDEP project objectives were also acceptable to the larger proportion of the project target groups. At the time of start, objectives of 11% and 37% of the TIRDEP projects received high and very high acceptance by the target group. On the other hand, objectives of 26% of the projects received very low acceptance. The degree of acceptance has gone up now compared to the previous situation.

Generally, there were some **project achieve- ments** under various projects. For example, the school buildings constructed under TIRDEP are still in good condition requiring low maintenance cost. Classrooms and teachers' houses, which were built and/or rehabilitated, still exist. Under the Health sector, the PHC system was integrated; THs, TBAs and VHW were trained in order to perform their duties.

Some projects had low success due to low participation of the target groups and other target groups refused the innovations. For example, intercropping of maize and beans was contrary to the traditional farming practices and, therefore, failed in most places where it was applied. At the time of start, the project objectives were achieved to some extent, as objectives achievement of 11% and 24% of the projects was fair and good, respectively.

Overall assessment of the project objectives' achievements suggests that most of the project objectives were achieved. The achievements of objectives were the highest at project completion time (tC). There is a decline in objectives' achievement from 53% at the completion time to 32% at the time of ex post evaluation.

# 3. Programme Impact

Impact on executing agency: The organizational efficiency of the executing agency was raised in the short run, but, to a limited extent, in the long term. Improvements were noted during the project life and this was clearly attributable to TIRDEP through the introduction and activities of the Planning and Coordination Unit (PCU). This achievement could not be maintained after the completion period. Immediately after closure of PCU the organization efficiency deteriorated like in other regions in Tanzania. Following this deterioration, the Government introduced Local Government Reforms so as to improve the situation. These reforms have changed completely the

regional administrative structure and improvements have been recorded though not to the level of TIRDEP times. This study has noted that TIRDEP alone was not sufficient to bring out the expected long run improvements in organizational efficiency. External factors such as the country' ideology and policy decisions were found to influence, sometimes in a negative way, changes in the organizational structure and efficiency.

Results of this evaluation suggest that achievements made with respect to personnel at institutional level during TIRDEP were short-lived. In the long run, efforts had a less impact on personnel development in the executing organization due to exodus, transfer and the associated brain drain. The trained members of staff have gained skills and experiences, which have made them marketable in the job market. That means that a single change in central level policy can have a big impact on capacity building.

Practically, TIRDEP did not succeed in improving the long run financial position of the RDD. Although TIRDEP poured a lot of resources into the region, this was done directly to the projects not through the RDD. The RDD controlled only local funds from the URT. In principle, assessment of financing situation suggests that the financial flow to TIRDEP projects whose termination was rather abrupt enhanced a donor dependency syndrome.

The standard and condition of equipment has been deteriorating over time. The equipment were handed over to the executing agency and other stakeholders by the end of BMZ financial support to TIRDEP. The equipment left to the Government was left unmaintained due to financial difficulties. Equipment for road construction were left unattended since then and are no longer working. Currently, the government is not supposed to own construction equipment. Construction activities are contracted out to the private sector. Some equipment was handed over

to associations and the private sector. Most of the equipment handed over to associations and the private sector are still working.

At the project start, the executing agency's capacity was rated as quite low. The position of the executing agency rose drastically during TIRDEP to a very high level, mainly, resulting from improved structural changes, personnel upgrading, financial and equipment support from TIRDEP. By the time of Ex-post Evaluation, there has been a downward trend mainly due to brain drain because the trained personnel shifted to other organizations. However, the situation has not deteriorated to the level experienced during the project start. The executing agency's position has remained, on average, above the situation during the project start.

Impact on target group: TIRDEP projects had an impact, on food security of the target groups. Some of the projects had immediate and direct influences while others had longer term and indirect influences. Selected TIRDEP's interventions have positively contributed to alleviation of food related poverty. TIRDEP contribution has mainly been through food production, food storage and food purchase. The majority of people in the region have been experiencing low incomes in real terms except for Lushoto district, though in relative terms, the **incomes** have been growing. Nevertheless, most rural households in the region perceive their incomes as declining.

The condition of **education** continued to improve even after TIRDEP projects completion as reported by 89.6% of the respondents. The improvement of the condition of education has been attributed to continued capacity building of teachers' houses and child friendly school programmes that have abolished corporal punishment through the ongoing Primary School Education Programme. New teachers were recruited, and there has been more supply of textbooks and other learning materials. There was a big change in the quality

education and the situation has been on a positive trend even after TIRDEP donor financing in 1991.

