ASSESSMENT / EVALUATION



Participation by All

THE KEYS TO SUSTAINABILITY OF A CRS FOOD SECURITY PROJECT IN NIGER











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Catholic Relief Services 228 W. Lexington Street Baltimore, MD 21201-3413 USA Authors: Jindra Cekan, Ph.D., Valuing Voices; Rutere Kagendo, M.A.; and Alexandra Towns, Ph.D., CRS; with CRS Niger staff, including Na Oume Habou Ibrahim, Mamane Magagi, and Boubacar Soumana.



Cover photos (left to right):

- A villager from the village of Takouidawa, Niger, demonstrates a foot pump on a well. Because the wells are located in a depression behind the village, they never go dry. *Lane Hartill/CRS*
- Habsu Boubacar holds her youngest daughter, Nafissa. Habsu has resorted to eating millet husks, and her children have eaten nothing but millet and water for the last three months. *Lane Hartill/CRS*
- Women prepare land for agriculture as part of a CRS Cash-For-Work project in Jougola, Dogondoutchi district in the Dosso region of Niger. *Tahirou Gouro/CRS*
- A sustainability evaluation of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Office of Food for Peace (FFP) Programme de Securite Alimentaire et Nutritionelle (PROSAN) project in Niger 2006-2012
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Abbreviations

CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc
CFW	Cash for work
COSAN	Community Health Committees/Comité de Santé
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSI	Centre de Santé Intégré (IHC)
CVD	Village Development Committee (<i>Comité Villageois de Développement</i>)
CVA	Theater group (Comite Villageois d'Animation)
DAP	Development Activity Plan
DFAP	Development Food Assistance Program
EVPC	Growth Monitoring Group (<i>Equipe Villageoise de Promotion de</i> Croissance des enfants)
FFP	Food for Peace
FFT	Food for Training
FFW	Food for Work
GON	Government of Niger
НКІ	Helen Keller International
HP	Health post
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MYAP	Multi-year Assistance Program
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PROSAN	Programme de Sécurité Alimentaire et Nutritionnelle
RRA	Rapid rural appraisal
SCAP-RU	Système Communautaire d'Alerte Précoce-Réponses aux Urgences
ST	Services Techniques (Water Technical Service)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Executive Summary

1.1 BACKGROUND

Catholic Relief Services (CRS) undertook a sustainability evaluation in 2015 to evaluate the sustained outcomes of its *Programme de Securite Alimentaire et Nutritionelle* (PROSAN) project that ran from 2006-2012 in Niger. PROSAN was implemented by three NGOs: CRS, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), and Helen Keller International (HKI) under the direction of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Office of Food for Peace (FFP) as a multi-year assistance program (MYAP) to support food security activities in the Dosso, Tahoua, and Zinder regions. PROSAN focused on increasing agricultural production and agro-enterprise, improving household health and nutrition status, reinforcing the capacities of health agents, and enhancing community resiliency.

1.2 AIM, METHODS, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this sustainability evaluation was to explore perceptions of sustainability from Nigeriens involved in PROSAN, former CRS staff and donors. It focused on evaluating participants' adherence to project outcomes and their creation of new innovations. It also evaluated partners' involvement in sustaining project outcomes. This evaluation used qualitative and quantitative methods including community mapping, focus group discussions, beneficiary interviews, and key stakeholder interviews. The evaluation was carried out in six communities in the Dosso region, with more than 500 interviewees, focusing on the following research questions:

- 1. Sustainability of activities and groups: Are the communities sustaining the activities three to five years after the end of the project? What can we learn from the communities and their post-project implementation partners?
- 2. Spread and unexpected outcomes: If the project was considered a success in the eyes of the community, how well did it spread?
- **3.** Fostering Sustainability: What are the long-term prospects for continued sustainability?

1.3 FINDINGS

Three years after PROSAN's conclusion, the project was considered a success by community members, national partners, the implementer (CRS), and donor (USAID) staff. The main findings include:

1.3.1 SUSTAINABILITY OF ACTIVITIES AND GROUPS

Eighty percent (80%)¹ of all activities were reported to have become self-sustained and community innovations have emerged:

- On average, households reported moving from being food secure for 3-6 months per year during PROSAN to 8-12 months at the time of this evaluation.
- Women reported greater income through the increase in sales of food that was produced and processed due to the grain mills.
- Respondents also reported improved household health, hygiene, and nutrition, with 91% of survey respondents indicating that their health and sense of well-being had improved, especially through the efforts of the health posts and clinics that CRS helped build and the government of Niger's efforts in sustaining them with resources and staff.

Community groups/committees have continued and are well-supported by NGO partners:

- 81% of the committees set up by PROSAN were functioning at the time of this evaluation, with many participants discussing ways to sustain best practices within their communities, and members still receiving regular trainings or updates.
- Several new and refresher trainings come through national partners, NGOs, and new channels such as radio programs.
- Some new NGOs and international organizations have built upon PROSAN's success, for instance, by using land previously managed by PROSAN for a new vegetable gardening training program, building hygiene programs on past health awareness efforts, or extending agricultural credit for further inputs.

Twenty percent (20%) of implemented activities were not sustained or have stagnated:

- While hygiene practices were sustained by households and there was widespread latrine construction, sanitation was poor in the villages, and most latrines had fallen into disrepair.
- Fewer than 50% of women reported practicing exclusive breastfeeding for children less than six months of age.
- While almost half of all health committees no longer exist, new health clinics staff have replaced some of the work of the committees with health and agricultural promotion messages now being sent via radio, television, and cell phones.
- Literacy training and theater groups have completely ceased.
- With the exception of the *Système Communautaire d'Alerte Précoce-Réponses aux Urgences'* (SCAP-RU) early warning system which has expanded, other resilience activities such as roadwork and caring for the environment are a lesser priority due in part to the lack of food and cash-incentives to continue doing them.

¹ Percentages were calculated as a combination of the number of activities that had been continued and the percentage of participants which continued them.

1.3.2 SPREAD AND UNEXPECTED OUTCOMES

New innovations and ceased activities reflected the project's legacy:

- Community innovations have emerged such as collective funds paying for cleaners of the new health center, community-imposed sanctions for births occurring outside of the health centers, and the monitoring of savings from well water sales.
- National partners have praised the project, with many lamenting its withdrawal. One non-PROSAN village told an Agriculture Ministry staff and potential NGO partner that "No one should bring a program here unless it is like PROSAN."
- PROSAN-trained masons, well repair technicians, and village youth have learned land recuperation techniques (*zai* holes, bunds and demi-lunes) that helped generate income beyond project communities.
- Project activities that received free inputs have largely stopped being implemented once the incentives were withdrawn such as Food for Training (FFT), Food for Work (FFW), or Cash for Work (CFW) (e.g. literacy, seedlings, latrines, theater etc.); nonetheless the inputs were highly valued and have continued to support agriculture and health (carts, bicycles).

1.3.3 FOSTERING SUSTAINABILITY

The following areas were identified as potential barriers to sustainability that could be systematically explored in other projects:

- Although most committees are still functioning, there are no processes in place to engage and train youth and new inhabitants of the villages.
- While village communities have been maintained, there is an increasing lack of ministry resources (e.g., staff, transportation, and communications) to take the place of NGOs like CRS after a program ends.
- There is little management of knowledge around project data, which is further exacerbated by staff changes in NGOs, government ministries, and donors. Project data (proposal content, monitoring data, evaluation results, participant lists, partner names, and exit agreements) must be managed ethically, locally and be held online, accessible for future projects to use and for villages to conduct self-evaluations.

1.4 LIMITATIONS

This sustainability evaluation was complicated by security and safety concerns, data aggregation issues, and sample size limitations. Due to security concerns surrounding Boko Haram's attack in the far eastern Diffa province, the eastern regions were inaccessible at the time of this evaluation. While some data came from the indicator tracking system (IPTT), donor requirements were focused on outputs (e.g. numbers trained) rather than sustainability measures (e.g. what was learned and retained), resulting in gaps in the basic data needed to measure activities and committee involvement. Due to the lack of rigorous post-project studies, our own mixed-method methodologies had to be reshaped in the field. Lastly, due to time restrictions and available resources, we carried out 393 of our intended 480 interviews.

1.5 LESSONS LEARNED

This evaluation reveals transferrable lessons for enhancing project sustainability. Overlapping inputs identified in the FFP Tufts/FANTA evaluation² of exit strategies in Bolivia, Honduras, India, and Kenya included resources, technical and management capacity, motivation, and linkages. As the scope and objectives of the Tufts/FANTA evaluation are uniquely similar to this sustainability evaluation of PROSAN, we chose to reference their findings as a way of comparing lessons learned across similar studies and geographic areas. Our assessment also brought to light several drivers and barriers to sustainability.

RESOURCES

Communities will prioritize their own resources to meet their needs, and continue activities they feel are of greatest value. Cash and food grants are deeply appreciated and can bring short-term benefit, but fail to maintain longer-term. Second, implementers should identify who will support projects after they close; governments often lack technical service staff and means of transportation to support villagers.

TECHNICAL AND MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

Committees played a key role in sustaining PROSAN's activities and training in the communities. PROSAN partners can be considered successful in continuing to provide support, especially given their resource constraints and membership on multiple committees.

MOTIVATION

Motivation was needed on the implementing side and the beneficiary side of the project. Staff and partners should be encouraged to look at the bigger picture of the program and to build on what already exists in the community. There can also be a range of motivation by participating communities; partner staff recognized that many villages are motivated and self-sufficient, but others lack the means and motivation to excel.

LINKAGES

This evaluation showed that the degree of participation among consortium and CRS staff during implementation and with communities and partners during and after PROSAN to communities seems to be a key to sustainability. Such linkages foster country-led ownership.

DRIVERS TO SUSTAINABILITY

The sustainability of a project can be understood through a thorough evaluation of its various drivers and its barriers. Drivers for the PROSAN project in Niger included: timeframe, participation, continuity, and ownership. Barriers to its sustainability

² Food Security and Nutrition Network. Effectiveness of Title II Program Exit Strategies: Conclusions and Recommendations. www.fsnnetwork.org/sites/default/files/fanta_exit_strategies_presentation_ conclusions__-_final_-_feb_5.pdf

included perceived helplessness, dependency, lack of knowledge management, and youth exclusion.

1.6 CONCLUSIONS

Donors and program implementers can greatly benefit by inquiring if programs are successful after a program comes to an end. Although community members are best poised to inform if the desired outcomes are sustained, partner organizations can also share essential insight into the sustained impacts of a project. Asking the following questions is key to designing effective sustainability studies:

- Are the communities and their partners sustaining project activities and committees to support them three years after the project ends?
- What can we learn from the efforts of these communities and their post-project implementation partners? What are the long-term prospects for continued sustainability?
- What can NGOs learn from projects to make long-term sustainability more likely everywhere?

More commitment is needed by donors, implementers and partners in order for sustainability to take root. Future work on sustainability should focus on these four drivers:

- Long funding periods and long implementation time
- Extensive community and partner participation across design, implementation, and exit
- Structured continuity among partners to avoid duplication
- Country-led ownership

Introduction: Evaluating sustainability in the context of PROSAN

2.1 BACKGROUND

CRS' Programme de Securite Alimentaire et Nutritionelle (PROSAN) project ran from 2006-2012. PROSAN was implemented by three NGOs: Catholic Relief Services (CRS), CARE, and Helen Keller International (HKI) under the direction of USAID/FFP as a multiyear assistance program (MYAP) to support food security activities in three regions of Niger: Dosso (Loga, Dogondoutchi), Tahoua (Konni, Illéla), and Zinder (Tanout, North Mirriah). The \$30 million program, covering a five-year period (2006-2011) and then extended to June 30, 2012, followed the 2000 and 2006 Development Activity Proposal (DAP/Niger Food Security Initiatives, ISAN) implemented by the same NGOs in the same areas. PROSAN is now extended into a new \$40 million FFP-funded Development Food Assistance Program (DFAP) with four implementer agencies across 900 villages throughout Niger (the project is called *Programme d'Appui à la Sécurité Alimentaire des Ménages-Tanadin Abincin Iyali* [PASAM-TAI]).

The strategic objectives for PROSAN from 2006-2012 were:

- 1. To protect and enhance livelihoods by improving conditions for increased agricultural production and improved agro-enterprise.
- 2. To protect and enhance human capabilities by improving household health and nutrition status and reinforce capacities of health agents.
- 3. To protect and enhance community resiliency by improving the ability to identify and respond to crises.

This report presents the results of a sustainability study of PROSAN activities across all three strategic objectives, using the post-project sustainability evaluation of activities. The evaluation also looked at the impact indicator of number of months of food self-provisioning. Due to security and safety restrictions, the sustainability study focused on only the Dosso region of the PROSAN project.

2.2 EVALUATION STUDY AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the evaluation was to explore perceptions of sustainability by Nigeriens involved in PROSAN, former CRS staff, and donors with a focus on evaluating participants' adherence to project outcomes and their creation of new innovations. PROSAN also evaluated partners' involvement in sustaining project outcomes. The study also evaluated quality by looking for proof of perceptions, e.g. improved



Women collect water for their plants from a well in a dry season market garden in Jougola, Dogondoutchi district, Dosso region of Niger. The gardens are built through CRS cash-for-work projects which reclaim land and use simple irrigation techniques. *Photo by Tahirou Gouro/CRS*

agricultural practices like *zai* holes and grain/peanut mills for income generation or complementary food production. This report will outline the project's overall results and a few shortcomings.

Study tools were designed to document and collect information through self-reporting on activities, committee continuation, spread, and unexpected results and to probe for how to foster sustainability. The study was not designed to collect data using observation methods due to limited time and resources as well as other technical considerations. Several times during the fieldwork we were faced with questions, such as whether we were (re)evaluating the quality of PROSAN's implementation or whether we could assess the degree to which the perceptions were accurate. Our aim was not to correct participants that had incorrect perceptions but instead to focus on how well PROSAN's activities and outcomes were sustained in the eyes of participants. We found the input we gathered credible considering that participants could still remember the project activities nearly five years after the project's end, and that the vast majority of responses were confirmed (triangulated) by partner or staff interviews.

Methodology

A mixed-method approach was used combining both qualitative and quantitative methods and involving over 500 interviewees. The sequencing of qualitative to quantitative methods allowed the team to qualitatively document the sustainability of PROSAN's activities and committees and highlight areas for deeper exploration through the survey. The quantitative survey addressed issues such as the reasons for activities and committees' sustainability, causes of low exclusive breastfeeding, the extent of partner adoption of PROSAN activities, etc. Our inter-sectoral team consisted of a CRS health/nutrition expert, a CRS agriculture/environment expert, a translator, and a consultant as team leader.

3.1 SITE SELECTION

Out of the 70 villages in the Dosso region, we chose six villages to represent the three agro-climatic zones that were close to the main city Dogondoutchi (Figure 1). Site selection was based on (1) the concentration of PROSAN activities and villages, (2) the highest agro-ecological diversity, (3) access to healthcare and (4) closest proximity to markets in Dosso. The regions Tahoua and Zinder were not assessed due to security concerns. The study was conducted over six weeks in April and May 2015. The first village in the study, Batamberi, was located in northern Dosso, the next four were located in central Dosso (Angoual Toudroua, Bakin Tapki, Bado, and Jougola), and the final village, Angoual Magagi Doka, was in the southern (Doutchi) part of the county.



