Policy Series 8

PERFORMANCE AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT: EMERGING SYSTEMS AMONG DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

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PREFACE

This series is principally concerned with current policy issues of importance to developing countries but also covers those relevant to countries in transition. The focus is upon policies which affect the management of natural resources in support of sustainable livelilhoods. Much of the series will be devoted to concerns affecting the livelihoods of poor people in rural areas, recognizing the linkages with non-natural resource-based livelihoods. It will also include the interests of the urban poor, where these are linked to the use of natural resources as part of livelihood strategies.

The series will take a holistic view and cover both the economic and social components affecting livelihoods, and associated factors notably with respect to health and education. The aim is to provide topical analyses which are based upon field research where appropriate, and which will inform development practitioners concerned with issues of poverty in development.

The series is timely, given the increasing focus upon poverty and poverty elimination in the agenda of the development community. It is also timely with respect to the growing body of recent work which seeks to replace earlier, simplistic structural adjustment programmes, with more flexible approaches to livelihoods, institutions and partnerships.

Policy analysis is often assumed to be the remit of social scientists alone. Whilst it is recognized that social science may play a pivotal role, interactions with other disciplines may also be critical in understanding and analysing policy issues of importance to the poor. The series therefore draws upon a wide range of social and natural scientific disciplines reflecting the resource base at the Natural Resources Institute.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems have been used extensively by aid agencies at project level. However, such activities have often been more concerned with assessing performance against donor objectives rather than from the perspective of those engaged in the project itself, or in relation to the agenda and policies of local institutions. In recent years, this position has begun to shift. On the one hand, donor activity has increasingly begun to focus upon M&E at programme level, in the context of broadly defined objectives concerned with poverty reduction. There have also been moves to develop more participatory approaches to M&E, usually at the project level, and often undertaken in association with NGOs and other civil society organizations.

This study reviews the approaches and experiences of a selection of aid agencies where increasingly there is a common agenda for poverty reduction and reaching common development goals. Such moves have been in parallel with efforts to develop still more rigorous systems for M&E. However, analysis of these initiatives indicates that much more remains to be done to ensure that a learning process is fully incorporated into agency systems.

Donor efforts to broaden the M&E process have extended to programme and country level. In the case of the World Bank, the approach is to seek to link poverty assessments to the design of country assistance strategies, which in turn inform lending programme activity. In this context there is an ongoing need to strengthen the links and impacts of poverty assessments with subsequent policy and strategic development. The World Bank's Comprehensive Development framework seeks to address that need with its client countries and assistance partners and the new Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) make this explicit.

The study concludes that there is a need to reconcile initiatives at macro level which continue to be largely donor driven, with those at project level, including participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E). This has sometimes sought prematurely to measure impact. Instead, the importance of monitoring systems in assessing changes in process and institutions needs emphasis, i.e. assessing the building and strengthening of social capital.

The current situation is quite fluid, with a range of initiatives being developed that seek to improve M&E systems and practice. However these moves are often driven by the agenda of the institutions concerned be they donor agencies or Southern governments, NGOs or rural communities. There is, therefore, a need for integrated policies and programmes which recognize and seek to reconcile such differences, improving the results chain. As an important part of this process there is also a need to place more emphasis upon the development of in-country M&E capability.

1

INTRODUCTION

This paper covers the key findings of a desk review of current practice in performance review and impact assessment (M&E broadly defined), among selected development agencies, and briefly outlines opportunities for future developments. The target audience is development agencies, both government and non-government, who are concerned with modification and adaptation of existing arrangements for M&E in the light of recent changes in development policy and strategy.

There is a substantial and disparate body of work by donor agencies, NGOs and research and academic institutions on performance and impact assessment. Attempting to bring together even a selection of this work, and to generate consistent findings and relevant opportunities for improved practice, is challenging. Whilst developing specific approaches to performance and impact assessment, many of the agencies have changed:

- the techniques they use;
- their internal management reporting systems;
- their operational objectives; and
- the thrust of their programmes.

Recent initiatives have produced a very fluid environment. Many donor and other development agencies now place poverty reduction firmly at the top of their development agendas and acknowledge the need to restructure their information requirements in line with this. The need to integrate appropriate performance review and impact assessment as part of this approach has been recognized. Most agencies now accept the importance of performance and impact and are beginning to develop and use associated indicators. Their capacity to do this varies.

