

## V. ASSESSMENT OF FOOD SITUATION

### DESCRIPTION OF FOOD DELIVERY SYSTEMS

#### TITLE II PROGRAMS

U.S. government Title II Food Donations in El Salvador are carried out through three on-going programs. They are: a) the Catholic Relief Services and its local counterpart, CARITAS; b) a government to government urban food-for-work emergency project, now in its third year of operation; and c) the World Food Program, an affiliate of FAO/UNO based in Rome. Since all three programs are to varying degrees affect the nutritional well being of displaced persons, a brief description of each is given.

1. Catholic Relief Services - CARITAS. This is the oldest Title II program in El Salvador and the only U.S. based PVO distributing U.S. Title II food. CRS operates nationwide through CARITAS, its local distribution counterpart. CARITAS is the Charitable Arm of the National College of Catholic Bishops. CRS operates a Maternal Child institutional feeding in all of El Salvador's 14 departments through 379 "Nutritional Centers." Currently there are approximately 105,000 beneficiaries. Of these, some 90,000 are children under five years of age. The remainder are pregnant and nursing mothers. Until 1981 the CRS program operated largely through the MSPAS public centers; this program has been progressively transferred to the World Food Program. Today the typical CRS center operates out of a private home or church-diocese center. Internally, the execution of the program is through CARITAS which, through annual agreement with CRS, establishes ration sizes, program scope, beneficiary listings, reporting and accountability. CARITAS in turn works through the Catholic Church Diocesan structure. These form the central units for food distribution and are located in key cities maintaining

storage points. From here distribution is made mostly at the "canton" or rural village centers. CARITAS maintains technical supervision of food distribution including registration criteria through its Central Office "promoters"; however, its verification and accountability system is under the field monitors operating out of the Diocesan Regions.

The program is presented for annual renewal to AID/W through the AID Mission and is based on standard criteria governed by USAID field advises and operational Handbooks. The FY84 program authorized 6106 MT commodities (cornmeal, NFDM, rice and veg-oil) with a value of \$1.6 million. In addition to its current ceiling of 110,000 recipients, there is a small category of 5,000 persons who may be included for rations who are not "displaced" but who "due to hostilities" have been deprived of their local livelihood.

CRS rations are supplemental only, based on clinical measurement. Ideally, each center should have accurate weighing scales and individual (Gomez curve) progress charts. Unfortunately, many lack scales, due to problems of funding. The basic daily individual ration is approximately 600 calories and 36 grams of protein.

Normally CRS Title II food is not directly related to displaced persons, except where local borrowing of CRS food is made to CONADES or CONARA, both GOES agencies. However, in certain areas, DP families have been permitted to register at local centers and receive regular rations for MCH needs. This is the case, for example, in Berlin and Santiago de Maria.

Independently, CRS is further involved with the DPs through an arrangement with the European Economic Community to distribute EEC food rations. The universe of EEC-DP recipients is approximately 70,000 persons. In large part these are located near or in San

Salvador department. However, it must be noted that the total EEC food commitment in CY 83 was only 790 MT, made up of (MT) NFDM, 400; butter oil, 100; rolled oats, 290. Shipments have been delayed due to EEC's slow tendering (procurements) process. The CY84 commodity commitment is approximately the same as last year's.

The records of CRS performance reflect a good accounting control system from port to health center. However, lack of funding has meant infrequent checks and a weak administrative overview, especially in remote and hostile areas. A private consulting firm last year observed that registration lists in many localities were often incomplete, in many cases due to sloppy record keeping at the centers. More personnel are needed for monitoring; the training of employees in the field is insufficient and there is a lack of vehicles. Turnover of (low paid) checkers is far too high.

As a U.S. voluntary agency, with a non-emergency Title II program, CRS can apply to AID/W for "Outreach Funds" of up to \$500,000 annually to improve these shortcomings. But after drawing up a plan last year with AID/W and Mission assistance, CRS/NY has declined to submit it. The reason given is a reluctance to enter into a "phase in" agreement with the GOES which is mandatory in all outreach plans of 2 or 3 years tenure. CRS has indicated it does not wish to be so involved with such a GOES agreement at this time.

## 2. Government Urban Emergency FFW Program

This program was initiated as a first response to the socio-economic consequences of the present emergency. Designed by AID in early 1980, its key objectives have been: a) to bring stability and community improvements to the war affected urban neighborhood communities within the largest cities and b) to provide a nutritional supplement to needy unemployed families. In addition, an innovation was added. Strawbosses of the various work activities

are selected from quality projects to receive, through a credit arrangement, small personal loans to develop self-enterprise activities. These have included tailor shops, shoe repair facilities, carpentry activities shops and small stores such as clothing sales outlets. To date, loans total 42 and all have been repaid.

During the first two years nearly 18,000 families were aided in the three largest cities: San Salvador, San Miguel and Santa Ana. During the past year (CY 1983) 790 distinct projects involving Food for Work have been carried out. They are classified as: Productive (196) including handicrafts, gardens, small industries, etc.; Educational (394) including literacy courses, family planning; and Infrastructural (200) including water systems, building improvements, paving streets and sidewalks, access roads, latrine construction, retention walls and drainage systems. These projects include over 12,000 women participating in handicraft and cottage industries.

The basic agreement covers a twelve month period. Once signed by USAID and the GOES, it serves as an international agreement invoking direct shipment of commodities to the GOES consignee. This agency (DIDECO) is part of the Ministry of Interior and is the GOES organ concerned with community development. The current agreement (TA 3611) provides for 6805 metric tons of varied commodities (cornmeal, rice, NFDM, and vegoil.) The criteria for registered families remains constant: eligibility is given to poor, undernourished population segments whose well-being and living standards have worsened through unstable political-economic conditions.