Improvement in health status has been due to improvements in health services, nutritional status, supply of safe water and education for people. TIRDEP projects helped Tanga rural population in its efforts to improve health. Apart from the TIRDEP's contribution, other factors have assisted to improve health services in the region. The change of policy from public management to market led development has enabled the private sector to participate in provision of health services. For instance, private dispensaries, pharmaceutical shops and health centers have been increasingly established in Tanga region. Indeed, privatization and trade liberalization have facilitated the availability of health services including medicine.

Water availability of water improved during the implementation of TIRDEP projects. The reduced time spent to fetch water is largely attributable to TIRDEP water innovations. Water availability situation was rated by interviewed households as poor before TIRDEP. It was rated as good during TIRDEP by 50% of the respondents and the situation was rated as poor at the time of Ex-Post Evaluation by 50% of the interviewed households. Some of the water facilities were vandalized, particularly in areas where leadership commitment was poor.

At the time of TIRDEP Ex-Post Evaluation it was found out that 40% of the population was living in very good condition houses, while 40% in good condition houses and only 18% were living in poor housing conditions. This improvement of housing conditions is attributed to TIRDEP's promotion of low cost building materials, Cimvaram, and tile making vibrator machines. Training of people in building technology also contributed to the improvement in housing conditions.

Marrying age has changed over time. At the time of Ex-post Evaluation, the marrying age had gone

up to between 20 and 30 years. This change has not been caused by TIRDEP but by the changing economic situation of Tanzania. Nevertheless, it is considered a positive move because in the past under-age marriages had been interfering with education and it also increased maternal risks.

Villagers were not directly involved in **decision** making about their development activities until TIRDEP started VDP in which participatory approaches were firstly introduced in Tanga region. At the time of completion, communities were participating more in planning and selection of projects to be financed by TIRDEP than ever before. At the time of Ex-post evaluation, villagers continued to take part in planning. VDP's approach using PRA is now widely used in various village level projects such as school construction and other projects supported by TASAF as well as MEM. The study revealed that during the time of TIRDEP implementation, the typology of participation that was being advocated was that of interactive participation. People participated in joint analysis, which lead to developing action plans. It involved interdisciplinary methods that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic as well as structural learning processes. Villagers were empowered to make decisions and thus, they had a stake in maintaining practices.

#### Impact on sectors

Innovations introduced by TIRDEP through extension services were further developed by the government (executing agency). The approaches particularly T & V, diffused to other projects such as NALREP and were, to some extent, adopted by farmers. Horticultural production has now become one of the major economic activities in the region. Being the initiator of the horticultural production activities in many parts of Tanga region, subsequent changes in the sub-sector are certainly attributable to TIRDEP horticultural production project.

DAP has gained popularity in Tanga Region.
Other donors such as Bread for the World (BFW)
through the Anglican Church Development
department was supporting DAP activities in
Korogwe and Handeni Districts. Farmers received
training in DAP at the ministry of Agriculture
Training Institute Mlingano (MATI) based in
Muheza District. Also there are plans to rehabilitate the DAP center at MATI Mlingano through
Japanese Aid. The Ministry of Agriculture and
Food Security is also rehabilitating the DAP center
at Korogwe for servicing DAP in the Region.

It was found out that the government has been unable to continue supporting development of **irrigation systems** in material terms due to changes in policy and financial difficulties it has been facing. Following the Local Government and economic policy reforms, local physical infrastructure development projects are left to the local governments while the central government is left with policy formulation, regulation and advisory services. Unfortunately, local governments have been facing financial problems making difficult for them to invest more in many projects including irrigation systems.

Overall assessment indicates that TIRDEP interventions in the Water Sector brought about desirable changes in the sector. At the time of ex-post evaluation, it is estimated that more than 50% of the population in Tanga is able to access drinkable water points. As an indication of a wide acceptance of the technology, many villages are forming water committees to safeguard water points from vandalism and also maintain them. Currently, more than 40% of all the villages in Tanga region have formed water committees, while more than 25% of all the villages have opened bank accounts for water development activities.