Over the past few years emphasis has been shifting towards the broader context and a project's relevance to the achievement of sector and country goals; the 'unit of account' is shifting away from projects (Thum, 1996). This is a positive development since the conclusions of thematic, sectoral and country level assessments should be a more effective way of informing policy and programme development than those provided by projects alone. The shift towards a broader assessment strategy has resulted in efforts being made to establish coherent programmes, internal systems and global indicators of developmental progress. Agencies are responding to public demands for greater accountability. This has occurred in two ways. First, attempts to develop more transparency in agency operations and decision-making, and second, collaboration among development agencies in establishing agreed International Development Goals against which they will be accountable.¹

At the same time, other development agencies, most notably NGOs, with less institutional experience in M&E, are concentrating their efforts at the project level and using participatory approaches.

This paper uses the following definitions of performance review and impact assessment.

Performance Review an on-going process that involves managing the criteria for which an institution, agency or project can be held accountable. Typically, these criteria are represented as component parts of an internal system and cover the institution's ability to:

- control financial expenditure;
- satisfy staff;
- deliver timely interventions; and
- respond to target group reactions to interventions.

The main objective of these reviews is to provide a basis for improving future performance.

Impact Assessment a particular type of evaluation which includes information that enables an assessment of long-term and profound changes in and among target group environments as a result of development interventions. Criteria associated with impact assessments

¹ Whether they can be held accountable for the working set of indicators developed is a separate debate.

often reflect a balance between economic, environmental, social and institutional changes brought about through specific interventions. For example, improvements in:

- household level income and expenditure;
- health of children;
- productivity of natural resources; and
- decision-making processes and relationships among service providers and users.

The main objective of these assessments is to provide a basis for justifying past expenditure, in order to inform or validate proposed future policies and investments.

2

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN M&E

The need to integrate appropriate performance review and impact assessment in response to demands for greater accountability and transparency has been widely recognized. Many agencies now refer to performance and impact, accept their value, and are beginning to develop and use associated indicators. Several examples of impact evaluations and a series of syntheses of impact evaluations from six donor agencies were reviewed for this study. These donors were Finnish International Development Assistance (FINNIDA), the European Union, the World Bank, GTZ, DANIDA and the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

Initiatives to develop internal systems and to improve co-ordination among agencies have been based upon five broad areas of activity.

- 1. Measuring poverty reduction.
- 2. Working to achieve the International Development Goals.
- 3. Improving development agency performance systems.
- 4. Advocating participatory M&E.
- 5. Establishing links between micro and macro M&E.

Each of these components is examined in more detail below.

MEASURING POVERTY REDUCTION

The prominence of poverty reduction in development agendas of donor agencies has generated considerable interest in developing an understanding of what poverty means, why it occurs and ways to measure it. Broadly, there are two approaches to the measurement of poverty, each one associated with a distinct style, but which are often used in combination (Box 1) .

Box 1 Ways of measuring poverty

Approach

Money-metric estimates of consumption/ expenditure, income and welfare

Estimates based on broad social assessments of health, access and empowerment

Measurement style

External enumerator questionnaire with a range of visits and reference periods generating quantitative information

Mix of external and self-evaluations which uses a participative process that generates qualitative information

Quantitative indicators have traditionally dominated efforts to understand and measure poverty, but more recently combinations of these two approaches have been attempted (e.g. the World Bank's participatory poverty assessments).

WORKING TO ACHIEVE THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS

In 1996 the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD adopted a development partnerships strategy. The strategy has agreed goals with a working set of core indicators for measuring progress against those goals (Box 2).

All the lead development agencies are now committed to these targets and are collaborating with each other to measure them. The IDT initiative is an important first step towards a more systematic approach to assessing the impact of donors' programmes, thus harmonizing impact assessment. A wider acceptance amongst donors of a systematic rating is essential to allow comparisons of results (Donecker and Green, 1998). It is also essential in order not to hinder the development and operation of evaluation capacity of partner countries through excessive and conflicting donor information requirements (World Bank, 1998).