The per capita daily ration for each family member is adequate, consisting of 2,080 calories and 62.4 grams of protein. New families in the program may be given up to 15 days of gratis rations

each month for persons who suffer special hardships such as severe undernourishment, or who are unable to participate initially in an activities project. The DIDECO goal is progressively to reduce this component. They have made some progress. In June 1981, activity rations outnumbered gratis feeding 3 to 2; in June 1983, the ratio was 4 to 1.

Development of the projects is made through DIDECO promoters who organize and work through local community councils (Juntas Directivas.) For women participants, classes are offered in nutrition, health and hygiene, literacy, handicrafts and vocational trades. This Title II program is linked to the DPs in four ways, quite aside from a broad potential for including former DPs matriculating to a rehabilitation status. These are:

- a. On Spot Commodity Loans. CONADES and DIDECO local loans are common and in most cases essential. For example, in the first four months of operating (1980), DIDECO operated entirely with borrowed foods from WFP which expedited the project's implementation.

This prospect is enhanced by the expansion of the DIDECO program this year to small cities with large DP populations, including Chalatenango, La Union, La Liberated, San Vicente and Usulután.

- b. DP Workers Ration. This year's agreement provides for a special ration to DP workers in the CONADES employment generation project. Reserved in the agreement is 1390 MT of rice, cornmeal, and NRDM to provide each DP worker additional energy. The individual ration consists of 1534 calories, more than double the regular DP ration. The field agent for this distribution is the local Caja de Credito which also administers worker cash payments.

- c. Resettlement Ration. TA 3611 also provides a total of 919 MT of rice, cornmeal and vegoil to be utilized by CONARA for the restoration and rehabilitation of localities designated by the GOES as free of violence. The CONARA program started with the village of San Lorenzo in San Vicente in June 83, and is expected to grow.

The DIDECO system of food logistics and control developed by AID, now three years into implementation, is considered sound and well executed.

DIDECO's frequent problem has been a lack of funding which has resulted in too few field promoters. This has presently been corrected. The promoters receive a good grounding in nutrition, hygiene, and food logistics. Repeated operational assessments indicate sound programming.

The DIDECO program's expansion to nine cities could be further expanded and further serve a post-DP rehabilitation effort; however, this would require funding for additional personnel and vehicles.

### 3. The World Food Program/GOES Displaced Persons Program

The World Food Program's (WFP) assistance to the displaced persons now provides food aid to approximately 206,000 recipients. The present distribution system has evolved through the creation of the GOES co-sponsor, CONADES, in November 1981. Prior to that, WFP food emergency aid dates back to late 1980 when borrowed commodities from other WFP on-going projects were diverted. At that time, 70,000 persons were identified as homeless and uprooted as a consequence of civil strife. WFP was assisted by three other organizations -- DIDECO; the National Red Cross and Action Civica Militar, the military civic assistance arm. All participated in

distributing WFP rations. Progressive expansion of the program continued through additional private organizations, including the International Red Cross, the Evangelical Church (CESAD), the Green Cross, and Caritas. These earlier distributions utilized in large part Title II food originally destined for various other WFP projects in El Salvador.

WFP/CONADES distributions have followed a basic per capita ration as noted below. Title II inputs are ordered through Rome and consist of whole grain, corn, non-fat dry milk (NFDM) and veg-oil. In accordance with WFP/Rome emergency food aid procedures, distribution agreements have been subject to renewal every four months. The present agreement, by which WFP distributes food to approximately 165,000 DPs in government controlled areas and to 40,000 DPs in contested areas, terminates on 22 March 1984. A close re-examination of CONADES' accounting system and control of Title II food flows port-to-distribution point confirms that the system is sound and functioning reasonably well. The need for a better surveillance of food distribution follows.

Under a pending proposal to USAID, WFP would continue to provide commodities to CONADES over an exceptional six month period. Under present procurement schedules of Title II U.S. shipments, these commodities, including 14,040 metric tons of milk, vegoil, and corn grain, should arrive in El Salvador during May-June and suffice until December 31, 1984.

The agreement states that this will be the last food tranche under the current displaced persons food distribution (WFP/CONADES) formula. What new arrangements will evolve are under study. Two factors appear to influence this decision. They are:

a) to divest in part the present CONADES overall mandate. CONADES is presently the executive agency of the entire DP

operation. This covers many facets including the coordination of various private as well as GOES organizations. Other inputs include building material, clothing, personal items and socio-health necessities as well as organization of the community working committees (CLA). The plan now is to create more of a servicing role for CONADES rather than its present executive position

b) the GOES is increasingly concerned with the permanent characteristics of DP assistance. Preliminary planning calls for re-classifying the DP population by a process of matriculation from that of total "Wards of the State" to one of job opportunity, greater self help and a return to self reliance.

It seems certain, however, that whatever changes occur after January 1985, Title II assistance to the DPs will be required. Meanwhile the present priority is for an adequate food basket with increased concern for the vulnerable groups as stressed in other sections of this report.

Here one must consider the frailties of the current CONADES daily ration. The Title II components and their food value are in grams: cornmeal 200; NFDm 40; veg oil 20; for a total of 1010 calories and 30.2 grams of protein. The additional components, furnished by the GOES, consist of 30 grams each of red beans and sugar and 7 grams of salt. The total ration is supposed to be 1227 calories and 36 grams of protein.