The number of **health facilities** both in Lushoto and Pangani districts have increased steadily over the three time periods. However, the quality of the facilities still needs upgrading because they are still not well equipped. It is only the private dispensaries and hospitals, which have reasonable standard of equipment. PRAs results conducted in Tanga during this study show that 62% of the PRA groups rated health status at the time of project start as very poor. At the time of project completion, the situation was reversed. About 69% of the PRA groups rated the health situation as good. It seems the health situation improved further after 1991 when TIRDEP phased out. About 23% and 46% of the PRA groups are of the opinion that the health status is very good and good, respectively. Both TIRDEP project activities and framework conditions are responsible for the reported improvements in health status. TIRDEP contributed to health services improvement through its health support to hospitals, PHCs and training of health staff. Change of policy and investments of the government have assisted in promoting private sector involvement in the delivery of health services.

The TIRDEP innovation of **constructing class-rooms** continued even after phasing out of TIRDEP donor funding. But this cannot be directly attributed to TIRDEP existence. Rather, it was a response to changes in framework conditions.

At the time of TIRDEP start, roads in Handeni were in shambles compared to other districts, Pangani Ferry was not there and stores in villages were virtually non-existent. By the time of TIRDEP projects completion, most of the roads in Handeni were in good condition and are still maintained by the Government. At the time of Ex-Post Evaluation, Handeni roads were in good condition, the Ferry was still operating but most of the village stores have been put into other uses such as kindergarten schools, government offices and so forth.

Before TIRDEP, Tanga was one of the nation's centres of the **manufacturing industry**, but small-scale industries were virtually not there by the

time of TIRDEP start. By the time of completion, TIRDEP had already established small-scale industries in Tanga and Korogwe districts through SIPU. In order to ensure sustainability, associations were formed to continue with the activities after TIRDEP. The associations have continued to run the activities and most of them are running well. People who got training from these centers have opened businesses mostly garages, masonry, welding and the like. The evaluation team visited 4 of such centres in Tanga and Korogwe.

Between 10% and 40% of the houses in districts were constructed using permanent materials. This situation improved to between 15% and 65% by the time of TIRDEP projects completion. By the time of this Ex-post Evaluation, the situation was reported to have improved to between 30% and 85%. The housing condition seems to be fairly poor in Handeni, which improved just from 10% to only 30%, while Lushoto is characterized with relatively better houses, which improved from 36% during TIRDEP start to 85% now. The improvement in housing conditions was largely due to adoption of cimvaram technology introduced by TIRDEP. Improvement in housing is also a matter of income and other factors. For Tanga people even low cost blocks are still expensive compared to mud and grass. Villages, which implemented animation approaches, have had their welfare improved due to increased economic activities, increased self-help spirit and access to credits.

The extent of diffusion impact within the sectors has changed over the three time periods. It was very low in 90% of the sectors before the start of TIRDEP. At the time of TIRDEP projects completion, the extent of diffusion was high in 75% and very high in 20% sectors. At the time of this Ex-post evaluation, the situation has changed, it was rated moderately high, but the situation has deteriorated in 40% of the sectors.

The per capita GDP of Tanga region increased both in relative and real terms during and after TIRDEP

donor funding. The nominal GDP increased from Tshs. 2,000/= at time of project start to 33,000/= and 60,000/= at completion and evaluation time, respectively and real GDP increased from Tshs 24,100/= and Tshs 56,100/= at time of completion and evaluation, respectively. Figures for TIRDEP's start time were not obtained. This per capita GDP growth is attributed to increased agricultural production resulting from agricultural extension services, horticulture extension services, DAP, milk production and Small Industry Promotion interventions of TIRDEP.

The study revealed that TIRDEP had no sociologist among its team of staff to address social system issues. TIRDEP's failure to reach women farmers and other vulnerable groups could be part of the wider problem that TIRDEP was not able to translate German policy on poverty into direct action, mainly due to the complexity of the existed framework conditions.

TIRDEP has created employment opportunities in productive sectors such as horticulture production, fruit marketing, Small Scale Industries, DAP, beekeeping, dairy production and fruit tree nurseries in the rural areas. On the other hand, the collapse of industrial sector (fertilizer, soap, harbour) and sisal industry has overshadowed the positive employment impact from TIRDEP.

# **Cross sectoral impacts**

TIRDEP had spin off effects to other sectors and donor projects although TIRDEP was conceived to benefit Tanga region. This came up through staff that worked with TIRDEP and later on got transferred to National level institutions.

Improvement in small scale industries has contributed significantly to the construction, industry, transport sector, and agricultural mechanization. Changes in agricultural production had a positive impact on the agro processing sector. Education projects have helped to produce

primary school graduates who have joined the labor force being used in various sectors of the region. Likewise, provision of water and sanitation has had impacts on the health status thereby reducing the burden to the health sector.

