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Toward a Listening Bank:

A Review of Best Practices and the Efficacy of Beneficiary Assessment

Lawrence F. Salmen

Social Development Papers

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Introduction

This paper will first provide a descriptive overview of the beneficiary assessment (BA) work done on Bank projects (by region, sector, phase of cycle, and so forth); it will then discuss impact, both qualitatively (with case studies) and quantitatively; and finally it will propose a course that, if taken, could lead to a Bank that truly listens and is attuned as much to the perspectives of the governments and peoples it serves as to the financial markets it helps sustain.

BA is an increasingly used approach that addresses directly the goal of “listening to the client.” Beneficiary assessment has been defined as “an approach to information gathering which assesses the value of an activity as it is perceived by its principal users; . . . a systematic inquiry into people’s values and behavior in relation to a planned or ongoing intervention for social and economic change.”¹

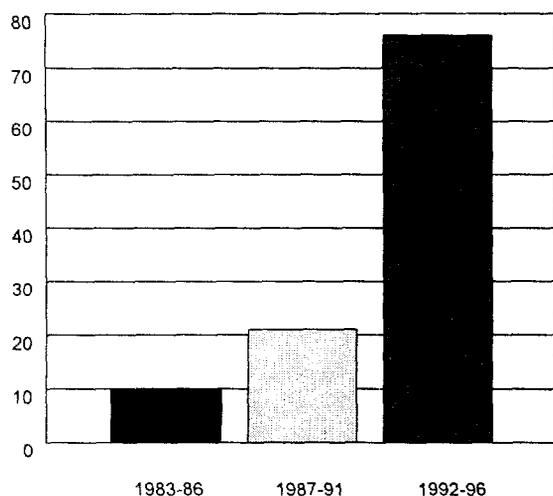
The BA approach began under the names of participant-observer or qualitative evaluation in the early 1980s, gaining its present name in 1987. Other largely qualitative efforts at gaining understanding about the social dimensions of project work preceded and ran concurrently in the Bank’s portfolio. BA work is, however, a stream of Bank operations that has consistently stressed systematic inquiry into the perspective of the intended beneficiary over the last 15 years.

BAs use the qualitative techniques of conversational interviewing, focus groups, and participant observation with representative samples of key actors, such as the intended—usually poor—beneficiaries, service providers, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other local public- and private-sector leaders; analysis and the presentation of results are done as quantitatively as possible.

Beginning in 1993, social assessment (SA) came into Bank operations; SA is a comprehensive approach to gaining an understanding of the social underpinnings of a development activity going beyond listening to an explicit social analysis. Most social assessments (50 of the 80 or more done to date) do contain a major component of systematic listening. We have identified roughly 110 Bank projects implemented since 1983 that use the techniques of BA (appendix 1). Subtracting 10 of these as largely sectoral (rather than project) in focus, the 150 projects (100 BAs and 50 SAs) in which the Bank explicitly sought to systematically listen to its intended clients using BA techniques represent roughly 4 percent of the approximately 3,750 projects funded in this 15-year period (estimating an average of 250 projects funded each year).

The number of projects with BAs has shot up exponentially in the last five years (figure 1) so that, together with the recent introduction of the SAs, one could estimate

Figure 1. Projects Utilizing Beneficiary Assessment



120 projects with systematic client consultation, or close to 10 percent of the total of 1,250 projects funded by the Bank from 1992 through 1996, six times the percentage of Bank projects (1.7) in which systematic listening via BA-type learning occurred in the preceding five-year period (1987-91).

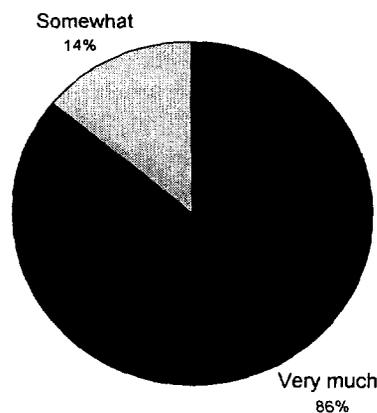
While task managers at the Bank and their counterparts in borrowing countries clearly approach consensus on appreciating the added value of systematic listening, they generally lack the database to make their case in a definitive quantitative manner. Little in the way of substantive data on impact was provided by the 64 task managers who responded to a questionnaire mailed out to them (appendix 2). Of the 41 task managers intensively interviewed (appendix 3), fully 86 percent said that the BAs done on their projects were very cost-effective (figure 2). Close to three-quarters were "very satisfied" with the overall quality of the BA work, and only one of the 41 was not at all satisfied. Yet we were unable to derive sufficient data to demonstrate the impact of BA work in quantitative terms for more than 10 projects (see the discussion of the impact of BAs below), and found no significant data that allowed comparison across projects in the

same sector and region. Part of the reason for the paucity of data was the recent date of most of the BAs and SAs reviewed; another factor was that little attention was given to recording data regarding the impact of BA work.

Operational staff at the Bank appear to have little understanding of the impact of whatever learning they set in place. The reasons for this are diverse: task managers rotate with some frequency, so a BA that may have been designed under the supervision of one manager may have impact under another, who may have little interest because it was not the second manager's BA. BAs are sometimes done so integrally with other project work that their results get lost in the entirety of the project. Many task managers see the BA approach as part and parcel of sound management; they see little reason for recording or otherwise accounting for the benefits of what is a self-evidently useful input. Finally, the culture of the Bank may not have placed a premium on operational, experiential learning, so staff members do not feel that attention given to how or what they learn from project work will benefit them in gaining promotion.

Because of this inattention to learning and the subsequent lack of data, the interviewers involved in this research were unable to

Figure 2. Task Managers' Perceived Cost-Effectiveness of the BA Studies



obtain quantifiable information on underlying factors that might affect the impact of the BAs—such as the degree of mobilization of intended beneficiaries prior to the project, the education and income of the client popu-

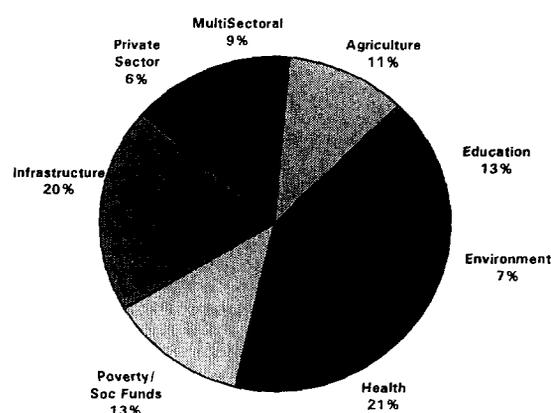
lation (though clients generally had little education and were poor), and the intensity of the preexisting local need for the project—and concentrated on the key variables mentioned in the interview guide (appendix 4).

1. Beneficiary Assessment and the World Bank: An Overview

While beneficiary assessments (BAs) have been conducted in all sectors and all regions, it is clear from analyzing the pattern of BA activity over the last 15 years that this systematic listening mode has been most prevalent in the Africa Region (54 percent of the total) and in the health and infrastructure (21 percent and 20 percent respectively) sectors. With an evidently wide coverage of BAs across sectors (figure 3), whatever differences exist in the sectoral composition of lending across regions do not account for the regional differences in the use of the BA approach. Given the slight disparity in BA usage between the various lending sectors, little can be inferred regarding sectoral applicability except that the approach is versatile and in demand wherever information regarding people's preferences is sought.