In fact, however, CONADES resources for providing the beans, sugar and salt have fallen far short of reaching even a minority of DPs with any regularity. Presently, as of February 10, all of the 270,000 DPs are receiving these components, but only periodically. The FY84 AID support budget to CONADES allocates 2.3 million colones for local food purchases. This is insufficient, since it will provide for only 71,000 persons.



It should be noted that even with the GOES component (as taken up elsewhere) the caloric intake of the ration is inadequate for most children over 12 years and all adults assuming light to moderate activity of healthy individuals. Even if the ration is to remain as a basic supplementary additive for the DPs (in contrast to needed increases for others) it is essential for CONADES to have the resources to provide these basic components to the DP diet.

CONADES funds are derived principally through sources from the Title I agreement. Funds for food purchases made available in CY83 tallied approximately 2.5 million colones, where in fact approximately 9 million colones ( at present prices) were needed. This matter should be of key concern to the Mission. If the ultimate solution to the DP nutritional problem is to be in large part the responsibility of the GOES, this channel of food sources should be encouraged rather than met with indifference.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing it may be noted that while all three agencies (CRS-CARITAS, DIDECO and CONADES) have distinct category targets, all, owing in part to a common geography in meeting nutritional needs, are closely inter-related. This is augmented not only by the sharing of certain field warehouses and occasional commodity loans and swaps, but by circumstantial interlacing of the three distribution programs. In certain localities DP pre-school children may register for CRS MCH services. CRS also distributes EEC rations directly to DP recipients in some camps. In certain localities DIDECO FFW projects should have an increasing role in the rehabilitation of post-displaced persons programs. In the DP work generation programs, DIDECO furnishes the Caja de Credito with the workers' rations, and also provides the resettlement rations for CONARA. The flexibility and interchange has further potential because the CONADES local committees and the CONARA local committees are essentially comprised of the same people. Finally, WFP 2317 (Maternal Child) and planned project No. 2690 (initiated this year as a designated national school program) can conceivably provide two additional nutritional resources potentially beneficial to DPs. All together they augur a distribution pattern progressively more complex locally and potentially duplicative, unless closely guided.

The following recommendations should insure effective food distribution:

1. A monitoring corps is needed. Its workscope, developed with concurrence of all parties, would assure a total community distribution overview rather than the present system of parochial checkers of one program. The corps (a full time cadre of 12 trained monitors is suggested) should be identified by CONADES, DIDECO, and CRS-CARITAS as food

aid "constables"; they should have the mandate to take up issues locally with any agency. Their reporting should be systematic; their function, to promote and work toward the maximum benefits of Title II rations, and to achieve the minimum level possible of petty diversion and food misuses. The corps would require a home office, a coordinator and adequate logistical support. Their findings as periodically appropriate would be freely shared by a fully active food-aid council to be chaired by AID. A key advantage would be a constant vigilance which is now totally lacking; but additionally a reporting mechanism which places the Mission first in line on events which are vital to food aid success.

2. Priorities should be established for:

- a. Producing a Standard Individual Control Card. The CONADES card is standard for CONADES supported DPs but does not include other donors. The amount of food aid to each family is calculable only if recipients of two or more food donors present all cards to the monitor. This should be avoided. Further, colored cards could be used to indicate exceptional food rations such as special supplements, etc. (See also "Registration")
- b. Determining Feasibility of Commodity Loans. Loans of food among the donors to cover short term shortages at the local level are often essential. But given the fact that the CONADES and CONARA local groups are often comprised of the same persons, the monitor should be central to such transactions. Further, the trade off aspects of the loan should be made known to the food aid coordinator at the time of occurrence.

3. Additional Priorities should be developed for:

a. Determining Nutritional Need. As other sections of the report note, increasing importance will be given to classifying DPs in terms of comparative nutritional need. The monitor, assisted by selected DP checkers, should be essential in this process.

b. Transferring DPs to other Food Programs. The transfer of recipients from DP status to other on-going food aid programs, i.e. DIDECO, CRS or newly organized Rehabilitation/Unemployment Title II projects should be formulated with strong input from the food aid monitor.

4. A coordinator position should be established. This position, assisted as necessary by a person knowledgeable in nutrition, should be the direct personal liaison between the Mission and GOES food aid officials. Whether a qualified PVO candidate or a regular Food For Peace officer is selected, a comprehensive knowledge of PL-480 is desirable. There are and will continue to be new avenues for providing donated food under both humanitarian and development objectives. The present use of surplus dairy products under AID administration could have a special role in El Salvador. There are also new criteria for Title II Section 206 for localized sales. Also pending is the possible monetization authority for Section 416 products. These possibilities may be enhanced further with the considerable experience gained through use of Title II foods elsewhere. These might include a combination of minimum wages and food rations, the latter to be made available at centralized "food banks" using food chits (used in Brazil and Chile);  
or                    the                    formation                    of                    large