Figure 1: Intervention Areas for PROSAN

3.2 QUALITATIVE STUDY

We started by implementing a rapid rural appraisal (RRA). The objective of the RRA was to identify the sustained expected and unexpected outcomes of PROSAN. We revised the tools after the first two villages to shorten the study for the third site. We explored the following outcomes:

- Self-sustainability of outcomes/activities:
 - Which activities and committees continued?
 - Which trainings had the most sustained impact on behavior change?
 - What enabled them to continue after close out?
 - Were there particular populations that benefited from some interventions more than others? Why?
 - Have others, not originally participating in the project, adopted the same activities?
- More global sustainability:
 - Which local institutions and groups have continued and why?
 - To what extent have project resources have been successfully replaced by local resources?
 - What characteristics differentiate those who continued?

The evaluation included qualitative analysis in three communities. Two villages were in the northern region (mainly rain-fed farming, and no vegetable farming but higher dependence on peanut transformation and milling), and one village in the center/ southern region (rain-fed and irrigated farming). In all areas the team evaluated health and hygiene, environmental, and resilience activities. We followed the following schedule:

- Day 1:
 - Community-wide activity mapping of partners and activities since 2012
 - Community-wide seasonal calendar/ shock assessment (resilience), and months of food self-provisioning over last three years (impact measure)
- Day 2:
 - Small focus group discussions (4-6 groups per village by gender and age) on activities sustained
 - Ranking of activity sustainability, committee sustainability, and resilience with each focus group
- Days 3-4:
 - Completion of focus groups, including unexpected results discussion

- Debriefing with community and confirmation of results
- Interviews with government and private agriculture (4) and health partners (6) on their roles post-project and perspectives on PROSAN

3.2.1 COMMUNITY-WIDE MAPPING AND SEASONAL CALENDAR

The RRA identified trends before, during, and three years post-project. We needed to contextualize the three years since close-out so we created seasonal calendars in each community, focusing on any crises (especially climatic) that may have impacted the community to see whether the sustainability of activities was derailed, plus to see the sustainability of the SCAP-RU early warning system committees. The calendars were also used to ascertain the impact indicator that we defined as the number of months of food self-sufficiency. To assess the overall sustainability of PROSAN's livelihood activities, we asked participants how well they fed their households throughout the year, and the extent of their food production, food processing, and food sales. We calculated the number of households that could cover their food needs during the PROSAN implementation period, post PROSAN implementation, and for the last year (2014). To understand how food surplus came to be, we discussed the trainings, the level of appreciation for the activities, and the greatest engines for success.

3.2.2 FOCUS GROUPS

Focus group discussions included questions in line with CRS' Integral Human Development Manual, including "Did project participants have the ability to sustain the outputs of the project?" and "Did project participants have the necessary resources to sustain the project results?" Daily debriefs prepared the team for further discussions the following day, and between the first and second village we added questions to determine who (if anyone) took over the activities of the inactive committees. In the focus groups we also asked participants to indicate which activities and groups they were still doing to gauge what activities we would carry forward to the quantitative survey.

The focus groups also helped shape methodology. While reviewing the PROSAN baseline, midterm and final evaluations, we thought we would find many non-participants, as the final evaluation spoke of some activities being adopted by only 7-25% of all villagers. During the RRA this turned out to not be the case as we found very few individuals who had not participated in some way. We were told all households had participated at least in one FFW or CFW activity and the "non-participants" turned out to be younger relatives of those household members, visiting relatives, or a handful of women in seclusion. Based on this, we decided not to interview non-participants to compare impact.

3.2.3 COMMUNITY DEBRIEFING AND PARTNER INTERVIEWS

At the end of three to four days of fieldwork, we debriefed with each community, confirming findings and filling any remaining gaps, including who enabled activities to continue. Our team also presented and discussed findings in a regional partners' plenary in Dogondoutchi using a World Café format. Twenty-four attendees from local

government (e.g. regional governor, two mayors, regional technical experts and NGO leaders) and 13 village representatives (3-4 per village) gave feedback and insight into how to foster sustainability. Participants found the discussion helpful and requested more data and knowledge management at the community and technical service levels. The findings were used to inform the quantitative survey, ranging from what activities were ongoing and what committees were functioning, to what sources of information households relied on and recommendations they had on fostering sustainability.

3.3 QUANTITATIVE STUDY

The quantitative survey used a questionnaire that had both open-ended and closeended questions. The questions included: respondent's demographics; livelihood activities covered in the PROSAN project; group membership; training participation; health metrics; and nutrition, hygiene, and breastfeeding practices. The questionnaire included both open-ended and close-ended questions. The open-ended questions were coded during the data entry to generate percentages of the responses.

3.3.1 SAMPLE SIZE AND SAMPLING FRAME

A total of 393 (292 male and 101 female) interviews were conducted from a possible 480 interviews that had been pre-selected randomly from community village lists provided by CRS (Table 1). The sampling frame for the study originated from the list of households in all the villages; each village was allocated 80 interviews. To select households from each village, an equal probability systematic sampling method was used to distribute the sample across the village evenly and yield good estimates for the population parameters.

TABLE 1: TOTAL RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED BY VILLAGE AND SEX

	VILLAGE									
SEX	Angoual Magagi Doka	Angoual Toudrou	Bado	Bakin Tapki	Batamberi	Jougola	TOTAL			
Male	61	47	19	66	57	41	291			
Female	19	26	11	14	14	18	101			
Base total	80	73	30	80	71	59	393			

Respondents were primarily distributed in the 31-40 and 41-50 age bracket (Table 2). Participants in their 20s comprised the smallest group represented in the evaluation.

TABLE 2: AGE AND SAMPLE SIZE OF 393 RESPONDENTS

AGE	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61+
SAMPLE SIZE	40	105	98	78	72

We entered the data for the 393 interviews into SPSS—a software program used for statistical analysis— and analyzed it using frequency tables and graphs as presented in this report.

3.4 INTERVIEWS WITH CRS STAFF, PARTNERS, AND USAID

After gathering and analyzing the data from the quantitative study, we interviewed six CRS staff, six local partners, and a USAID FFP/Niger Officer on their perspectives on PROSAN's sustainability. We focused on which activities they felt were most sustainable but did not confirm activities specifically related to technical services. Their comments are cited within the report. It is beyond the scope of this pilot study to do such detailed confirmation but in a future sustainability study we will endeavor to confirm community and team perceptions.

3.5 LIMITATIONS

This sustainability evaluation was complicated by a range of limitations including security and safety concerns, data aggregation issues, and sample size problems.

3.5.1 SECURITY AND SAFETY CONCERNS

PROSAN supported food security activities in three main regions of Niger: Dosso, Tahoua, and Zinder. However, due to security concerns surrounding a Boko Haram attack in far eastern Diffa province, the eastern regions were inaccessible at the time of this study. Thus, there is a geographic bias to the study as beneficiaries from other regions were unable to share their perspectives. Our work was further complicated by a meningitis epidemic in Dosso during our fieldwork.

3.5.2 DATA QUALITY

Our inability to access household level PROSAN participant lists was the largest complication. The PROSAN data had been aggregated from the individual and household level to a pan-project level, e.g. numbers of people trained in activities, numbers of groups formed, as per donor reporting requests. Processing the data in this way made it no longer possible to disaggregate the monitoring data back to the household participant data needed for our study. To generate the detailed data, we made an open call for participants to self-select and speak to us during the RRA. For the quantitative survey we re-created participant lists from photocopied registers from the six selected communities, and CRS Niger MEAL enumerators input the names by hand into a spreadsheet from which we sampled 480 names.

We did not use observation methods to verify specific activities (such as the quantity of people washing their hands), as this would require spending time in the community for extended periods of time. We believe that the lack of observing targeted agricultural practices was more of a reflection of the (dry) season in which we carried out the study than a lack of the community's adoption of the practice. Future studies may be needed to confirm the adherence to specific practices and objective measures such as water quality, latrine construction quality, road quality, etc.

Due to the lack of solid examples of rigorous post-project studies, our own mixedmethod methodologies had to be reshaped in the field. The qualitative and quantitative methods used by the internal CRS and external evaluators proved to be useful in finding out which outcomes were maintained, which partners enabled and which innovations were new, but more such fieldwork fine-tuning of methods is needed.

3.5.3 SAMPLE SIZE

Prior to this sustainability study, CRS hired a local consultant to conduct a preparatory exercise in the target area to identify the sample population. It was not completely successfully because CRS' lists of PROSAN participants were incomplete. Thus at the village level we had to gather participant registers with lists because the individual household level data was lost due to the aggregation. Sending the local consultant in advance of our visit informed the villages of the upcoming evaluation and helped identify appropriate dates for the evaluation.

Also because the final evaluation had reported very low participation rates in some activities, the qualitative RRA team tried to find non-participants to test the spread and impact of these activities. Non-participants were nearly impossible to find, as we were told almost every household had participated in FFT or CFW activities. After attempts were made in the first village, separate interviews of non-participants were dropped as a comparison group. Nonetheless, the quantitative, randomly sampled survey found many more non-participants, which led to fewer surveys being completed than planned. We cannot explain this in our research other than respondents self-selecting during the RRA versus some households being absent during the survey, or new households moving in during the last three years.

The study planned to conduct 480 interviews, but due to incomplete participant lists, we completed 393 interviews, providing 80% significance level with a margin of error of 6%. Additionally, an assumption of a 10% non-response rate was used to adjust the sample size. The reduced sample size can be attributed to the following causes: (1) the lists contained duplicate entries; (2) some sampled respondents were no longer in the villages (due to relocation or death); (3) some sampled respondents indicated that they had not participated in the PROSAN project.

Findings

During the PROSAN project period (2006-2012), community members were trained and/or participated in agricultural livelihood activities, health, nutrition, and hygiene activities. The survey sought to assess the extent to which these activities and their outcomes have been sustained by community members during the post PROSAN project period (2013-2015). This section discusses sustainability around training and actual implementation of the livelihood activities, such as nutrition and hygiene, and the sustainability of structures such as groups and committees.

Overall, we found that three years after the end of PROSAN, the project was considered successful by community members, national partners, former CRS staff, and a donor representative. What astonished the qualitative and quantitative teams for this evaluation was the overall sense of sustainability around PROSAN: how deeply the communities appreciated the project, how grateful partners were to CRS, and how excited the staff and donor representative were to talk about the project. Agricultural production and the manner in which PROSAN and its partners engaged communities, including helping committees and partners to support their own development, were perceived to have the greatest impact. The findings from the RRA activity prioritization are detailed in Annex 1.

4.1 AGRICULTURAL LIVELIHOODS

4.1.1 HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY

The households involved in our evaluation shifted from being food secure through their own production or purchase of food for 3-6 months during PROSAN to being food secure 8-12 months at the time of this study (Figure 2).³ Such an accomplishment is noteworthy given the average rainfall in the region is 150mm per year. While the same percentage of households reported being able to feed themselves 7-9 months during the PROSAN implementation period, post PROSAN implementation, and for the last year, it is notable that fewer households could only feed themselves 4-6 months a year and many more could feed themselves almost all year. What is most important is the trend of the green and yellow bars (2013 and the last year which is post-PROSAN). They indicate that people are feeding themselves for more months of the year (10-12 months) than during PROSAN, especially since 2014, and that 34% of respondents said they were able to meet their food needs for close to 12 months. Participants attributed this to increased food production, grain and legume milling, diversifying the type of foods they are eating, and selling some of the food they are producing to buy additional foods. In over 20 years of food security and evaluation work, the Valuing Voices evaluators had rarely seen such a strong change in perceived food security at the end of a project, much less three years after project support ended.

³ More than half (54%) of the interviewees told us they could only cover their food needs during the PROSAN project for fewer than 6 months via the survey. This quite closely triangulated with the 2012 PROSAN Final Narrative that states that "the number of months of household food provisioning increased from 5.5 at baseline to 6.98 during the CAP 2012 survey although a peak of 9.1 months was observed during the final evaluation in FY11."



Figure 2: Percentage of households reporting food sufficiency

The village of Bakin Tapki had the longest duration of food self-sufficiency across each season pre-project, during the project, and post-project, followed by Angoual Toudrou, and least well off in food consumption was Batamberi (Figures 3, 4, and 5). During the RRA we discussed causes and believe that the presence of water for irrigated vegetable farming in the first two villages explains the difference.

The two right bars indicate that people are feeding themselves for more months of the year (10-12 months) than even during PROSAN. Success takes time to build.



Figure 3: Bakin Tapki Months of Food Self-Sufficiency

Figure 4: Angoual Toudrou Months of Food Self-Sufficiency





Figure 5: Batamberi Months of Food Self-Sufficiency

Conditions were not conducive for vegetable farming in Batamberi, which seemed to be a factor in their ability to feed themselves to only 8 months post-project compared to the other villages in the RRA which were 10-12 months post-project. In Batamberi, 8 months was the average of what was reported by men who said 10 months and women who said 6 months.

Notably, the last three years since the end of PROSAN were years of agricultural surplus and no climatic or civil shocks, other than the current fear of Boko Haram from Nigeria and the recent meningitis epidemic which killed 6% of those infected. Thus, results could change in years of stress.

4.1.2. TRAINING ON AGRICULTURE/ ENVIRONMENT ACTIVITIES

The survey asked respondents if they had received training in livelihood activities (agriculture crops and for income generation) and environment. An overwhelming majority (99%), with relative consistency across all three villages (Table 3), said that they had participated in agricultural and environmental training. Respondents remembered activities easily and were practicing what they had learned. This is an important indicator of sustainability.

TRAINING ACTIVITIES	N = 389	SEX		VILLAGE						
		Male	Female	Angoual Magagi Doka	Angoual Toudrou	Bado	Bakin Tapki	Batamberi	Jougola	
		239	100	79	72	29	78	71	59	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Chemical fertilizer	88	90	85	92	79	93	82	96	92	
Organic manure fertilizer	94	95	91	96	89	97	88	100	97	
Zai holes and bunds	85	85	84	84	88	79	78	85	97	
Demi-lunes	82	81	85	90	85	66	79	69	93	
1x1 meter planting separation	62	63	58	63	56	66	54	72	64	
Peanut production	70	63	90	71	53	83	59	82	83	
Milling of peanuts	29	14	72	30	33	28	27	14	44	
Milling and decoration/ value added to peanuts	25	11	63	24	29	28	24	10	37	
Improved tree management/branch cutting	61	64	51	58	63	76	49	65	66	
Seedling and tree planting	61	64	52	63	58	62	60	59	64	
Vegetable gardening	78	77	80	100	92	90	81	14	98	
Improved vegetable seeds	71	71	71	94	85	93	68	17	81	
Women's exchange visits between villages doing vegetable gardening	10	3	27	8	13	14	15	0	10	

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO RECALLED RECEIVING AGRICULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL TRAINING ACTIVITIES ⁴

4.1.3 SUSTAINABILITY OF LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES

Most respondents reported they were practicing the activities that they had learned during the PROSAN project. The percentage of those doing the activities varied from activity to activity, but all the activities were practiced at least by some households. Almost all households practiced the use of organic manure fertilizer (92%), millet

⁴ While in most of the report we have translated tables and RRA findings to figures, we included this table to illustrate the basis for the data which generally are presented as averages, and to show its relative consistency across villages.

production (90%), and bean production (85%). Milling and decoration/value added to peanuts (13%), milling alone of peanuts (15%), and women's exchange visits (5%) were reported as the least practiced activities by households at this time.

