

63385

Public Disclosure Authorized

SECOND EDITION

Can the Poor Influence Policy?

Participatory Poverty Assessments in the Developing World

Public Disclosure Authorized

Public Disclosure Authorized

Public Disclosure Authorized

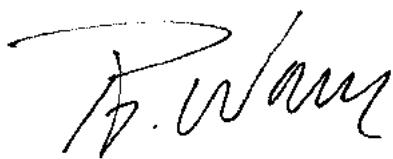


THE WORLD BANK



INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Caroline M. Robb



Can the Poor Influence Policy?

Participatory Poverty Assessments
in the Developing World

Second Edition

*Includes a new chapter on how to involve the poor in
poverty reduction strategies*

Caroline M. Robb



INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
Washington, D.C.



THE WORLD BANK
Washington, D.C.

© 1999, 2002 The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank
1818 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20433

All rights reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America
First published 1999. Second Edition 2002
1 2 3 4 04 03 02

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed here are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Board of Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The World Bank cannot guarantee the accuracy of the data included in this work. The boundaries, colors, denominations, and other information shown on any map in this work do not imply on the part of the World Bank any judgment of the legal status of any territory or the endorsement or acceptance of such boundaries.

Rights and Permissions

The material in this work is copyrighted. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or inclusion in any information storage and retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the World Bank. The World Bank encourages dissemination of its work and will normally grant permission promptly.

For permission to photocopy or reprint, please send a request with complete information to the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA, telephone 978-750-8400, fax 978-750-4470, www.copyright.com.

All other queries on rights and licenses, including subsidiary rights, should be addressed to the Office of the Publisher, World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433, USA, fax 202-522-2422, e-mail pubrights@worldbank.org.

Cover photo credit: Curt Carnemark, 1993; Senegal

ISBN 0-8213-5000-5

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

Contents

Foreword to the Second Edition vii

Foreword to the First Edition xi

Preface to the Second Edition xv

Acknowledgments xix

Abbreviations and Acronyms xxi

Summary xxv

1. A Status Report 1

Context 2

What Is a Participatory Poverty Assessment? 4

How Are PPAs Conducted? 7

What Is the Current Status of PPAs? 18

Notes 21

2. Impact of the PPA 23

Deepening the Understanding of Poverty and
Combining Data Sources 26

Attitudes and Policy Change 30

Strengthening the Capacity to Deliver Policy 34

Determinants of the Level of Impact 35

Notes 43

3. Emerging Good Practice 45

At the World Bank: Initial Steps and Follow-Up 45

At the Country Level: Linking PPAs to the Process of Policymaking 53

At the Community Level: Including the Poor 61

Analysis and Synthesis: Combining PPAs with Household

Survey Data 67

Notes 85

4. Linking PPAs to Poverty Reduction Strategies	87
Background to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper	87
How to Include the Poor in the PRSP Process:	
Operational Implications	90
Poverty Impact Assessments of Macroeconomic and Structural Reforms	94
Country Examples of the Links between the PPAs and PRSPs	95
Next Steps for PPAs	103
The Challenge for PPAs	104
Notes	105

Appendixes 107

Appendix A. Methodology	108
Appendix B. Impact	121
Appendix C. Poverty Assessments, Completed and Scheduled (by Country), Fiscal Year 1989–2000	135
Appendix D. Examples of PRA Exercises in Thailand (1998) and Zambia (1996)	137
Appendix E. Country Case Examples	138
Appendix F. Social Aspects of the East Asian Financial Crisis: Perceptions of Poor Communities	175
Appendix G. Methodology of This Review	188

Bibliography 189

Boxes

1. Background to the World Bank's Participatory Poverty Assessment 5
2. Participatory Poverty Monitoring in Zambia 12
3. World Bank Participatory Poverty Assessments: Status Report, March 2001 19
4. Examples of Planned PPAs 20
5. Enriching the Diagnosis of the Nature of Poverty 26
6. Examples of Explanations Provided by PPAs 29
7. Can the Poor Influence the Budget? Case Example from Uganda 36
8. Twelve Hallmarks of Good PPAs 46
9. What Is Poverty Reduction? 47
10. Factors for the World Bank to Consider to Increase the Impact of PPAs 54
11. Handing Over the Document Does Not Equal Ownership 59
12. Participation Is More Than Holding Workshops 60
13. Factors to Consider at the National Level to Increase the Impact of PPAs 62

14. Factors to Consider at the Community Level to Increase the Impact of PPAs 68
 15. Summary of Emerging Good Practice for Integrating Data Sets 84
 16. Why PRSPs Are Different 88
- A1. Creeping Crisis in Vietnam 176
A2. How People Are Coping in Khon Kaen 186

Figures

1. Good Practice Research Cycle 13
 2. PPA Impact by Quality of Research Team 40
 3. PPA Impact by Quality of PPA Manager and Level of Bank Management Support 41
 4. PPA Impact by Link to Poverty Assessment 41
 5. PPA Impact by World Bank and Government Ownership 42
 6. PPA Impact by Level of Policymaker Involvement 43
 7. Information Filters and Biases: Case Study of the PPA in Zambia 77
 8. PRSP Operational Linkages 89
- A1. Social Impacts of the East Asian Crisis in Thailand 177
A2. Perceptions of the Impact of the East Asian Financial Crisis: Results of a Focus Group in the Philippines 184

Tables

1. Summary of PPA Typical Characteristics 8
 2. Case Examples of PPA Features at a Glance 9
 - 3a. Methodologies Used 10
 - 3b. Time Spent in the Field 10
 - 3c. Number of Communities Assessed 10
 - 3d. Agency Conducting the Fieldwork 10
 - 3e. Cost 11
 - 3f. Year Fieldwork Was Conducted 11
 4. Comparison of Participatory Methodologies 14
 5. Range of PPA Impacts 24
 6. Summary of PPA Impacts 38
 7. Summary of Impact Variables 39
 8. Summary of Household Survey Types 70
 9. Characteristics of Household Surveys and PPAs 72
 10. Summary of the Ways Data Sets Can Be Combined 78
 11. Impact of PPAs on Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers 98
 12. How the Poor Influenced the PRSP in Uganda 102
- A1. PPA Outputs and Applications 147
A2. Links between Poverty Analysis and Policy Change 163

Foreword to the Second Edition

We are united today by our belief that widespread poverty in the midst of global prosperity is both unsustainable and morally unacceptable. Now, more than ever before, we need to focus on the role our organizations can best play in the fight against poverty, and we must constantly ask ourselves, How does what we are doing affect the poor? Can the poor themselves help to answer this question? If so, how can we reach the poor, and should the poor influence policy?

We think they can and indeed must. The question therefore is not whether we should include the poor but *how*? This is the subject of *Can the Poor Influence Policy?* This influential book documents and analyzes the development of a comprehensive methodology that shows how to consult directly with the poor and link the results to the national policy dialogue. This methodology was developed in partnership with governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and other civil society groups.

The importance of including the poor became even clearer during the East Asian crisis. By directly consulting poor people, policymakers found that there was not only a financial crisis but another profound crisis that affected the poor directly. When we visited the slums and villages, the issues poor people face became apparent. What we learned was that the poor have a very clear idea of what they want. They are able to analyze their poverty, suggest solutions, and prioritize policies. Poor people want a chance and they want an opportunity to transform their lives.

In 1999, the World Bank, therefore, spoke of "the other crisis" in East Asia, the human crisis of those condemned to poverty as well as those who had recently found hope only to see it roughly snatched away. There is an urgent need to look beyond financial solutions, to combine social and structural needs with macroeconomic solutions. We must therefore learn to have a debate in which the need for often drastic change can be balanced with advancing the interests of the poor. Only then will we

arrive at solutions that are sustainable. Only then will we be able to bring the international financial community *and* local citizens with us.

Both the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are at the heart of an integrated international effort to ensure that globalization benefits everyone. We should follow a concept that recognizes that the impacts of poverty cannot be separated from the macroeconomic dimension and that extreme income inequalities between nations must not be allowed to become a major source of political instability in the world. Poverty is an issue for everyone, and the poor must be full partners and participants. Operating within that concept, a refocused IMF must be aware of poverty issues outside its core areas of responsibility, and it must work in a complementary fashion with the organizations primarily responsible for those issues. The Fund and the World Bank are thus redoubling their efforts to ensure a closer and stronger partnership to better serve our member countries.

During our recent joint trip to Africa, we recognized in Africa an awareness that any effort to reduce poverty must start with—and build upon—peace, democracy, and good governance at home. We must give countries the scope to pursue their national interests and responsibilities—while preserving their cultural identities. We recognize that our programs are most effective when there is broad understanding of and support for our work. Gaining support for country programs requires a stronger relationship with parliaments and civil society. Therefore, we must explain our advice better and expand our dialogue with the public to reach the regional and local levels.

Both the World Bank and the IMF agree that world poverty is the paramount challenge of the 21st century and that decisive progress must be made in meeting the established international development goals set for the year 2015. The fight against poverty will succeed only if it is based on a strategy designed by the country itself, rather than one imposed from outside. For that reason, in September 1999, the World Bank and the IMF launched Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), which are owned by the country, developed with broad participation, and clearly linked to agreed-on international development goals. The Fund will make more explicit the links between poverty and our main lending instrument to poor countries, the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility. This can be done by using various data sources, including participatory poverty assessments (PPAs). The World Bank will strengthen the poverty focus of its lending through the Poverty Reduction Support Credit, which is closely linked with implementing PRSPs and PPAs.

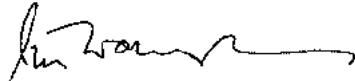
The PRSP process seeks to strengthen further the link between debt relief, development assistance, and poverty reduction. It is a way for a

country to draw on the best available knowledge in the design of its poverty reduction strategy—by involving donors, the private sector, civil society, as well as the poor. This new participatory approach is changing the way we do business.

In this book, Caroline Robb shows how participatory methods and approaches can enable poor people to analyze their situations and express their priorities, and how these can fundamentally differ from those assumed by policymakers. The book is essential reading for policymakers who wish to understand how to improve consultation with the poor; for governments, NGOs, and donors who wish to undertake PPAs; and for all those embarking on PRSPs.



Horst Köhler, Managing Director
International Monetary Fund



James D. Wolfensohn, President
The World Bank Group

Foreword to the First Edition

An understanding of the nature and causes of poverty lies at the heart of designing economic and social strategies for development. Much of the analytic work on poverty critical to such an understanding has treated the poor as an object of inquiry: Empirical investigations have been conducted to explain outcomes for the poor in terms of their characteristics, the environment in which they live, and the policies of governments and other agents toward them. This tradition of work has been critical to deepening our comprehension of poverty and of the options to alleviate it.

There is another tradition of inquiry, however—one that seeks to understand the experience and causes of poverty from the perspective of the poor themselves. Investigations of the poor within this broad tradition include, for example, the work of anthropologists and others who have undertaken intensive studies of villages or poor urban areas spanning decades. In the context of development endeavors, a relatively recent component of this tradition involves the use of participatory techniques. (Although these techniques have often been linked to specific projects, they increasingly have been associated with broader diagnostic investigations of the nature and causes of poverty and of the potential for policy to make a difference.) A variety of techniques have been developed to support this participatory process. All have the aim of giving the poor a voice, a voice that is not distorted by the mind-set of the investigators. Typically, the techniques also have the objective of capturing the perspective of the poor in a way that can be communicated to decision-makers in government and development agencies. Both aspects are important for the ultimate objective of empowering the poor.