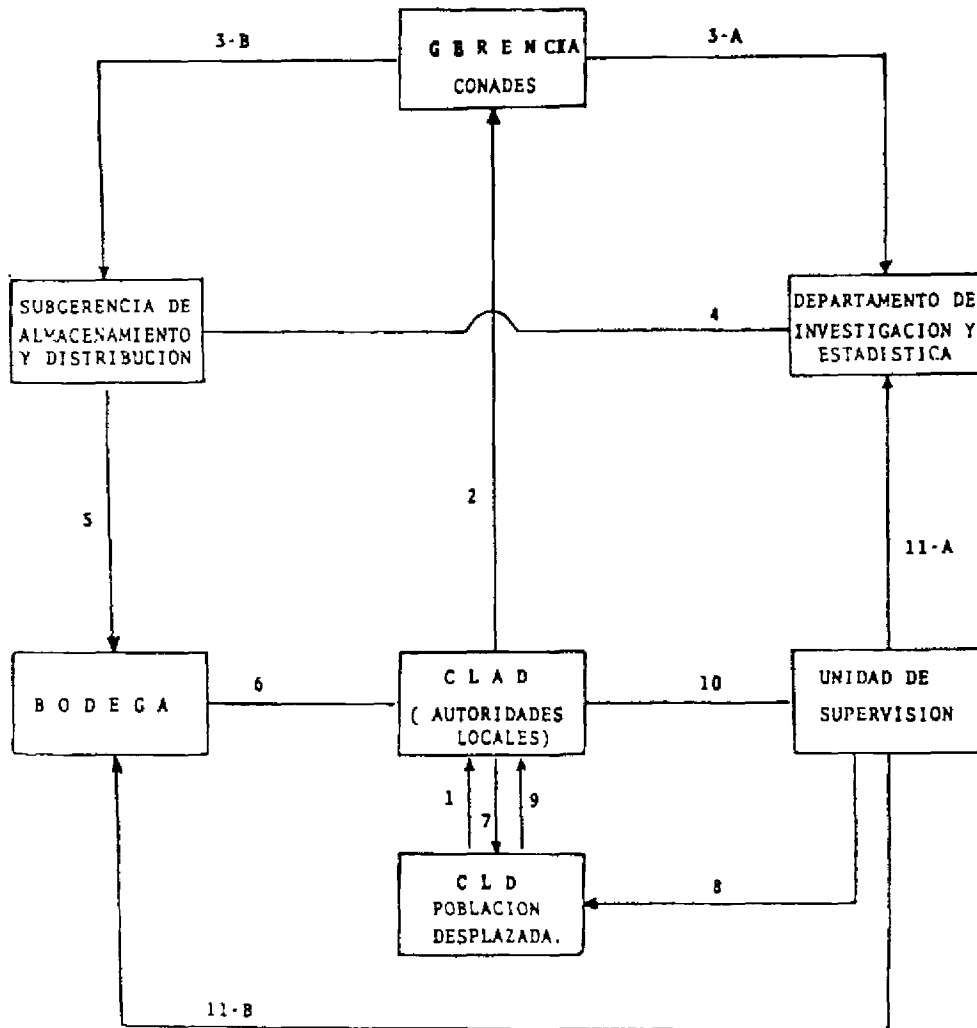
consumer cooperatives with subsidized Title II sales (used in Indonesia and India).

Summary of Food AID. In comparative terms, the food aid situation in El Salvador is fortunate in having essentially a sound, well-proven logistical administrative system from dock to the point of distribution. At present the performance is good, but closer focus at the receiving/consumption level is needed. The recommendations herein are directed toward that improvement; they should be instituted as soon as possible.

METRIC TONS FY 1984

PROGRAMS	CORN MEAL	RICE	MILK NEDM	OIL	WHEAT BULGUR	CORN GRAIN	WHEAT FLOUR	CORN MILK CSM	CANNED FISH	PULSES	TOTAL
Food for Work GOES/AID 3611	3,200	2,695	652	258							6,805
Maternal Child AID/CRS/Caritas	2,432		1,229	608	1,837						6,106
Sect. 206 IRA 3612			8,300								8,300
WFP 1219 Displaced Persons			2,160	1,080		10,800					14,040
WFP 776 Food for Work			718	201			1,077	226	X	X	1,722
WFP 2146 Basic Grain FFW			265	275			1,600	315	X		2,455
WFP 2317 Maternal Child			280	216		1,440					1,936
WFP 2690 School Feeding											
TOTAL	5,632	2,695	13,104	2,638	1,837	12,240	2,677	541	?	?	41,364
RECAP:											
Title II-Donations	5,632	2,695	1,881	866	1,837						12,911
Title II-Sales			8,300								8,300
Title II-World Food Program			2,923	1,772		12,240	2,677	541			20,153
TOTAL	5,632	2,695	13,104	2,638	1,837	12,240	2,677	541			41,364

PROCESOGRAMA DE LA ATENCION DE LAS SOLICITUDES DE ALIMENTOS



## VI. JOBS PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

### INTRODUCTION

The jobs component of the Jobs and Health Program was designed to meet a number of objectives through both direct and indirect approaches.

The direct objectives of the Jobs Program were:

1. To employ displaced persons in order to provide them with cash to use as they saw fit.
2. To improve the living environment in camps in areas where displaced persons had concentrated and in the communities heavily impacted by the influx of displaced persons.

The indirect objectives of the project were:

1. To improve the ability of displaced persons to meet their own emergency needs and to contribute to their own maintenance and health. It was implied that the provision of cash would enable DPs to purchase food from the general market and thus be less dependent on food aid.
2. To improve their health status. This was to be achieved in two ways: First, the projects carried out by the Jobs Program would help improve the living environment in the camps and other concentrations of displaced persons thereby lessening the health risks. Second, with the cash received from the works program, DPs living in areas not served by other health components of the displaced persons assistance



program would be able to pay the health service fees charged by the clinics of the MSPAS.