There also seemed to be a useful comparison of the activities the respondents were trained on and the activities they are still doing. Logically, the higher the number of people who received the training, the higher the number of people still carrying out the activities (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Comparison of Reported Agricultural/Environment Training Received and Activities Sustained

In all the activities, the variance between those trained and those practicing seemed to be uniform apart from using demi-lunes and seedling/tree planting. This is likely due to the fact that long-term activities also have lower immediate return. In the qualitative interviews, participants told us not only were there fewer trees being given out to plant, but people cutting trees in their fields (most likely for fuel wood) was a repeated disincentive to plant them. Several communities, especially Batamberi, also disclosed that they were not using demi-lunes because their land was not suitable for this activity. This technique was possible during the PROSAN project because people were farming on land away from their home, where the technique was needed, rather than land near this village where soil was less amenable. After the project came to an end, many people stopped practicing it. Other villages reported ceasing construction of demilunes because incentives to participate ended.

4.1.4 AGRICULTURE: AN ENGINE OF GROWTH

One of the reasons respondents were able to increase the number of months in which they could cover all their food needs is that food production increased since PROSAN's conclusion. Eighty of the respondents said their food production had increased in the period 2013-2015. Only 12% felt that their food production had not changed while 8% said the production had gone down; reasons for poor performance included crop attacks by pests and lack of adequate rain.

It became clear that not only did agricultural activities markedly improve household food production and provide income from primary crop sales and sales of processed crops, but household diet diversity also increased. Most (92%) of respondents (male and female equally) stated the range of food they consume at home had increased, versus 5% that remained the same, and 4% that deteriorated.

Households were uniformly grateful for the improved agricultural techniques, the availability of different varieties of crops and seeds, and the processing and value-added ventures that are yielding surpluses. Community members—especially women—were financially empowered through the increase in sales of produce and had more time for other activities due to the mills that are still available and well-maintained.

A majority of respondents (92%) said their food processing activities also increased while only 5% said it had reduced, largely due to the presence of mills and markets. Sixty-three% of households reported that their food sales increased. This is a notable achievement considering that most of the food produced during the PROSAN project was consumed in the household. The households are now producing enough for their own consumption and selling their surplus. The proceeds enable them to diversify their food and meet other needs like health services.

So why has food production increased? One third of respondents said it was because of improved agricultural practices, 20% attributed increased production to chemical fertilizer and seeds, and another 10% said organic compost and vegetable farming was a primary factor. Participants stated, "Before God, we can do nothing but thank PROSAN," and "With new techniques we have learned we can increase our production." Fifteen percent mentioned timesaving for women's milling also increased production because women were freed from milling by hand to pursue other activities.

When asked in the survey what three activities they would continue to do, 46% said vegetable gardening, 31% said millet farming, and 23% said agriculture overall. For specific activities, the highest ranked specific answers also included 22% beans and peanut farming and an average of 11% said organic and chemical fertilizer. Nearly half of participants said they shared information about vegetable gardening outside their village, followed (surprisingly) by information on *zai* holes, bunds and demi-lunes (35%), and organic and chemical fertilizer (23%). Least likely to be sustained were activities such as land restoration, tree planting, milling, and improved seeds (1-8%). Only a handful said their production had not increased due to variable and low rains, small fields, or lack of inputs.

Overall, households valued the livelihood activities taught during the project. To assess the level of importance that they attach to these activities, respondents were asked to choose the top three activities in which they were actively involved and rank them in order of their importance to their food security from least to most important. There are no activities that the majority of the respondents can be said to be in agreement (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Agriculture/Environment Activities Ranked As "Most Important" to Food Security

Crops outranked processing and inputs in terms of perceived importance to food security. Millet ranked the highest as it is a common staple (23%), followed closely by vegetable gardening (15%), beans (13%), and peanuts (10%). Vegetable gardening is a new activity for the community and it is encouraging to see a sizeable percentage consider it a very important activity for food security. Some RRA interviewees— especially youth—said yields doubled or tripled thanks to PROSAN-technologies, such as organic fertilizer doubling production in Bakin Tapki from 10 to 20 sacks of grain. Many RRA participants in Angoual, Toudrou, and Bakin Tapki felt that vegetable production led to income from sales and improvements in nutrition. Men have started producing peanuts, which were traditionally planted by women. On the other end of the spectrum, demi-lunes, 1x1 meter planting separation, improved land management including tree planting/branch cutting, and milling peanuts were insignificant with 2% each.

Despite the fact that the majority of the respondents said they will continue with the activities, 39% felt that they might not be able to continue with some in the future. About one-third provided reasons, including difficulties with weather, lack of labor,

and the cost of fertilizer. This would affect (remunerative) vegetable gardening (25%), closely followed by production of millet (24%), and peanut production (13%). Given Niger's typically low rainfall, the team saw these answers as more a case of climate realities rather than farmer unwillingness.

4.1.5 DIVERSIFIED INCOME FROM THE PROSAN PROJECT

While PROSAN agricultural training and inputs such as seeds were highly successful in increasing production, to the best of our knowledge, there was no reliable commercialization process in place for selling surplus crops. In spite of strong supply, demand was so weak at times that crops or produced peanut oil were left unsold to spoil. One group of women in Angoual Toudrou was robbed of income when a whole truck of the vegetables they sold was never paid for. Had donors and the government anticipated PROSAN's success, private sector partners could have been brought in earlier. If announced widely, news of their productivity could encourage private sector investment or new value chain projects.

Work opportunities were created through increased knowledge of practices suchas CRS-taught rain-fed agricultural bunding which kept participants employed as well as those forced to seasonally journey long distances. Youth seasonal outmigration has decreased thanks to increased food production, especially due to vegetable gardening even during the dry season. Similarly, the PROSAN-trained masons and well repairers have generated income (20,000 CFA) from other villages doing such work privately.

PROSAN-trained activities led to increased production and sale of produce such as milled peanuts, peanut paste, peanut oil, and vegetables. In addition, women's milling increased because there was a clear link between production and the timesaving and value added of the milled products. Farming brought women larger independent revenues from crops and the sale of seeds from their vegetables. Two women reported, "With the mills cereals are more available and the mill alleviates our tasks and modernizes our lives." Another said, "This allows women to have other occupations." Further confirming the benefits, fewer than 5% of all 393 respondents said that consumption had not increased thanks to milling. In Bakin Tapki, women amassed and still have 300,000 CFA in their milling savings account. In Batamberi, men have begun cultivating peanuts (traditionally seen as a woman's crop) because it is profitable. Still, women are still the ones to grind and process into peanut oil.

Further, the very act of training maintenance staff also added income to communities. For instance, PROSAN-trained masons and well-repair technicians told us of income they generated in other villages. Youth, too, having learned *zai* and demi-lune techniques, generated income while seasonally working outside the village.

4.1.6 NEW INNOVATIONS BY VILLAGES A MARK OF SELF-SUSTAINABILITY

Clearly, some activities are so highly valued that communities began supporting them with their own finances. Community innovations have emerged such as collective funds paying new health center cleaners. In the case of Batamberi, the RRA team was told people collected 1000 CFA from every marriage and baptism celebration to pay for the weekly fee of the person assigned to clean the health center. The community in Angoual Toudrou also collected money from water sales, which was split with the mayor's office, the water pump maintenance committee, and a person tasked to keep the water point clean. While the team did not get an actual figure, the community seemed very proud of how well the water point functioned and how clean and well maintained it was. At Bakin Tapki, involuntary admittance at the health center as a penalty for any birth not occurring at the health center was imposed, which strongly ensured compliance.

4.1.7 ADDITIONAL UNEXPECTED RESULTS IN AGRICULTURE/ENVIRONMENT

Interviewees mentioned a variety of results that were sustainable thanks to PROSAN's improved agricultural training. For instance, mulching led to increased soil quality and people regularly transported organic animal fertilizer to the fields using carts. New inputs were also highly praised, such as a new local seed multiplication group, MOURIBANE. The group has eight seed multipliers from PROSAN, growing millet, beans, and peanuts on 5-10 hectares. A seed multiplier of onion seeds is now selling in Bakin Tapki. Thanks to seed production from PROSAN, some people have begun producing lettuce, onion, and tomato seeds for sale. In fact, PROSAN in Batamberi made the village known in the zone, including the seed fair. The person trained as the seed expert became elected the President of Community Seed Multiplication in 2015. At the fair, PROSAN staff met with senior government staff.

The exodus of youth diminished during PROSAN and a Swiss NGO Suisse Contact project. Thanks to land rental in Angoual Toudrou during PROSAN's agricultural demonstration activities, this new Suisse Contact project was created using the same land to train 100 new vegetable farmers and trainers. (The fourth class of 25 youth is currently in process). Youth seasonal outmigration decreased due to increased food production, especially due to vegetable gardening even during the dry season, and increased knowledge of practices such as rain fed agricultural bunding which kept youth locally employed.

And while youth plant new seedlings, women often replant small seedlings they find in their own fields in an effort to sustain soil quality. While there was some disagreement about whether it was advantageous to have women and men working together in the fields, women spoke favorably of their exchange visits to other villages. In addition, the vegetable gardening production increased women's independent revenue, resulting in some women selling their surplus to their husbands. Following PROSAN and training by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), women started using micro-doses of fertilizer that became available via the FAO project, which has funded small boutiques of agricultural inputs. Unfortunately, many women do not sell their processed peanut oil. (Some said they need a market, in spite of the fact that there are nearby markets in adjacent villages).

The environmental activities were valued by participants, but not to the same extent as agriculture. Natural regeneration was sometimes employed (especially by women in rain-fed fields), but some cut trees (likely for fuel wood) in fields, which discourages others from supporting natural tree growth. In spite of the seedling production training, those who received the training expected outside inputs (bags or even the seedlings themselves) for this activity to continue. Few continue to create or use *zai* or demilunes for environmental or agricultural reasons even though some participants said they were worthwhile. Either the soil is not considered the right quality or they are no longer paid for it under the CRW or FFW programs.

Support for water pump maintenance and repair in Batamberi was high in terms of community funds used for repairs. In spite of repeated repair efforts by the water management committee that functioned well and managed a water reparation fund of 10,000 CFA to pay for spare parts and repairs, there was a lack of interest by the Water Technical Service (ST). This lack of interest was unexpected. While many respondents clearly articulated the link between water and health and they pointed out that functioning wells and clean water means fewer children would be ill and more households would be clean, large gaps in community practice remain.

4.2. HEALTH, NUTRITION, HYGIENE, AND SANITATION

Our post-project sustainability evaluation shows that some health activities and committees were taken up by the staff of health clinics built by PROSAN, and access to health and hygiene was strongly appreciated by the communities. The government of Niger plays a particularly large part in health, nutrition, and hygiene sustainability, given the staff and medical resources the government provides. Part of the emphasis on nutrition may be attributable to a local NGO PAEPA II, which recently closed a hygiene assistance project, so the intervention was fresh in the minds of participants. PAEPA II joined with Niger's Water Ministry to teach hygiene after PROSAN and there are now weekly street cleanings. The leaves, animal waste, and other refuse collected are used for compost, which is widely appreciated. In addition, in Angoual Toudrou a community volunteer keeps the area around the health center clean.

4.2.1 TRAINING ON HEALTH, NUTRITION, AND HYGIENE ACTIVITIES

More than 85% of respondents said they had received health, nutrition, and hygiene training. Participation varied from 18% for interventions supporting mothers with healthy children and Lead Mothers to 25% who were trained in diet-diverse cooking practices. Nearly all (97%) participants had been trained in household cleanliness, 93% on hand washing, and 88% on healthcare for sick children and adults. As was true of the agriculture/ environment training, the villages participated roughly in the same proportions.

TRAINING	N =	SEX		VILLAGE					
ACTIVITIES	335	Male	Female	Angoual Magagi Doka	Angoual Toudrou	Bado	Bakin Tapki	Batamberi	Jougola
		239	96	67	59	26	62	67	54
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Healthcare for sick children and adults	88	87	91	87	90	96	82	90	87
Health training	52	49	59	52	56	50	56	49	46
Training and diffusion of exclusive breastfeeding, iodine supplements	61	54	80	58	53	69	68	58	69
Vaccinations	76	69	94	72	78	85	79	69	83
Nutritional counseling	68	60	88	70	64	85	53	69	78
Demonstration and practice of diet diverse cooking	25	12	58	24	29	35	27	15	30
Diet diversity of complimentary feeding of children enriched porridge from 6-24 months of age	37	27	64	37	37	46	31	33	46
Dietary diversity of adults	46	40	60	45	46	54	44	39	54
Prenatal consultations	75	67	95	76	75	81	66	75	81
Child growth monitoring	26	18	47	22	22	38	26	24	33
Oral rehydration salt (ORS)	56	47	80	63	59	73	53	42	59
Lead Mothers/Positive Deviance Mothers with Healthy Children	18	7	47	19	20	38	5	9	31
Water filtration	84	82	86	87	80	88	85	81	83
Latrines	73	74	72	76	78	77	61	76	72
Hand washing	93	93	94	96	83	100	90	99	96
Household cleanliness	97	97	98	97	95	100	97	100	96
Potable water/water pump rehabilitation	49	46	58	39	42	50	27	67	72
Exclusive breastfeeding	49	41	69	49	47	50	37	55	56

TABLE 4: PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO RECALLED RECEIVING HEALTH TRAINING

FINDINGS



CRS Regional Director, Jean-Marie Adrian, looks at a newly built well in a CRS dry season market garden. *Photo by Tahirou Gouro/CRS*

4.2.2 SUSTAINABILITY OF HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Not only were many trained, but respondents said they still were practicing a number of activities (Figure 8), which showed more variable results than for the uptake of agricultural practices. Most of the activities were still being practiced by at least 50% of participants. Activities with the lowest number of trainees were less sustained than those with many trainees. The most practiced activities by far are the healthcare for children and adults followed by safe deliveries, vaccinations, and both nutritional counseling and prenatal consultations, which had slight decreases. In Angoual Toudrou's RRA visit, almost all the men said they brought their wives to the health center for safe deliveries (sometimes aided by carts or motorcycles they bought from CFW activities). Prenatal consultations also have increased since the project ended.

However, in overall health training, there are more marked decreases between the people who received training and those who are practicing what they were trained (by 40%). Decreases were also seen in exclusive breastfeeding and iodine supplementation (by 50%) and complementary feeding (by 35%). The RRA discussions showed that very few women were continuing to prepare enriched complementary feeding porridge in spite of extensive training and a lot of available foods (even during the hot and hungry season). Very few mothers exclusively breastfed, and many caregivers gave water to children under six months of age. We were told, "When women need to leave to go to fields or the market, family members watching the children need to give them something when they cry." We saw grandmothers feeding children dirty water. The use of complementary feeding was reported to be uncommon, and there has been little diversification of food over the past six months, at least partially because the growth monitoring (EVPC) committee is no longer working in the villages.