Poverty studies have become of critical importance to the World Bank in the past decade, since the reaffirmation of poverty reduction as its core purpose. Particularly in the wake of the *World Development Report (WDR) 1990 on Poverty*, the Bank has become one of the major agents and supporters of the study of poverty, through both a series of country-specific

poverty assessments and a wide range of other research. Within this experience, the Bank is probably best known for its use of traditional household surveys, especially multipurpose surveys (such as the Living Standards Measurement Studies) that use questionnaires to document a range of dimensions of household well-being. Indeed, the World Bank has sometimes been characterized as working exclusively with a consumption- or income-based definition of poverty. This has never been true (for example, the *WDR 1990* placed considerable emphasis on the lack of health and education as dimensions, as well as causes, of poverty). However, it is true that most poverty assessments have identified the poor in terms of a poverty line, based on a country-specific assessment of the minimum consumption required to meet basic nutritional standards and to effectively participate in a society.

The Bank is less well known for its increasing use of participatory techniques in both project and diagnostic work. The present study surveys one part of this trend: the use of participatory techniques in poverty assessment work. As Caroline M. Robb shows, their use rose significantly in the mid-1990s and has become common in poverty assessments conducted over the past three years or so. These participatory poverty assessments have already yielded rich results, sometimes confirming and sometimes contradicting the conclusions of more traditional questionnaire-based national household surveys. They confirm that the poor themselves see poverty as having many dimensions—including lack of material resources and ill health, but also including a vulnerability to adverse economic developments or, in some communities, to physical violence. The assessments provide insight into the nature of coping mechanisms, particularly the role of local networks (or social capital), and have the potential to provide telling information on the effectiveness—or ineffectiveness—of public and private institutions. This participatory work can, and should, also play a role in the design and ongoing evaluation of interventions.

Participatory poverty work is expected to be of growing importance to the World Bank in diagnostic, policy, and project work. We already see this in some of the early assessments of the social aspects of the East Asian economic crisis. And while the *World Development Report 1990* made limited use of the participatory tradition, one of the major studies in the lead-up to the next *WDR* on poverty and development (which will be released in September 2000) combines new studies and a synthesis of participatory poverty analyses to present the perspective of the poor on the nature of poverty, trends in various dimensions of poverty, and the utility of formal and informal institutions that address the causes and conditions of poverty. Finally, we need to emphasize that traditional household surveys and participatory poverty work are funda-

mentally complements, not substitutes—and certainly not rivals. They mutually inform each other, to everyone's benefit. Recent Living Standards Measurement Studies increasingly make use of subjective assessments of poverty, while other new studies make use of participatory and questionnaire-based approaches in a structured, complementary way. Developing powerful and effective diagnoses of the causes of poverty, and appropriate treatments to reduce poverty, requires both well-designed quantitative investigation and giving a genuine voice to poor people.

*Gloria Davis
Director, Social Development*

*Michael Walton
Director, Poverty Reduction
and Chief Economist,
Human Development*

Preface to the Second Edition

In 1999, when the first edition of this book was published, many development practitioners and policymakers did not believe that including the poor in the policy dialogue was credible or even feasible. Since then, there has been a shift in development thinking: the debate has moved from explaining why the poor *should* be included to *how* they *can* be included. As one of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) first two social development specialists, I have witnessed this change from inside both the World Bank and the IMF. This book offers some insights as to how this can be done.

This shift in thinking is occurring in a worldwide context of rapid and accelerating globalization, which has caused an equally rapid change in poor people's aspirations and awareness. Within the context of aid and development, during the 1990s there was growing evidence that aid performs best in countries where governments are committed to development and reform. It is also widely accepted today that to substantially reduce poverty, it is essential to implement both economic policies that promote growth and social policies and sectoral programs that directly improve the living conditions of the poor. As a consequence, donors now support nationally owned poverty reduction strategies (PRSs). This emphasis on policies that reduce poverty was also behind the launch of the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative at the G7 Summit in Cologne in mid-1999, which made debt relief conditional on a country's formulation of a poverty reduction framework. That approach has been welcomed by many civil society organizations.

In response, aid agencies have increasingly emphasized a participatory process of developing PRSs, which promotes the empowerment of the poor, builds partnerships to support the PRSs, and fosters ownership, accountability, and transparency. While this implies new, more open and collaborative power relationships, the necessary changes at the institutional, procedural, and individual levels are likely to be achieved only over time (see Institute of Development Studies forthcoming).

Within the World Bank and IMF, some procedural changes have been introduced. In response to the wider global context, and in recognition that the East Asian crisis had not just financial but also social impacts that negatively affected many of the poorest and most vulnerable in the region (Wolfensohn 1998), the World Bank introduced the comprehensive development framework (CDF) in 1999. The CDF focuses on a more holistic approach to development by seeking a better balance in policy-making between interdependent elements of development—social, structural, human, governance, environmental, economic, and financial. The CDF also emphasizes partnerships between governments, donors, civil society, the private sector, and other development actors, and stresses the importance of the country's being in the lead, both owning and directing the development agenda, with the Bank and other partners each defining their support in their respective plans.

Last year, the World Bank published the *World Development Report (WDR) 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty* (2001). Some of the research for the WDR built on the results of participatory poverty assessments (PPAs), as discussed in the first edition of this book. The WDR reaffirms the conclusion of the first edition by stressing a broader definition of poverty that includes not only low incomes and low consumption but also lack of education, poor nutrition and health, powerlessness, vulnerability, lack of respect and dignity, and a lack of trust in formal institutions because of corruption and irrelevance. The WDR also stresses the fundamental role of institutional and social change in strengthening development processes, and the importance of including poor people in development planning. It proposes a strategy for attacking poverty in three ways: promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment, and enhancing security. The World Bank is now focusing on how to link this strategy to its operations.

The CDF and other donor frameworks have provided the basis for the introduction of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), to be developed by the countries in consultation with civil society, including the poor. Henceforth, programs supported by the Bank and IMF will be based on the government-driven poverty reduction strategies elaborated in the PRSPs. The PRSPs also provide the basis for debt relief under HIPC, as well as for all World Bank and IMF concessional lending. As a result, the IMF-supported programs will now be based on poverty outcomes as well as on sound macroeconomic frameworks. This is a major step. In the short period since their introduction, the CDF and the PRSPs have changed the way the World Bank and the IMF conduct their operations, and PRSPs have the potential to create policy space for the poor to be directly involved in the policymaking process.

Since the introduction of the PRSs, I am constantly being asked by economists and by government policymakers: Is it really possible to include the poor in policymaking? The answer is yes. This revised edition lays out how to include the poor using the participatory poverty assessment. This tried and tested method was developed in partnership with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), government, and academic institutions, and has been undertaken in more than 60 countries worldwide during the past decade. A new chapter has been added to this second edition that discusses how to include the poor, through a PPA, in the development of poverty reduction strategies.

In addition, this second edition draws on new PPA case examples. The first edition underscored the importance of linking the PPA process to policymaking, since past experience has shown that simply presenting policymakers with new information generated through a PPA does not guarantee policy change. In order to increase their impact, many of the new PPAs have been more closely linked to the political context of policy choice and change.

The challenge now is to move from isolated PPA research studies to ensuring that PPA consultations become part of the broader national policy dialogue and political decisionmaking, as well as part of a system to monitor the implementation of the commitments made by governments and donors. Only then will there be more transparency, accountability, and longer lasting change.

*Caroline M. Robb
December 2001*

Acknowledgments

This book arose from discussions, meetings, and workshops with people from a wide variety of organizations and communities, to all of whom I am very grateful. I particularly thank Robert Chambers (Institute of Development Studies [IDS]) for his unfailing inspiration, encouragement, and direction. In addition, substantial contributions were made by Kimberly Chung (Brown University), John Gaventa (IDS), Jeremy Holland (University of Swansea), Andrew Norton (Department for International Development—United Kingdom [DFID]), Ben Osuga (Swinga, Uganda), and Dan Owen (London School of Economics). Additional comments were provided by Nancy Alexander (Bread for the World Institute), Bella Bird (DFID), Karen Brock (IDS), Elizabeth Gomart (Consultant), Richard Holloway (Private Agencies Collaborating Together), Ramesh Singh (Action Aid, Vietnam), and Joachim Theis (Save the Children, Vietnam).

I also thank the local research teams in case study countries, who undertook the fieldwork, and the civil society institutions, government agencies, and community members who gave their time so freely to help in this study: In Zambia, Clare Barkworth and Cosmas Mambo (Social Recovery Project, Zambia), Peggy Chibuye (World Bank, Resident Mission), Silverio Chamuka, Helen Muchimba, Hope Kasese, Fanwell Kondolo, Mulasikwanda Liswaniso, Kwibisa Liywalii, John Milimo, Eddie Mwanza, Malako Nabanda, and Lizzie Peme (Participatory Assessment Group), and Fred Mutesa and Stephen Muyakwa (University of Zambia); in Costa Rica, Carmen Camacho (UNICEF), Betsy Murray (World Bank, Resident Mission), and Pablo Sauma (Ministry of Economic Planning); in Pakistan, the Association for Development of Human Resources, Muhammad Ahsan Ashraf, Asif Farooki, and Parvez Tahir; and in Mozambique, Yussuf Adam (Universidade Eduardo Mondlane).

At the Bank, Michael Walton, Gloria Davis, Ishrat Hussain, and Aubrey Williams sponsored the research and publication, and guided the research for the first edition of this book. For the second edition, the World Bank

(John Page, Poverty Reduction Group) and the IMF (G. E. Gondwe, Africa Department) jointly sponsored the research and publication. I particularly thank Michael Walton (World Bank) for providing me with detailed comments on draft copies of this book and for his leadership and valuable insights, which were instrumental to the production of this book. I also thank Anupam Basu (IMF) for providing advice and detailed comments on the book's second edition. Soniya Carvalho, John Clark, Nora Dudwick, James Edgerton, Paul Francis, and Jenny Rietbergen-McCracken provided substantial contributions at all stages of the research. The peer reviewers were Jeanine Braithwaite, Jesko Hentschel, and Peter Lanjouw. Comments on earlier drafts of the book were provided by Mark Blackden, Lionel Demery, Paula Donnelly-Roark, Kene Ezemenari, Christopher Gibbs, Bruce Harris, Eugene Henkel, Ernesto Hernández-Catá, Jack van Holst-Pelleken, Emmanuel Jimenez, Steen Jorgensen, Mary Judd, Valerie Kozel, Alexandar Marc, Tim Marchant, David Marsden, Caroline Moser, Deepa Narayan, Adega Ouma, Valeria Pena, Gilli Perkins, Nadine Poupart, Jacomina de Regt, Claude Salem, Larry Salmen, Parmesh Shah, Veena Siddarth, Andrew Steer, Roger Sullivan, Maurizio Tovo, Tosca Van Vijfeijken, Frederick Wherry, and Michael Woolcock. At the Bank's Office of the Publisher, Hank Chase, Connie Eysenck, Dan Kagan, Alan Kahan, Nicki Marrian, Don Reisman, and Janet Sasser, and at the IMF's office, David Cheney and Lori-Michele Newsom contributed editorial, design, and production expertise.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AMREF	African Medical and Research Foundation (Kenya)
ASAFE	Association pour la Promotion de la Femme Entrepreneur
BA	Beneficiary assessment
CAP	Community action plan
CAS	Country assistance strategy (World Bank)
CDF	Comprehensive development framework
CEDEP	Centre for Development of People (Ghana)
CEM	Country economic memorandum (World Bank)
CEP-UEM	Centro de Estudos da População, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique)
CFA	Communauté Financière Africaine
CII	Composite impact index
COD	Country Operations Department (World Bank)
CSO	Central Statistics Office
CWIQ	Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire
DANIDA	Danish Agency for International Development
DFID	Department for International Development—United Kingdom
ENVSP	Environmental and Social Policy Department (World Bank)
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GDP	Gross domestic product
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
HIPC	Heavily indebted poor countries
HRD	Human resources development

IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDF	Institutional Development Fund (World Bank)
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
LCMS	Living conditions monitoring survey
LIL	Learning and innovation loan
LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Study
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development (Uganda)
MPED	Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (Uganda)
MTEF	Medium-Term Expenditure Framework
NDS	National development strategy (Swaziland)
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NPAP	National Poverty Alleviation Program
NSO	National Statistical Office
PA	Poverty assessment
PAF	Poverty Action Fund
PAG	Participatory Assessment Group
PAID	Pan African Institute for Development
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PER	Public expenditure review
PIR	Poverty and inequality report
PLA	Participation learning and action
PLSA	Participatory Living Standards Assessment
PMA	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture
PME	Participatory monitoring and evaluation
PPA	Participatory poverty assessment
PPM	Participatory poverty monitoring
PPR	Participatory policy research
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal
PRMPO	Poverty Reduction and Economic Management, Poverty Division
PROINDER	Programa de Iniciativas de Desarrollo Rural
PRS	Poverty reduction strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSA	Programa Social Agropecuario
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Program (South Africa)
RRA	Rapid rural appraisal
SARAR	Self-esteem, associative strength, resourcefulness, action planning, and responsibility

SDS	Secretarie Desarrollo Social (government poverty agency, Mexico)
Sida	Swedish International Development Authority
SIEMPRO	Sistema de Información, Monitoreo y Evaluación de Programas Sociales (Technical Assistance for the Improvement of Social Information)
SSI	Semistructured interview
TDRI	Thailand Development Research Institute
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPPAP	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Project
WMS	Welfare Monitoring Survey (Kenya)

Summary

Participatory poverty assessments are showing the World Bank and other outside observers of poverty that we are not the only poverty experts. Poor people have a long-overlooked capacity to contribute to the analysis of poverty—and without their insights we know only part of the reality of poverty, its causes, and the survival strategies of the poor.

How can the poor, so removed from the powerful, influence national policy? For many years, poverty assessments have used income and consumption indicators, education levels, and health status to determine levels of poverty. Such data are derived from household surveys. Recently, policymakers have also begun using a new method called a participatory poverty assessment (PPA) to sharpen the diagnosis of poverty and better understand the needs and priorities of the poor. PPAs use participatory research methods to understand poverty from the perspective of the poor. The method elicits both quantitative and qualitative data on broader indicators of poverty, such as vulnerability, physical and social isolation, powerlessness, insecurity, and self-respect. As a result, a poverty assessment that uses the PPA research method gives the poor, marginalized, and excluded a voice in policymaking.

PPAs can have an impact on policy by directly presenting the views of the poor to policymakers, both in country and within the World Bank, IMF, and other donor agencies. Although participatory approaches have been used by social scientists in project work for some time, their use for policy analysis is new. This new way to influence policy has been developed by the Bank in partnership with governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), academic institutions, and other donors. To date, more than 60 countries have undertaken PPAs with assistance from the World Bank; an equal number of PPAs have been conducted by other agencies, including United Nations agencies, bilaterals, and NGOs. Many lessons are now emerging that broaden our understanding of the policy process and of poverty itself.

- **Policy:** Experience with PPAs indicates that where there is a broad policy dialogue on poverty that includes different civil society groups, the constituency for reform is widened, ownership is increased, and the resulting policy is more likely to be implemented. Simply presenting to policymakers the results of the new information generated through PPAs does not guarantee policy change. As a result, more recent PPAs have also focused on the policymaking process and the political context of policy choice and policy change. In such cases, the PPA process is not necessarily politically neutral.
- **Poverty:** PPAs have consistently shown that poor people emphasize dimensions of poverty different from those typically used in policy analysis, including income and consumption levels, health, and education status. The poor also emphasize such aspects as vulnerability, physical and social isolation, lack of security and self-respect, lack of access to information, a distrust of state institutions, and powerlessness.

What Is a Participatory Poverty Assessment?

A PPA is a method to include poor people in the analysis of poverty with the objective of influencing policy. The findings are transmitted to policymakers, thereby enabling the poor to influence public policy choices. PPAs have three key elements:

- a. **Field research.** By directly consulting the poor at the community level, field research generates a better understanding of poverty from the perspective of the poor. The views of the poor contribute to the analysis of poverty and the formulation of public policy aimed at poverty reduction.
- b. **Policy influence.** A cross-section of civil society (for example, NGOs, policymakers, administrators, civic groups) is included in the PPA process to promote wider ownership of the PPA results, thereby increasing the chance that the PPA will influence policy.
- c. **Country capacity.** The results of PPAs are combined with other data sources, including quantitative household surveys, to better diagnose poverty.

Using PPAs to extract information for research purposes only, with limited participation and no link to policymaking, is considered bad practice. In the past, most PPAs were focused only on the first element, field

research. Links to policymaking were weak or unsustainable. More recently, PPAs are being designed to include both the second and third elements, resulting in greater long-term impact.

To strengthen the link between the World Bank's assistance strategy and the country's own efforts to reduce poverty, the Bank is committed to completing country-specific analyses of poverty in the form of poverty assessments. In the past, the core elements of such assessments were data on the income, consumption, education levels, and health status of the target group, usually based on the results of household surveys. From 1994 to 1999, 45 percent of the Bank's completed poverty assessments have also included a PPA.

PPAs use participatory research methods to understand poverty from the perspective of the poor by focusing on their realities, needs, and priorities. Instead of a predetermined set of questions, as used in household surveys, PPAs use a variety of flexible methods that combine both visual (mapping, matrices, diagrams) and verbal (open-ended interviews, discussion groups) techniques, with the objective of better defining the experience of individuals, groups, households, and communities.

The principle of a PPA is to ensure that the intended beneficiaries have some control over the research process. Instead of information being extracted from an interviewee, communities share their knowledge and are involved in analyzing the results. The assumption is that poor people have expertise and should be part of the decisionmaking process. Experience from past PPAs has shown that the poor have the capacity to appraise, analyze, plan, and act to a far greater extent than has heretofore been acknowledged.

Impact of PPAs

Over the past few years, the percentage of PPAs in poverty assessments has increased. One-fifth of the Bank's poverty assessments completed in fiscal year 1994 included a PPA. By fiscal 1995, this figure had risen to one-third, and in fiscal 1996, fiscal 1997, and fiscal 1998, half the poverty assessments included a PPA. Out of the 43 PPAs completed up to fiscal 1998, 28 were in Africa, 6 in Latin America, 5 in Eastern Europe, and 4 in Asia. These PPAs have entailed a wide variety of approaches and have had a variety of outcomes and impacts. This book proposes a threefold classification of PPAs based on their varying impacts—those that deepen our understanding of poverty, that influence policy, and that strengthen policy delivery.

Deepening Our Understanding of Poverty

PPAs are deepening our understanding of poverty by enabling the poor to highlight dimensions of poverty, explain the processes of impoverishment, and rank their priorities. The policy dialogue has been dominated by income and consumption measures and health and education status derived from traditional household surveys. PPAs are adding to this analysis by providing other insights on the nature of poverty from the point of view of the poor.

Vulnerability

Vulnerable groups are not always identified in household surveys. Neither is the fact that their access to productive resources might be constrained by political, cultural, and social factors. In Armenia, single pensioners were consistently ranked by the communities as the poorest—not because they had the least income but because they were isolated and socially excluded. In Togo, the PPA drew attention to vulnerable groups such as displaced people and domestic child labor.

Aspects of gender

In Tanzania, men identified transportation, farming, and drunkenness as the three most important problems, whereas women identified food shortages, lack of clean water, and illness.

Crime and violence

Some PPAs have been able to highlight the relationship between poverty and illegal activities. In contrast, household surveys often are not able to access such information because of the respondent's reluctance to answer questions from an interviewer she or he does not trust. PPAs have been able to access data on such sensitive topics as child prostitution (Zambia), drugs (Jamaica), and domestic violence (Mexico). The PPA in Ecuador found that street crime and violence restrict women's abilities to work away from home and that women and the elderly are reluctant to use public transport, particularly at night, because of safety concerns.

Seasonality

Many of the PPAs, such as those in South Africa, Zambia, Ghana, and Togo, included a seasonality analysis that highlighted great differences in poverty, vulnerability, and coping strategies over the year.

Powerlessness

In The Gambia and Uganda, the poor expressed frustration with their lack of influence on government policies. Ugandans also expressed concern about government corruption and a distrust of state institutions,

especially the police and the judiciary. In Vietnam's PPA, people said they lacked information about their entitlements and rights, and about the activities of local government. In some PPAs (for example, Brazil, Bangladesh, and Uzbekistan), police harassment, corruption, and general unresponsiveness were reported. Both the lack of protection from violence and crime and a lack of trust of the police in general were reported in many PPAs as important factors affecting poor people's security. (See Narayan and others 2000, pp. 162–166, for more details on the role of the police.)

PPAs have helped in the interpretation of results from traditional household surveys. For example, the PPA in Mexico found that some women in Mexico City are unwilling to leave their houses and go to work. Because they do not have tenancy rights, they are afraid that their houses might become occupied. In addition, the PPAs have made it clear that the poor can analyze the causes of their vulnerability and rank their priorities. As a result of the poor's involvement, the PPAs in Ghana, Mali, and Nigeria identified physical isolation and a lack of access to water as major problems.

PPAs generally work with information at various levels—from individuals, households, and communities—and study issues of gender, ethnicity, age, and the relationships and differences between various community groups. Some PPAs have focused on individual case studies of people, providing insights into the dynamics of poverty and survival strategies. At the household level, the focus on intrahousehold dynamics can reveal both the unequal allocation of resources among household members and the impact of power relations on the poverty of women, men, and children within the household. Most PPAs also adopt a community perspective to highlight the diversity of social or cultural groups and their wide-ranging coping strategies.

Influencing Policy

Evaluating the extent to which PPAs have influenced policy involves consideration of two main issues: first, Has policy changed? Second, Have policymakers shifted their focus toward a more pro-poor approach? Although causality is usually difficult to establish, there are many examples of how PPAs have influenced policy at the country level and within the Bank, such as the following:

- Zambia: The PPA identified the fact that school fees were to be paid at a time of year that caused maximum economic stress for households. The Ministry of Education decided to prepare a new regulation to change the timing of school fees.

- Ghana: The PPA influenced the composition of the Bank's country program by shifting the emphasis to rural infrastructure and to the quality and accessibility of education and health care.