3. To reduce the adverse impact of large concentrations of displaced persons on the host community. The adverse impact was to be lessened by:

- a. Permitting the displaced persons to participate in the local economy by providing them with disposable income.
- b. Providing projects that would improve the environment not only for displaced persons but also for the overall community in general. It was foreseen that this element would lessen the resentment of the host community to having DPs in their midst.
- c. Carrying out projects to improve health and living conditions in the host community. It was felt that the environmental risks resulting from overcrowding caused by the influx of DPs would be lessened by the Jobs Program works projects, thereby restraining increased incidence of disease which would result in local resentment against DPs.

### Financial and Economic Characteristics

#### General Characteristics

Through October 31, 1983, some 337 projects had been completed. Each project lasted an average of 52 working days. The average number of work positions created per project was 54. For all 337 projects the number of work positions created totaled  $337 \times 54$ , or 18,198. Assuming that each position was rotated approximately four times during the life of the project,

the number of persons employed on all projects combined could have hypothetically reached slightly over 70,000.

The total cost for all 377 projects reached 8,101,696 colones. The projects ranged in cost from as little as Col 1,000 to as much as Col 110,898. The overall mean average cost per project was Col 24,041.

#### Project-Specific Characteristics

The projects were divided into two different categories. These were Category A, or health related projects, and Category B, which included all other types of camp or community improvement activities. According to the project paper 519-0281, Category A projects were to receive clear precedence and priority over those of Category B.

As noted in Tables 1B and 1C, there are considerable differences in the implementation rates for projects falling into the two categories. Through October 31, a total of 100 Category A and 227 Category B projects had been completed. The breakdown in percentage terms was 29.7 percent for Category A and 70.3 percent for Category B. The cost characteristics of the two types of projects were also markedly different. Category A projects cost an average of Col 16,514 each whereas the Category B projects cost average was Col 27,216. As a result, Category A projects were even less important in terms of the breakdown of total financial cost than their numbers would imply. A total of 20.4 percent of all financial resources, or Col 1,651,411, were allocated to Category A projects. The remaining 79.6 percent, or Col 6,450,285, were devoted to Category B projects. Within each of the two categories, project activities are divided in turn into eight different subcategories. These are listed in Table II. In practice, however, projects are heavily

concentrated among a relatively few categories. Based on a representative sample of 35 projects, subcategories A8, B4 and B6 alone account for 54.3 percent of all projects in terms of absolute numbers. In value terms, they accounted for an almost identical 55.4 of all funds disbursed.

Unfortunately, time did not permit a detailed analysis of how the composition of projects has evolved through time. According to officials involved in project implementation, the general trend has been from simple to complex, small to large, less expensive to more expensive and from Category A to Category B. As one official noted, "At the beginning, all of the communities rushed in with projects to remove trash and drain mud-holes. Once these were finished, additional requests were then for things such as road construction and repair." The fact that the workers have quickly learned labor intensive construction techniques has also facilitated the movement toward larger more complex undertakings.

#### Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Target Group

Based on questionnaires submitted to the Caja de Credito personnel who administer the projects within the various departments, it has been possible to estimate some of the more important socio-economic characteristics of those employed as laborers on the projects.

The percentage of workers residing in urban and rural areas was almost equal. A total of 51 percent resided in the former, with the remaining 49 percent in the latter.

Slightly less than half - 42 percent - of the workers reside in displaced persons camps. Most of the remainder are

also displaced persons who rent housing or reside with relatives or friends. In some instances, employment also is given to local residents who are not displaced, but who have been chronically unemployed. These cases amount to less than 10 percent of all of those provided employment by the projects.

One important indicator of the workers' socio-economic status is whether or not they are literate. If literacy is very broadly defined as being able to read and write one's own name, worker pay records can be used to estimate the prevalence of literacy among them. Employing this approach, 12 percent of those working can be classified as literate. Project officials report that literacy is most frequently encountered among the younger workers.

The spread of hostilities throughout El Salvador's eastern departments has resulted in numerous school closures. As a consequence, many youths who are too young to be conscripted and who would otherwise be attending classes, have been left idle. The projects have sought to employ youths in this category. According to Caja estimates, approximately 12.5 percent of all workers fall in the 14 to 16 year old age range.

Given the fairly large average size of households in El Salvador i.e. 5.7 in the 1970 census, it is not surprising that those who obtain work under the Jobs Program has a number of others who are financially dependent upon them. Indeed, project officials estimate that each employee on the average supports 4.8 persons. If one assumes one worker per household, the resulting estimate is nearly identical to the figure cited above for the 1970 census. The fact that a family becomes displaced, in other words, appears to have little effect upon the family's size.

### Employment Effects

While the number of positions created by the projects is a precise figure - 18,198 - the number of people who have been employed as workers is far more difficult to obtain. To spread the beneficial effect of employment among as many displaced persons as possible, the projects are supposed to rotate employment for each position at least several times. Caja officials estimate that overall, each position is rotated an average of nearly four times. Theoretically, then, if no worker was ever reemployed, a total of  $18,198 \times 4$ , or 72,792 individuals, would have received employment lasting for approximately two weeks duration. In practice, however, the same workers are permitted to work for periods of one month or more. In addition, after finishing one project, they are frequently permitted a rotation on another. As a consequence, trying to estimate with precision the number of workers who have benefited from the various projects becomes a bewilderingly complex task. If workers who have worked multiple rotations are taken into account, the total number of workers benefiting from the project can be reasonably estimated at between 40,000 and 50,000.

The maximum number of days of work permitted any given worker is set by the regional Caja de Credito. The number varied widely from region to region, with a mean average of 91 days per worker.