Although the project increased the amount of diverse foods, diet-diverse cooking fell by 80% to only 5% and the diet diversity of adults fell by 50%. CRS could benefit exploring this issue more in the follow-on project. Yet at the same time, the health clinic technician and the regional doctor in Batamberi said they have seen the rate of malnutrition fall dramatically, and almost all the women participate in prenatal consultations or give birth at the health center. This is due in large part to the community practice of encouraging women to receive prenatal care or give birth at the health center. Women's repeated presence at the health center is also thanks to the health training, child vaccinations, and growth monitoring offered. In Angoual Toudrou in particular, the malnutrition rate seems to have fallen according to reports by health post staff, and many attribute that to food diversification. In spite of all the food production successes of the project, there were still reports of highly malnourished households in Angoual Toudrou village.

No visibly malnourished children were apparent in the community of Bakin Tapki, possibly due to the EVPC (growth monitoring) and increased access to healthcare due to the health center. This center was PROSAN-built with food for work resources and grew from

⁵ We separated the results of health and nutrition (Figure 8) from hygiene and sanitation (Figure 9) which had greater sustainability.

the smaller health clinic there. Now this clinic connects people with many more health professionals and is a major reason for participants' perceived improved health status.

The least practiced activities include training of Lead Mothers/Positive Deviance Mothers with Healthy Children in childcare practices (decreased by 80%), child growth monitoring (presumably practiced by mothers bringing children to clinics, rather than reported by community health workers) (decreased by 70%), and exclusive breastfeeding (decreased by almost 50%). We discussed the gap in growth monitoring with the doctors at the District Hospital during our visit to the villages, and our health expert Na Oume Habou Ibrahim remarked on the mismatch between health indicators tracked by growth monitoring and those tracking severe malnutrition in health centers. The doctors explained, "The linkages are very low as only one NGO staff is linked with one technical staff from the District Health Team, so when he is not there, nothing will go well." They advised that the government of Niger's technical services should be involved through the whole project, from the approach to the implementation process to make sure that they are preparing for the project's sustainability. While they were vaguely familiar with PROSAN, they said such an approach was important "to ensure community ownership and sustainability... [and] community members' knowledge, basic techniques, and expertise should be considered by partners who can build on it."

CRS Health and Nutrition staff reported that the current level of 25-50% women exclusively breastfeeding was greater than the national average (23%), as reported in 2012 by the Ministry of Health-reported Niger average⁶, and much better than the 9% reported by UNICEF in 2008⁷. Some staff disagreed with the figure that appeared in PROSAN's final evaluation, which reported exclusive breastfeeding above 95%. During the RRA we found that in the three villages, only about a quarter to one-third of women practiced it. Also during our community discussions, three school-aged children were proudly presented to us as being strong and healthy throughout their lives thanks to exclusive breastfeeding, but they were the exception. There also was confusion as one of the fathers publicly blamed breastfeeding for his son's lack of performance in school. There were a few more indicators that health programming needed better attention during implementation, such as the FARN health kit from PROSAN being found in a pristine state, unused. Later in the report we discuss the threat of free incentives to sustainability.

4.2.3 SUSTAINABILITY OF HYGIENE/SANITATION ACTIVITIES

Hygiene activities such as hand washing and household cleanliness excelled, and seem to command almost the same percentages of the respondents who received training. When asked what activities they could most self-sustain in open-ended questions, hygiene and cleanliness was a clear frontrunner, reported by 78% of all respondents, followed by overall healthcare (46%), and more specific child-related health activities (prenatal consultations, safe deliveries, vaccinations) adding up to 13%. This is encouraging because it is evidence that respondents have managed to sustain what they learned during training and throughout the PROSAN project. (The team also suspects the NGO PAEPA II supported this knowledge in the project in the intervening years 2012-13).

⁶ Enquête Démographiqueet de Santé et à Indicateurs Multiples (EDSN-MICS IV) 2012. (www.stat-niger. org/statistique/file/EDSN_MICSIV2012/EDSN_MICSIV2012-Rapportdefinitif.pdf).

⁷ UNICEF. 2008. West and Central Africa. http://www.unicef.org/wcaro/english/4501_5404.html.

There seemed to be more marked drops in water filtration and water pump maintenance. The sharpest fall came in sanitation, which we came to see as very unsuccessful. Although most villages had either communal or household latrines, their use was very low and open defecation was widespread. Latrines have been very weak in terms of maintenance and building. For instance, of the eight communal latrines in Batamberi, only two were built since the end of the project by one person, and few seem used. In Angoual Toudrou most PROSAN latrines had collapsed due to low quality of the construction. Nonetheless we observed that the few households that had latrines had water outside the latrines, and the latrine users were washing their hands after using the latrine.

While PROSAN provided training on hygiene and potable water use, there were simply too few wells available with potable water. In Angoual Toudrou in particular, the lack of clean water led to visible parasites (swollen bellies among many children) and reported diarrhea. This is in spite of otherwise quite marked wealth among the community as well as other vegetable gardening wells that are only three meters below the surface. Clearly this community could pay for wells to be dug, if there was interest. The subsequent hygiene project (PAEPA II) in two villages seemed very effective in supporting household hygiene and street sweeping. Across all six villages it seemed that hygiene is very highly praised, but the training did not improve sanitation, and much work remains. Nevertheless, we observed that the women's hygiene group was still visiting households to see if they had cleaned their compounds and well repair funds were presented to us.



Figure 9: Comparison of Reported Hygiene/Water Training Received and Activities Sustained
4.2.4 HEALTH PERCEPTIONS

While there were large differences in what households continued to practice, overall people felt much healthier (Figure 10). As with so much of the research, men and women reported this equally. Overall, 91% of survey respondents perceived their health and a sense of well-being had improved versus 5% whose perception was their health was unchanged and 4% felt that had deteriorated post-PROSAN. Even with the reduction in practicing of the new skills, a large majority of interviewees felt healthier thanks to improved health knowledge, food quantity and diversity, new income, and access to health facilities. Doctors at the District Hospital and at both health clinics reported that malnutrition seems to have markedly fallen in the last three years. This comes from anecdotal testimony from the last several years as well as reviews of health registers this year. According to one participant, "PROSAN helped our women discover so many innovations that the young can continue to use."



Figure 10: Household Opinion on Health after PROSAN

The qualitative respondents confirmed this sense of well-being in their responses to the survey. For instance, respondents in Bakin Tapki reported a 100% improvement in their household health after the PROSAN project. Most people mentioned access to healthcare via the health centers or health posts as well as hygienic practices taught by CRS (and NGOs such as PAEPA II within the last two years) as the reasons. The head of the health clinic/ post reported there was no longer any vitamin A deficiency due to the increased vegetable consumption (as in Angoual Toudrou).

People from Bakin Tapki said, "We have adopted new health and hygiene behaviors thanks to PROSAN as well as the proximity of the health center and its medicines [via the private pharmacy];" "We practice all the health teachings which reduces our risk of disease." Some mentioned the role of the health center, which "has made a great effort in sensitizing the villagers;" and "We do not find sick children [now that we practice] hygiene;" and "Because of our hygiene [and potable water], we eat well." Over half

attributed good health to their own practices of healthcare and hygiene, while 30% said it was access to the health centers. In terms of low exclusive breastfeeding, one said, "There is a lack of breastfeeding monitoring agents since the departure of CRS and a lack of awareness raising on breastfeeding through meetings."

The three health, nutrition, hygiene and sanitation activities respondents perceived as the most important (Figure 11) were healthcare for sick children and adults and hand washing (24% each) followed by water filtration (11%). On average, the least prioritized activities were household cleanliness, breastfeeding, dietary diversity, growth monitoring, and ORS. All of these PROSAN-promoted activities were less prioritized than even the latrines, which were a failure everywhere the team visited.



Figure 11: Health Trainings/Activities Ranked As "Most Important"

Despite the fact that many respondents seemed to feel very few were priorities, 80% of the activities were perceived as self-sustaining, with fewer than 5% doubting they could continue at all. The exceptions were that 60% of respondents said they might not be able to support their healthcare in the future, followed by hand washing at 15%, and safe deliveries at health centers at 11%. Very few answered why they felt they could not continue these, but the few who did mentioned it was because of the distance to healthcare and lack of the means to pay for it.

4.2.5 BREASTFEEDING SUSTAINABILITY

Given the very low level of exclusive breastfeeding in Niger, which UNICEF estimated at 9%.⁸ The PROSAN project provided training and created a committee to support the importance of exclusively breastfeeding children until the age of six months. During the RRA the least practiced activity seemed to be exclusive breastfeeding, so we probed for this specifically in the survey which followed. Of the 393 interviewed, 86% said they had children aged within the breastfeeding bracket (between 0-59 months). About half of those (41%) respondents said they had children aged 0-6 months and were breastfeeding them exclusively. Out of the other 140 respondents who said they had children over six months, more than 80% revealed that they were still breastfeeding to some degree. Many respondents said their children were over six months so they no longer breastfeed (at least they knew the cutoff age for exclusive breastfeeding) and "because they are already weaned." Others attributed a lack of exclusive breastfeeding to either a "need to give infants water while the mother was away," a "lack of follow-on," or a "lack of awareness raising or tracking of breastfeeding by healthcare agents."

Lack of time by healthcare staff was reported as a reason a few times in our study. One traditional birth attendant in Angoual Toudrou's RRA vehemently complained how overwhelmed healthcare staff were at the number of consultations that the community wanted at the health center; she brought pregnant women there who waited hours, not even to be seen at all. This lack of sufficient follow up by overwhelmed government staff was also lamented by the technical services staff, water technical staff and agricultural technical expert staff during interviews. Yet sustainability rests with government staff once the project leaves. Some technical staff pointed to the lack of transport services, low pay, or insufficient staff.

4.2.6 UNEXPECTED HEALTH RESULTS

There were some outlier responses linking health to other PROSAN activities. A few mentioned the health benefits of the road: "Thanks to the road, we can go on seasonal migration and have income with which we can purchase diverse food."

A few mentioned gardening and milling's link to health, "With the existence of a mill to process our products there is a vegetable network with a wide array of available vegetables." Only 2% attributed it to transforming grains and legumes via milling.

Angoual Toudrou's local Health Center infirmiere said he had seen no cases of vitamin A deficiency night blindness since PROSAN, which he attributed to the vegetable gardening and diet diversification training (not mentioned by other participants).

The community built another waiting room at the health center post-PROSAN that is well maintained. Yet in spite of this success, community leaders told us they were asking for an NGO to help them build another maternity health center, and they appeared unwilling to do it themselves; granted, this is normally a government expenditure (as a CRS reviewer pointed out). The health clinic worker also told us the community has been unwilling to finish the health staff lodging that had been in construction for the past five years.

⁸ UNICEF. 2008. West and Central Africa. http://www.unicef.org/wcaro/english/4501_5404.html.

In spite of reported drops in using diet diversity knowledge, many mentioned vegetable gardening explicitly linked to food diversity and health and hygiene practices such as: "The project sensitized us about vitamin-rich foods for our children, hygiene, and how to stay in good health." "We use our own vegetable products as well as sell some to buy yam and other foods." Still, only a handful mentioned the link to new foods being grown or through cooking lessons: "By the grace of God and PROSAN which helped us diversify food through vegetable seeds." "PROSAN opened our eyes to good practices and cooking diversity." While the statistics on diet diversity sustainability looked quite dire, half of all respondents said that vegetable gardening was the reason they could diversify their diet, while 6% said they purchased diverse food. Those who couldn't diversify their foods said it was because they lacked money or low rainfall decreased their production.

The well pump created by the government in Bakin Tapki is no longer functional so there is little potable water other than from shallow wells for vegetable gardening. Nonetheless, people told us everyone used PROSAN knowledge to filter their water by pouring it through cloth. Women interviewed knew that when making ORS for malnourished children with diarrhea, they have to also boil the water. So while hygiene has become ingrained, sanitation less so. Most people across the villages have no latrines, so the majority defecate around the village, and in spite of CRS training, only a few have dug shallow pits in their compounds, which they cover when filled. Compared to other CRS villages visited, Bakin Tapki has no latrines (either community-type like Batamberi or household like Angoual Toudrou), and the Water Technical staff need to work with them not only on potable water but also on building latrines that won't contaminate the groundwater just below surface.

4.3 GENDER

Our holistic approach, across households and whole communities resulted in interviewing households as a whole, and asking respondents a mix of individual and household questions. While gender was not a primary focus, this evaluation focused on three main topics related to gender: 1) gender in activities and training, 2) gender in sustainability, and 3) women's voices.

4.3.1 GENDER IN ACTIVITIES AND TRAINING

When we asked what activities PROSAN interviewees participated in, we found that activities were implemented equally among men and women across the agriculture, environment, health, and hygiene sectors. Predictably, activities typically associated with one gender resulted in unbalanced participation: e.g. women outnumbered men in peanut activities while men outnumbered women in environmental activities. These trends largely conform to social norms in Niger. What is notable is that while women recalled being trained in agriculture, men recalled receiving health training somewhat less often (Table 4). Health activities were also fairly equally balanced between men and women in the evaluation. Potentially, men receiving training in health helps to explain the men's commitment to paying for and promoting women's health and hygiene participation and activities.

4.3.2 GENDER IN SUSTAINABILITY

When we asked household survey respondents which activities they are still doing this year and why, it was difficult to discern whether they attributed the sustainability to individuals or to the whole household. While participants answered many questions individually, it became clear that some questions were answered on behalf of a spouse or even the whole household. For instance, men were not breastfeeding but their wives were, or women sought healthcare on behalf of their whole family, which men supported by paying fees, consistent with traditional gender roles. Similarly, women answered they were still farming millet or beans, but their activities were inseparable from their husbands and children as different members all have roles in preparing their fields, planting, weeding, and harvesting.

Nonetheless, there were some interesting trends; staple and vegetable crops and the fertilizer inputs were maintained during the post-project for both men and women, and the environmental/ natural resource management/ resilience activities of demi-lunes, *zais* and seedling planting were the least sustained activities for both genders. The planting of 1x1 meter plots was practiced by both genders while tree management was retained far more by men than women. Equally surprisingly, women's involvement in peanut milling decreased by almost a half.

In health activities, men and women's responses were similar in healthcare seeking behavior, including vaccinations, nutritional counseling, prenatal counseling and safe deliveries. Activities that fell off most sharply among both gender's household responses were diet diversity/ cooking, child growth monitoring and infant care (ORS), and breastfeeding.