Strengthening Policy Implementation

Finally, a participatory process can help build the capacity of institutions to implement a policy more effectively by creating incentives (political or otherwise) and by generating a new institutional alignment to achieve effective, sustainable poverty reduction. To move toward strengthening policy implementation, the PPA needs to be designed to:

- Use participatory techniques to diagnose both the policy environment and the ability and willingness of institutions to deliver the evolving policy
- Build the capacity of institutions to use participatory methods in the formulation and implementation of the policy
- Initiate appropriate partnerships and linkages between and within formal and informal networks and institutions.

PPAs have the potential to increase dialogue and negotiation on poverty at the policy level; increase ownership and commitment to policy delivery on the part of different civil society groups; and strengthen links between communities and policymakers. Over the longer term, this process could challenge existing power relations.

Although it has not been possible to fully assess the impact of the PPAs, most appear to have achieved the objective of data collection and analysis. Some have achieved the objective of capacity building, but only a few have affected the formulation and implementation of policy, which is necessary if they are to have a wider impact. It is important, at this stage, not to overstate what PPAs have delivered or can deliver. But the approach does have the potential to affect communities by involving local people in the definition and analysis, including causes, of their own poverty; by helping people shift from passively being dependent to actively seeking ways to reduce their poverty; and by involving communities in policy formulation and delivery, as opposed to their being merely acted upon.

Emerging Good Practice

There is no single model for this type of work. The best approach is often determined by the context. However, this book suggests some mini-

mum standards and good practice for participatory policy research that aims to affect policy change.

Emerging good practice for managing the PPAs at the World Bank includes wide ownership of the PPA across departments, as well as a team approach, the integration and balancing of various sector interests, a commitment to poverty reduction, and management support. At the country level, the potential impact of PPAs on policy change is influenced by the degree of government support for the exercise and, more generally, by the level of ownership and commitment of in-country stakeholders, which affects the credibility of the analysis. At the community level, the quality, credibility, and effectiveness of the PPA relate to when it is performed (before, during, or after the household survey), the methods used, the length of time allocated for fieldwork, the skills of the researchers, and the degree of institutional linkage established through the fieldwork process.

Ethical questions are raised in this new field of influencing policy through dialogue with the poor. In the past, participatory methodologies were widely used at the project level, where there was immediate follow-up and action at the community level. Many practitioners are now questioning the process, principles, and ethics of working directly with communities for policy research where there may be no direct follow-up at the community level—the result being more data extraction than community action. All survey work, but especially PPAs, should discuss with participating groups the terms of the relationship. A basic principle is that the results of the PPAs should be shared with all the participating communities.

This book focuses on the World Bank's experience with PPAs. Some practitioners have argued that a number of World Bank PPAs should not be included because they were extractive, did not influence policy, and were not participatory (Brock 2000). However, both good and bad practice PPAs are included in this analysis to facilitate learning from past experiences.

Looking Ahead

Combining Data Sources for Better Poverty Analysis

There has been a tendency to see a dichotomy between traditional household surveys, which are quantitative and objective, and PPAs, which are qualitative and subjective. In practice, however, these divisions are not as clear and are often misleading, since subjective questions are increasingly being used in traditional surveys and many PPAs contain quantified information and analysis.

The objective of a comprehensive poverty analysis, therefore, should be to conduct participatory research and household surveys interactively, so that they enhance each other. If a PPA is conducted after the household survey, the results will explain, challenge, reinforce, or shed new light on household survey data. The results of the household survey can also, of course, explain, challenge, or reinforce the PPA.

If the PPA is conducted before the household survey, the PPA results could assist in generating hypotheses, shaping the design of the household survey, and developing survey questions appropriate for the respondents. Ideally, this should be an ongoing process whereby both PPAs and household surveys are conducted periodically and feed into each other. The results of past PPAs indicate that when they are used in conjunction with household surveys, the final assessment is a much fuller analysis of the varying dimensions of poverty, and the policy recommendations are more relevant and informed.

Involving the Poor in Measuring Success

PPAs have shown that poor people have the capacity to contribute to the debate on poverty. The question is, therefore, who should determine indicators of success? In the past, such indicators have been defined by those outside the community. Whose values and whose reality count (see Chambers 1997 and Gaventa 1998) are key issues. Emerging from these questions is the further question of who determines reality. To understand how projects and policies affect people's lives, investigations now focus on ways in which the poor can measure and assess outcomes (using indicators and values that make sense to them) and analyze causality. These approaches are increasingly being incorporated into World Bank projects. However, nationally, and even internationally, defined targets still tend to be quantified targets determined by outsiders.¹

Linking PPAs to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

In September 1999, the World Bank and the IMF agreed to major changes in their operations to help low-income countries achieve sustainable poverty reduction. Henceforth, programs supported by the two institutions will be based on government-driven poverty reduction strategies (PRSs) developed in consultation with civil society and elaborated in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). The PRSPs also provide the basis for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, as well as for all World Bank concessional lending. There are four key features of the PRSs for which PPAs can be useful.

- a. Poverty analysis. PRSs can incorporate information from the PPA on the multidimensional aspects and causes of poverty.
- b. Formulation and dissemination. The priorities of the poor should be reflected in the PRS goals set forth in the PRSPs. These priorities can be reflected in the sequencing of public actions, the choice of indicators for monitoring implementation of poverty reduction strategies, and budget allocations.
- c. Monitoring. The PPA can provide policymakers with information on the effectiveness and relevance of poverty reduction strategies and the institutions that implement them, as well as on delivery of the budget and quality of services.
- d. Evaluating outcomes. Outcomes reported during PPAs should be integrated with other sources and used to inform decisions on whether to change policies and budget allocations. In this way, PRSs serve as a way to link PPAs to the policymaking process so they do not remain isolated exercises with limited impact.

PPAs highlight the potentially powerful role the poor can play in analyzing poverty, developing interventions for its reduction, and assessing the impact of projects and policies. The challenge for the Bank and the rest of the development community is to effectively integrate the perspectives and values of the poor into the process of policy and project formulation and implementation.

Note

1. For example, the international development goals include the following quantified targets: the proportion of people living in extreme poverty in developing countries reduced by at least one-half by 2015; universal primary education in all countries by 2015; progress toward gender equality and the empowerment of women, demonstrated by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005; the death rates for infants and children under the age of five years reduced in each developing country by two-thirds the 1990 level by 2015; the rate of maternal mortality reduced by three-fourths between 1990 and 2015; access available through the primary health care system to reproductive health services for all individuals of appropriate ages, no later than the year 2015.

1

A Status Report

Participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) are broadening our understanding of both poverty and the policy process. The limitations of quantitative measurements of well-being have long been recognized, and there is a rich tradition of anthropological and sociological work that uses a range of techniques to achieve an in-depth understanding of poverty for project work. In this tradition, PPAs use a systematic participatory research process that directly involves the poor in defining the nature of poverty, with the objective of influencing policy. This process usually addresses both traditional concerns, such as lack of income and public services, and other dimensions, such as vulnerability, isolation, lack of security and self-respect, and powerlessness.

PPAs are also highlighting the fact that policy change involves more than writing statements of intent in a policy document. It requires an understanding of the unpredictable situation within which agenda setting, formulation, and implementation continuously overlap and policy choices are made as outcomes of social processes. It also requires an understanding of how a broad-based dialogue with different people in society, including the poor, can help ensure that a policy will be implemented and sustained.

PPAs have demonstrated the value of the following:

- Participatory policy research in the form of participatory problem identification, which includes the poor in the analysis of their own livelihoods using both qualitative and quantitative information
- Participation in policymaking, which involves linking the information from participatory research into a broad policy dialogue among a cross-section of stakeholders, leading to increased awareness, attitude shifts, and changes in policy and the policy delivery framework.

PPAs are part of a trend within and beyond the World Bank that is challenging personal, professional, and institutional norms. On a personal level, the new approach is to learn from and listen to others; on a

professional level, it is to appreciate that we are not the only experts and that many others can contribute to the debate on poverty and development; and on an institutional level, it is to change organizational culture, methods, and values from top-down practices to adaptable approaches that embrace risk-taking and error.

Context

In the 1980s, the Bank's poverty reduction objectives were often overshadowed by the focus on economic adjustment to achieve macroeconomic stability and structural change as foundations for long-term growth. Toward the end of the decade, however, the Bank and other development agencies began to act to mitigate the consequences of economic and structural adjustment for the poor. For example, the Social Dimensions of Adjustment program, funded by several multilateral and bilateral agencies, was launched in November 1987 in response to their concern about the position of the poor in the structural adjustment process in Africa. The program included a strong focus on strengthening national information systems, though with little use of participatory research.

The *World Development Report 1990* (World Bank 1990), which focused on the issue of poverty, proposed a strategy for achieving more effective poverty reduction. That report was followed in 1991 by a policy paper, *Assistance Strategies to Reduce Poverty* (World Bank 1991), which laid out how the findings of the *World Development Report* could be used to strengthen poverty reduction efforts. The policy paper recommended that a poverty assessment be conducted for each country, with the objective of analyzing the nature and causes of poverty and developing a strategy for poverty reduction. In the World Bank's process, the poverty assessment, which is done routinely for each country, feeds into the country assistance strategy, which lays out the Bank's program of support for a country in relation to its development objectives and structural conditions (see World Bank 1992).

The *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty* (World Bank 2001) broadens the definition of poverty as presented in the *World Development Report (WDR)* 1990. The *WDR 2000/2001* concludes that major reductions in poverty are possible but that achieving them will require a more comprehensive approach that directly addresses the needs of poor people in three important areas: opportunity, empowerment, and security. The *WDR 2000/2001* drew on a large volume of research, including past and ongoing PPAs. (See Narayan and others [2000] for a summary of new PPAs undertaken in 23 countries for the *WDR*.)

World Bank poverty assessments use a variety of sources to diagnose the structural causes of poverty. Typically, a national household income or expenditure survey, or a multipurpose living standards measurement survey, is undertaken to provide basic information on the patterns of poverty. The early poverty assessments made little use of participatory techniques, and although they did employ a multidimensional concept of poverty, their principal criterion for defining who is poor was generally consumption or income. This approach, however, has changed over the past decade, with increasing attention being paid to information from participatory research sources. Such information is generally used to complement, enhance, modify, or interpret conclusions derived from household survey analyses and other quantitative sources.

Outside the Bank, there was also a growing realization of the importance of including the poor in diagnosis and policy work. A variety of sources led to this shift from projects to policy dialogue. PPAs developed in response to the broadened thinking on the multidimensional character of poverty associated with such publications as the *Bulletin on Vulnerability* (Institute of Development Studies 1989) and *Putting the Last First* (Chambers 1983). In the Bank, there was also ongoing project (as opposed to policy) work on understanding poverty and well-being through beneficiary assessments, participatory rural appraisals, developmental anthropology approaches, and similar methods.

The European donors (including Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, which support the PPAs through trust funds and operational funding) began to emphasize the social dimensions of poverty and provided funding for many of the Bank's PPAs in Africa.¹ In the Bank, development of the PPA was initially based on a series of papers by Clark (1992), Norton and Francis (1992), Salmen (1992a, 1992b), and Clark and Salmen (1993). In addition, the Bank's Participation Learning Group (see World Bank 1994c) created a more receptive institutional environment for participatory approaches in both project and policy work.