According to Caja estimates, few - only 6 percent - of those employed by the projects had other regular sources of income. The sources were not specified, but were not considered to be important quantitatively. However, a total of 28 percent were estimated to earn seasonal income from harvesting local crops such as coffee, cotton or sugar cane.

### Economic Considerations

Examination of project records disclosed conclusively that information important for the paper operation of the AID Program Unit's functions is either not collected at all, or is very late in arriving in San Salvador. Examples were abundant. Perhaps the inability to determine who works and for how long is the principal shortcoming of present data collection activities.

Sufficient information should be obtained from each worker to permit the local Caja to determine how much they have already worked and how much they have been paid.

Similarly, there are no data pertaining to such important areas as whether or not the workers reside in camps, their age, sex and marital status, or the amount and sources of their income. Estimates of these phenomena by Caja personnel, while useful, are only estimates. Firm data on these subjects could be collected by Caja personnel on questionnaires randomly administered to workers and other project beneficiaries. Investigation of the process by which prospective projects are evaluated and assigned priorities also disclosed that there is no conscious or systematic effort to include economic considerations in their analyses. In all fairness, the projects are already severely constrained by considerations such as which activities are permitted, their costs, the necessity of being labor intensive and the requirement that they be in the immediate vicinity of the displaced persons. Nonetheless, it should be possible to employ elementary benefit cost analysis to determine the potential economic returns for projects in at least some sub-categories. These would include reforestation and the repair and construction of rural roads.

Lastly, project officers and the USAID staff in general have made no attempt to examine the projects' cost effectiveness. This is a technique for justifying a project on economic grounds when benefit/cost analysis cannot be performed. It operates by demonstrating that the project's objectives cannot be achieved by any practicable alternative means at less expense than with the project in question as designed.

In the present case, and after considerable discussion, the evaluation team was unable to identify any practicable alternative at less cost. This was due primarily to the unique way in which the projects activities dovetail to achieve the stated purpose. Namely, while the work activities are means for providing employment opportunities and income for the displaced, they also result in an improved health environment which supports another objective of maintaining and in some respects improving the refugees health status. Given the existing and prospective near term security situation, as well as the inability to identify possible sites, the alternative of resettlement was not considered to be practicable at this time. In addition, it was by no means clear that it would be a less expensive alternative means for dealing with the existing situation other than in the very long run.

Table 1A. Aggregate Expenditure By Cost Category

7 Agencies - 337 Projects

	<u>Approved Budget for Projects</u>	<u>Executed Expenditures for Projects</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Labor	6,158,970.32	5,770,633.25	388,337.07
Field Admin.	879,366.50	893,039.25	-13,672.75
Materials	1,003,153.35	1,031,202.91	-28,049.56
Tools	523,713.75	351,467.87	172,245.88
Transportation	57,536.00	22,208.47	35,327.53
Contingencies	832,630.41	33,144.45	799,485.96
TOTAL	9,455,370.01	8,101,696.20	1,353,673.81

Average Project Cost Col 24,041.



Table 1B. Expenditures for Category A Projects Only

7 Agencies - 100 Projects

	Approved Budget <u>for Projects</u>	Executed Expenditures <u>for Projects</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Labor	1,179,126.00	1,072,213.75	106,812.25
Field Admin.	175,473.00	169,290.63	6,182.37
Materials	324,589.79	330,941.97	-6,352.18
Tools	104,409.85	66,307.11	38,102.74
Transportation	7,416.00	4,636.57	2,779.43
Contingencies	174,951.43	7,921.00	167,030.43
TOTAL	1,965,965.75	1,651,411.03	314,554.72

Average Project Cost Col 16,514.

Table 1C. Expenditures for Category B Projects Only

7 Agencies - 227 Projects

	Approved Budget <u>for Projects</u>	Executed Expenditures <u>for Projects</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Labor	4,979,844.32	4,698,319.50	281,524.82
Field Admin.	703,893.50	723,748.62	-19,855.12
Materials	678,563.56	700,260.94	-21,697.38
Tools	419,303.90	285,160.76	134,143.14
Transportation	50,120.00	17,571.90	32,548.10
Contingencies	657,678.98	25,223.45	632,455.53
 TOTAL	 7,489,404.26	 6,450,285.17	 1,039,119.09

Average Project Cost Col 27,216.

Table 2

Types of Projects

<u>Category A</u>	<u>Category B</u>
1. Drainage	1. Curb Leveling
2. Latrines	2. Reforestation
3. Garbage Disposal	3. Conservation
4. Potable Water Maintenance	4. Street Cobblestoning
5. Stagnant Water Maintenance	5. Drainage Construction
6. Served Water Maintenance	6. Road Widening
7. Sanitation of Surrounding Areas	7. Opening of Roads

### Analysis of Indirect Objectives

The first of the indirect objectives was to improve the ability of DPs to contribute to their own maintenance. While thousands of persons have been employed by the Jobs Program the overall impact that the income would have on each family's ability to help support themselves is difficult to measure. If health and nutrition statistics are a measure, no significant impact can be seen. It may be possible to conduct a household survey of persons who have participated in the Jobs Program to determine how they used the money. However, such a survey is unlikely to provide reliable information. From past experience in refugee situations where persons have access to minimal amounts of money, cash is usually saved for emergency needs or spent on small luxury items. People who are saving the money are unlikely to be willing to tell an investigator they are keeping the money for fear that it might later be stolen.