4.3.3 WOMEN'S VOICES

One female respondent felt that women's participation in all activities, particularly the creation of *zais*, led to [environmental] sustainability for the community. She also believed that gardening and food and nutrition recovery activities (FARN) focused on women were the most sustainable activities of PROSAN. This belief was likely informed by the women's ability to transform crops immediately to be consumed and sold, as well as to provide separate sources of income for clothing and medicines. Another woman involved in the evaluation expressed that gardening can "easily be continued by the beneficiaries even after the project concluded, including collective purchases by being organized in [mainly women's] groups they have funds to buy seeds and materials and continue gardening on their own if they are willing."

An FFP officer also mentioned the importance of including women—she believes that PROSAN's focus on women was a strong contributory factor to successful sustainability. She recounts that "one talked about how she benefitted from the women's cooperative initiatives, because she was able to hire a man to work her fields and start a new business at the market with the income she earned as a member of a group who made peanut oil. Related was the interesting fact that the buyers of the oil came to the village to buy rather than the other way around." These comments were similar to government of Niger partners such as a Dogondoutchi's government officials' remark about how important the project was to empower women and our experience of women and men equally engaged in activities and in committees (most of which seemed gender balanced).

4.4 COMMITTEES AND SUSTAINABILITY

After looking at sustainability in agricultural and health activities, we determined how the committees set up by PROSAN fostered sustainability. The level of group and committee membership activity across all villages was very high, with many participants discussing ways to sustain best practices within communities, and members still receiving trainings or information from committees. There was also an awareness that future training will be needed for reaching village youth. More information on the findings on committee continuation, including why committees had ceased, who had taken over the promotion of the activity, and how it was paid for can be found in Annex 2.

4.4.1 SUSTAINABILITY OF AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEES

The PROSAN project invested heavily in committees to run the implemented activities and to take over the project activities after the project ended. Several questions were posed to the respondents to get their opinion on these committees and assess how they were performing. The majority (81%) of the committees have survived in the three years after PROSAN ended. Respondents' recognition of and ability to assess the committees' indicates that the committees are in operation and are influential in the community. Only 1% of respondents had no opinion about these committees. Over fourfifths of the respondents (88%) felt that some committees will continue to function, indicating that respondents had confidence in the committees. 50-76% of respondents felt that some committees will continue to function.

Overwhelmingly, agricultural committees continued to meet and serve the needs of members. Of the open-ended answers, 90% answered they felt that the agriculture/ environment committees would continue (Table 5), thanks to a mix of internal committees and external partners providing support. 20% of respondents said they had received additional training in the last year, most in health and hygiene, followed by agriculture. When asked from whom, 30% said from the community or other NGOs, and many said the committees "organized awareness sessions and reminders so they do not forget." The other 70% said training came from the government's technical services.

COMMITTEE	N = 346	٤	SEX	VILLAGE					
		Male	Female	Angoual Magagi Doka	Angoual Toudrou	Bado	Bakin Tapki	Batamberi	Jougola
		255	91	70	62	30	71	60	53
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Agriculture Local Experts Group	65	67	62	64	65	87	51	63	77
Female Agriculture Transformation Group (grains and groundnuts milling group)	55	50	69	47	40	83	55	47	77
Environment Committee	59	60	54	57	53	67	49	60	74
Seedling and Tree Plantation Group	50	51	46	50	56	63	35	43	62

TABLE 5: PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO PERCEIVED VARIOUS AGRICULTURE/ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEES WILL CONTINUE

Some said continuation was a mixture of individual initiative (each year we put fertilizer in our fields) and group activities (each year we plant trees or conserve soil). Participants said "committee members are devoted and convinced that through these activities the village can develop" and "committees are motivated, ambitious, and organized with awareness meetings reminding us how to implement." Also reported: "The committees are dynamic and informed us how to continue activities, even bringing us new methods." Several people mentioned it was profitable to them to continue the agriculture activities and "our revenues have increased with their activities." People also considered a future for the committees that "must also transmit the teaching to younger people to continue on the same path." Others noted that in addition to regular meetings "we must also regularly monitor activities" and "unite for villages to continue."

Fewer than 10% of respondents were not confident that committees would continue at all. A few mentioned a lack of communication, such as, "Village communication is very weak; people do not share knowledge;" or, "I ask myself if they have the courage to continue." Several mentioned the lack of means to continue: "The committees lack the financial means to track members and continue activities." Finally, some even mentioned agricultural committees must continue "because they have to train those that have not (yet) received the trainings." "The community must stick to PROSAN activities because their lives are changing."

When asked about why some committees did not continue, only 3% said they did not have time, interest, or resources to continue their committees and about a quarter

answered that what is missing is "tracking and actions to engage different members." Sometimes committee leaders were ill, died, or moved. Others said that people were only active when there were inputs available for remuneration. For instance, "Without material to work with, the committee abandoned their activities." "We don't see women come without inputs being available." "The committee is active only when seedlings are brought to the village." Negative reflections were rare but included: "We don't have any information that they exist." "They aren't engaged, and they don't do any activities;" or "They have neither the strength nor the ability to do so."

Groups were an important structure in the implementation of the PROSAN project and more than three-fifths (62%) said they had been members of a community group while the rest (38%) had not. Three times as many men as women that we interviewed belonged to groups during PROSAN (180 vs. 63). The village garden group had the most (63%) membership, followed at a distance by the village development committee (36%) and the rain-fed agriculture local experts group (26%). Group formation allowed villagers to be members of more than one group.

Remarkably, 95% said they are still members of groups. This is possibly a passive indicator as no one ever stopped being members of groups, though they would have been less active. The participation percentage numbers are remarkably similar with the exception of the female agricultural transformation group, which reduced from 20% to 16%, the environment group, from 16 to 13%, and the environment group from 25% to 20% (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Membership in Agricultural Groups during and after PROSAN

Participants' current group activities three years after the project ended are a strong indicator for sustainability. Respondents also disclosed that their groups met quite frequently; 50% of all groups still meet once a month, 37% meet at least four times a year, 8% once a year, and 4% not at all. It is important to highlight the fact that the meetings to some extent have kept the groups together as meetings seem to be a reassurance to the members that indeed the group still exists and they can comfortably claim membership. It is even a greater achievement that members can actually keep track of the meetings they attend. This is another strong indicator of the fact that the groups have been sustained.

Notably, close to a fifth (18%) of respondents said that some committees were no longer functioning. This may include committees that they considered dysfunctional as a way of expressing dissatisfaction with the committee or the actual fact that the committee was indeed not functioning. 43% percent said the female transformation group was not continuing, which is most surprising as this activity is a source of income for women (Table 6). 20% said the gardening groups were also not active, which is surprising given they were the most highly appreciated among the agricultural activities in discussions and open-ended answers. More exploration is needed to explain this. 43% reported the seedling group and 14% reported environment groups were defunct.

COMMITTEE		VILLAGE					
		Angoual Magagi Doka	Angoual Toudrou	Bado	Bakin Tapki	Batamberi	Jougola
		21	13	3	10	18	5
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Village Development Committee	16	24	8	0	10	22	0
Village Gardening Group	20	10	8	0	0	44	60
Village Gardening Local Experts Group	20	19	15	33	10	22	40
Agriculture Local Experts Group	19	19	15	33	20	17	20
Female Agriculture Transformation Group (grains and groundnuts milling group)	43	52	54	33	20	39	40
Seedling and Tree Plantation Group	43	57	46	0	60	33	0

TABLE 6: PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO REPORTED NON-FUNCTIONAL COMMITTEES

4.4.2 AGRICULTURE/ENVIRONMENT INFORMATION SOURCES

To assess sources of information after the PROSAN project, respondents were asked where they accessed agricultural or environmental technical information in the last three years. Nearly half of respondents said other sources of information in their communities had replaced their group, such as the government or other new partner organizations. One-third (34%) said they had received new information about agricultural techniques similar to those provided under the PROSAN project. However, only 20% of the respondents who said they were members of community groups said they had received training from a community group over the last year.

While only a quarter of participants answered the question on where they accessed agricultural and environmental information, it seems there is a wide range of sources of good practices. 35% said they received new information in the last year from the national government's technical services and 25% said they received information from community-based local experts or committees, which shows strong reliance on local sources. Another 15% said their information came from NGOs and 25% from unspecified sources. This diversity of sources shows that strongly functioning committees and its leaders or others have stepped in to provide information. Participants indicated that new information sources include radio and television via cell phones.

4.4.3 SUSTAINABILITY OF HEALTH, NUTRITION, AND HYGIENE GROUPS

Respondents were asked to list all the health, nutrition and hygiene groups they belonged to during the period 2006-2012. The health group had fewer members among the respondents interviewed, ranging from an average of 16% belonging to the growth monitoring group, 24% to water management, 28% to prenatal consultation groups, 32% to exclusive breastfeeding and 33% to the committee overseeing health and nutrition training overall (Figure 13). This is somewhat in line with the numbers trained.



Figure 13: Membership in health groups during and after PROSAN

Of the 393 respondents, 62% (243) said they have belonged to a group since 2006-2012. Of these 243 respondents, 95% said they were still active in their groups. The health and hygiene committee was the most active group, retaining a 75% membership. After PROSAN, the only group membership to change drastically was the growth monitoring group which fell by over half to 11%, and the prenatal and exclusive breastfeeding groups which fell by a third to 25%. The reduction in participation for some groups is logical as family situations evolve; for example, a woman would not continue to attend a prenatal group after giving birth.

While nearly half of the health committees had ended, more than 85% of the respondents were confident that the health, nutrition, and hygiene committees would continue to function well. Another 27% said they had ended or were not confident they would function well. Asked to name the committees that they felt would continue to function, an overwhelming majority (91%) of the respondents felt the health and hygiene committee would continue to function. Water management committees were only given a 53% chance of continuing while 35% felt that the growth monitoring committees would continue. 53% of the respondents said they met at least once a month, 40% at least once a year, 4% once a year, and 3% said they no longer met. This is perplexing as over half of the health groups have stopped meeting in some villages.

4.4.4 HEALTH SOURCES OF INFORMATION

As with agriculture, there are many sources of information that have replaced the PROSAN health committees. These include health center staff (60%), radio messages (26%), and other government agents (14%). Thus, while almost half of all health committees have ceased to exist, their roles have been taken on by new health clinic staff. In the qualitative responses, however, interviewees said their key sources for health information in the last year were equally healthcare staff, radio, and government agents. Community radio messages and cell phone-accessible TV shows have replaced some of the health and agriculture messaging conducted by groups trained by CRS (e.g., EVPC Growth Monitoring Committee messages or agricultural best practices messages). Almost everyone has stayed in touch with health workers, midwives, and CVAs (village theater committees) since 2013. Many mentioned the commitment of government health care staff to continue treatment and awareness raising, provide trainings to help people avoid diseases, provide health consultations and prenatal care for pregnant women, and (paradoxically) breastfeeding advice.

We also were interested in the spread of health knowledge. Participants told people outside their village mostly about hygiene and cleanliness (35%), and health—especially child-related health (prenatal consultations, safe deliveries, and vaccinations [30%]). The least discussed activities were road construction (8%) and literacy efforts (5%). While PROSAN was mentioned repeatedly, occasionally benefits provided by other NGOs were mentioned, such as NGO Suisse Contact: "Thanks to the construction of the agriculture training classroom, we have a place to buy nutritional foods."

When asked why committees do not work, many focus group respondents said they were replaced by the health center, or that there were no longer leaders to take charge. Others said they stopped because there was no remuneration. Notably, one person reported that the committee prevented youth integration (being elected or being asked to lead). A large majority of the 240 participants who answered the question said that the problem was that they were not elected or chosen for the committee. This is another issue to flag in DFAP and other projects interested in sustainability: the implications of selecting a limited number of elders to staff multiple committees than a broad array of young committee members that could grow into leadership positions. These observations come from the open-ended survey responses, several partner informants, and regional debrief discussions, A small minority of participants said they had no time, interest, or were absent from the village.

The majority of people felt the committees would continue at least to some extent. Respondents said things like, "There are many meetings about health awareness because of its importance." "There are always committee members who train us and correct our actions in case we are doing them wrong." "They gather women to talk about the health of their children and about cleanliness."

4.4.5 OVERALL COMMUNITY VIEW OF HOW TO SUSTAIN ACTIVITIES

As part of the post-project sustainability evaluation, we asked community respondents, "How best do you think you and your community members can sustain activities that you learned from the PROSAN project?" The vast majority of respondents kept the responsibility for sustainability at the community level, either by participants or committees, speaking about the need for regular refresher meetings, to "organize training sessions and follow-up activities regularly." They also suggested, "Train the committees to do awareness raising and teach the young members of the committee to be accountable for their activities."

A few others mentioned "Organize awareness sessions and reminders." "Organize information sessions and training and reminders each period." "Seek volunteers from our village to teach others who have not participated in the project." A few mentioned that the government and external partners can help. "It is the state that must contribute after the departure of PROSAN at the community level, making periodic meetings [to ensure] the smooth running of the committees." "State officials must regularly supervise the activities of the committees for the social cohesion of the village community." Some respondents asked for further inputs or improved inputs, such as promoting access to agricultural credit or building latrines with solid materials.

Around 10% of respondents mentioned passing the knowledge to future generations: "Opinion leaders should convey the teachings to young people." "Transmit the teaching to the younger to continue the same path." "At any time 'booster sessions' must be organized to teach others how to strictly follow the activities, and pass the lessons of the project on to young people." Only one respondent said he had no idea how to do this, while another said overall success will come. "We must continue to practice what the project (CRS) taught us, to be free from hunger and disease."

4.4.6 UNEXPECTED RESULTS ABOUT GROUP SUSTAINABILITY

We were surprised the continuation of all groups varied greatly by village. At Bakin Tapki, 13 of all the 15 agriculture and health committees were still functioning three years after PROSAN ended compared to only half of the groups in Angoual Toudrou and Batamberi. (The majority was in agriculture). After probing, we found this was because the government had taken over many of the health committee activities and Bakin Tapki seemed to be a very engaged community.

Similarly, some new NGOs and international organizations have come and built upon PROSAN's success. For example, Suisse Contact uses land previously managed by PROSAN for a new vegetable gardening training program, supports hygiene efforts based on past health awareness activities, and extends agricultural credit for further inputs. In other cases, there was little follow-on from the national government to build on. Several villagers reported "weak training of the Agricultural Technical Service led to a lack of reliance on their input."

Also while many communities said their committees continued, many of the same members served on multiple committees and there seemed to be little continued outreach or training of new farmers, new parents, etc. In Batamberi, for example the same three people were leaders on three of the committees which only had 6 to 10 leaders apiece. Given the youth's overall dissatisfaction with group leadership, other projects need to be aware of "elite capture" and its potential threat to sustainability.

Echoing many other development professionals encountered in Dosso region, one development professional in Dogondoutchi stated, "committees often have the same two to three individual committee members on the village development committee (VDC as well as [health committees] COSAN and COGES, which does not support their long-term continuation nor the sustainability of activities. Taking a handful of committees from Batamberi's register as an example, the CVD had nine members, all but two between 45 and 60 years old. COSAN's seven members were all between 42 and 72. The theater committee (CVA) had six members: 5 under 43 and one aged 65. As the number of committee members ranged from three to nine, and villages have populations of 600-1400, one would think there would be more unique leaders, especially as our participants seemed to complain of not being asked or elected. Three of the six committees had some of the same members, likely due to some members' secondary schooling. Otherwise most of the committee members were unique to separate committees, which may bode well for sustained leadership. Much more needs to be explored about leadership for capacity building in future projects that prioritize sustainability.