Box 2 The Goals and associated indicators

Goal

Economic well-being: reducing extreme poverty by half

Social development: universal primary education

Eliminate gender disparity in education

Reduce infant and child mortality by two thirds

Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters

Universal access to reproductive health services

Environmental sustainability and regeneration: implementation of a national strategy for sustainable development in every country by 2005; so as to reverse trends in loss of environmental resources by 2015

Indicators

- Population below US\$ 1/day
- Poverty gap ratio
- Inequality, poorest quintile share of national consumption
- Child malnutrition prevalence of underweight under-5-year olds
- Net enrolment in primary education
- Completion of fourth grade of primary education
- Literacy rates of 15–24-year-olds
- Ratio of boys to girls in education
- · Rate of literate females to males
- Infant mortality rate (IMR)
- Under-5 mortality rate (U5MR)
- Maternal mortality rate (MMR)
- Births attended by skilled health personnel
- Contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR)
- HIV prevalence in 15–24-year-old pregnant women
- Countries with national sustainable development strategies
- Population with access to safe water
- · Intensity of freshwater use
- Biodiversity: land area protected
- Energy efficiency
- Carbon dioxide emissions
- Forest area as a percentage of land area
- Mangrove areas
- Urban air pollution

IMPROVING AGENCY PERFORMANCE SYSTEMS

Planning processes being adopted by development agencies for development interventions are becoming more detailed, rigorous and participatory. At the same time, developmental needs are ever changing in the context of a dynamic institutional and policy environment. It is increasingly recognized that development problems are becoming more complex and less amenable to systematic analysis.

Despite this, many development agencies are placing more and more emphasis on understanding needs and conditions. Heavy investments to evaluate people's situations and circumstances are made. Perhaps because of these high levels of effort and resources, relatively little attention seems to be paid during implementation periods on *learning* how demands change over time. In reality, the tendency is for M&E to *measure* the extent to which interventions deliver on historical needs and demands and how, in turn, this translates into developmental impact. Often, M&E is used to justify past, not inform future, decisions.

A number of agency systems were reviewed for this study, and categories of initiatives identified as indicated in Box 3.

Level	Description of initiatives
Agency	World Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework
	World Bank's five counts of agency performance
	DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
	DFID's recording and marker systems
Country	World Bank's Country Assistance Strategy (now PRSPs)
programme	European Union's National Indicative Programme
	USAID country level results framework
Project	Derivatives of logical frameworks dominate the basis for monitoring and evaluation
	Some now beginning to incorporate impact monitoring
	typically associated with a participatory approach

Agency level initiatives

A Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) was introduced by the World Bank in 1999. The heart of the CDF is its focus on long-term strategy, participation and ownership, partnership and a results-based approach (World Bank 1999). The framework aspires to achieve a balance

in policy-making by highlighting the inter-dependence of development elements incorporating social, economic, structural, human, environmental and governance dimensions. It also seeks to harmonize the role of the various international institutions working with a country. The approach entails a move away from using discrete indicators of economic and human development.

The World Bank's annual report on development effectiveness focuses on an analysis of five internally derived aggregate counts or measures. These counts are used to assess overall organizational performance. Their collective role is to enable the World Bank to analyse portfolio performance in terms of:

- delivering results (through the counts of Development Outcomes, Sustainability and Institutional Development Impact); and
- process (through the two remaining counts of Bank and Borrower performance).

The PRSPs are the centre of a new anti-poverty framework announced in late 1999 by the World Bank and the IMF. The focus of PRSPs is on "identifying in a participatory manner the poverty reduction outcomes a country wishes to achieve and the key public actions – policy changes, institutional reforms, programmes and projects... which are needed to achieve the desired outcomes."

Sector performance indicators at the World Bank are treated synonymously with the set of objectively verifiable indicators contained in a logical framework. In other words, they distinguish between different levels of objectives. Work on sector-specific performance indicators was initiated in 1995 to try to develop coherent monitoring efforts that link projects with their respective sectors (World Bank, 1996).