Although to date more than 60 countries have undertaken PPAs with assistance from the World Bank, an equal number of PPAs have also been conducted with assistance from other agencies, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Asian Development Bank (ADB), bilaterals, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). For example, as far back as 1990, The Gambian government and the UNDP formulated the Strategy for Poverty Alleviation through a process of dialogue with a cross-section of groups in society, including poor communities throughout the country.² The strategy provided an institutional framework whereby the poor could express their views on poverty.³ And in Bangladesh, the UNDP undertook a national participatory poverty study (UNDP 1996).⁴ More recently, PPAs have been undertaken in partnership between and among various donors and NGOs. For example, the

PPA in Mongolia (carried out in 2000) was supported by a partnership between the Government of Mongolia, the Centre for Social Development (local consulting firm), UNICEF, the World Bank, the ADB, and the Department for International Development—United Kingdom (DFID). The partnership for The Gambian PPA (1999 and 2000) was between the government, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada, and Action Aid. The World Bank has adopted participatory research techniques on a broad basis in a variety of geographical regions and with a range of partners. This experience has enabled the Bank to understand the diverse causes and conditions of poverty and the processes that affect policy change. Appendixes A and B⁵ analyze the methodologies and impacts of participatory assessments on a country-specific basis. The objective is to learn from the organizations that have been our partners in this exercise and to reflect on the process.

What Is a Participatory Poverty Assessment?

A PPA is a method to include poor people in the analysis of poverty with the objective of influencing policy. The findings are transmitted to policymakers, thereby enabling the poor to influence public policy choices. PPAs have three key elements:

- a. **Field research.** By directly consulting the poor at the community level, field research generates a better understanding of poverty from the perspective of the poor. The views of the poor contribute to the analysis of poverty and the formulation of public policy aimed at poverty reduction.
- b. **Policy influence.** A cross-section of civil society (for example, NGOs, policymakers, administrators, civic groups, parliamentarians, and media) is included in the PPA process to promote wider ownership of the PPA results, thereby increasing the chance that the PPA will influence policy.
- c. **Country capacity.** The results of PPAs are combined with other data sources, including quantitative household surveys, to better diagnose poverty.

Using PPAs to extract information just for research purposes, with limited participation and no link to policymaking, is considered bad practice. In the past, many of the World Bank's PPAs were focused on the first element, field research. Links to policymaking were weak or unsustainable. More recently, PPAs are being designed to include the second and third elements, resulting in a greater impact.

A PPA is typically one of many inputs into a World Bank poverty assessment (see box 1). Unlike household surveys, which collect statistical data on the extent of poverty through standardized methods and rules, PPAs focus on processes and explanations of poverty as defined by individuals and communities within an evolving, flexible, and open framework.

Box 1. Background to the World Bank's Participatory Poverty Assessment

As a result of the *World Development Report 1990* on poverty and the 1991 policy paper *Assistance Strategies to Reduce Poverty*, the Bank is committed to carrying out complete country-specific analyses of poverty in the form of poverty assessments. As of July 1998, 99 poverty assessments had been completed (see appendix C). A majority (55 percent) of these were based on statistical assessments without participatory surveys. Each poverty assessment draws a poverty line based on the level of income or consumption associated with the minimum acceptable level of nutrition and other necessities of everyday life. People are considered poor if their income falls below this line (World Bank 1991). Poverty assessments generally include an analysis of the depth and severity of poverty and are increasingly using multiple poverty lines.

From 1994 to 1999, 43 poverty assessments included PPAs, which provided new dimensions in the analysis of poverty. Policy-focused research using participatory methods is undertaken to understand poverty from the perspective of the poor by focusing on their realities, needs, and priorities. Definitions of poverty, therefore, have moved beyond the conventional consumption and income indicators to broader issues, such as vulnerability, physical and social isolation, powerlessness, and lack of security and self-respect. The PPAs form part of the poverty assessment, which combines qualitative and quantitative data to achieve a better analysis of poverty.

The inclusion of other stakeholders at different levels in the country is required to link the information from the PPAs to policymaking. In many countries, this inclusion has led to the creation of partnerships between the Bank, government, and civil society with the objective of reducing poverty.

The *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty* (World Bank 2001) broadens the definition of poverty as presented in the *World Development Report 1990*. The *WDR 2000/2001* concludes that major reductions in poverty are possible but that achieving them will require a more comprehensive approach that directly addresses the needs of poor people in three important areas: opportunity, empowerment, and security. The *WDR* also stresses the fundamental role of institutional and social change in strengthening development processes, and the importance of including poor people in development planning. The *WDR* drew on a large volume of research, including past and ongoing PPAs.

PPAs are sometimes referred to as qualitative surveys. This name can be confusing because there is a qualitative dimension to traditional survey work, and many PPAs contain quantified information and analysis. The terms "objective" for household surveys and "subjective" for PPAs may also be inaccurate. In household surveys, for example, interviewers and analysts will interpret informants' answers subjectively. The use of these terms can create the appearance of a dichotomy, whereas in the best poverty analysis, the two merge into one integrated analysis (for example, the World Bank's poverty assessments for Armenia and Zambia, and the Ugandan government's 1999 *Poverty Status Report*). Traditional survey data can be used to count, compare, and predict. The strength of the PPA is not in counting but rather in understanding the hidden dimensions of poverty and analyzing the causality and processes by which people fall into and get out of poverty.

Participatory research is undertaken by facilitators using a diverse set of participatory tools determined by the research agenda and local context. Enabling the poor to participate leads to a reversal in the relationship between the community and the outsider that is implicit in traditional surveys. Facilitators of participatory research need different skills and behavior, including listening to and respecting the expertise of participants, building trust, handing over control, and allowing the community to define the poverty issues that matter. The poor are viewed as participants or partners in the research process, data are shared with them, and the analysis of research results takes place within the community. The poor thus have more control over the research process, and their capacity to appraise, analyze, plan, and act is recognized.

The extent and quality of participation have, however, varied extensively. Some PPAs have been criticized for limited participation, especially when interviews were done quickly (less than two weeks of field research in some countries) and the results were not fed back to the communities. In other PPAs, the quality of the participation has been questioned. Although participatory research methods may have been used, some research teams adopted a dominant role, undermining participation and resulting more in data extraction. For example, the manager of the PPA in Ecuador judged that genuine participation was limited and renamed it the Rural Qualitative Survey.

Secondary stakeholders (that is, those beyond the community) have also participated in PPAs. Such stakeholders can include, for example, other donors (bilaterals, UNICEF), national and international NGOs (Save the Children, Oxfam), academic institutions, religious groups and leaders, different levels of government, and local leaders. Even some poverty assessments that did not include direct consultations with the poor were participatory in the sense that they consulted a cross-section of secondary stakeholders (for example, Malawi).

Although PPAs and anthropological research have some similarities, there are three main distinctions. First, PPAs provide a perspective from a cross-section of communities in different areas of a country, whereas anthropological research usually analyzes one or two communities in depth. Second, PPAs tend to focus on messages for policy. Third, PPAs provide a rapid overview of the current situation, which is quickly presented to the policymakers. Anthropological research usually takes longer and focuses more deeply on processes within communities, often without a policy focus.

In summary, PPAs have been used to provide clearer insight into the perceptions of the poor on the key issues related to poverty reduction (Norton and Stephens 1995). They are contributing to a greater understanding of the processes by which people fall into and get out of poverty, the complex coping and survival strategies adopted by the poor, and the major priorities and solutions identified by the poor, all within a local or regional context. By combining the PPA with the household survey information, the final poverty assessment is able to more fully analyze the various dimensions of poverty and make more informed and appropriate policy recommendations.

How Are PPAs Conducted?

Factors that influence the approach and consequent outcome of PPAs include political context, support, and commitment, both in country and within the Bank; relations between the Bank and the governments; and levels of expertise. Thus, there is a wide range of experiences among the PPAs undertaken to date (see appendix A for details of the timing, research teams, institutions involved, and methods used). Table 1 summarizes the typical characteristic of PPAs, and table 2 provides two case examples. In general, PPAs with the wider objectives of linking to the policymaking process and increasing a country's capacity to analyze poverty tend to cost more.

The design of a PPA is determined by conditions in a given country, the research agenda, the size of the sample, the experience of the researchers, links to policymaking, and the extent to which capacity building for poverty analysis is included.

Tables 3a-3f summarize the experiences of some of the PPAs. The methodologies in table 3a are described in detail starting on page 13.

The discussion below focuses on three main issues to be considered when conducting participatory policy research: sequencing and duration, research teams, and methodologies.

Table 1. Summary of PPA Typical Characteristics

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Sample</i>
Cost	\$75,000-\$200,000
Number of communities selected for research	40-60 communities
Time spent training	2 weeks
Time spent on field research	3-6 months
Time spent on analyzing data from field research	2-3 months
Composition of research team	Nationals of country, with men and women equally represented; ability to speak local languages; representatives from various ethnic and age groups
Agency conducting the fieldwork	Government extension workers; local and international NGOs; academic institutions; independent consultants/firms
Donors that have contributed to government-led PPAs	DFID, World Bank, Action Aid, Oxfam, UNDP, UNICEF, DANIDA, Asian Development Bank, Institute of Development Studies (United Kingdom)

Source: Robb 2000.

Sequencing and Duration

Some PPAs have been conducted before the household survey and others afterward. Each data set can inform the other, so the sequencing will be determined by the context in country. If the PPA comes first, its results can help focus the research agenda for the quantitative survey and generate hypotheses. In Armenia, for example, the results of the PPA were used in designing the survey. The recent Mongolian PPA is linked to the Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS)⁶ in three main ways: (a) research sites for the PPA were selected to correspond to the 1998 LSMS sites; (b) the results of the PPA will be used to determine the research agenda for the next LSMS; and (c) capacity built at the National Statistics Office may, in the future, promote better integration of data derived from both household surveys and PPAs. When PPAs have been conducted after the survey, they have been used to explain the results. For example, in Mali the household survey showed what seemed to be a disproportionate amount of money spent on clothing. The PPA found that clothing and cloth were considered investment items as well as status symbols. Conversely, the results of quantitative surveys can be used to identify the poorest geographical areas on which participatory research should focus. Emerging good practice suggests that the ideal situation is to have an iterative process, as is being developed in Zambia (see box 2 and figure 1).

Table 2. Case Examples of PPA Features at a Glance

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Mongolia</i>	<i>The Gambia</i>
Cost	\$108,100 (excluding World Bank staff weeks)	\$134,000 (cost of total project, which includes five PPA studies over a 3-year period)
Number of communities selected for research	32 rural and urban communities	29 rural and urban communities
Time spent on training	2 weeks (March 2000). Provided by international consultant	5 days. Provided by Action Aid The Gambia
Time spent on field research	2 months (March-May 2000)	1 month (August 1999)
Time spent in each community	1 week	5 days in rural communities; 6 days in urban communities
Time spent on analysis	4 months	3 months
Size of research team	4 teams of 4 members	7 teams of 4 members
Composition of research team	Nationals with men and women equally represented; ability to speak local languages	Nationals with men and women equally represented; ability to speak local languages
Agency conducting the fieldwork	Staff of the Social Statistic Division, National Statistics Office, Government of Mongolia; Centre for Social Development (local consulting firm); UNICEF seconded staff	Action Aid The Gambia; government extension workers and consultants
Donors who contributed to the PPAs	World Bank, Asian Development Bank, DFID	International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada

In 1993 in Uganda, Togo, Benin, and Mali, short and rapid surveys were undertaken for three to four weeks.⁷ Methods were based on rapid rural appraisals (RRAs), so feedback to communities was limited. In Togo, time constraints were placed on the field workers by the World Bank's internal deadlines. Some results were, consequently, not disaggregated by gender, and the final report was not written in a way that could be easily understood by policymakers. In some more recent PPAs, such as in Cameroon, the lack of time for community-level analysis meant that some results were too generic.