Improvements in road infrastructure particularly in Handeni district and Pangani ferry have facilitated movement and people's interaction. Thus, that has culminated into changes in people's attitudes and lifestyles.

# 4. LESSONS LEARNT

# **Target groups**

Precise knowledge on the target group structure in terms of: composition, its resources culture, wealth, vulnerability and gender issues are important for designing appropriate projects. Treating the target groups as homogenous can be erroneous. TIRDEP agriculture projects (DAP, horticulture extension and small-scale irrigation SECAP) did not consider people's differences, thus, the poorest of the poor could hardly participate and benefit fully.

# **Role of History**

History can play a role in introduction of project innovations. People in Tanga had memories of colonial era. During the colonial rule force and corporal punishments were used, which were still remembered when TIRDEP came in. Such memories made some people at first to be uncooperative. Now the situation has changed overtime, Tanga people have good memories of TIRDEP and they would like TIRDEP to come back again.

# **Planning and Coordination Unit**

TIRDEP's Planning and Coordination Unit operated as a parallel structure with the regional government structure. This had an effect to staff,

that is, when PCU ended, the whole structure collapsed and staff had to be refitted to the relevant departments. These changes led to misplacement of staff thereby demoralizing them. Some of them resigned and found work elsewhere.

#### **Framework conditions**

During TIRDEP's existence of, framework conditions were characterized by central planning which was later shifted to the region (without really decentralization, that is there was no local authority). Ujamaa Policy also characterized framework conditions, frequent changes in policies and political campaigns. It was also characterized by a single party political system that controlled the Government machinery. It was also characterized by the stringent traditional beliefs and customs of Tanga people. For example there were beliefs in witchcraft, which limited adoption of innovations such as use of draft animal power and construction of improved houses. The Coordination and Planning Unit worked in a very difficult environment because of the government interferences. This could be the reason they ended up in creating a parallel structure. However, TIRDEP was quick to adjust to accommodate framework conditions.

# **End of project promotion**

The quality of end of project promotion is a determinant of sustainability of projects. During the project preparation strategies for smooth handing over, financial and management after end of the project should be formulated. These strategies should also be shared with all stakeholders involved in the project.

# **Objectives acceptance**

Smooth implementation and sustainability of projects are dependent on acceptance of project objectives among the key stakeholders. The PESP project could not proceed at national level because

the Ministry of Education responsible for policy development was not involved from the start. Later on, of TIRDEP's efforts to involve the Minister of Education and the President trying to negotiate a consensus at the promotion stage was not fruitful.

Involvement of policy makers at higher institutional levels in projects is important for wider promotion of innovations. Policy makers' understanding of the concept on innovation helps to enhance its acceptance and thus, its promotion.

#### 5. Conclusion

TIRDEP made a big difference to lives of people of Tanga region. It has contributed to poverty alleviation in Tanga region. The contributions have been mainly through improved food security, incomes, health status, housing, water, sanitation, education, environment conservation, roads and change in life styles.

#### Comment of BMZ

TIRDEP is a good example of the paradigm change in development cooperation that has taken place during the lifetime of the project in the 70s and 80s. It started as a top-down planning process in the early 70s producing a heavyweight planning document that was out of date by its publication date. It continued investing in infrastructure for a while, then changed its focus to institutional capacity building and ended as a bottom-up participatory effort aimed at improving the situation of the population. Whereas the implementation of the first three paradigms did not result in lasting effects and impact – because of severe deficiencies and an adverse political environment – the fourth one seems to have impacted positively on the target group. This is due, however, not only to the participatory methods employed but also to the improved enabling environment at both the economic and the administrative level since the mid-80s.

Even taking the favourable political development into account and also the fact that Tanga was always one of the better-off regions in Tanzania and that some TIRDEP activities have been continued under new and separate projects since the termination of the TIRDEP, the assessment of TIRDEP by the ex-post evaluation team is positive to a striking degree. Thus we learn that the bad reputation which such large rural regional development projects have is not justified. If they have a certain momentum, use the right methods and enjoy an enabling environment, they have a positive impact.

This type of project has long since been abandoned and has been replaced by support to assist the Tanzanian authorities in their efforts to develop their country and to implement their poverty reduction programmes. There were therefore some initial doubts within the BMZ's regional division about the usefulness of the expost evaluation. However, it is now seen as a valuable piece of information, even if it does not provide that many lessons for our day-to-day work.

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