The Department for International Development (DFID) equivalent of the World Bank's summary counts is a cascading marker system with a Poverty Aim Marker at the top (to determine whether or not an intervention is either *enabling, inclusive* or focused in seeking to eliminate poverty), a Policy Objective Marker (against three objectives, broadly SL, education/health/poverty or environment), and a Policy Information Marker System (a choice of 33, grouped by three objectives). These markers seek to establish the degree of congruence to policy in terms of resource

allocation and expenditure, and are reported to the UK Government Treasury. This system was introduced in 1993 to help track bilateral commitments and expenditure over £100,000; it was improved in 1997 and extensively re-designed and extended in 1998. The marker system does not, however, offer insights into the quality of expenditure. The latter is the objective of project-based M&E systems, evaluation studies and syntheses. DFID is also in the process of upgrading and expanding its Performance Reporting Information System for Management (PRISM) which will include performance scores and achievement ratings from project completion reports (PCRs).

Country level initiatives

Country Assistance Strategies (CAS) comprise one component of a programme approach to poverty reduction adopted by the World Bank. CAS depend on information from Poverty Assessments (PAs) and, in turn, inform the Country Lending Programme.

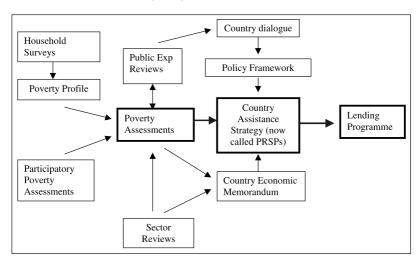


Figure 1 The World Bank's programmatic approach to poverty reduction *Source*: IDS (1994)

The PAs depend largely on the information made available through the Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs). A review of PPAs in 1999 highlighted two key issues that concern the use of PPAs by the CAS, and the treatment of poverty within CAS.

- The impact of the PPAs on CAS appears weak because of the methodological problems of applying a participatory approach at the community and policy levels.
- The CAS often lack a strategic vision on poverty reduction and clear monitorable actions for reducing poverty, and some are too general.
 As a result the poverty focus is lost by the time the lending programme is implemented (Robb, 1999).

The European Union's National Indicative Programme (NIP), through the use of general guidelines and principles for co-operation with the Community, specifies focal sectors and themes within a country. Country programmes such as the NIP and USAID's country level results framework, although different in their approaches, are typical initiatives which seek to facilitate country level performance and impacts through developing coherent donor strategies. DFID's Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) seek to do the same thing although with mixed results so far.

Project level initiatives

At project level, mid-term reviews (referred to in DFID literature as output to purpose reviews, OPRs) and PCRs are commissioned. Both these types of evaluation are based on the logical framework approach and are similar to those associated with the European Union's project cycle management methodology. Historically, DFID's evaluation work has largely focused on ex-post assessments of impact, although OPRs, PCRs and evaluation syntheses are all gaining more prominence.

Project monitoring receives relatively little attention (Benini, 1998), but that is changing and many agencies are beginning to develop monitoring systems. Typically, this involves attempting to monitor changes (among individuals, institutions and physical environments) relating to project objectives. GTZ refers to this as impact monitoring (IM), and is developing ways to integrate it within project M&E systems (GTZ, 1998). This initiative is the result of the German Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ) placing more emphasis on assessing project impact, and for this becoming the responsibility of the project management team. Other donor agencies are now placing similar demands on project monitoring systems.

Before going on to review participatory approaches to M&E, to which IM is related, a word of caution is needed. Premature attempts to assess impact by (largely World Bank) project systems during the 1970s were a major failing of conventional M&E. This failure stemmed from attempts to measure change too early during implementation, the results of which did not provide a feasible basis for management decision-making at project level if at all. Such approaches were extractive and associated with formal, enumerator-led approaches. They were also very expensive. However, the *main* lesson learnt was that such approaches were over ambitious, *not* that they were inappropriate in style.

THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATORY M&E

An increasing number of practitioners embrace what is now referred to as participatory M&E (PM&E). PM&E is used to describe a wide range of activities. Fundamentally, it is about achieving a shift in who initiates the process and who gains from its findings.

"PM&E is not just a matter of using participatory techniques within a conventional M&E setting. It is about radically rethinking who initiates and undertakes the process, and who learns or benefits from the findings" (IDS, 1998).