Table 3a. Methodologies Used

<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Number of PPAs^a</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Rapid rural appraisal	13	27
Participatory rural appraisal	15	29
SARAR ^b	2	8
Beneficiary assessment	9	19
Semistructured interviews and focus groups	8	17

^a The numbers add up to more than 43 because some PPAs used more than one method.

^b Self-esteem, associative strength, resourcefulness, action planning, and responsibility.

Table 3b. Time Spent in the Field

<i>Duration</i>	<i>Number of PPAs^a</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1-2 weeks	3	8
2-4 weeks	8	20
1-2 months	3	8
2-4 months	15	37
4-8 months	11	27

^a Where data are available.

Table 3c. Number of Communities Assessed

<i>Number of communities in the PPA</i>	<i>Number of PPAs^a</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1-9	6	26
10-24	6	26
25-49	7	30
50-74	2	9
75-100	2	9

^a Where data are available.

Table 3d. Agency Conducting the Fieldwork

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Number of PPAs^a</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Local NGO ^b	8	18
International NGO	8	18
Academic institution	18	42
Government agency	5	11
Independent consultants and firms	5	11

^a The numbers add up to more than 43 because some PPAs used more than one type of agency.

^b Nongovernmental organization.

Table 3e. Cost

Cost (US\$)	Number of PPAs ^a	Percent
\$4,000	2	10
\$5,000-\$24,000	2	10
\$25,000-\$49,000	3	15
\$50,000-\$99,000	9	45
\$100,000-\$150,000	4	20

^a Where data are available.

Table 3f. Year Fieldwork Was Conducted

Year	Number of PPAs ^a	Percent
1993	7	14
1994	9	18
1995	11	22
1996	5	10
1997	5	10
Ongoing and planned	13	26

^a Where data are available.

A balance needs to be achieved between quick fieldwork (which leads to less costly and more timely policy messages) and longer, more expensive fieldwork, such as household surveys (which can cost up to \$1 million and take up to three years). PPA research teams have spent from one day to one week in a given community and have visited from 4 to 98 communities. Urban areas are more complex, and thus more time and flexibility are needed, since it is difficult to predict the nature of participation. Total time in the field for a PPA has ranged from one week to eight months, depending on the sample size and the number of research teams.

Research Teams

In Eastern Europe, most of the research was conducted by individuals from local universities. In other countries, NGOs undertook the field research (for example, Centre for Development of People [CEDEP] in Ghana, CARE in Cameroon, African Medical and Research Foundation [AMREF] in Kenya, Red Cross in Lesotho, Save the Children in Mali). International agencies have also been involved in the research process (UNDP in Togo, UNICEF in Lesotho). In South Africa, a local consulting company worked alongside a cross-section of NGOs, whereas in Mozambique and Zambia, local universities were involved. In Latin America, the community-level research was conducted by a

Box 2. Participatory Poverty Monitoring in Zambia

Background

Using the same approach developed in the PPA, participatory poverty monitoring (PPM) has been undertaken in Zambia on a yearly basis (1995, 1996, and 1997) since the completion of the first PPA. The monitoring was conducted by the Participatory Assessment Group (PAG), the NGO involved in the PPA. The objective was to monitor changes in poverty over time.

Overall, it is evident that the PPA and the PPMs have made a considerable impact and contributed in a meaningful manner to the national policy agenda on poverty. The critical interest in the PPMs and their continuing contribution to policy dialogue lie in their empirical observation and elucidation of trends and changes in livelihood conditions in Zambia.

Two areas of PAG's work will require continual reinforcement. Methodological skills need regular refreshing and upgrading through periodic training. The methodological approach requires repeated investigation of key policy areas using similar research techniques. What is required for successive PPMs to have additive value is consistent *innovation* in the use of research methods by the research team.

The second area that needs continual attention is the dissemination of findings, which involves identifying more precisely the clients for different types of PPM outputs and tailoring specific recommendations to those clients. An improved dissemination strategy is a priority. Initiatives might include local dissemination workshops, condensed reports for NGOs and other local institutions, and networking with other agencies and research institutes.

Linkages and impacts

The PPMs are not simply a tool for enriching the understanding of poverty in Zambia. They are also an important means of improving participatory planning in the provinces and districts by closing the information loops at those levels. PAG's efforts (in dialogue, participation, and feedback) have been increasingly concentrated at the decentralized level and are well suited to ongoing decentralization efforts.

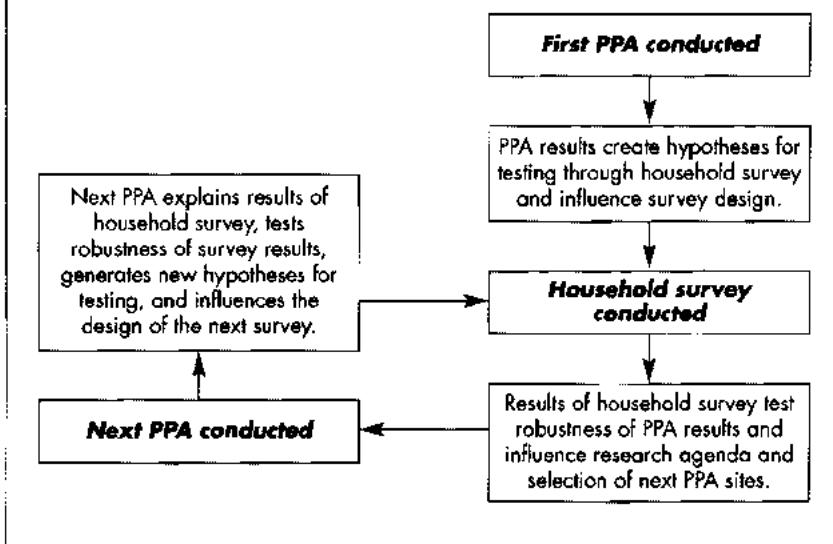
Link with the living conditions monitoring survey

There is still much informal discussion about linking the monitoring systems of the PPM and the living conditions monitoring survey (LCMS). The latest proposal suggests a quarterly meeting of a technical committee (comprising PAG and LCMS), with a rotating chair informing each institution of the other's ongoing and planned work.

As far as harmonizing work programs, one problem identified was the difference in project cycles of the LCMS survey (at least one-and-a-half years) and the shorter cycle of the PPM. The timing of survey cycles appears to be the only major hurdle to partnership, since PAG and the Living Conditions Monitoring Unit are housed in the same complex at the Central Statistics Office, making it feasible, at least in practical terms, to harmonize their work programs.

Source: Based on a note prepared by D. Owen for field research for this study.

Figure 1. Good Practice Research Cycle



cross-section of NGOs, universities, and government departments (for example, the government poverty agency in Mexico).

Some PPAs have used teams experienced in participatory research, as in Zambia, where the research team was given additional training in participatory rural appraisal (PRA) methods for the PPA exercise. Other PPAs have used local teams trained to conduct the research or have tapped into the country's NGO and consulting firm networks (South Africa). In Ghana, the team was composed of a cross-section of individuals from NGOs, government line ministries, and academia.

Methodologies

There is a widening debate about the most appropriate methods to use when conducting participatory policy research. Below is a brief description of the main methodologies used⁸ (see table 4). In reality, these methodologies are complementary and can be used together. References are given for more in-depth information.

What is a beneficiary assessment?

Many of the early PPAs were undertaken using a methodology called beneficiary assessment (BA), originally developed by the Bank in the early 1980s for use in the urban slums of Latin America. It was one of the methodologies that pioneered the inclusion of the voice of the poor in

Table 4. Comparison of Participatory Methodologies

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rapid rural appraisals (RRAs)</i>	<i>Participatory rural appraisals (PRAs)</i>	<i>Beneficiary assessments (BAs)</i>	<i>Participatory monitoring and evaluation (PME)</i>	<i>Participatory policy research (PPR)</i>
When	1970	Late 1980s	1980	1990	1990
Where	Universities	NGOs	World Bank	NGOs	NGOs, universities, World Bank, governments, donors
Objective	Data collection for projects	Community empowerment	Data collection for project managers	Understanding impact	Data collection to influence policy
Focus	Project	Project	Project	Project	Policy
Main actors	Outsiders	Local people	Outsiders	Local people	Local people and outsiders
Key techniques	Visuals	Visuals	Conversational interviews	Combination of methods, e.g., RRA, PRA, BA, SARAR	Combination of methods, e.g., RRA, PRA, BA, SARAR
Outcomes	Plans, projects, publications	Sustainable local action and institutions	Better informed project managers	Assessment of project process	Better informed policymakers
Main innovation	Methods	Behavior	Listening to the people	Local people's contribution to determining indicators of success	Linking local people to the national policy dialogue
Key resource earlier overlooked	Local people's knowledge	Local people's capabilities	Local people's knowledge	Local people's perceptions on impact	Local people's knowledge for a better understanding of the problem and local people's capability to analyze policy impact

Notes: NGO = nongovernmental organization; SARAR = self-esteem, associative strength, resourcefulness, action planning, and responsibility.

Source: Adapted from Chambers (1997).

Bank operations. BAs draw from consumer research, traditional qualitative social science research, anthropological participant observation (observing people and interacting with them in their environments), conversational interviews, focus group interviews, institutional assessments, and investigative journalism.

A BA is designed in consultation with policymakers and others who will use the information. Teams of researchers collect information in selected communities through focus groups and individual interviews. A semistructured interview guide is drafted before the research begins. Information is collected mainly through dialogue between beneficiaries and researchers. The researchers then analyze the collected information—unlike a PRA, in which some of the analysis is done at the community level (see Salmen 1995a and 1995b for more details).

What are rapid and participatory rural appraisals?

Many PPAs have used the RRA methodology, which emerged in the 1970s. Its purpose was to develop an approach that would enable outsiders to learn about rural conditions and people's realities quickly and cost-effectively. In the mid-1980s, RRAs evolved into the PRA approach, which placed greater emphasis on community participation.

RRAs and PRAs use such tools as mapping; diagrams of changes, trends, and linkages; matrices; and scoring. They also use group animation and exercises to facilitate information sharing, analysis, and action among stakeholders. The information is thereby made visible, which often creates ownership. The power of the PRA is frequently in "group-visual synergy" (Chambers 1997), with analysis being locally led. The main difference between BA and PRA is that PRA combines both verbal and visual techniques and emphasizes community-level analysis, whereas the BA emphasizes verbal techniques, and most of the analysis is done by the interviewer.

The PRA is also a set of principles that includes following up actions, embracing error, showing respect, being willing to unlearn assumptions and conditioned responses (reversals in learning), using methods or processes only if they make sense in the context (optimal ignorance), compensating for biases, and triangulating data. As Chambers (1997) has noted, "PRA stresses changes in the behavior and attitudes of outsiders, to become not teachers but facilitators, not lecturers but listeners and learners." (Also see International Institute of Environment and Development 1991–2001.)

What is participation learning and action?

Participation learning and action (PLA) is an umbrella term for a wide range of similar approaches and methodologies, including RRAs and PRAs. The common theme in all these approaches is the full participa-

tion of people in the process of learning about their needs and opportunities and in the action required to address them (see International Institute of Environment and Development 1991– 2001).