4.5 RESILIENCE

The activities that fell under resilience included the governmental early-warning system, the SCAP-RU, followed by a range of activities such as food- or cash-assisted roadbuilding, environment-improving demi-lunes and *zais*, literacy training, and theater for awareness raising. The government has also taken over most resilience activities including the theater group, (we were told health and even agricultural promotion messages are now sent via radio, television, or cell phones.) Across all the villages, the SCAP-RU community reported an early-warning system is still being implemented but now 5 to 10 villages report their findings monthly as a group rather than singularly or in smaller groups. The government now pays the transportation costs to the inter-village/ regional monthly SCAP-RU meetings, which shows their information is valued. However, the number of female members has decreased from nearly 30% during PROSAN to under 20% after PROSAN. Nonetheless SCAP-RU early-warning system monitoring has continued, though many CRS staff reported the lack of government response to crises as discouraging to committee members.

On the positive side, many RRA informants reported revenues earned from the CFW program from the road rebuilding were used to purchase carts and motorcycles, which allowed many men to transport their pregnant wives to clinics for safe deliveries while others used them for moving village-collected organic fertilizer to fields. Some mentioned PROSAN CFW revenues combined with improved access to water, so people were able to build their houses better, from banco. The government has either continued some food- or cash-assisted activities, or the communities have maintained them themselves, as villagers proudly told us of road maintenance efforts that continue.

There were other resilience community groups whose membership was limited. Only 19% of the respondents in the survey were part of the literacy/numeracy committee, 16% on the road maintenance committee, 11% on SCAP-RU, 10% in the theater training group, and 7% in the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) group. Most people interviewed (an average of 61%) belonged to none of these groups. Literacy training and theater groups have completely ceased, in large part to the cessation of paying incentives to the leaders.

4.5.1 RESILIENCE WITHOUT PAYMENT? NO

Many of the resilience activities were not being continued due to low membership or the prevalent perception that without payment community members will not engage in resilience activities. These included literacy paid by FFT and seedling production paid by FFW, bunds (demi-lunes and zais) by FFW, and roads by CFW. Without compensation, participants refused to conduct activities such as training others in literacy, promoting health activities (FARN), planting seedlings, building latrines, or maintaining the rehabilitated roads. Youth reported that they were unwilling to plant trees without compensation, which they received during PROSAN, and some men we interviewed did not want to grow seedlings without external support (plastic bags to be provided by the mayor's office), even if the activity brings income. Local doctors in Dogondoutchi provided additional insight; they felt that "food for training activities went well as was the availability of improved seeds until PROSAN left. After a few years the communities have to return to using their traditional seeds as there is no longer any [free] support. There is no sustainability by the communes, villages, and communities because there are no free inputs from the government of Niger and no involvement of the community since the beginning of the project."

In one community, PROSAN-trained literacy trainers were chosen as facilitators for UNICEF's Children's Awakening Centers, but the program has not continued. Our RRA team found that the conditions exist (trainers still live in communities, reading materials are carefully kept) but demand for literacy is weak and very few continue to practice literacy, much less spread it to others who are illiterate. Literacy has completely fallen by the wayside even though the trainer and schoolteachers in Batamberi and Bakin Tapki offer help. In Angoual Toudrou the barrier was a lack of interest to teach by the trainers who demanded payment. While some individuals were still reading on their own, there were no new learners in spite of a huge population of children, many of them out of school. This is in spite of the presence of ARIDEL, a local NGO that came to train them in literacy after PROSAN.

Many think it is because project activities such as FFT and CFW largely stopped being implemented once the incentive was withdrawn. While participants appreciated the cash, and used it well, staff and partners felt it was a barrier to sustainability. The only exceptions are when communities valued the resource enough to continue the effort on their own, e.g., a road still being maintained and seedlings still being planted if made available. For instance, several respondents said "Without CFW we will not invest in doing demi-lunes, however good they are." This is consistent with the Tufts/FANTA study findings on program exit strategies.⁹

The village Angoual Toudrou is a great example of using CFW or FFW for resources that were not of interest to the community. While sanitation and hygiene were taught, there is very little use of the 20-30% of banco latrines that are still standing. Many felt these fell down with the first heavy rains due to faulty construction overseen by CRS. While the masons that CRS trained and gave materials to still live in the community, many reported that they did not use the cement that CRS provided to build the latrines. Community members commented "it is up to CRS to replace them."

Caring for the environment seems to be a lesser priority, as activities are only continuing with some households. Many of these activities seem to be undermined by expectations for remuneration. Many of the environmental activities for resilience have stagnated, with planting trees, and managing land through *zais* and demi-lunes not being implemented as much as other activities.

4.6 CRS, PARTNER, AND USAID STAFF IMPRESSIONS

After gathering and analyzing the data from PROSAN beneficiaries, we asked CRS staff, local partners, and USAID FFP/Niger officers their perspectives on PROSAN's sustainability, what communities and partners appreciated about the project, and what excited the staff and donor representative most about the project.

Part of PROSAN's praise by partners and beneficiaries was its participative approach to activities, committees, and collaboration. Tibiri's agricultural department head told us that even one non-PROSAN village leader, when touring a potential project implementer around their village, told agriculture ministry staff, "no one should bring a program here unless it is like PROSAN." Many participants felt that the technical knowledge that PROSAN brought was excellent and unanticipated (e.g., that chemical fertilizer does not burn crops and trees grow better in *zais* and demi-lunes). Many RRA interviewees were also surprised there were free inputs, such as FFW, FFT, CFW, seeds, and expertise. There were other unexpected findings of the research itself. One RRA participant noted, "We never imagined that a project would return to assess sustainability, in addition to doing a design plus a PRA at the beginning of the project!"

⁹ Food Security and Nutrition Network. Effectiveness of Title II Program Exit Strategies: Conclusions and Recommendations. www.fsnnetwork.org/sites/default/files/fanta_exit_strategies_presentation_ conclusions__-_final_-_feb_5.pdf

4.6.1 EXCELLENT LEADERSHIP

PROSAN's success was considered remarkable due to the serious drought before the program and the necessary amendment to the FFW component given the government's objection that it was demeaning to the Niger people. The government's concerns and a major partner dropping out led to a delay of about 2.5 years. One reason for success is a very good senior CRS management with an eye on sustainability from the onset. An FFP officer commented that during the three years of the PROSAN project, CRS' Chief of Programs (COP) took measures to simplify the strategies and program indicators, help staff engage in the program, and create a process for sustainable exit. As a result of the midterm evaluation, CRS determined not enough resources were being provided under the program. With the COP's direction, all field staff were trained in the health component where they would then share with their villages. Rather than having villagers go to the training, the training was taken to the communities. The leadership was also reflected in the promotion of evaluative thinking among staff, including capacity building on M&E and regular communication with USAID.

4.6.2 PROVIDING IMMEDIATE BENEFITS

According to CRS Niger leadership, "Participants must see an immediate benefit from activities to have them sustained. Our work was always ensuring that we keep their interests in mind, show them data that behavior change leads to improved quality of life, and create opportunities for them to generate the resources to continue to do the activities." Three years post-project, local government staff were well-informed that agricultural inputs, vegetable gardens, and wells had the highest returns and that having the health center and land rehabilitation practices were the most sustainable through the agricultural and gardening committee, and the village development committees. These resources provided immediate benefit and continued benefit and were prioritized.

4.6.3 LONG-TERM LEARNING AND PARTICIPATORY INTEGRATION WITH EMPOWERMENT

Several staff mentioned the benefits brought about by having a long-term set of projects. Other CRS staff felt that PROSAN taught them so much that they changed project plans during the implementation of the current DFAP. Sustainability was planned from the start. As CRS Niger's exit document outlines:

"PROSAN's exit strategy is founded on three axes. First, build the capacity of communities to identify needs, develop strategies, and manage the process for dealing with those needs. Second, encourage individuals and communities to be responsible for local structures. Third, involve the Government of Niger and partners in all aspects of project implementation and the eventual transfer of responsibility.

From inception, the project's strategy had been focused on integrating activities whose impact and/or continuation can be locally sustained beyond the life of the project (e.g., market gardening, identification and use of improved seed varieties, land rehabilitation, community-based child growth monitoring, positive deviance/hearth, etc. Through the close out phase, responsibilities will be gradually transferred to different parties: to the community by asking them for increased participation and contribution, to partners to

monitor and supervise the activities, and to the GON who will continue its support long after the project is over. The involvement of the government, communal counsels, and local partners is very important to ensure the project's successful exit. PROSAN has implemented three phases, phase down, phase over, phase out, for exiting communities based on the level of development achieved by the communities and their capacity to sustain the achievements." CRS began the exit strategy 36 months before close; typically it is 6 to 12 months before.

Many CRS Niger interviewees highlighted how important cross-sectoral integration and ongoing empowerment were to success. A FFP staff member noted that "the integrated approach allowed all the villagers to take part and to benefit, rather than just target the "most vulnerable". A CRS staffer said "we integrated agriculture and health activities with our primary objective and in the second half of PROSAN our monitoringevaluation system improved. We regularly collected data, and processed and reported it to all, including shared lessons with the communities. We also trained them in participatory monitoring, including self-evaluation of what they accomplished."

A USAID/ FFP staff person praised "the way they involved the committees, so that they had greater penetration of the number and level of partnerships with communities." The FFP staff person described this process as co-creating the project and always keeping an eye on how ending the project (closeout) would impact sustainability. "A motivator was feedback loops between CRS and communities and partners during implementation and post midterm-evaluation, including formal feedback and a discussion of findings." A CRS staff expressed that "community involvement in implementation included having each activity coupled with technical assistance from the beginning, followed by developing the community structure."

4.6.4 PLANNING FOR FUTURE SUSTAINABILITY EARLY

Many staff and community interviewees also felt that sustainability was supported by CRS, the communities, and the partners. CRS staff and partners began discussing exit in 2010, three years before closeout, to concentrate staff on working to get to the end and beyond by asking "what do you really want to see in the community at the end of the program?" During the last year, they allocated 28 days in four regional visits in Dosso alone meeting with communities, mayors, local NGOs and government technical services staff (as per exit documents). A government technical services representative praised the handover process by CRS and said that as a result, the "Government of Niger has continued with the same type of water infrastructure, improvements in water coverage, improvements in the training and knowledge of committees, and improvements in water conservation at the household level."

One partner mentioned being honest with communities, telling them that CRS would not support dependency. A CRS staff person mentioned, "CRS discussed with the community to continue to spread the word... and for individual technical services to continue supporting them. This meant including local government sectoral agents to learn the CRS approach and building the capacity of local experts within the community. Also important are building each village's development committees and management committees because it is there that knowledge sharing will continue after PROSAN ends."

Future Sustainability Studies

While most committees are still functioning, there are serious questions about how well they will be engaged and train youth and new members of the communities and how much will be transferred cross-generationally. This is pivotal given that 50% of Nigeriens are under the age of 15.¹⁰ There are no processes in place to reach them other than existing meetings that can occur one or more times a year. Gaps are exacerbated by a lack of government resources (e.g., staff, transportation, and communications) to replace NGOs like CRS when they end a program.

Relying only on committees is also difficult, as they are often small and similar people populate multiple committees, so it is difficult to continue raising awareness (sensibilisation) of project activities unless they have been integrated into common practice. Do we know how integrated these activities have become into peoples' lives? Not unless we return again to reevaluate. We will need to see how well they are being used by the 50% of Nigeriens above age 16, and how they will teach them to the other 50% under the age of 15.

5.1 ISSUES OF KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT AND COUNTRY-OWNED DEVELOPMENT

There is a great lack of knowledge management around project data at all levels, which is exacerbated by staff changes in NGOs, government ministries and donors. Project data (proposal text, monitoring data, evaluation results, participant lists, partner names, and exit agreements) must be held and managed locally and accessible online so that they are available for future projects and villages. This includes even the government's own tracked data. For instance, without centralized, integrated, transparent government data such as health growth monitoring data integrated with the malnutrition rate (tracked at health posts and ideally shown at the community level as DFAP had begun doing to foster learning and competition), knowing the malnutrition status is not possible and learning opportunities are lost. Although multiple health providers reported that malnutrition had decreased, the knowledge management of data across the health posts, centers and even the hospital we visited was very weak. We had difficulty finding official malnutrition statistics locally.

There also needs to be some revision in what data is monitored for post-project sustainability studies in terms of donor demand. For instance, tracking the number of hours all the communities were trained (one example in the indicator tracking table (IPTT) for one village showed over 23,000) is futile for sustainability learning. What is more important is: clear lists of activities done by implementing partner, revisions of household participant lists done by trainings and results by activity for adaptive management and learning during implementation. Because donor requirements for data content, retention, and management focus on outputs (numbers trained) rather

¹⁰ Index Mundi. Niger Demographics Profile 2014. www.indexmundi.com/niger/demographics_profile.html.

than impact measures for sustainability (what was learned, how life is projected to improve), there are gaps in basic data. Information on activities and committees was recreated or fortunately provided by PROSAN staff that DFAP retained. Without them, this kind of research would have been nearly impossible.

The lack of a substantive knowledge management system of project activities, results, and staff who know which communities and partners, to interview is a large barrier to both good design and future sustainability evaluation; it may cause duplication of efforts. For instance, a new HKI project was re-surveying PROSAN/CRS/HKI health and nutrition areas when there are large areas of Niger untouched. Further, staff changes within international and local NGO projects and local ministry staff are another barrier to sustainable development knowledge retention and learning. Luckily CRS had a continued project which employed former PROSAN staff that were our informants and could direct us to others who knew the project during implementation and could compare results.

5.2 OUTSTANDING ISSUES OF SUSTAINABILITY

There were outstanding issues that would benefit from a better handover at project's end, due to the success of PROSAN in food (over) production. During the RRA community meetings, participants asked for another NGO come and help them: a) create a market; b) commercialize their surplus to private buyers; c) provide bags for seedlings which would enable them to sell seedlings to the mayor's office; and d) support literacy trainers. In spite of our asking how they could do this themselves, participants seemed aid dependent, waiting for others to help. While some private sector actors have come in, more remains to be done and seeing themselves as engines of self-sufficiency was weaker than expected.

Because the integration of government partner staff in projects is so variable and evaluations done by national governments themselves are rare, the need for more PROSAN-like participation, partnership, and learning projects aimed at sustainable design, implementation, and post-project sustainability is very high. However, it takes time and commitment by NGOs to foster sustainability—taking staff time and often changing how projects are implemented, e.g., ceding power to communities to selfevaluate and involving government staff in implementation.

As doctors in Dogontoutchi noted, "International partners must leave the data in country, for once the project staff have left, and data have disappeared, now there is no statistics to share or compare." A local Dosso's government representative agreed: "The project did not look toward the future, post-project, so no funds remained behind to track the activities or support their continuation or improvement (e.g., tracking malnutrition and addressing it with targeted activities)." He suggested a progressive withdrawal of CRS and a transfer to the community and local partners rather than an abrupt end, which CRS successfully did.