There is a wealth of experience documented that focuses at the micro level, particularly among Northern NGOs (e.g. Goyder *et al.*, 1998). While the notional benefits of participatory approaches to M&E have been discussed, there are relatively few practical experiences that can be drawn upon to support or refute those who promise much from it (Abbot and Guijt, 1998).

Participatory M&E is an initiative that attempts to resolve the biased nature of what some perceive to be 'conventional' or 'orthodox' M&E. PM&E also tries to resolve the inadequacy of approaches to participatory planning. M&E, conventional or otherwise, was invariably divorced from participatory planning processes among organizations who are now trying to use PM&E. Box 4 summarizes the extent of use of approaches to PM&E.

Box 4

Summary of current practice

Type of indicator Externally Self M&E among

facilitated M&E - participants - independent

dependent

Process Some Few

Impact Many Very few

Note: The rows distinguish between the type of information generated for participants' own assessment and learning: their performance and activities (process) and the changes those processes bring about within social, institutional and physical environments (impact).

Equally important is that nearly all of the participatory initiatives focus on improving relationships, through developing M&E partnerships with communities. The only equivalent process found at the macro level is with the World Bank's recent Evaluation Capacity Development Initiative. (This is opposed to training people to merely implement audits and surveys.)

There seems to be a general pattern emerging. On the one hand, we have macro and agency initiatives on M&E responding to agency concerns and priorities, driven by the same agencies and with limited opportunities to develop partner country M&E capacity. On the other, we have micro level initiatives dominated by PM&E that seek different objectives and are associated with a very different approach. In many ways, both these sets of initiatives coincidentally generate similar types of information from different perspectives, i.e. impact upon poverty of development interventions. However, such micro and macro level M&E initiatives appear to be quite separate and to operate in parallel to each other.

ESTABLISHING LINKS BETWEEN MICRO AND MACRO M&E

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and DFID are implementing a sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach to eliminating poverty.

The objectives for DFID's SL approach are set out in Box 5 (Carney, 1998).

Box 5 DFID objectives for sustainable livelihoods

To promote sustainable livelihoods through the provision of:

- more secure access and better management of natural resources:
- a more supportive and cohesive social environment;
- more secure access to financial resources;
- improved access to high quality education, information, technologies and training and better nutrition and health:
- better access to facilitating infrastructure; and
- a policy and institutional environment which supports multiple livelihood strategies and promotes equitable access to competitive markets for all.

The key feature of the SL approach, and the needs which it generates for developing M&E, is the link between the micro and the macro level. This is similar to the World Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework approach.

SL principles emphasize the importance of *learning*, throughout the implementation process, which in turn implies an essential role for M&E. As well as meeting financial accountability requirements, M&E, therefore, must incorporate a *learning process* to assess what works and what does not, and to support the adaptation of activities to changing livelihood circumstances. The SL framework explicitly recognizes complex and dynamic relationships between the activities, opportunities, entitlements, risks and assets that shape people's livelihood strategies. This more realistic, multi-dimensional understanding of poverty is the means to design more effective interventions, but these very strengths pose practical and conceptual challenges for M&E.

There is no single solution to meet these challenges. Just as SL-orientated projects, by definition, vary according to livelihood priorities, so there is no blueprint for 'SL M&E'. Nevertheless, SL-guided interventions can be expected to share some basic characteristics based on core principles that underlie the SL approach. Namely:

- people-centred;
- holistic:

- dynamic; and
- macro-micro linked.

The distinguishing feature of the SL approach, and thus its implications for M&E, is in how it can foster links between micro and macro levels.

The importance of a conducive policy and institutional framework for the sustainability and replicability of poverty-reduction efforts is widely recognized, though these factors have conventionally been treated as exogenous assumptions/risks in project design rather than a fundamental part of any strategy. The SL framework attempts to internalize policy and institutional components by bridging the gap between macro and micro levels, a task that neither poverty reduction programmes nor participatory development initiatives, including participatory M&E, have fully achieved.

Whether an SL-guided intervention is operating at policy or grass-roots level, it should be based on analysis of how 'transforming structures and processes' (TS&P) influence and are influenced by livelihood outcomes. To be useful M&E needs to monitor selectively from the local level up, from localization to globalization.