One exceptional area of project activity that has used BAs is that of Social Funds, and fully half of those approved by the end of fiscal year 1996 (26 of 51) have involved a BA learning component, presumably because of the clear-cut demand orientation of this kind of initiative coupled with the scarcity of preexisting information regarding the nature of demand, which is concentrated at the grassroots level.² BAs have been low-cost, particularly in relation to total project costs. They have been carried out increasingly during the preparation phase of the project cycle and are normally implemented by host-

Figure 3. 108 Projects Utilizing Beneficiary Assessments, by Sector



country nationals generally (in 92 percent of the 52 projects for which information was available) not employed by the government agency implementing the project.

The time and cost associated with a typical beneficiary assessment are both minor when compared with the project itself. The average time for a beneficiary assessment has been found to be four months, from the time of identification of interviewers and formulation of BA design to the completion of the final report. Given that many BAs are done during project preparation, as shown above, this represents less than 1 percent of project preparation and execution time. Similarly, the cost of the average BA for the larger, questionnaire sample was almost \$65,000 (all

dollar amounts are U.S. dollars); for the smaller, interviewed sample this cost rose to an average of \$174,000. Even this larger figure represented 0.3 percent of the average total project cost.

These figures do not include the costs associated with Bank staff time and travel, which could be estimated at roughly \$20,000 per BA. Even when the BA is done in the most costly and time-consuming fashion, as a continuous monitoring and ongoing evaluation activity, as was the case in the India sericulture project (which cost \$1.2 million over a seven-year period), the cost of the BA was still less than 1 percent of the total project cost, and it was well warranted by the scope and utility of the findings (see case studies below).

While beneficiary assessments cost very little as a percentage of total project costs, they appeared to be appreciated by task managers more for the quality of information provided than for their low cost. All but five of the 41 BAs about which we have the most information (in which in-depth interviews were conducted) cost less than \$200,000 and amounted to less than 1 percent of the total project cost; the vast majority of these cost less than \$100,000 and represented less than 0.5 percent of the total project cost (figure 4).

Regardless of the cost of the BA, the task managers generally placed a consistently high value on its utility. Given the low cost of most BAs and the high level of appreciation by managers, all but six of the 41 BAs clustered at the top of the scale of managers' perceived cost-effectiveness and at the least expensive end of the scale. Two of the three most expensive BAs are also among those most appreciated by managers (figure 5). The relationship between perceived cost-effectiveness and absolute cost of the BA is not apparent; rather, as stated, quality, or utility, is the key to management appreciation of the beneficiary assessment work.

Although BAs got their start in Latin America (and then in Asia and Africa) as ongoing or even post-project monitoring and evaluation exercises, analysis of the 73 projects with BAs for which information was available revealed that they have become a management tool primarily used before project effectiveness (inception), in identification (10 percent) and preparation (51 percent). This is clearly a healthy trend, since the viewpoints of intended beneficiaries can and should have maximum impact on a project as it is being identified and planned.

It is to be stressed, however, that systematic listening is not best done as a one-time affair; BAs can be most effective when they are done at periodic intervals throughout the lifetime of a project, from identification through post-project evaluation. While this is ideal it is still far from the norm; such iterative BAs were found to serve only 7 or 8 percent of the 108 projects with BAs funded by the Bank to date.

The practitioners of BAs have tended to be host-country nationals, generally social scientists, who are most often independent of government, whether in or outside of research institutions. Beyond the nongovernmental nature of the BA agent, few generalizations may be made. In an earlier survey of BAs done in 1995, we found that 39 percent of the assessors were sociologists or anthropologists; the remainder were drawn from an eclectic range of backgrounds: lawyers, social workers, economists, psychologists, journalists, and others. Experience has taught us that a modicum of training, at least three to five days, is useful for the interviewers. Participant observation is best done by persons already familiar with this methodology. While a general BA approach paper has been available since 1992, a specific how-to manual for users of BA in the education sector was prepared in July 1997.

Figure 4. Cost of BA Study Relative to Project Cost
(for the sample group)

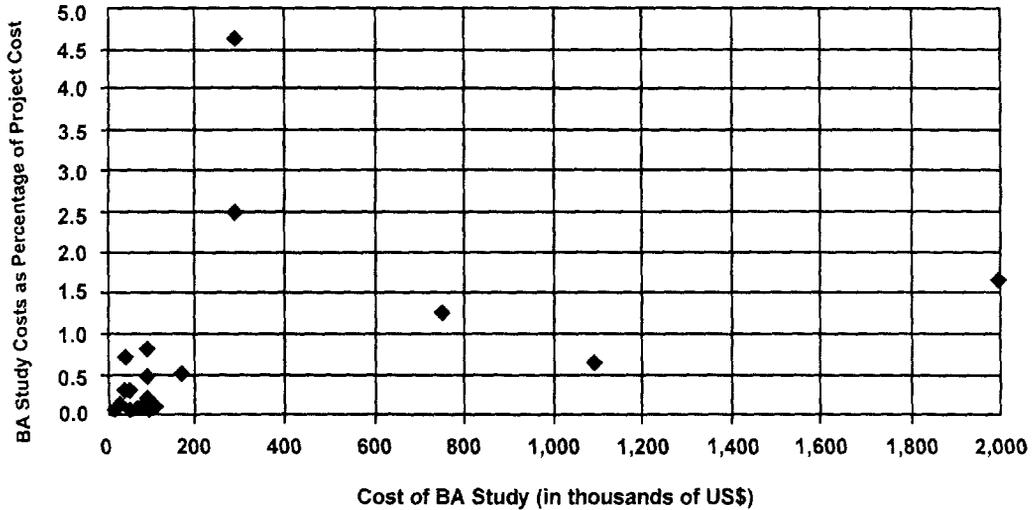
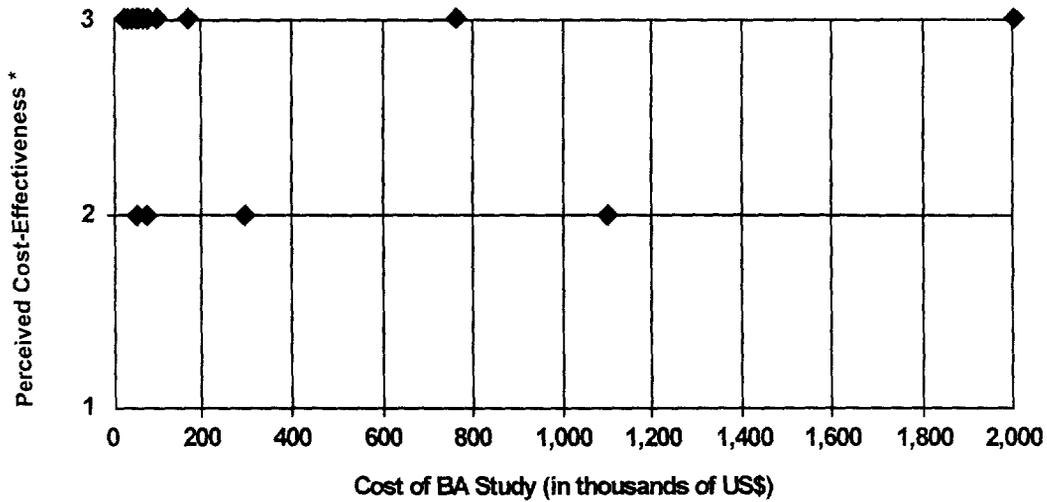


Figure 5. Cost of BA Study Versus Perceived Cost-Effectiveness of BA Study
(for the sample group)



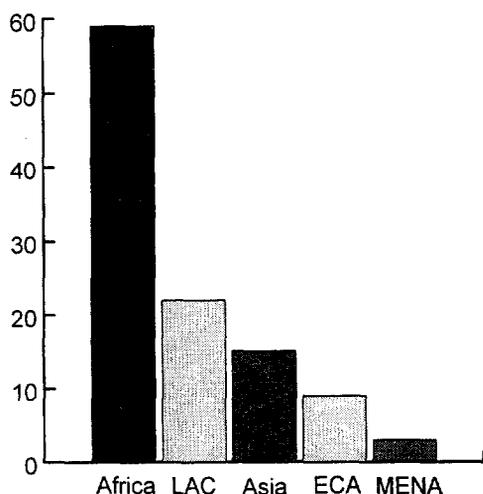
* Perceived cost-effectiveness is measured on a 3-point scale with 3 = very much; 2 = somewhat; and 1 = not at all.