If this is the pattern, the program staff may wish to consider the development of methods for helping DPs save money safely. For example, since all the DPs participating in the program are dealing with a caja de credito, it may be possible to establish an emergency savings system through the cajas to enable the DPs to put their money into savings accounts.

Other measures of the way in which the income is used would be to determine the types of purchases made by DPs in the local markets. This information would also be unreliable, however, because the workers also receive food when they receive their pay and therefore the expenditures may not be immediately visible in the market place.

A cursory examination of the food supplies among households in DP camps did not reveal that vegetables, chicken or other products

had been purchased by families with one or more participants in the Jobs Program but this survey is inconclusive. At the same time, as noted in the nutrition section, few families are aware of proper nutritional balance and diet and since food is provided through other sources in the relief program, the income obtained from the works program will probably be expended for commodities other than food except in extreme emergency situations.

The second indirect objective was to improve health through environmental improvement projects and by giving families cash to pay clinical fees. Though many environmental improvement projects have been carried out in both the camps and towns, the impact that these projects have had on improving health is inconclusive. In several of the camps, the critical installations of water and sanitation have only recently been installed. Furthermore, the installation of new facilities has not kept pace with the increased numbers of DPs in certain locations. Therefore, there has been no measurable decrease in the incidence of child diarrhea. The nutritional status in many areas, of which diarrhea is one component, remains poor. If improvements are to be made in the "hygiene loop," increased projects in camps and other DP living environments must be carried out.

The use of the earned income to pay for clinical services cannot be determined. For persons living in camps, an alternative system has been provided. For dispersed DPs, however, there is little evidence that there has been an increase in the use of public health facilities as a result of having more income. While the number of people has definitely increased and all the health facilities in heavily impacted communities report increased services, many of the DPs using the facilities have obtained money for the fees through other sources. Medical staff in the facilities have indicated that if it were an emergency case, fees would not be an obstacle for either the family or the health facility.

Of far greater concern is the lack of awareness among DPs about the importance of various health indicators. Many of the minor problems that could be corrected in the health facilities are not brought to the attention of medical personnel because of people's reluctance to ask for help until a situation is critical. If expanded health and hygiene awareness programs are instigated, more people may be encouraged to use health services and the access to additional income to pay for these services could be an important factor.

The third indirect objective of the Jobs Program was to reduce the adverse impact of large displaced persons concentrations on the host community. This appears to be one of the most significant achievements of the Jobs Program. By giving DPs work, they are viewed by the host communities as making a contribution rather than simply being a problem. Several of the works projects have been used to remove trash and debris, long a complaint of local residents. Roads have been paved, streams have been channelized, bridges and culverts improved and other minor neighborhood grievances have been resolved. This, along with improvements to water and sewer lines, have all served to reduce tensions between DPs and the regular residents of the host communities. Furthermore, the projects are reportedly popular with municipal officials who are presently having difficulty obtaining funds for their own public works programs.

Whether or not these programs have contributed to lessening the environmental risks caused by overcrowding cannot be determined. However, the improvements in trash collection and in water supply and sanitation, while not measurable in the context of this assessment, have undoubtedly had a positive impact overall to both DPs and the host community alike.

### Wage Scale

At the present time, the workers in the Jobs Program receive a wage equivalent to half the minimum wage permitted by law. Several persons have suggested that the wage scale be increased to give the families more income. They point out that since workers are limited to part-time employment and that since only one member of the family can work at one time, a greater wage would be justified.

The evaluation team, however, recommends that the existing wage scale be maintained for two reasons. First, it is believed that the people save the wage or use it for luxury items rather than use it to contribute to their own maintenance. Even if the wage were doubled, as long as employment is sporadic and uncertain, it is doubtful that the expenditure patterns would change. Second, the number of people applying to work in the program is a measure of the wage scale itself. If the amount of money were determined by the desplazados to be insufficient and not worth the effort, participation in the program would be reduced. However, at the present time this is not the case. The cajas report that there is no trouble getting workers once the projects are developed. The program staff, however, should monitor the willingness of people to work as well as the inflation rate. If the number of people willing to participate in the program declines, the wage scale should be adjusted upward.

### Access of Dispersed DPs to the Program

In the economic analysis of the Jobs Program the cajas de credito reported that approximately 42% of the workers, during the period measured, were residents of DP camps. This pattern of employment, if correct, and if indicative of the employment pattern throughout the period, is disconcerting. Persons living in camps make up less than 15% of the total displaced population and

therefore a greater percentage of dispersed DPs should be receiving jobs.

This employment pattern may be the result of several factors. First, most of the cajas de credito are headquartered in towns with large DP settlements. In places such as San Francisco de Gotera, Berlin and San Vicente, persons living in camps comprise between 30 to 45% of the total population. Thus, in these towns it is not unreasonable that the percentage of workers would reflect the distribution of the two groups. However, there are many towns and villages where the Jobs Program should be carrying out projects where no DP settlements exist. Desplazados in these communities should have equal access to projects and employment.

A second reason why the numbers may be disproportionate is that emphasis has been placed on improving environmental conditions in camps and around large concentrations of DPs. It would make sense that persons living in camps be given the jobs to improve the camps. Since this is an area of priority, one cannot fault the program if this is the reason. Furthermore, most of the more serious environmental consequences resulting from a concentration of dispersed DPs would be found in the larger towns where DPs also reside in camps.

The program staff should more closely monitor the distribution of jobs between those DPs living in camps and those dispersed throughout the country.