Monitoring changes in TS&P tend to focus on measures of *institutional change* (e.g. changes in service provision, representation in decision-making processes). These should be verified by monitoring local perceptions of such change. The importance of fostering and developing 'social capital' is another analytical tool in this process. Lags between institutional/policy reform and its wider effects may constrain what can be measured to a very local level.

The importance of understanding and managing such changes is illustrated by two main factors (summarized from Salmen, 1994).

- The sustainable success of interventions depends on the performance of the partner institutions in being able and continuing to offer a quality service as perceived by the service users (e.g. poor households). The type of growth and prosperity at household level that justifies the programme is unlikely to be maintained if the targeted institutions are dysfunctional.
- Targeted institutions need to perform as responsive service providers in being able to offer poor households choices, and their institutional

competencies and values must be continually attuned to the needs of the poor.

This information will provide opportunities for designing interventions to develop their direction and collaborative relationship with partner institutions through *learning* more about the context of poverty work in qualitative and inductive ways.

3

CONCLUSIONS: OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING M & E

In the past, development agencies could be said to have had M&E systems set up to provide information to meet donor requirements, rather than recipient priorities. The opportunity for *learning* through M&E, for many stakeholders was largely lost.

Current experience indicates that conflicts of interest remain between the different institutional players concerned with development from donor agencies to Southern governments, and from NGOs to rural communities. Current M&E initiatives largely reflect these divergences. PM&E has yet to prove itself as a means of resolving such issues, in particular, because it has often repeated earlier mistakes with conventional practice, notably premature attempts to measure impact.

These challenges present great scope for more positive developments in future. At present there are two parallel processes at macro level (largely donor driven), and at micro level (largely participatory). The need now is to link these two. With respect to PM&E, there is also a need to distinguish between learning from the process and measuring impact, and to recognize that M&E means more than impact assessment.

On the basis of the discussions in earlier sections, it is also possible to identify a subset of options, both for the improvement of monitoring systems and for the assessment of impact. Box 6 provides a summary of these opportunities.

Box 6 Opportunities to develop performance systems and approaches to impact assessment

- Projects and programmes need to be viewed as instruments for developing policies which partner countries own, as opposed to instruments for implementing donor agency policy (as the new ambitious PRSP model seeks to do).
- The scope of project monitoring systems, and hence their outputs, needs to
 include understanding the reactions of service and product users. It is important
 that such efforts do not attempt to make unrealistic attempts to monitor wider
 development impacts (e.g. increases in income and nutritional gains).
- Distinctions between different types of evaluation vis-à-vis impact need to be made more clear, as do responsibilities for collection of data for indicators found in logical frameworks.
- Partner countries need to determine and use information associated with project M&E systems, in order to develop their own policy, and not simply the systems of donor agencies.
- M&E systems should be seen as a way in which institutional level learning can be systemized, shortening the feedback loop, not simply as a way to measure outcomes in order to justify prior investment in planning and implementation.
- More use can be made of intermediate or leading indicators (often absent from logical frameworks), in order to monitor progress towards impact.
- Components that can be used to assess the influence that aid donor agency programmes have upon intermediary and collaborating and partner institutions need to be incorporated into M&E systems.

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ABREVIATIONS

BMZ German Ministry of Economic Co-operation and

Development

CAS Country assistance strategy

CDF Comprehensive development framework

CSP Contraceptive mortality rate
CSP Country Strategy Paper

DAC Development Assistance Committee

DANIDA Danish International Development Assistance
DFID Department for International Development
FINNIDA Finnish International Development Assistance

IDT International development target

IM Impact monitoring

IMF International Monetary Fund

IMR Infant mortality rateM&E Monitoring & evaluationMMR Maternal mortality rate

NGO Non-governmental organization
NIP National Indicative Programme

OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

OPR Output to purpose
PA Poverty assessment
PCR Project completion report

PM&E Participatory monitoring & evaluation
PPA Participatory poverty assessment

PRISM Performance Reporting Information System for

Management

PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

SL Sustainable livelihoods

TS&P Transforming structures & processes

U5MR Under-5 mortality rate

UNDP United Nations Development Programme
USAID US Agency for International Development

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