Beneficiary Assessments in Africa

During the time in which BAs have been used in Bank work, 1993-96, the preponderance of BA activity has been in the Africa

Region (59 percent of 1,037, or 5.7 percent of all projects funded); the next largest concentration was in Latin America and the Caribbean (3.4 percent). Other regions accounted for less than 2.5 percent.

Figure 6. Projects Utilizing Beneficiary Assessment, by Region



The location of more than half of BA activity in the Africa Region (figure 6) is due to a congruence of factors that deserve attention as a potential regional model for the Bank as it considers further institutionalization of listening and, more broadly, social assessment approaches in operational work. The three key factors explaining this regional concentration were management, resources, and technical expertise.

Change in a large bureaucracy occurs, with difficulty, as a result of innovation of demonstrable value championed by task managers and promoted by at least one committed senior manager. In the Africa Region there were several task managers sufficiently convinced (in part from experience in Latin America and the Caribbean) of the potential utility of the BA approach to give it a chance in several sectors and countries. At the same time, there was one director (of the then six) who canvassed his department regarding the degree of satisfaction with listening to their clients; on finding this to be low, he instituted a departmental mandate to have systematic listening (soon known as "systematic client consultation," or SCC) in all lending activity.

The primary method utilized in SCC was BA, and the second most widely-used method was participatory rural appraisal (PRA), used largely as a participatory diagnostic and empowerment-generating tool. When this director moved to the Vice-President's Office he established a SCC Fund, which helped further spread the use of BA and related listening techniques.

The great preponderance of beneficiary assessment work to date has been supported by special funds. Of the 57 projects with BAs for which information was available, close to half (44 percent) of BA costs were provided by foreign funds—Japanese project preparation funds (26 percent) and trust funds (18 percent). Close to the same percentage of BA costs was provided by funds set up within the Bank to promote this kind of inquiry, the Bank-wide Fund for Innovative Approaches to Human and Social Development—FIAHS—(26 percent), and the aforementioned SCC Fund for use in Africa only (16 percent). Less than one-fifth (14 percent) of all costs for BAs to date has come out of project funds. The greater availability of special funds for project work in Africa—both foreign and in the case of the SCC Fund, from the World Bank—helped generate more BA activity in this region than elsewhere.

The third factor behind the concentration of BA work in Africa was undoubtedly the presence of at least two or three social scientists with particular expertise in the design and monitoring of BA work in the Africa Technical Department from 1990 to the present. These social scientists were largely responsible for designing and monitoring the BA work in the Region; they also helped write up and disseminate BA findings.

Inasmuch as each Region of the Bank has been quite autonomous from the other, the capacities of the technical staff in a particular Region have affected the nature of the development assistance offered by the Region.

With the cross-regional networks instituted in 1997, the Bank will now be able to draw on its expertise in a more global fashion. Summarizing the Africa experience with BA, the combination of management support at both

task and senior levels, resources, and specialized technical skills all played parts of perhaps roughly equal importance in seeing greater advances for BA in this region than elsewhere.

2. Impact

To gauge the impact of beneficiary assessments (BAs) on project work, we depended on three sources: project managers; project documents; and, for the case studies, intended beneficiaries. Managers' views were sought by questionnaire and interviewing, the latter at the Bank and, for the three case studies (below), in the field. As stated earlier, project managers were overwhelmingly positive about the utility and cost-effectiveness of the BAs that had been done for their projects. A further indicator of this general level of satisfaction with the approach is the finding that fully 83 percent of the task managers interviewed stated that they were "very much" satisfied with the coverage of the BAs regarding the population sampled.

Most (83 percent) of the 64 project managers responding to the mailed questionnaire stated that BAs had a major impact in bringing about changes in project design. Other significant changes attributable to BAs were in direct cost savings. Finally, in 10 projects we were able to provide quantitative data substantiating the impact, or efficacy, of the BA work on projects.

Case Studies

Three case studies were chosen for the best practice review: a participatory poverty assessment (PPA) in Costa Rica that made exclusive use of the BA methodology, the previously mentioned BA done on the Na-

tional Sericulture Project in India, and the BA work done on the Social Fund in Zambia. Each of these BA exercises was noteworthy for producing timely and relevant insights at low cost (relative to the project or policy context). While only salient points are mentioned here, further information may be obtained from supporting documentation mentioned in the notes for each case.

Costa Rica

PPAs have the same objectives as BAs in that they attempt to bring the perspective of the poor and associated key actors to the attention of government decisionmakers. The essential difference between the PPA and the BA is that the former seeks to sensitize policy while the latter is directed, as has been seen, to project management. Roughly 31 PPAs have been conducted in as many countries in all borrowing regions of the Bank. They range from shallow "quick and dirty" endeavors to full-blown quantitative and qualitative surveys with nationally-drawn samples in the thousands.

As BA methodology, particularly the conversational interviewing technique, is the principal approach employed in PPAs,³ and as BA methodology is being used increasingly for sectoral as well as national policy work, one case study is a PPA. Costa Rica was chosen because in little time, three months (December 1994 to February 1995), and with few resources (\$36,500), a team of

15 Costa Rican social scientists—using primarily qualitative methodology for the purposes of policy formation for the first time in the country—discovered aspects of their society that were previously unknown, relevant to policy formation, and would not have been revealed using conventional questionnaire survey techniques.

On the basis of qualitative interviews with a sample of 262 poor persons drawn from four representative urban and rural areas of the country, this PPA team discovered, among other things, that:

- While the poor of Costa Rica place a high value on education as a means of getting out of poverty, over 80 percent of the poor felt that six years of education (primary school) was enough for their children.
- The most important “sector” in peoples’ lives was that of housing; the interviews revealed a high latent demand for credit for housing not as yet realized in government programs.
- The Costa Rican poor are not participation prone. Less than one-fifth of the persons sampled stated that they turned in time of need to community associations, in which roughly two-fifths (43 percent) participate.⁴

India

As the most expensive BA done to date—and the only one to run continuously for the lifetime of the project, as an evaluation and monitoring tool—the BA on sericulture in India clearly warranted particular attention. While inadequate supervision on the part of the Bank and the other major donor, the Swiss Agency for Development and Corporation (SDC), hampered what could have been an even more useful assessment, nevertheless of much value, both new findings and confirmations, led to project changes that benefited the poor, women, and children and

improved the performance of the project. Among the principal new findings were the following:

- There was a great latent demand for training in sericulture among the poor women of Karnataka (the major silk producing state of India), but for this to be tapped training had to take place near the women’s villages; once this was done, the number of women trained soared from 300 to more than 25,000. In the words of a female former senior official of the State Department of Sericulture (DOS):

“It was the BA that discovered that there was a great demand for training in sericulture among village women. But they were not able to come to stay in the schools (due to their household duties), they were not able to travel the distance to the centers (due to gender norms) and they could not stay for the one-month period of training (again due to their heavy burden of household work). Further, once we had taken training to the villages, the BA helped to communicate to us women’s views on this training. Through the BA we learned that women were making two major critiques of the training. Firstly, due to the lack of facilities and staff we were only able to give ten-day training sessions in the village. The BA informed us that the women questioned this and asked for one-month sessions to be given to them (as was done in the residential centers). Secondly, the women asked that we customize the ten-day training, because local conditions (with regard to sericulture) were very different in the different parts of Karnataka.”