5.3 LESSONS FOR FUTURE SUSTAINABILITY STUDIES

Due to the paucity of rigorously documented post-project studies of USAID/FFP projects (with the marked exception of the Tufts/ FANTA study on exit strategies), our own mixed methodologies had to be reshaped in the field. The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods with the assistance of internal CRS and external evaluator staff was an appropriate and effective way of carrying out the study.

Assessing the sustainability of projects like PROSAN must include:

- Evaluating the sustainability of activities and outcomes; impacts can yield results about what was sustained and why, by whom, and for how long.
- Evaluating the causes of sustained activities:
 - Good design and implementation
 - Well-planned handover/exit with partners
 - Great community motivation

It is also essential to examine why some activities and groups failed and to examine the design that was used as well as implementation. Did the absence of continuing financial, technical, managerial resources in communities and/or in partners affect sustainability? What motivated communities to self-fund certain activities (hygiene training at health centers) based on their own ideas and plans?

Dependency on donors for funding, inputs, and development ideas is a barrier to communities owning their futures—from being unwilling to continue some activities that were cash- or food-assisted (literacy trainings, environmental activities, even road maintenance), to waiting for an NGO to bring them to the next step (make the community a market). More data are needed on supporting communities to track and share their own findings, as highlighted in the findings of a recent study in Ethiopia on communities' self-assessment of sustainability.¹¹ Inter-village competition over the results also can spur excellence. In addition, we need to foster national and regional capacity to replicate these kinds of studies.

5.4 BETTER SUSTAINABILITY: METHODOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations for NGOs on managing learning during implementation to prepare for post-project evaluations include the following:

- Implementation learning:
 - One needs to begin projects with the goal of transferring it to local ownership, and training staff, participants, and partners to achieve this goal; community sustainability requires many continuing facilitations in the community, not just a handful of committee members.

¹¹ Valuing Voices. Stepping Up Community Self-Sustainability on [Ethiopian Step} at a Time. http:// valuingvoices.com/stepping-up-community-self-sustainability-one-ethiopian-step-at-a-time/

- Discussions need to be held during implementation about the quality of implementation and mutual feedback loops created, e.g., quality of latrines that used insufficient cement.
- One needs to build good, two-way feedback loops between implementers, partners, and communities throughout implementation to ease handover efforts.
- A project should follow national strategies and sectoral protocols and priorities and strengthen the local capacities of those who will take over the responsibility of supporting community development.
- There needs to be data on continued results available at the village and lowest municipal level, e.g., malnutrition data and growth monitoring data and deliveries to advocate for greater services such as a new maternity or a full health clinic rather than an infirmary.
- Participation costs:
 - One has to engage with national partners such as local ministries of water, agriculture and health/sanitation during the project and encourage them to continue to support community groups which continue to function (surprisingly strongly) but expectations of resources to be allocated by local partners needs to be clear.
 - A discussion is needed between government representatives and donors about all- or non-paying incentives to participate in trainings, etc.
 - A frank discussion of the limits of volunteerism is needed since it is Niger's custom to give financial incentives to volunteers, even government staff attending presentations.
- Project exit and handover:
 - An inventory is needed of all materials distributed by the project and data for future comparative learning. The summarized results should be kept at each location for future partners or for comparisons to be developed for a variety of agencies (village, regional technical services, municipal advisors, the prefecture, and project staff).
 - Data needs to be available before, during, and after a project ends to make comparisons about the state of food security, health, and hygiene before and after the project, especially given that international and local NGO staff leave and local ministry staff change.
 - One must link new projects to past ones in terms of competencies that have been created at community and local partner levels.
 - USAID should fund such sustainability studies as they would be helpful to integrate findings and best practices into the national strategic plans as well as build into RFPs or RFAs.



A woman waters plants in a CRS dry season market garden. Photo by Tahirou Gouro/CRS

- Preparation for post-project evaluation:
 - The government needs to take the lead on data retention, prioritizing communities being served, and building on knowledge of past project successes and gaps.
 - CRS Niger feels that sustainability discussions should begin in year three of fiveyear projects but behavior change takes more than five years.
 - Projects that do sustainability studies should share results at the local level (communities, local partners) and at the national and international levels so future projects can learn from successes and failures.
 - Post-project sustainability needs to be tracked at the earliest three years after a project, but no more than five, as memories can fade of what project accomplished.
 - Before the project ends, one needs a complete list of participants and activities, as well as handover instructions for villages and government partners that clarify roles for future collaboration.
 - We need to follow the same villages and the same households from the baseline to the midterm point and then to the final and post-project points.¹²
 - Post-project evaluation needs to be done during the same annual time period.

Above all, while we intervene in people's lives and they are grateful, it is good to remember they are the experts in their own communities and sustainability requires their leadership.

¹² As a CRS' MEAL Advisor notes, this can require 50% or greater sample sizes so budget and time resources have to align for this to be possible."

Overlap in PROSAN's Sustainability Evaluation and the Tufts/FANTA Evaluation of Exit Strategies

As we have shown throughout this study, the degree of participation among consortium and CRS staff during implementation and with communities and partners during and after PROSAN was a major key to sustainability. However, as indicated by the FFP Tufts/FANTA evaluation of exit strategies in Bolivia, Honduras, India and Kenya, additional inputs were needed: resources, technical and management capacity, motivation and linkages. Their findings included:

- Sustainability should be built into the design of programs from the beginning; [such as] sustainable design and initial service delivery, demand creation, partnership formation, strengthening capacity, developing ensured resources, ensuring appropriate linkages, promoting independent operation, and independent operation of program activities and gradual agency withdrawal.
- Plans must include decision about approach (phase out, phase over), explicit benchmarks for progress, timeline, clear allocation of responsibility, and graduation criteria.
- Each element capacity, motivation, and resources must be considered, with redundancies and contingencies for external shocks built into the plan.

The four inputs described in the Tufts/FANTA study (resources, technical and management capacity, motivation and linkages) and their influence in this sustainability evaluation of PROSAN are described in detail below.

6.1 RESOURCES

The Tufts/FANTA study showed that resources, while needed for some activities to continue, are not a prerequisite. For instance, low- or no-cost practices, such as mothers exclusively breastfeeding their infants, were sustained while practices that relied on donor-funded resources, such as feeding during diarrhea, declined over time. In PROSAN, there was a clear relationship between income generated from agriculture enabling investments in household food security and health/ hygiene and to continued household investments in such sectoral activities. Like the Tufts/FANTA study's findings on community investment via fees paid for system maintenance, we found investment in health center cleaning through community tithing.

As our sustainability evaluation has shown, communities will prioritize their own resources to meet their needs, and continue activities they feel are of greatest value. Free incentives such as cash and food are deeply appreciated and can bring a short-term benefit, but for longer-term impact the activities assisted by free inputs seemed to suffer. An FFP representative told us, "successful programs (or sustainable ones) are those that establish a means of financing the services that the NGO provides. This means no handouts. This means establishing a water fee structure to pay for parts and serving later on. It means identifying a way for leader women to receive fees for services after the official program has ended." The Tufts/FANTA study also found that the use of inputs declined when they needed to be purchased after the program ended and free food rations risked creating unsustainable expectations.

As mentioned by a Tibiri county agriculture representative in our evaluation, the question of resources should also address who will bear the costs onward; he believes that the main constraint to sustained success is "a lack of technical service staff and means of transportation to support villagers." He said that globally there is one agricultural extension agent to eight villages, but in his department it can be one for 80 villages. There are only 11 staff to cover 271 villages across four communes in his department (covering cooperative assistance, agricultural statistics, awareness raising, and environmental protection).

6.2 TECHNICAL AND MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

In PROSAN, the vast majority of communities reported that trainings continued, mills were being maintained, and seed multiplication was expanding. We found that management at the community level was strongly maintained among the many committees that have continued to meet (ranging from 1 to 12 times a year plus the myriad of informal discussions and external village knowledge sharing). PROSAN partners have maintained their technical services and support, which is notable given their resource constraints. In contrast, the Tufts/FANTA study found that "model farmers (extension farmers) lacked motivation, resources, and reinforcement of capacity to continue providing technical assistance after incentives were withdrawn. Service provision largely declined." Equally as stark, the Tufts/FANTA study found "overall community health worker (CHW) service provision declined with the decline in material incentives and demand." In Niger, we found that community groups committed to health were replaced by health post staff and radio. The only example in which PROSAN fared worse than the exit strategy countries was "Positive changes in reforestation, terracing, etc. were maintained, though activities to expand these changes were not." In Niger, most environmental activities stopped except at the rare household level.

6.3 MOTIVATION

The Tufts/FANTA study found that "many activities, practices, and impacts across sectors declined over the two years after exit... These declines are related to inadequate design and implementation of sustainability strategies and exit processes." This was far less represented in PROSAN, where 80% of activities and groups have been reported to continue. The Tufts/FANTA study found "beneficiaries are motivated to pay for

water services that are reliable, convenient, and abundant. Technical and management capacity of water committees permits the system to continue operation post-project and fees paid by consumers provide ensured resources for system maintenance." The wells that were supported under PROSAN and other NGOs and charged a fee for water (for maintenance and upkeep) were well maintained technically and hygienically. Furthermore, the USAID study found (in COSAMO Kenya) that some activities were selffinancing and no outside seed money and no other external resources needed. Similarly in Niger, there were even innovations of self-financing of hygiene and health activities.

The necessity for motivation as an input to sustainability was also relevant to implementing staff. One interviewee reported high motivation to help staff, partners and communities feel PROSAN was theirs to understand and sustain. He organized a forum for staff to discuss implementation and monitoring necessary to focus on the program outcomes as well as quarterly consortium meetings to discuss the program. They looked at the bigger picture of the program, not just the single activities that each partner was implementing, and organized joint field visits between partners. They built upon what already existed, became evaluators of each other's work, could give both positive and negative criticism, and included government technical experts on visits.

Partners also recognized the role of motivation in sustainability. In one interview, a Tibiri county agriculture representative reported, "Since 2012 when I took on this role, I visited all villages in the county and found that the sites that worked best of all were run by CRS. I would rank the eleven PROSAN villages from good to great, except those who lack access to good farming land; six are motivated and self-sufficient, and five lack the means and motivation to excel." He said many PROSAN farmers are taking initiatives looking for new seeds and expanding the crops they grow, expanding hectares cultivated, and finding new markets for their produce. Some have even become such surplus producers that they are selling seeds such as millet and beans, including one that sold 40 metric tons of bean seeds and 10 metric tons of millet seeds.

6.4 LINKAGES

We perceived linkages as possibly the most important input in PROSAN, as they fostered continuation of CRS activities through greater uptake of activities by country ownership. The Tufts/FANTA study found that "overall, program components that focused on strengthening local relationships and built local capacity were more likely to be sustained than those that did not," and "linkages were actively avoided by most water committees... and were not necessary – [communities] could pay for technical assistance of trained resource persons." In contrast, our assessment of PROSAN revealed that although one community's well repairs were ignored by the technical service, many other communities spoke of good collaboration with government services. Everyone, including the technical services themselves, lamented that limited funds prohibited further trainings and outreach, especially in agriculture. In Niger's PROSAN, many linkages enabled outcomes to continue, and in spite of the stretched government services and limited technical support, linkages still support communities, especially in health.

Conclusions

Donors and program implementers need to ask more often if programs implemented within communities are successful when a program comes to an end. Those to ask are the community members who know best what they sustained years after the project ended, and why.

The following questions are key:

- Are the communities and their partners sustaining project activities and committees to support them three years after an NGO ends the project?
- What can we learn from the efforts of these communities and their post-project implementation partners? What are the long-term prospects for continued sustainability?
- What can NGOs learn from such projects to make long-term sustainability more likely everywhere?

Overall, the sustainability of a project can be understood through a thorough evaluation of its various drivers and its barriers. Drivers for Niger's PROSAN project included: timeframe, participation, continuity, and ownership. Barriers to PROSAN's sustainability included perceived helplessness, dependency, lack of knowledge management, and youth exclusion.

7.1 DRIVERS OF SUSTAINABILITY

7.1.1 LONG-TERM FUNDING AND IMPLEMENTATION TIME NEEDED FOR SUCCESS: FROM 2002-2012, ACROSS TWO FIVE-YEAR PROJECTS

During an interview, a CRS representative shared that USAID's FFP stable and consistent funding for the same activities in the same communities for so long was a large reason it was sustainable. The extensive and intensive presence of CRS in the program activities has given the staff and the communities' opportunities to learn, enabling the staff to understand the communities very well. He stated, "Now what donors are talking about is for implementers to design programs that are totally new ideas, not things that have been done in the past. I think this is a big mistake. We cannot afford to give up on things that have been done in the past because we are learning from these things and they are helping improve what we are doing. The longer the program is implemented the better for results. Seven to ten years is good. Anything below this will not yield good results. This is why we thank FFP for funding this program for this long." Many CRS Niger staff told us of the learning curve that CRS and its partners scaled in the last 10 years since 2002 and another three years during the current DFAP. Designing for sustainability takes learning, resources, linkages, and time.

7.1.2 EXTENSIVE COMMUNITY AND PARTNER PARTICIPATION ACROSS DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION, AND EXIT

Most proposals answer requests outlined in donor requests based on their priorities, rather than community requests. Sometimes donors get it right, sometimes they don't, and implementers must make adjustments in the field to meet required needs and be effective.

Another surprise for our whole team was the continued dependency on foreign NGOs. For instance, in spite of the 300,000 CFA in the milling account, women in Bakin Tapki are hoping another NGO will bring them a hulling mill (decorticeuse). In Batamberi some women asked us to bring them a market for their surpluses. When we prompted them to do this themselves, they said they did not know how. The most valued activities are livelihood enhancements and health activities that are critical to the survival of community members. They know, or quickly see, what they want more of. It is important to listen and give them the mean to meet these needs.

7.1.3 STRUCTURED CONTINUITY AMONG PARTNERS TO AVOID DUPLICATION

Communities and NGOs need continuity to know who did what before, to learn from former projects, and to avoid the duplication of efforts. Communities have internal networks that track which participants have expertise, e.g., committee leaders were said to support people with using best practices after PROSAN. What may be needed is better ways for leaders to communicate and organize themselves across villages, leveraging the highly valued community visits by women. This could be a helpful suggestion for technical services staff to pursue.

As HKI's new project in Dogondoutchi town illustrates, HKI knew they wanted to survey health and nutrition needs in the 70 villages that participated in PROSAN, but had little knowledge of the results from three years ago, much less the names of villages that did not receive assistance at all. While systems such as USAID's AidTracker and InterAction AidMap or Development Gateway's aid tracking system exist and there are more opportunities to crowdsource who is doing what via social media, far more gaps in knowledge exist of what activities have been done, where, by whom, and with what success.

7.1.4 COUNTRY-LED OWNERSHIP IS KEY

Many community members felt that the government was behind the project. One respondent said, "You see this is a government program because it is the government that allowed it here and supported it." Excellent! How do we promote more sentiments? How do more development projects integrate all the stakeholders into design, implementation, and project closeout as CRS has done?