#### Summary

On the whole many people have clearly received some economic benefit from the project. However, the limited amount of money received by the workers could not have made people self sufficient to the point where they could support themselves or even have enough



cash to significantly improve their families' diets or living status. The most significant impact of the program, however, cannot be measured in economic terms. By giving people an ability to earn a livelihood and to participate in the local economy, a strong measure of dignity has been provided to the DPs. The fact that the Jobs Program is popular, not only among the DPs themselves, but also with the host communities, is the major reason why it should be continued and expanded. If the other services recommended in this report are established, e.g. health and hygiene education and improved food supply programs for persons in camps, the DPs will be able to use their cash in many of the ways originally foreseen in the project document and will come closer to the overall objective of permitting the DPs to contribute more fully to their own maintenance.

#### Recommendations

The following actions should be taken to improve the employment component of the program.

1. The restriction of employing persons only from seven specified departments should be removed. It is recommended that the program be permitted to expand as necessary to meet the needs of displaced persons throughout the country with the exception of displaced persons residing in the city of San Salvador. San Salvador is excluded because DPs there are in better shape and have access to the local economy. Also relief supplies are distributed in San Salvador on a more regular basis.

2. It is recommended that the budget for the Jobs Program be expanded by 50%. This expansion is needed for three reasons:
  - a. The number of displaced persons has increased (according to CONADES figures) by over 50%.
  - b. There is an increased need to provide water, sanitation and other health facilities in the expanding DP settlements.
  - c. Increased opportunities need to be provided to women head of households to give them cash on an equal basis as men.
3. It is recommended that a portion of the expanded budget be set aside in a separate capital improvements fund for purchasing materials and paying transportation costs needed to continue to improve the conditions in DP settlements. By establishing this fund, the majority of money will still go to the DPs for wages but the money necessary to extend facilities such as municipal water lines to settlements outside the service area of the municipal system, can be accomplished without taking funds from the wages of the desplazados. It is felt that this would be a much more flexible way of providing installations and employment than the current "50-50" guideline. The capital improvements fund would be used for improvements in DP camps only and could also be used as a contingency fund to provide water and sanitation facilities to new influxes of displaced persons on an emergency basis. It is recommended that the capital improvements fund be initially established with Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand U.S. Dollars (\$750,000).
4. It is recommended that jobs and employment opportunities for women be expanded as recommended in the following section.

5. It is recommended that the cajas de credito be provided with a standard information reporting form and that, upon completion of each project, they report on social and economic characteristics of the workers. This information is necessary to evaluate the program and to determine whether or not it is meeting the goals of rotation, women's employment and service to both dispersed and concentrated DPs. The information should be analyzed quarterly and adjustments made to the program as necessary.

### JOBS AND EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN

Women comprise 53% of the adult displaced persons, and 67% of the households are headed by women.\* All but a few of these women have children that must be cared for; therefore, it is difficult for them to participate in the Works Program. Recent checks indicate that approximately 20% of the women have been employed by the project. In order to bring the benefits of the employment program to the families headed by women, jobs and income-generating opportunities must be developed for displaced women.

#### Options for Resolving Need

The success of any employment program for women will be measured not only in terms of the amount of income provided for women, but also whether or not it facilitates participation by women who find it difficult to leave their homes. In a camp situation, it may be possible to arrange for day care facilities on a full or part-time basis to allow women to work, or to work in the proposed supplemental feeding centers. But for women in dispersed populations, the provision of such facilities is not as practical.

---

\* These are country wide figures, i.e. with San Salvador included. In rural areas the percentage is higher. Therefore, income-generating opportunities must of necessity be focused on providing work for women in their homes.

Three types of work projects could be explored. They are:

1. Stimulation of cottage industries: By providing technical

assistance and materials, small cottage industries could be instituted that would provide women with opportunities to make articles that could be sold in the general marketplace and provide some income for the family. In the cottage industry approach, a variety of micro-enterprises would have to be established; a portion of these should be focused on meeting the specific needs of the displaced person population. For example, seamstresses could help displaced persons to replace or repair clothing. Sandal-making operations could provide children with sandals that would help protect against worms.

2. Handicrafts: Handicrafts that could be marketed either in-country or exported abroad could be identified. With proper technical assistance and organization, handicraft production cooperatives could be established and could provide work for large groups of people.
3. Home gardening: Small, intensive home or box gardens could be established and maintained by the women in or near the homes. A number of refugee gardening techniques have been successfully initiated in refugee camps throughout the world, and, in some cases, even in extremely dense refugee populations, enough additional food has been grown so that a small surplus has been available for marketing. Gardening schemes such as these have the advantage of providing the family with the option of consuming the vegetables and improving their diet or marketing the produce and using the proceeds to improve their diet or to purchase other necessities.

Home gardening projects have proven successful not only in refugee camp environment but even more so in populations where the persons are dispersed in rural or semi-urban environments where more land would be available for planting.

Recommendations

1. Several voluntary agencies have extensive experience with women in development programs. One of the most qualified agencies in this field is Save the Children (U.S.). SCF is currently working in El Salvador and has periodically provided assistance to displaced persons. It is recommended that SCF be asked to look at the problem of women in the camps and to help develop specific recommendations for income-generating programs for women.
2. Ways should be explored to increase the number of women employed by the Jobs and Health Program by expanding the number of eligible projects. One specific means to provide employment would be through the proposed supplemental feeding program.
3. The home gardening programs are an important consideration which should be vigorously pursued. One of the most experienced organizations in refugee garden projects is the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). MCC is currently operating in El Salvador and should be requested to help identify specific programs and projects that could be carried out both in the displaced persons camps and with women residing in the dispersed population.