– Girija, Karnataka, India

- New lands were discovered that were propitious for the production of bivoltine silk being promoted by the project in both West Bengal and Karnataka.
- Child labor, endemic in certain parts of the sericulture industry, was reduced. A consultant, Karin Kapadia, quotes the former Commissioner of the Department of Sericulture of the State of Andhra Pradesh (AP) and then follows with her own pertinent observations on the import of the BA:

"The fact that they [the agency implementing the BA] said that children were involved working like this. . . . Such long hours! . . . You don't stop and think—because it's so much part of the industry. But when they presented it I was shocked. I immediately decided that we must motorize all *charkhas* [spinning wheels] in that area. The decision was strongly opposed by my officers."

— Rachel Chatterjee, AP Commissioner

This comment is important because it shows how one can "know" about something—here, the existence of child labor in sericulture—and still not know about it; that is, not actually understand what the phenomenon means experientially. This was why she was deeply shocked by the BA report, even though, at one level, she had known about child labor in sericulture. She gave the BA full credit for her 'realization,' stating that the AP DOS's move to mechanize charkha spinning was entirely based on the BA paper on child labor and would not have happened otherwise.

- The minimum area of land devoted to the production of mulberry leaves needed for collateral for credit in West Bengal was reduced from one-half an acre to one-fifth of an acre because the BA revealed that this smaller amount was both economi-

cally viable and allowed for greater production of food crops needed by the poor. This reduced minimum requirement for collateral increased the number of poor persons in West Bengal eligible for credit by at least 250,000.⁵

Zambia

The third case study comprises four BAs done annually on the Social Recovery Project (SRP) in Zambia (1992–95). The first three of these BAs were said by the project manager at a 1994 seminar to be responsible for all of the project improvements made to date. The BAs were done utilizing a combination of both BA and PRA techniques, always stressing the importance of conversational interviewing. Substantive findings and impacts include the following:

- Not all members of communities were found to be participating equally in the decision-making that led to the determination of which projects should be requested for funding; this finding led to the creation of project launch workshops.
- In 54 percent of the villages sampled for the BA, people expressed confusion on the working of the SRP concerning construction, finance, procurement, and so forth. This resulted in the writing and distribution of a project implementation manual.
- Beginning with the first BA it was clear that the recipient communities were far removed from the administration of the SRP. This distance both hindered responsiveness and allowed for considerable pilfering of funds by local elites. One result of this finding was the appointment of Regional Officers based at Provincial Centers who conduct periodic District Workshops and monitor the progress of SRP activities more closely than was possible with the centralized administration of the past.

A unique and important feature of the Zambia experience is the institutionalization of the BA entity, the Participatory Assessment Group (PAG), which had initially been a research center of the University of Zambia. PAG has done other participatory research beyond the BA work, notably one of the best PPAs supported by the Bank anywhere, and has gotten contracts from other United Nations agencies as well. While PAG needs institutional support, particularly in the form of capacity building, its very existence serves as a positive model of what can and should be done to build institutional capacity in-country for BA work.⁶

Impact on Project Design

It was found that BA studies had considerable impacts on project design. The designs of an overwhelming number (84 percent) of the 41 projects in the interviewed sample were changed because of the insights gained from the BA studies. The nature of changes usually indicate a better matching of needs of target groups and services provided, with alteration in the types of services offered being the most common change (figure 7). Increased benefits to previously excluded groups mainly came through positive impact of BA studies in improving participation in several ways (figure 8).

Impact on Direct Cost Savings

In the context of infrastructure projects, which often involve large-scale investments, BAs were repeatedly cited for identifying which investments were most valued by consumers, and for eliminating investments for which there was little effective demand. Often government officials' perspectives on the level and type of services people wanted were, in fact, quite different from that of consumers—being either too basic or too elaborate. In such cases, the BA had a direct impact on cost savings for projects through appropriate revision in project design. In theory, this would also have an indirect

benefit through improved cost recovery ratios in the future because of a better match between services needed and services offered. Table 1 shows the cost-effectiveness of some of the BA studies based on the ratio of reduction in direct project costs to the cost of the BA study.

Similarly, the other area in which the BAs were often cited was in influencing tariff policies, since government officials tended to be poor predictors of consumers' willingness and ability to pay for services. In both instances, the BAs played an important role in bridging the gap between centrally planned investments predominant in many countries to more demand-driven service strategies.

Summary of Quantifiable Impacts on Project Design and Objectives

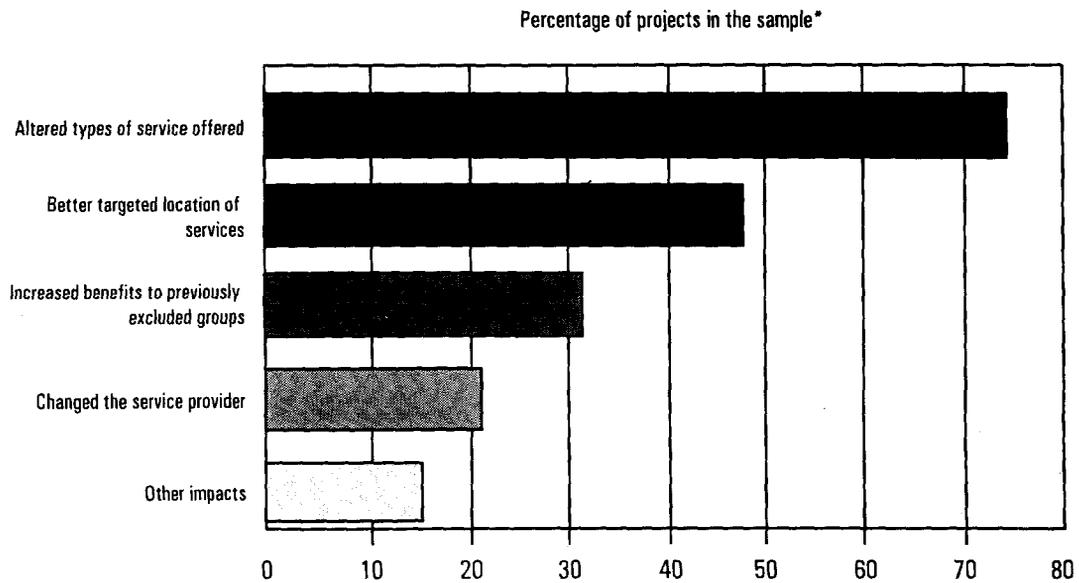
Although they were aware of the broad direction of impacts (as presented in figures 7 and 8), the task managers were often unable to quantify specifically the impact of BA studies. This was primarily due to two reasons: First, most projects in the sample are still in their early preparation or implementation stages; nearly half (47 percent) were not yet effective, while only a little over a third (37 percent) had more than two years of implementation. Second, almost all projects with BA studies do not have any systematic procedure for monitoring pre- and post-project indicators.

Task managers were able to quantify impact on 10 projects. While a more thorough treatment of these projects would discuss the way the methodology of BAs shed light on salient issues to produce findings and subsequent impact we focus here on the quantitative aspects of the impact produced by the BAs on the 10 projects for which such data were available.