What is SARAR?

The methodology using self-esteem, associative strength, resourcefulness, action planning, and responsibility (SARAR) uses visual aids to stimulate discussions. These visuals are prepared in advance by the researchers (unlike the PRA, in which the visuals are created by the communities to express issues and concerns). The main objectives of the SARAR are to build local capacity to plan for community development or to raise awareness of health and sanitation issues. SARAR builds on local knowledge and strengthens local capacity through a variety of participatory methods. It has also been used by development agencies to increase participation and joint decisionmaking, although it is not often used in PPAs (see Srinivasan 1990).

Use of methodologies

There are many different participatory traditions from around the world: some provide the philosophy for participation, others provide the tools, and some provide both. PRA is one of the few that provides a broad philosophy in addition to distinctive tools. The selection of methodologies and tools depends on the context of the PPA (for example, capacity of in-country institutions, PPA manager's knowledge of different methods, government approval, availability of skilled trainers, time available).

The tools and approaches can be very different, and all have advantages and drawbacks. For example, PRA enables some of the analysis to take place at the community level, leading to greater ownership of the results. A researcher from Zambia, where a PRA was undertaken, stated that community ownership meant that "problems would be thought about long after my departure." To further promote this ownership in Zambia, charts and papers created by local people were left with the community. PRA places more emphasis on community-level interviewing, while BA concentrates on households or individuals (Norton and Stephens 1995) and involves less community ownership and control over the analysis and results.

Some have argued that the visual tools of PRA might not be suitable for all cultures. Although this statement might be true to some extent, the skill and sensitivity of the facilitator and the understanding that he or she has of the community usually determine the extent to which visual tools will be appropriate. PRAs have been conducted effectively in a diverse range of cultures in more than 100 countries.¹⁰

How these methodologies relate to policy work and methodological dilemmas

These methodologies were not originally designed to influence policy—they were developed specifically for communities and project work. BAs were traditionally used to seek the views of beneficiaries on the impact of projects and to feed this information back to project managers in an attempt to influence project design. SARARs and PRAs were used at the community level to develop community action plans with the wider objective of empowerment.

In the 1990s, participatory methods were used to achieve the broader objective of influencing policy. Sector assessments used participatory research to influence policy in the following areas: health and education in Zambia (work done by the NGO, Participatory Assessment Group; Milimo 1996); urban poverty and violence in Jamaica (Moser and Holland 1996); and wetlands management in India and Pakistan (Guja, Pimbert, and Shah 1996). Whereas PPAs attempt to influence the broader policy framework, sector assessments attempt to influence specific policies.

In this new field of influencing policy through dialogue with the poor, ethical questions are being raised about the possible exploitation involved in using the poor to gain access to information without any benefit to them. When participatory methodologies were widely used at the project level, they comprised tools for gaining information and a set of principles, such as action follow-up, empowerment, and capacity building in the community. When participatory methodologies are used for policy work, however, these principles have often not been followed. It is suggested that when undertaking participatory research for policy work, the term participatory policy research (PPR) might be more appropriate. The debate has evolved because many PRA practitioners have questioned the process, principles, and ethics of working directly with communities for policy research when people's expectations are raised and there is no direct follow-up at the community level—the result being more data extraction than community action. PPR uses tools from various methodologies but with a different overall objective: the creation of policy messages with communities contributing to the analysis, as opposed to direct action, community empowerment, and capacity building. But ethical questions remain about taking people's time and raising their expectations when undertaking not only PPAs but any kind of poverty research, including household surveys.

PPR, therefore, is not generally a tool for empowerment (Chambers 1997), and while its research value is great, its value at the community level should not be overstated. For policy, the participatory research is meant to be imperfect, rapid, and restricted, and the principle of imme-

diate action may not be feasible because the focus is on trends, not project identification. PPR is a way to inform policy rather than empower local people. In an attempt to respond to the principle of follow-up action, however, many PPAs have linked the information with action-oriented institutions. For example, in Argentina and Brazil the fieldwork has been linked with the work of country NGOs and government line ministries. As a result, the potential now exists for moving from information sharing to continuous dialogue with various stakeholders, including those at the community level.

What Is the Current Status of PPAs?

As of July 1998, 43 PPAs had been undertaken at the World Bank. The fraction of poverty assessments including a PPA has risen from one-fifth in fiscal 1994 to one-third in fiscal 1995 and one-half in fiscal 1996, fiscal 1997, and fiscal 1998.¹¹ Of the 43 PPAs completed, 28 are in Africa, 6 in Latin America, 5 in Eastern Europe, and 4 in Asia.

Box 3 shows the distribution of the various participatory methodologies employed, by region, as of May 2001. Box 4 details some of the PPAs planned by the Bank and other organizations.

Box 3. World Bank Participatory Poverty Assessments: Status Report, March 2001

AFRICA		EASTERN EUROPE and CENTRAL ASIA	
Benin	RRA	Albania	Various
Burkina Faso	PRA	Armenia	Various
Burundi	PRA	Azerbaijan	Various
Cameroon	BA	Bosnia and Herzegovina	PRA/various
Central African Republic	RRA	Bulgaria	PRA/various
Chad	RRA	Georgia	Various
Djibouti	PRA	Kyrgyz Republic	Various
Egypt	PRA	Latvia	Various
Equatorial Guinea	RRA	Macedonia	Various
Eritrea	RRA	Moldova	Various
Ethiopia	PRA	Russia	Various
Gabon	RRA	Ukraine	Various
The Gambia	PRA	Uzbekistan	PRA/various
Ghana	PRA		
Guinea	RRA		
Kenya	PRA/SARAR	LATIN AMERICA and the CARIBBEAN	
Lesotho	PRA	Argentina	BA
Madagascar	BA	Bolivia	PRA/various
Malawi	PPA	Brazil	BA
Mali	RRA	Costa Rica	BA
Mauritius	RRA	Ecuador	PRA
Mozambique	PRA	Guatemala	BA
Niger	RRA	Jamaica	PRA
Nigeria	PRA	Mexico	BA
Rwanda	RRA	Nicaragua	Various
Somaliland	PRA		
South Africa	PRA	ASIA	
Swaziland	PRA/BA	Bangladesh	PRA
Tanzania	PRA/SARAR	Cambodia	PRA
Togo	RRA	India	PRA
Uganda	PRA	Indonesia	PRA/BA
Zambia	PRA/various	Mongolia	PRA
		Pakistan	PRA/various
		Papua New Guinea	Various
		Sri Lanka	PRA
		Thailand	PRA
		Vietnam	PRA

Notes: RRA = rapid rural appraisal; PRA = participatory rural appraisal; BA = beneficiary assessment; SARAR = self-esteem, associative strength, resourcefulness, action planning, and responsibility; various = a variety of qualitative research methods were used, including open-ended interviews, focus groups, and semistructured interviews.

Box 4. Examples of Planned PPAs

<i>Where</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>Donor support</i>
Albania	PPA	TBC	TBC
Burkina Faso	National Participatory Poverty Assessment as part of the implementation of the PRSP	2001	World Bank
Cambodia	PPA	2001	ADB
Chad	Perceptions of Poverty Study	2000–01	TBC
Egypt	PPA	Ongoing	DFID
The Gambia	PPA—3-year project	2000–2002	Government of The Gambia, IDRC
Ghana	PPA	TBC	TBC
Guinea	PPA	TBC	TBC
Guinea Bissau	Rapid PPA	Mid-2001	TBC
Kenya	PPA	TBC	TBC
Lao	PPA	October 2000–May 2001	TBC
Malawi	PPA	TBC	TBC
Moldova	PPA	September 2001	TBC
Mongolia	Follow-up to the first PPA	TBC	TBC
Myanmar	PPA	2001	UNDP
Niger	Perceptions of Poverty Study	November 2000–March 2001	UNDP
Pakistan	PPA	Ongoing	World Bank
Pakistan	PPA—managed at district level	2001	Government of Pakistan
Sierra Leone	PPA	2001–2002	TBC
Uganda	PPA—3-year project	Ongoing	DFID/UNDP/World Bank

Notes: TBC = to be confirmed; ADB = Asian Development Bank; DFID = Department for International Development—United Kingdom; IDRC = International Development Research Centre; UNDP = United Nations Development Programme.

Notes

1. The Department for International Development—United Kingdom seconded a Social Development Advisor (Andrew Norton) to the Bank to work on the development of participatory poverty assessments in Africa from 1992 to 1994.
2. See *The Gambia* (1994) for more details on this case.
3. In *The Gambia*, Action Aid and a nongovernmental organization (NGO) coordinating body assisted in organizing the participatory research on poverty using participatory rural appraisal techniques. In addition, a local team conducted research to gain an understanding of the informal networks within communities and throughout the country. Initially the policy environment was constrained, with the government unwilling to discuss poverty openly. As the dialogue gradually developed, more stakeholders were included until enough policy space was created to put poverty and related issues, such as decentralization and gender inequalities, on the political agenda. This process of consultation led to increased donor coordination and created an opportunity for the government and NGOs to redefine their heretofore controversial relationship.
4. Holland and Blackburn (1998) state that in the poverty study for Bangladesh, new issues were put on the policy agenda, such as the problem that demands for increasingly high dowry payments led to daughters' being a burden to their parents and that wives were divorced or abused if the dowry was not paid. Furthermore, if daughters were educated and did not find a job, the demand for a dowry could increase. As a result, some parents were not sending their daughters to school. The study found that throughout Bangladesh, a priority for the poor was the enforcement of antidowry laws.
5. Appendix A analyzes the various methodological and organizational issues associated with each of the PPAs. Appendix B focuses on the value added of the PPAs and the impact on the Bank's and borrower's country programs and policies.
6. LSMSs use an integrated set of questionnaires and are designed to be repeated on a regular basis to track changing conditions over time. LSMSs can produce a comprehensive measure of household welfare, and evaluate its distribution across the population and over time; evaluate patterns in access to social services, such as schools, clinics, or welfare programs; identify the determinants of socioeconomic outcomes (for example, how women's schooling affects fertility decisions, or how health status affects workers' labor supply); and examine household responses to changes in economic conditions or government programs (for example, how price subsidies influence consumption patterns, or how clinic user fees affect health care choices). For further details, see World Bank 1996.
7. Although there were many limitations to these early PPAs, they are significant for having been the first Bank studies to use participatory research methods in poverty analysis.
8. The information in this section comes from a variety of sources but is based mainly on Rietbergen-McCracken and Narayan (1997).
9. Malako Nabanda, Participatory Assessment Group (NGO), Zambia.
10. Including developed countries. For example, PRA is now widespread throughout the United Kingdom. See Inglis and Guy (1996).
11. See appendix C for a detailed breakdown of all poverty assessments completed by the Bank to date.

2

Impact of the PPA

Including the poor in policy dialogue has great potential for creating better poverty reduction policies. The original rationale of the participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) was to influence the policy dialogue by collecting information on the poor's perceptions of poverty. Most PPAs have achieved this objective to some degree, but with substantial variation in the level of impact. The PPAs with the greatest impact tended to be those that implicitly or explicitly had more ambitious objectives. It is useful to assess impact in relation to three objectives:

- a. Deepening the understanding of poverty: Through the incorporation of the results of participatory techniques into a diagnosis of the nature and causes of poverty
- b. Influencing attitudes and policy: Through the use of the PPA process within a broader participatory process that engages policymakers
- c. Strengthening the policy delivery framework: Through the creation of a new institutional alignment that increases policy impact for effective, sustainable poverty reduction.