NGOs must share their lessons from past projects to help others fill any gaps. For example, projects could share the need for a new market to sell for surplus food, the need to provide support with farming and business inputs like fertilizer and seedling bags, the need to find innovative ways to financially support the literacy program by paying the trainers, and finding ways to collaborate to maintain roads. These communities are, after all, not just beneficiaries for a set of years of a project, but lifelong citizens of the country.

7.2 BARRIERS TO SUSTAINABILITY

7.2.1 DONOR DEPENDENCY

There was a consistent observation that while an astonishing number of activities continued, what continued alongside sometimes was a dependency on NGOs to bring new resources, new ideas, and new connections. Were community leaders not sufficiently well trained in the skills to go after such resources themselves? Were youth leaders not empowered to chart their future with national resources?

One example comes directly from the success PROSAN-trained farmers had in surplus production. Villagers in all three RRA sites asked for another NGO help them with a variety of new projects or activities. We encouraged them to achieve these objectives themselves, but participants seemed very aid-dependent, waiting for others to help.

7.2.2 DEPENDENCY ON INCENTIVES TO PARTICIPATE

Throughout our fieldwork we encountered Nigeriens' dependence on financial incentives to participate—from villagers recommending "financially motivating those who practice the activity" to government partners requiring per-diems to attend our regional debriefs. Nigerien colleagues told us this practice was widespread.

7.2.3 PROJECT KNOWLEDGE HAS NO HOME

The lack of a substantive knowledge management system of project activities, results, and staff who know which future projects could call upon, is a large barrier to sustainability and can lead to duplication of efforts, e.g., HKI's new project in Dogondoutchi town.

7.2.4 DON'T FORGET THE YOUTH-WE ARE BUILDING THEIR FUTURE

A large issue is that a handful of community members are on multiple committees, so while they may be willing to support health, work, or agricultural training, half of Nigeriens are under the age of 15. How then will these youth learn health and agriculture practices if they are not supported by their parents and see these activities widely practiced in their communities? Investing in youth is the best investment in sustainability.

In terms of age, the program seems to have targeted the most stationary group, ages 41-61 and therefore it was easy for them to remain in the villages and practice the activities, unlike youth who would have been more mobile. This has both a benefit and a cost, for while age brings wisdom, it can also bring a limited elite who can only be stretched so thin (as we saw in Bakin Tapki) as keepers of knowledge. Many youth under 30 spoke of being disengaged from the committees, which does not bode well for sustainability.

7.3 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- 80% percent of all PROSAN activities were self-sustained three years after closeout (and innovations have appeared, such as self-funding of health center cleaners via community tithing, creation of incentives for safe birthing in centers or many people checking the balance of community savings from well payments rather than just the senior elders.
- Community committees and national and NGO partners support sustainability most committees are meeting, and support for PROSAN activities has been supplanted by government staff and initiatives or new NGOs.
- 20% of implemented activities were not sustained (e.g., sanitation, exclusive breastfeeding, literacy activities), or stagnated (resilience), or some committees stopped some activities entirely (especially health).
- Free incentives seem to block sustainability and not involving youth in leadership limits prospects for maintenance of great outcomes and long-term further training in villages.
- Sustainability must be planned for. This requires a clear plan for transferring resources, capacity, motivation and linkages, PROSAN's focus on early exit planning, and tracking the level of development achieved by the communities and their capacity to sustain the achievements.
- Participation is excellent, but who will sustain it onward given the population growth, low national resources, and low investment by donors in knowledge management and retention at the national level?
- Many more studies are needed on post-project sustainability to find trends and lessons and on the overlap between PROSAN and Tufts/FANTA studies regarding resources, capacity, motivation, and linkages.
- Prioritizing sustainability is a fledgling cause; much is needed for robust studies, including preparatory work during implementation, testing the best methods, and even changing how projects are designed, implemented and evaluated.

More is needed for sustainability to take root. Future work on sustainability should focus on these four drivers:

- 1. Long-funding and implementation time
- 2. Extensive community and partner participation across design, implementation, and exit
- 3. Structured continuity among partners to avoid duplication
- 4. Country-led ownership

Annex 1

RRA ACTIVITY PRIORITIZATION* AND SUSTAINABILITY^ FINDINGS

In the RRA, we asked participants to rank each activity's importance for food security and then the percentage of self-reported use. This method gauged participants' interest in activities, shaped and triangulated the results of the survey, and tested the methods of the RRA versus the survey. The following tables lists the activities, the level of priority and participation of each village, and an explanation behind the motivation to continue each activity. Items in bold are activities garnering at least two communities' priority and participation rating. The activities are listed in descending order of priority and participation based on focus groups' voting.

ΑCTIVITY		VILLAGE		MOTIVATION
	Batamberi	Angoual Toudrou	Bakin Tapki	Why was this activity continued?
Organic fertilizer	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Continues to generate food and income via crop sales/ seed multiplication. CFW bought carts for transport.
Improved land management	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Continues to improve yields and youth learned skills they use during seasonal migration (<i>zai</i>).
Vegetable gardening	N/A	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Continues to generate food and income via vegetable sales and seed multiplication.
Milling of grains and peanuts	Priority and participation	N/A	Priority and participation	Continues to generate food and income via peanut production and oil sales, especially for women.
Chemical fertilizer	Priority and participation	Participation only	Participation only	_
Composting	N/A	Priority and participation	Participation only	_
Women's vegetable marketing exchange visits	N/A	Priority only (minority of women)	N.A	_
Planting trees/ seedling growing	N/A	N/A	Priority and participation	_
Improved seed production	N/A	Priority and participation	N/A	_
Land rehabilitation	N/A	Priority and participation	N/A	-

AGRICULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENT ACTIVITIES

* We asked participants to prioritize (rank their top three) activities for food security and health.

^ We asked participants to indicate whether they were still doing this activity post-PROSAN.

HEALTH AND HYGIENE ACTIVITIES

ΑCTIVITY		VILLAGE		MOTIVATION		
	Batamberi	Angoual Toudrou	Bakin Tapki	Why was this activity continued?		
Pre-natal consultation	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Continues to improve maternal health and child birth-weight.		
Hygiene and household cleanliness	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Continues to prevent illnesses from good hygiene.		
Health care access	N/A	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Continues to prevent illnesses and increase vaccination coverage (we saw BT meningitis vaccinations).		
Assisted/safe deliveries	Priority and participation	Participation only	Priority and participation	Continues to save women's and children's lives. CFW helped men buy transport to get women to health centers.		
Growth monitoring	Priority and participation	Participation only	Priority and participation	Continues to support child health and nutrition. Also GON/partners provide food for malnourished.		
Access to potable water	Priority and participation	Priority and participation	Participation only	Continues to prevent illnesses (diarrhea, parasites) with good potable water and reduces the time women spend fetching water.		
Nutritional counseling until 9 months (CNR)	Priority and participation	Participation only	Participation only	_		
Complementary feeding	N/A	Priority and participation	Partial participation	-		

* We asked participants to prioritize (rank their top three) activities for food security and health.

 $^{\rm A}$ We asked participants to indicate whether they were still doing this activity post-PROSAN

Annex 2

RRA INTER-VILLAGE FINDINGS ON COMMITTEE CONTINUATION

In the RRA, we asked community groups to map which NGOs had intervened in their community. This enabled us to help participants focus on the activities only PROSAN (CRS/HKI) had done as well as clarify what committee was in charge. With this information, we asked whether the committee was still continuing. We finished the exercise by asking if they had ceased, why, who had taken over the promotion of the activity, and how it was paid for. It also illuminated why some activities ceased. This turned out to be a very rich line of questioning for sustainability and will be repeated in future uses of these methods.

OVERALL

IMPLEMENTER COMMITTEE		OUTCOME BY VILLAGE				
		Batamaberi	Angoual Toudrou	Bakin Tapki		
CRS	Village Development Committee (<i>Comité Villageois de Developpement - CVD</i>)	Continues with Health Service Technique. They created a community fund (1000 CFA per marriage or baptism) that pays a health agent to clean the health center (3000 CFA/ mo). This money also covers the cost of well cleaning.	Continues; partially by the village chief.	Continues; "it oversees the other committees".		
CRS	FFW/CFW Committee	Ended	Ended	Ended		

AGRICULTURE/ NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (ENVIRONMENT)

IMPLEMENTER	COMMITTEE	OUTCOME BY VILLAGE				
		Batamberi	Angoual Toudrou	Bakin Tapki		
CRS	Village Gardening Group (Groupement Maraicher)	NA	Continues to produce vegetables and produces seeds (lettuce, onion, tomatoes).	Continues; supported by Agricultural ST and Red Cross, which existed 2012-14.		
CRS	Village Gardening Local Experts Group (<i>Experts Locaux de</i> <i>Maraichage</i>)	NA	Continues with some support from Agricultural ST.	Continues to train and demonstrate how to grow vegetables; supported by the Agricultural ST, NGOs/ IOs and private sector.		

IMPLEMENTER	COMMITTEE	OUTCOME BY VILLAGE					
		Batamberi	Angoual Toudrou	Bakin Tapki			
CRS	Rainfed Agriculture Local Experts Group (<i>Experts Locaux</i> <i>d'Agriculture</i> <i>Pluviale</i>)	See below (respondents only spoke of seeds when asked about this group)	Continues to demonstrate how to grow rainfed crops better; supported by the Agricultural ST.	Continues to demonstrate how to grow rainfed crops better; supported by the Agricultural ST.			
CRS	Seed Multiplication Group (Groupement Multiplicateurs Semences Amelioree)	Continues with private union Madabane for Seed Multiplication group. Once a year, experts return to the village to share new lessons with other seed multipliers.	Continues with help of mayor and private sector.	_			
CRS	Female Agriculture Transformation Group (grains and groundnuts milling group) (Groupement des femmes transformatrices des produits agricoles par moulins)	Continues with the support of PTFM NGO who brought more mills and by NGO Moribane. They meet weekly, financing a fund of 100 CFA/ woman/ week for a credit savings account of 2,000/ week (20 women).	N/A (not CRS but CARE)	Continues with a maintenance fund for mills, currently with a balance of 300,000 CFA (which CRS Agri expert Magagi Manane said was low and underused as they could save for another mill purchase).			
CRS	Environment Committee (<i>Comité</i> <i>de l'Environment</i>)	Ended	N/A no info	Continues with support of government's Environment ST. Main benefit of <i>zai</i> training is youth still use it for paid employment.			
CRS	Seedling and Tree Plantation Group (<i>Groupement</i> <i>de Pepinieristes</i> <i>et Plantation</i> <i>d'Arbres</i>)	Ended	Continues with help of mayor	Continues only if they receive inputs from the mayor's office (e.g. plastic bags to hold seedlings).			
CRS	Plantation Surveillance Committee (<i>Comite</i> <i>Surveillance</i> <i>Plantation</i>)	_	Continues with Forest ST	_			

HEALTH/NUTRITION/HYGIENE

IMPLEMENTER	COMMITTEE	OUTCOME BY VILLAGE					
		Batamberi	Angoual Toudrou	Bakin Tapki			
нкі	Committee overseeing Health/ Nutrition Training (COSAN - <i>Comité de Santé</i>).	Continues with Health ST and Mercy Corps. They created a waiting room at the health center which CRS helped build, added a latrine. The community keeps up and repairs each 2 years (and pay for cleaning).	Ended; there is a new private clinic (<i>Centre</i> <i>Sante Omega</i>).	Continues with the Health ST			
нкі	Prenatal Consultation (Consultation Pre- Natale CPN)	Ended	Ended	Ended; said to continue at the Health Center			
нкі	Exclusive Breastfeeding Mothers Group (Groupement de Soutien à l'Allaitement Maternel Exclusif- GSA)	Ended	Ended	Ended; said to continue at the Health Center			
нкі	Village Team for Child Growth Monitoring and Promotion Screening to age 5 (Equipe Villageoise de Promotion de Croissance des enfants 6mois à 5 ans- EVPC)	Ended but messages still given at the Health Center which has monthly themes of health message dissemination.	Continues with the Health ST.	Ended; said to continue at the Health Center			
нкі	Health and Hygiene Committee (<i>Comite de</i> <i>Santé et de Salubrité- CSS</i>)	Continues; see CVD cleaning of Health Center.	Continues with the Health ST and Water ST.	Continues strongly, each week the community cleans common streets and they put into place a volunteer (created by PAEPA II NGO/Project in 2015).			
CRS/ HKI	Water Management Committee (<i>Comité</i> <i>de Gestion des points</i> <i>d'eau</i>)	Continues with government and Belgian Cooperation NGO's 2012 borehole. The community manages 5 water points and sell water to fund maintenance and repairs. Proceeds from this fund go: 1/3 to village, 1/3 to mayor, 1/3 entrepreneur.	Continues with the Water ST.	N/A			

RESILIENCE AND OTHER:

IMPLEMENTER	COMMITTEE	OUTCOME BY VILLAGE					
		Batamberi	Angoual Toudrou	Bakin Tapki			
CRS	Community Early Warning System Committee (Système Communautaire d'Alerte Precoce et de Réponse aux Urgences SCAP-RU)	Continues inter- 3-villages, with government/ mayor's support for travel costs. Group monitors regional indicators for Early Warning.	Continues inter- 5-villages, with government/ mayor's support for travel costs. Group monitors regional indicators for early warning with women's participation has gone from 33% to 42%.	Continues inter-5-villages, with government/ mayor's support for travel costs. Group monitors regional indicators for early warning with women's participation has gone from 28% to 17%.			
CRS	Theater Training Group (Comité Villageois d'Animation)	Ended, but some messages continue through radio and television via cell phones, with support of Health and Agriculture ST.	Ended; messages via Health Center.	Ended, but some messages continue through radio and television with support of Health ST.			
CRS	Road Maintenance Committee (<i>Comité de Gestion des</i> <i>Pistes</i>)	Continues, with government and community support. Villagers voluntarily build barriers annually during winter to keep large trucks from destroying the road – it's so appreciated to get to market.	Ended	Ended			
CRS	Road repair - with CFW (Reparation des pistes avec distribution d'argent contre travail)	Ended	Ended	Ended			
CRS	Literacy/ Numeracy Committee (Comité Villageois Alphabetisation)	Ended, although trainers and materials stayed there.	Ended	Ended, although trainers and materials stayed there.			
CRS	Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (<i>Comité de Suivi</i> <i>Evaluation</i>)	Continues at community level. Post- project, the community says many people check the funds, rather than just two people controlling numbers	Ended	Ended			
Other NGOs since PROSAN ended	_	Badalafiya NGO, BZB Seed Multiplication, KUNDUGA Seed Multiplication, MADABANE Union of Seed Multipliers, Mercy Corps Women's Credit, PTFM NGO, and Moribane NGO	CARE, PAMED NGO, ANPIP NGO, PAEPA NGO, Suisse Contract NGO	PAEPAII NGO/Project, Red Cross for animals (<i>habbanaye</i>), FAO (agric inputs store), Savings Group (GON), ARIDEL NGO			





Catholic Relief Services 228 W. Lexington Street, Baltimore, MD 21201, USA For more information, contact popublications@crs.org.