Guinea Equity in School Improvement

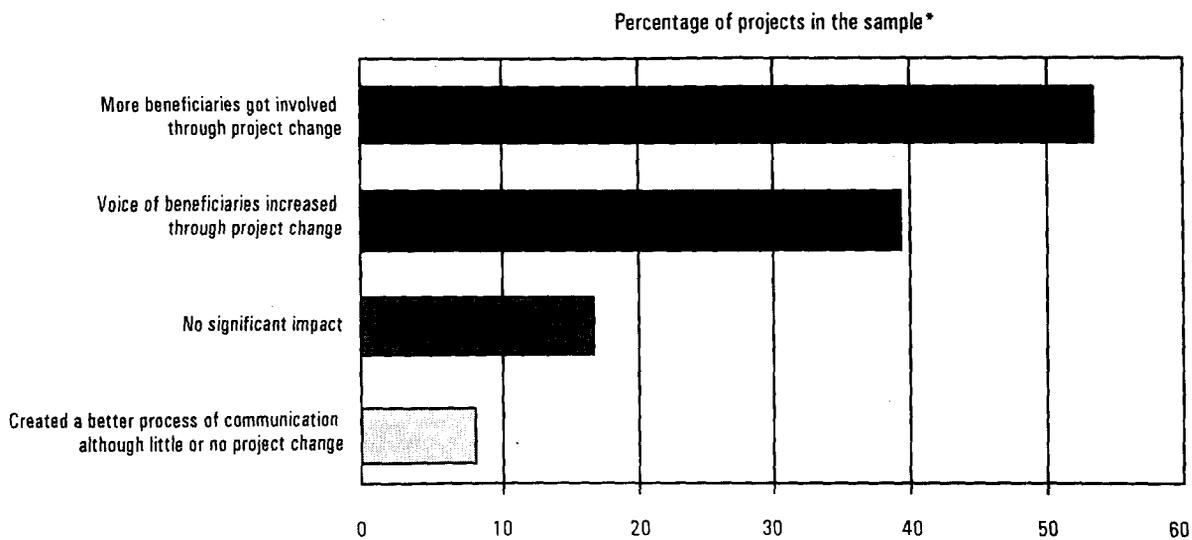
As a result of information obtained through the BA study and actions taken, the level of

Figure 7. The Nature of Changes in Project Design Brought About by BA Studies



* Percentages across impacts do not add up to 100 because several projects were subject to multiple impacts from design change.

Figure 8. Impacts on Participation Brought About by BA Studies



* Percentages across impacts do not add up to 100 because several projects were subject to multiple impacts from design change.

Table 1. Direct Cost Savings from Project Design Changes Caused by BA Studies

<i>Project</i>	<i>Savings (in millions of US\$)</i>	<i>Cost of BA study (in thousands of US\$)</i>	<i>Cost-effectiveness of BA study*</i>
1. Uzbekistan: Water Supply and Sanitation	390	80	4,875
2. Kazakhstan: Pilot Water Supply	25	50	500
3. Uganda: Private Sector Competitiveness	1	25	40
4. Angola: Water Supply and Sanitation	1	42	24

* Indicates the ratio of reduction in direct project cost to the cost of the BA study.

primary school enrollment for females increased from 32 percent to 35 percent over two years—a reversal of the previous trend of declining enrollment. In addition, over the same two-year period the rate of female enrollment increased by 15 percent, whereas male rate of enrollment increased by 8 percent. Prior to the BA study, the annual rates of increase in female and male enrollment were the same. The increased female enrollment will likely have a long-term impact on earnings as self-employed women in Guinea with a primary education earn 36 percent more than those without a primary education.

Malawi Social Action Fund

The BA helped in increasing project disbursement well ahead of schedule. Planners expected that 200 subprojects would be approved per year, largely as a result of Bank findings. Six months after project effectiveness (inception) more than 500 projects had already been approved. The projects approved ahead of schedule could, in theory, have generated 3,888 person days of employment one year ahead of schedule.

Uzbekistan Water Supply

The government initially planned to upgrade rural water supply through extension of a pipe network at a potential cost of \$400 million. Because the BA generated information about people's ability to pay and their preferred services, a lower level of service—featuring handpumps—was agreed to, and

the total Bank project cost was reduced to \$10 million. As a result, investments are more likely to be sustainable and not result in a large, expensive system that would have been difficult to maintain over the medium term.

Kazakhstan Pilot Water Supply

Initially this project was intended to be a water supply and sanitation project costing roughly \$25 million. As a result of the BA, the project team discovered the degree to which concerns about basic needs and income were preoccupying beneficiaries more than concerns about water supply or sanitation. As a result, the program was changed into a community development project (at a cost of \$30 million to \$40 million) focusing on income generation and having a far greater likelihood of sustainability than the originally conceived project.

Turkmenistan Ashgabat Urban Transport Project

The BA of this project revealed that people were actually paying more than four times the official tariff rates for urban transport and that passengers were discontented with the variability this introduced into fares. This revelation provided the evidence needed to go to the most senior levels of government to ask for a change in tariff policy and reform of payments to bus drivers. As a result, cost recovery rates went up from 5 percent in 1994 to 32 percent in 1996, even before the project became effective.

Baluchistan Basic Education Project

BA interviews revealed parents' trepidation at sending their daughters to classes taught by men from other parts of the country. As a direct result of the BA, local female teachers were trained and communities became responsible for their hiring; subsequently the enrollment of girls in schools in that state increased from 15 percent to 25 percent within the first year of the project's effectiveness (inception). Previously the government had used teaching positions as rewards for political support.

Uganda Private Sector Competitiveness Project

The BA study, through improved and effective participation, reduced project preparation time from 28.5 months to 10 months—thereby providing a direct cost saving of approximately \$1 million.

Lesotho Health and Family Planning Project

This was one of the earliest BA projects undertaken by the Bank. When the BA revealed that remote areas needed mobile clinics, 18 additional health centers were built, and the locations of health centers were changed to suit people's needs.

Angola Urban Water and Sanitation Project

The BA revealed that the residents in peri-urban areas of Luanda preferred to wait for "permanent" solutions rather than have any temporary solutions that might delay their receipt of a regular water supply. As a result, numerous storage tanks planned for installation in peri-urban areas were not built. The study found they were not needed, since more than 10,000 storage tanks already existed in the informal water market. Thus, the project avoided wasting almost \$1 million. In addition, the BA uncovered the main reason why the informal market water was so expensive, and planners subsequently

devised a solution to provide water to informal market vendors. This increased water supply to peri-urban areas.

India District Primary Education Project

The BA showed that the safety concerns of parents for their children, especially girls, were holding up school enrollment. (The government had presumed that tribal people did not like to send their children to formal schools.) As a result, new schools were located in places perceived to be safe and enrollment in certain areas went up by as much as 74 percent.

A Note on Methodology

As pointed out earlier, a limitation of the "before-after" measures used in the last section to evaluate the impact of BA studies is that they do not control for any other confounding factor that might affect the measure of the variables in question and thus provide only a gross evaluation of BA studies. One way to overcome this limitation is to use "with-without" measures to glean the net effect of BA studies from that of other confounding factors on measures of variables.

There are essentially two approaches for using "with-without" measures to evaluate the impact of BA studies: cross-sectional regression analysis across projects with and without BA studies, and direct comparison between comparator projects—projects with BA studies ("treatment" projects) versus comparable projects without BA studies ("control" projects).

Cross-sectional regression analysis would require comparable objective indicators across at least 20, or even 30, projects (divided approximately equally between BA and non-BA projects) on any given impact variable to get any meaningful estimates of the regression coefficients. Unfortunately,

severe data constraints in our study do not allow us to make a cross-sectional regression analysis. We could get “hard” quantified measures of impact variables for only 10 of the 41 projects, and these measures were not for any single impact variable, but for four different impact variables (access to services, efficiency, design change/cost reduction, and

cost recovery). The main reasons for such data constraint, as pointed out earlier, are that most projects in the sample are still in their early preparation or implementation stages and that most projects with BA studies do not have any systematic procedure to monitor pre- and post-project indicators.

3. Conclusion

When the World Bank has listened systematically to its clients, the quality of its operations has improved significantly. So say the vast majority of the task managers who have supervised this listening work, and they are in the best position to ascertain its value. While we were unable to provide irrefutable proof that systematic client consultant contributes to more effective operations, we did find 10 projects where there was an undoubted quantitative value added attributed by project managers to listening to clients.

Given the overwhelming support for client feedback from project managers seen in this review of beneficiary assessments, the challenge to the Bank is a dual one: we need a better understanding of how we learn from operations as well as what we learn from them. Most important, we need to institutionalize systematic listening so as to strengthen the voices of all our clients, particularly the poor, across all sectors and regions.

Complete the Paradigm Shift

We have proclaimed ourselves to be a knowledge-based Bank. Knowledge requires learning. The first step to learning—at least when one is working to improve the lives of others—is to listen to those others. We cannot help others get somewhere without knowing where they are coming from. Thus, systematic listening becomes the foundation

for operationally relevant learning from which we may develop the knowledge to change the world on its own terms; this client consultation should become integral to the development process itself, and it should be done iteratively, from identification to appraisal and throughout implementation, so that the activities of development are built on and nurtured by the voices of the actors.

Training

People who work in operations need to be imbued with the basic attributes of the Bank that listens; they must understand the rationale of BA, the methodology, where and how to select practitioners, the recording and use of findings, and so forth. There must be at least some expertise in listening—perhaps small units at the center of each network. Sound appreciation for and familiarity with the concept and practice of listening must be part of the mindset of all operational staff, much as the need for and use of marketing is understood by all business people.

Resources

As seen in the experience of the Africa Region's Systematic Client Consultation Fund, resources can go a long way toward facilitating the institutionalization of a basic development approach such as beneficiary assessment. Recognizing the significance of the contributions made to operational work by systematic listening, work following the lines of beneficiary assessment should no

longer be dependent on bilateral or special funds but be budgeted as part of normal project and policy-related costs.

Incentives

Anyone who demonstrates a fine appreciation of the perspectives of the clients of Bank operational work should receive due consideration for career advancement, and the careers of those who lack such an appreciation should be adversely affected. Reviews of project and policy work will need to address the question of the commitment of intended beneficiaries, regarding both method and substance, as a part of the normal opera-

tional review needed for quality enhancement—and as a way to obtain the information needed to determine the future of a person's career in development.

The one key message coming out of this combined research and review is that beneficiary assessment is a tested, demonstrably effective way to improve the performance of development activity "on the ground." Listening to our clients, the intended beneficiaries of projects and policies and other key actors—including service providers, NGOs, and government officials—can and has been done at low cost and with high return; it is the right thing to do.

Notes

1. Lawrence F. Salmen, *Beneficiary Assessment: An Approach Described*, Social Development Paper Number 10 (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, July 1995), p. 1.
2. Memorandum from Soniya Carvalho to Lawrence F. Salmen, April 1, 1997.
3. Lawrence F. Salmen, *Participatory Poverty Assessment: Incorporating Poor People's Perspectives into Poverty Assessment Work*, Social Development Paper Number 11 (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, August 1995).
4. See Carmen Camacho, and others, *Percepciones Sobre la Pobreza en Comunidades Pobres de Costa Rica: Estudio Participativo Sobre Pobreza* (San Jose, Costa Rica, August 1995); Caroline Robb, *Participatory Poverty Assessments: Costa Rica Case Example*, PPA Review (Costa Rica, August 1996); and Lawrence F. Salmen, *Costa Rica PPA: Beneficiary Assessment Best Practice Review*, memorandum to Gloria Davis, October 2, 1996.
5. Many of the 70-odd beneficiary assessment documents are available from M. Balasubramanian, Bank Resident Mission in Delhi; Misgana Amelga, *Contribution of Beneficiary Assessment to Better Understanding and Addressing the Needs of Small Farmers in the National Sericulture Project of India*, memorandum to Lawrence F. Salmen, March 6, 1997; Karin Kapadia, *Women and Sericulture: A Report on the Impact of the BA on DOS Actions/Interventions for Women*, memorandum to Lawrence F. Salmen, March 7, 1997; Lawrence F. Salmen, *Beneficiary Assessment Review: National Sericulture Project*, memorandum to M. Balasubramanian, March 12, 1997.
6. Caroline Robb, "Beneficiary Assessment Evaluation: A Case Study of the Social Recovery Project, Zambia," January 1997.

Appendix 1—Inventory of Beneficiary Assessments, by Region and Sector

<i>Region/Country/Project</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Task Manager</i>
<i>Africa</i>		
Angola: Urban Water and Sanitation Project	Infrastructure	Lance Morrell/Sarah Keener
Benin: Emergency Social Fund	Human Resources	Maurizia Tovo/John Elder
Benin: Health Program Management	Health	Michael Azefor
Burkina Faso: African Agenda for Action	Health	Benjamin Gyepi-Garbrah
Burkina Faso: AIDS Control/Health and Nutrition Project	Health	Bruna Vitaliagno/Irene Xenakis
Burkina Faso: Food Security Project	Agriculture	Siddi Jammeh/Cadman Mills
Burundi: Population and Health I	Health	Michelle Lioy
Burundi: Urban Development Project (Urban I)	Infrastructure	Orville Grimes/Gerard Tenaille
C.A.R.: Enquete — Socio-Culturelle Sur Les Valeurs et Compartements, Attitudes, et Comportements des Populations Rurales Face Aux Projets de Developpement	Human Resources	Mark Woodward
C.A.R.: Social Dimensions of Adjustment Project	Agriculture	Nadine Poupart
Cameroon: Africa Agenda for Action	Poverty Focus	Benjamin Gyepi-Garbrah
Cameroon: Agricultural Extension	Agriculture	Christopher Trapman
Cameroon: Diversity, Growth, and Poverty Reduction		
Cameroon: Food Security Project	Agriculture	Mary-Barton Dock/Sam Onwona
Chad: Evaluation des Beneficiares (March 1995)		
Eritrea: Refugee Reintegration Project	Multisector	Laura Frigenti/Marylou Bradley
Ethiopia: Workshop on Business Development Action Plan	Private sector	Luciano Borin
Ethiopia: Health and Population Project	Health	Richard Heaver
Gabon: Evaluation de la Pauverte	Human Resources	
Gambia: Participatory Population and Health	Health	Richard Seifman
Ghana: African Agenda for Action	Health	Benjamin Gyepi-Garbrah
Ghana: Community and Secondary Schools Construction Project	Education	Irene Xenakis
Ghana: Urban Environment and Sanitation Project	Infrastructure	Alan Carroll

(continued)

<i>Region/Country/Project</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Task Manager</i>
<i>Africa (continued)</i>		
Guinea: Equity in School Education Project	Education	Robert Prouty
Guinea: Health and Nutrition	Health	Sergiu Luculescu
Guinea: Health Program Management (from reports)	Health	Michael Azefor
Kenya: African Agenda for Action	Health	Benjamin Gyepi-Garbrah
Lesotho: 2nd Population, Health, and Nutrition (from BA report or mid-term evaluation)	Health	Jeanette Murphy
Lesotho: Beneficiary Impact Study	Environment	
Lesotho: Health and Family Planning in Lesotho—(ESW) The People's Perspective (from BA report)	Health	Robert Hecht
Lesotho: Industrial and Agro-Industries Project	Private sector development	Thyra Riley
Madagascar: Environment Project	Environment	Michel Simeon/Benoit Bosquet, AF3AE
Madagascar: Food Security Project	Human Resources	Eileen Murray
Madagascar: Water Supply Project	Infrastructure	Patrick Canal/Jean Francoise Dreau
Malawi: Systematic Feedback from GOM on Bank Missions		
Malawi: Energy	Environment	Maurizia Tovo
Malawi: Social Action Fund	Population and Human Resources	Norbert Mugwagwa
Mali: Agricultural Services	Agriculture	Franz Schorosch
Mali: Education Sector Consolidation Project	Education	Francoise Delannoy
Mali: Second Population and Health Project	Health	Anwar Bach-Baobab—AF5PH
Namibia: Public Expenditure Review	Macroeconomics	Hassan Immam
Niger: Health Sector	Health	Denise Vaillancourt
Nigeria: African Agenda for Action	Health	
Nigeria: STD Prevention	Health	David Peters/Earnest Massiah
Rwanda: Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Growth		
Senegal: Africa Agenda for Action	Health	
Senegal: National Agricultural Extension Project	Agriculture	Franz Schorosch
Senegal: Private Sector Assessment	Private Sector Development	
Sierra Leone: Integrated Health Sector Investment Project	Health	Sergiu Luculescu
Swaziland: Education Review	Education	Eleizer Orbach
Tanzania: Education Planning and Rehabilitation Project (National Education Trust)	Population and Human Resources	Luisa Ferreira
Tanzania: Social Infrastructure Pilot Project	Education	Charles Griffin/Andrew Follmer, AF2PH
Uganda: Private Sector Assessment	Private Sector Development	Juergen Franz

<i>Region/Country/Project</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Task Manager</i>
<i>Africa (continued)</i>		
Uganda: Private Sector Competitiveness Project	Private Sector	Stefano Migliorisi
Zaire: PMKO Rural Development Project (closed)	Agriculture	Xavier Legrain/Balrop Rambocus
Zambia: Economic and Social Adjustment Credit	Poverty Monitoring	John Todd/Jacomina de Regt, AF1MI
Zambia: Social Recovery Project I	Human Resources	Alan Dock, AFTHD1
Zimbabwe: Borrower Feedback Survey	NA	Michel Pommier
Zimbabwe: Urban I	Infrastructure	Jim Hicks
<i>Asia</i>		
Bangladesh: Second Rural Roads Project	Infrastructure	Thampil Pankaj
Bombay Resettlement and Rehabilitation Project	Infrastructure	Jelena Pantelic
India: Cataract Blindness Project	Health	Maria Donso Clark
India: District Primary Education	Education	Lockheed
India: Maharashtra Emergency Earthquake Rehabilitation Project	Infrastructure	Godavitarne/Jelena Pantelich
India: Malaria Program Support Project	Health	Prabhat Jha
India: National Sericulture Project	Agriculture	M. Balasubramanian—SA2NA
India: Proposed Mumbai Resettlement	Infrastructure	C. Godavitarne/Jelena Pantelich
India: 5th Population and Health Project	Health	Richard Cambridge
Indonesia: Sumatra Regional Development Project	Agriculture	Akihiko Nishio
Nepal: Proposed Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Project	Infrastructure	Xavier Legrain
Pakistan: Basic Education Project	Education	Mae Chu Chang
Philippines: Health Development Project	Health	Stan Scheyer
Philippines: Urban Health and Nutrition Project	Health	Stan Scheyer
Thailand: Urban Development Project II	Infrastructure	Carolyn Gochenaur
<i>Europe and East Asia</i>		
Armenia: Irrigation Project (too early for data)	Infrastructure	Mark Lundell
Azerbaijan: Baku Water Supply Project	Infrastructure	Jan Drodz, EMTIE
Bosnia: Second Education Project	Education	Michael Mertaugh
Kazakhstan: Water Supply and Sanitation	Infrastructure	Pieter Kryzanowski/Stan Peabody
Russia: Komi Oil Spill	Environment	Douglas Mckay/Vadim Veronin, EC3IV
Turkey: Basic Education	Education	Michael Mertaugh
Turkmenistan: Proposed Water Supply and Sanitation Project	Infrastructure	Rita Klees
Turkmenistan: Ashgabat Urban Transportation Project	Infrastructure	Yosupha Crookes
Uzbekistan: Water Supply, Sanitation and Health Project	Water Supply and Sanitation	Roger Batstone

(continued)

<i>Region/Country/Project</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Task Manager</i>
<i>Latin America</i>		
Argentina: Provincial Agricultural Development	Agriculture	Guzman Garcia-Rivero/ Estanislao Gacitua
Argentina: Small Farmer Development Project	Agriculture	Steven Schonberger/ Estanislau Gacitua
Argentina: Social Projection Project	Human Resources	Julia Van Domelen/ Evangeline Javier
Bolivia: Altiplano Review	Agriculture	Roberto Zagha/ Evangeline Javier
Bolivia: Emergency Social Fund (closed)	Human Resources	Steen Jorgensen/Connie Corbett
Bolivia: Energy Assessment	Environment	
Bolivia: Urban Development Project	Infrastructure	
Brazil: Itaparica Rural Resettlement	Rural Development	
Brazil: Medium Cities I	Urban	Neil Boyl
Brazil: Mines Gerais Basic Education Project	Education	Alcyone Saliba
Brazil: Northeast Basic Education Project	Education	Alcyone Saliba
Brazil: Pollution Management	Environment	Richard Ackerman
Colombia: NGO Evaluation	Human Resource Development/ Poverty Reduction	Arman Van Nimmen
Dominican Republic: Education	Education	Eleanor Schreiber
Ecuador: Emergency Social Investment Fund	Human Resources	Connie Corbett
El Salvador: Basic Education	Education	Maria Magdalena dos Santos
Guyana: Secondary Towns Infrastructure Project	Infrastructure	
Jamaica: Parrish Infrastructure Development Project	Private Sector Development	Pierre Sooh, LA3EV
Mexico: Second Decentralization and Regional Development Project		
Nicaragua: Water and Sanitation Project	Infrastructure	Vitor Serra/Peter Loach, LASLG
Peru: Natural Resource Management and Poverty Alleviation	Infrastructure	Pierre Werbrok, LA3NR/ Maria Elena Castro – x38332
Peru: Second Social Development Fund	Human Resources	Juliana Weissman, LA3HR
<i>Middle East/North Africa</i>		
Egypt: Matrouh Resource Management Project	Environment	Bachir Souhial
Tunisia: Microenterprise Support Study (ESW)	Private Sector Development	Meskerem Mulatu
Tunisia: Rural Development Strategy: Integrating the Two Moroccos	Rural	Isabelle Tsakok, MN1NE

Appendix 2—Questionnaire

1. General Information

Project/ESW Name:

Region:

Country:

Sector:

TM(s)/Division:

Project Effectiveness Date:

Date BA was initiated:

2. What was the objective of the BA? (Please put check mark where applicable)

To: identify key stakeholders ____, identify key issues for analysis or intervention ____,
establish the framework for a participatory process ____, capture gender differences ____,
capture social differences ____, involve stakeholders ____.

3. At what stage in the project cycle was the BA undertaken?

4. What techniques were used? conversational interviews ____, focus group discussions ____,
workshops ____, participant observation ____, questionnaires ____.

5. Who gathered the data? individual local researchers ____, NGOs ____, universities ____,
government executing agency ____, other _____.

6. How long did it take (or will it take) to complete the beneficiary assessment (data gathering,
analysis dissemination)?

— How many Task Manager staff weeks were used or are anticipated to be used?
At the Region ____, At the Center ____.

7. What is the total cost of the assessment?
8. What sources of funding were used (e.g. FIASH, Japanese Trust Fund, PPF, etc.)?
9. How were BA findings disseminated (workshops, public meetings, NGOs, media)?
10. Was BA methodology institutionalized to any extent by local NGOs or government counterpart?
11. What was the impact of the BA at the project, and if any, at the policy level?
12. What obstacles, if any, were encountered in BA implementation?
 - in the field?
 - at headquarters?
13. Suggestions for support in implementing BAs in the future (e.g. training, technical assistance, financial resources).
14. What reports, if any, are available on BA findings? (Please enclose any BA reports that are available)

Appendix 3—Task Managers Interviewed

<i>Projects</i>	<i>Task Manager</i>	<i>Division</i>
Angola: Urban Water and Sanitation Project	Sara Keener/Lance Morrel	AFTU1
Argentina: Provincial Agricultural Development	Estanislao Gacitua	LATEN
Argentina: Social Protection Project	Evangeline Javier/ Julia Van Domelen	AFTH1
Armenia: Social Investment Fund	Alexander Marc	EC4MS
Azerbaijan: Baku Water Supply	Jean Drozd	EMTIE
Bosnia: Second Education Project	Michael Mertaugh	EC2HR
Brazil: Medium Sized Cities		
Burkina Faso: Health and Nutrition/Population and AIDS Control Project	Bruna Vitaliagno	AFTH3
C.A.R.: Basic Education Improvement		
C.A.R.: Social Dimensions of Adjustment	Nadine Poupart	AFTH2
Dominican Republic: Education	Eleanor Schreiber	LASHD
Ecuador: Emergency Social Investment Fund	Connie Corbett	LASHD
El Salvador: Basic Education	Maria Madalena Dos Santos	AFTH2
Gambia: Population and Health II	Richard Seifman	AFTH2
Ghana: Secondary Schools (Primary School Development Project)	Irene Xenakis	AFTH3
Ghana: Urban Environment and Sanitation Program	Alan Carrol	AFTU2
Guinea: Equity in School Improvement	Robert Prouty	AFTH2
Guinea: Health and Nutrition Project	Sergiu Luculescu	AFTH2
India: Cataract Blindness Project	Maria Clark	SA2PH
India: Fifth Population, Health, and Nutrition		
India: Basic Education	Marlaine Lockheed	HDDDED
India: Malaria Control Project	Maria Clark	SA2PH
Indonesia: Sumatra Regional Development Project	Akihiko Nishio	EA3AG
Kazakhstan: Water Supply and Sanitation	Pioter Kryanowski	EMTEN
Lesotho: Health and Family Planning	Marguerite Salah	AFTH1
Madagascar: Food Security Project	Eileen Murray	AFTH2
Malawi: Social Action Fund	Norbert Mugwagwa	AFTH1
Mali: 2nd Health and Population Project	Anwar Bach-Baouab	AFTH2
Namibia: Public Expenditure Review	Hasan Imam	AFTM1
Nicaragua: Water and Sewerage Project	Ian Walker	

(continued)

<i>Projects</i>	<i>Task Manager</i>	<i>Division</i>
Pakistan: Basic Education Project	Mae Chu Chang	MNSHD
Peru: Natural Resources and Poverty Alleviation	Mierre Werbrouk/ M. Elena Castro	LA3DR
Sierra Leone: Health Sector Investment Project	Sergiu Luculescu	AFTH2
Swaziland: Educational Review	Eleizer Orbach	AFTI2
Turkey: Basic Education Project	Michael Mertaugh	EC2HR
Turkmenistan: Ashgabat Urban Transport Project	Yosupha Crookes	AFTT1
Uganda: Private Sector Assessment	Juergen Franz	EC3AI
Uganda: Private Sector Competitiveness Project	Stefano Migliorisi	AFTP1
Uzbekistan: Water Supply and Sanitation	Roger Batstone	EC3IV
Zambia: Economic and Social Adjustment Credit	Jacomina de Regt	AFTS1
Zambia: Social Recovery Fund	Allan Dock	HDDDED

Appendix 4—Interview Guide

A. Background on Project (base data) 1. Project Name: 2. Sector: 3. Region 4. Size (US\$)		
B. Background on BA 1. Phase in which BA was done and objective of BA (description) 2. Implementing Arrangements a) Management: (a) Government (b) NGOs (c) Consulting firm (d) University (e) Mix b) Research staff: (a) Government (b) NGOs (c) Consulting firm (d) University (e) Mix 3. Cost a) WB Staff time (staff weeks) b) Consultant expense (\$) c) Mission expense (\$ approx.) d) Direct research (local) expense e) (Source of financing)		
ISSUE	QUALITATIVE	QUANTIFIABLE INDICATOR
4. Effectiveness		1 Satisfaction with quality of the BA? Very satisfied 3 Somewhat satisfied 2 Not satisfied 1 2 Did the BA provide thorough coverage of the target group? Yes, very 3 Somewhat 2 No, not at all 1
5. Efficiency of BA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timing — was it carried out on time? How long did it last? 	1. Months of BA
OPTIONAL DETAILS ON BA: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Findings and recommendations • Did the BA meet its objectives? TMs insights into BA, how to improve (implementation, methods, timing, staffing) • How participatory? Did it manage to get unbiased opinions/provide fora where <u>all were able to express opinions freely?</u> • What was follow-up? How long between BA and changes to project? • How was BA conducted? Methods—public or private meetings? With whom? Country context. Confidentially? • Role of local leaders in discussions? • Role of women? Did people feel free to express themselves? • Did people feel empowered by the BA? • Did this empowerment persist beyond the BA (result in action)? 		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did the BA specifically need to reach low income? Women? How effective was it in reaching them? 		
C. Impact of BA on Project (Where applicable)		
ISSUE	QUALITATIVE	QUANTIFIABLE INDICATOR
1. General: What was the most important aspect/impact of the BA according to TM?		
ISSUE	QUALITATIVE	QUANTIFIABLE INDICATOR
2. Did the TM perceive the BA to be cost effective?		1. Not at all 2. Somewhat 3. Very
2. A	Would you pay for the BA out of your own budget if other funds not available?	1. Yes 2. No
2. B	Would the Government pay for the BA out of its own/project funds?	1. Yes 2. No
3. Project Design	Was project design changed? How? To what degree was this impact attributed to the BA?	1. No, was not changed 2. Not applicable 3. Yes, changed: Estimate of any money saved as result of BA
3. A	What is the expected impact of these changes?	4. Increased beneficiaries to groups who would not have been included 5. Better targeted location of services (i) to rural areas? 3. Altered the type of service offered 4. Changed the service provider 5. Other
3. B	Would you have known this information without the BA? If so, what role did the report play?	1. Yes 2. No
4. Improvement in quality of service delivery	Were services improved to better reflect beneficiaries preferences? How? To what degree was this impact attributed to the BA?	i.e. Speed, reliability, attendance of service —sector specific changes in indicators
5. Cost recovery	Did cost recovery improve? To what degree was this impact attributed to the BA?	1. Percent population participating in payment for service before/after 2. Level of payment before/after
6. Improving access to the service	Did the number of people using the service increase? To what degree was this impact attributed to the BA?	1. Yes 2. No % Increase/decrease
7. Improving access to the service by marginalized groups	Did the class/gender/ethnicity of utilization of the service improve after the BA? Before/after figures if available. To what degree was this impact attributed to the BA?	

8. Increased income and employment	What direct effect could be traced to the BA?	
9. Increased participation in project	<p>{voice} Were beneficiaries consulted more in this and future projects as a result of the BA?</p> <p>{participation} Did the decision-making process of the project change after the BA? How? Who played greater role in decisions after BA? To what degree was this impact attributed to the BA?</p>	
10. Other		

S O C I A L D E V E L O P M E N T

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