Although the principal objectives of PPAs have been to diagnose the causes and nature of poverty and to influence policy, some PPAs have been successful in fostering dialogue with and building the capacity of credible poverty reduction institutions, which then create links between traditional and formal institutions. These links have created room for a more coordinated approach to poverty reduction among various stakeholders, including donors, with ongoing and increasing interaction between policy change and stakeholder dialogue. This process is long, slow, and continuous and requires the redefinition of stakeholder relationships, including relationships with the World Bank. Ideally, governments should lead the process, or lead in partnership with other institutions, and development partners should offer support and advice. This policy change and institutional strengthening at all levels

are part of a wider process of establishing linkages between the poor and those in power.

This section uses case examples to explore the diverse array of observed impacts of PPAs in the context of the three categories mentioned above: the extent to which PPAs have deepened the understanding of poverty; their impact on attitudes and consequent policy change; and the extent to which frameworks for policy implementation have been strengthened. These impacts are summarized in table 5, which also links the various levels of impact to the different PPA approaches and the required shifts in the thinking of policymakers.

Table 5. Range of PPA Impacts

<i>PPA impact</i>	<i>Typical approach and inputs</i>	<i>Potential outcome</i>	<i>Required shift in the thinking of policymakers</i>
1. Deepening the understanding of poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid appraisals in the field (e.g., 3 weeks). Information extraction. Limited feedback and action at the community level. • Policymakers not necessarily included in the process. • Prescriptive and often top-down in nature. • Isolated exercises with limited impact on the wider development process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in policy documents reflecting views of the poor. • The information might be accurate and interesting, but there is limited room for government ownership or for changing attitudes of policymakers. • The poor are given a voice, but there is limited commitment from the top to ensure that the poor's concerns remain on the agenda. • Issues such as power, decentralization, and gender are considered but not always included in ongoing debate. • Policymakers might feel threatened. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty viewed as a multidimensional phenomenon, the character of which is defined by the community. • Policymakers understand the value of participatory research and of including the perceptions of the poor.
2. Influencing policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedback and follow-up to field appraisals (e.g., the poor validate information). Ownership of the information at 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitudinal shifts of key stakeholders are reflected in policy changes. Policies are refocused toward poverty. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policymakers are seen as partners who should be included from the beginning of the planning process.
Policies realigned toward poverty on a long-term basis			

<i>PPA impact</i>	<i>Typical approach and inputs</i>	<i>Potential outcome</i>	<i>Required shift in the thinking of policymakers</i>
by focusing on changing attitudes.	<p>the community level. Development of action plans and follow-up. Longer process (e.g., 1 year).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government involvement from the beginning. Administrators and those who implement policy are included in the debate. • Redefinition of the relationships among stakeholders. Emphasis on building partnerships and trust. Increasing coordination and conflict resolution through consensus building. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More politically sensitive issues, such as power, decentralization, and gender, are put on the agenda for continuous negotiation. • Government ownership and commitment are high. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Bank is seen as one of many stakeholders. • Policy change is viewed as part of a wider social process.
3. <i>Linking formulation with policy implementation</i>	<p>Policy delivery framework strengthened.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A continuous process of cross-checking and dialogue. • Identification of credible institutions for capacity building. Strengthening relationships between formal and informal institutions. Awareness of traditional management practices. • Organizational development and institutional change. • Ongoing participatory monitoring and evaluation of poverty. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening the policy delivery framework by building the capacity of appropriate institutions, both formal and traditional. • Those who implement policy are not just included in the debate but their capacity is also increased. • Cross-stakeholder ownership and commitment. • Increasing transparency and accountability. • Building institutions at microeconomic level contributes to decentralization. • Beginning to challenge existing power relations (control by elites, patronage, exclusion of the poor). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy agenda setting, decision-making, and implementation are interrelated processes. Recognition that policy change does not automatically mean policy implementation and that there is a difference between discourse and outcomes. • Participation is seen as more than an add-on or a component. It is viewed as an approach within which an overall framework is created for more effective policy formulation and implementation. • The process of policy change is part of a wider process of establishing linkages between the poor and those in power.

Deepening the Understanding of Poverty and Combining Data Sources

PPAs are deepening our understanding of poverty and contributing to a more in-depth analysis of this complex problem. PPAs are beginning to provide insights into dimensions of poverty, the causes and dynamics of poverty, priorities of the poor, and different levels of analysis.

Dimensions of Poverty

It is well known that poverty has many dimensions beyond income and consumption. However, policy dialogue has focused primarily on income and consumption measures of poverty, while other dimensions highlighted in the PPAs have been underemphasized in the policy debate (see box 5).

Box 5. Enriching the Diagnosis of the Nature of Poverty

The strength of many PPAs has been to highlight the diversity of poor people's experience of poverty. Definitions of well-being and ill-being vary dramatically depending on many aspects beyond income: a lack of self-respect and dignity; poor health; lack of skills, education, or information; lack of access to assets for a secure livelihood; lack of time; insecurity; lack of freedom of choice; helplessness; exclusion; loneliness; and isolation. These aspects are often interconnected and lead to the disempowerment of poor people.

State institutions and powerlessness

In many PPAs, poor people expressed a desire to have better access to information and to be able to influence decisionmakers. But many PPAs have also highlighted the fact that poor people do not trust state institutions. In **The Gambia** and **Uganda**, the poor expressed frustration about their lack of influence on government policies. Ugandans also expressed concern about government corruption and a distrust of state institutions, especially the police and the judiciary. In **Vietnam's PPA**, people said they lacked information about their entitlements and rights, and about the activities of local government.

Gender

The **Zambian PPA** was able to distinguish different kinds of female-headed households. "Women without support," as opposed to female-headed households, were identified as the poorer group. In northern **Mexico**, the PPA found that it was easier for women than for men to obtain jobs. This was challenging the traditional gender roles, as many men found themselves out of work. Conflict within the household had become a

major issue. Similarly, in Mexico City, the urban poor, especially the men, felt excluded from job opportunities. Some men were turning to alcohol. Women were left with the double burden of income earning and child rearing, which put pressure on traditional gender roles and fueled the increase in domestic violence. In Mongolia, alcoholism, crime, and domestic violence were seen as symptoms of poverty, particularly by women. Some PPAs have focused on the informal sector and nonremunerated activities, which in many cases, represent a major part of women's lives.

Social ill-being and exclusion

Many PPAs have shed light on social ill-being, which includes isolation and exclusion. Excluded groups are not always identified in household surveys. Neither is the fact that their access to productive resources might be constrained by political, cultural, and social factors. In Zambia, the PPA highlighted the fact that children were increasingly going into prostitution and that child-headed households were becoming more common. In Guatemala, the PPA data showed that alcoholism was a major problem for men in the indigenous areas. This had not previously been acknowledged. Most of these men were unemployed or underemployed and felt excluded from the limited opportunities for employment. In Armenia, single pensioners were consistently ranked by communities as the poorest—not because they had the least income but because they were isolated and socially excluded. In Eastern Europe, the PPAs' analysis of social connections revealed that the poor tend to be connected horizontally—that is, within their own networks—for survival and to reduce vulnerability. As a result, poor households tend to remain excluded. In contrast, the better-off households tend to be connected both horizontally and vertically—that is, to better-off networks—which enabled them to improve their situation. In Mongolia, the PPAs highlighted the fact that there was a weakening of kinship networks but that the most vulnerable were those excluded from kinship and other social networks.

Illegal activities, crime, and violence

Household surveys often are not able to access information on illegal activities because of the reluctance of the respondent to answer questions from an enumerator she or he does not trust. PPAs, however, have been able to shed light on the relationship between poverty and illegal activities. For example, the PPAs in Zambia and Jamaica revealed that prostitution, crime, and violence were major concerns among the poor. People were feeling increasingly scared, unsafe, and insecure as community coherence was threatened because of violence. In some communities, women and the elderly were reluctant to use public transport, particularly at night, because of safety concerns. In Mongolia, Thailand, and Cambodia, economic stress had forced some poor people into such degrading or illegal activities as begging or theft.

(Box continues on the following page.)

Box 5. (continued)***Seasonality***

In many PPAs, seasonality analysis highlighted great differences in poverty, vulnerability, and coping strategies throughout the year. In South Africa, for example, the PPA revealed that payment of school fees coincided with a season of financial stress resulting from a high incidence of sickness and hard work combined with shortages of money and food. The household survey in Tanzania concluded that 22 percent of the poor had access to safe water from protected sources, indoor plumbing, standpipes, and covered wells with hand pumps. But the survey overlooked the seasonal dimension of access to safe water and therefore overestimated the access. The PPA, which collected information from the same villages, revealed that in two-thirds of the villages thought to have access to safe water, access was actually a major problem. In the dry season, as water tables fell, people were forced to walk farther for water or switch to such unsafe alternatives as uncovered dug wells, ponds, streams, and rivers.

PPAs also portray the reality of poor people's lives. In Equatorial Guinea the results of the PPA highlighted the feelings of hopelessness and despair many people felt after years of declining well-being and repression. Suicide—not generally considered an issue in Africa—was mentioned as a problem. The results of this PPA were described by one Bank economist as "terrifying."

In the postconflict countries of Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda, it was not possible to undertake household surveys. In these countries, the PPA proved to be a very useful tool in providing initial data on poverty and conflict impacts.

Explanatory Power of the PPAs

Many PPAs provide insights into the dynamics and processes of impoverishment (see box 6).

Priorities of the Poor

Although some problems highlighted by the PPAs were already known, the PPAs have made it clear that the poor have the capacity to analyze the causes of their vulnerability and rank their priorities. In PPAs carried out in Ghana, Mali, and Nigeria, for example, the poor said that physical isolation and lack of access to water were problems. In Costa Rica, the PPA highlighted linkages between home ownership and status in society.

Box 6. Examples of Explanations Provided by PPAs

Why some women were not working in Mexico City: The PPA in Mexico found that some women in Mexico City were unwilling to leave their houses and go to work. Because they did not have tenancy rights, they were afraid that their houses might become occupied in their absence.

Why the poor spend a “disproportionate” amount of money on clothing in Mali: The results of the quantitative survey showed that a disproportionate amount of money was spent on clothing. The PPA explained that clothing and cloth are investment items in addition to being status symbols and therefore play an insurance role.

Why migrants with money still lack access to land in Zambia: The PPA explained that the social status of certain groups sometimes determines their economic status. Migrant groups might lack access to high-value land not because they lack money but because they lack entitlement in the view of local social institutions that determine land ownership. Lack of social status therefore prevents migrants from gaining title because social institutions actively prevent transfers of land.

Why people were not using health facilities in Kenya and Pakistan: The PPAs explained that communities were discouraged from using health facilities because health staff were often rude and condescending.

Beyond the Household Unit: Combining Data Sources

Household surveys often interview only the head of household (usually a man). PPAs typically gather information on intrahousehold issues from more than one perspective, and also explore interhousehold and community-level social issues in addition to gathering household data. PPAs have focused on individual case studies of people, providing insights into the dynamics of poverty and survival strategies; intrahousehold dynamics, revealing both the unequal allocation of resources among household members and the impact of power relations on the poverty of women, men, and children within the household; interhousehold dynamics, illustrating, for example, the fact that female-headed households might rely on interhousehold transfers; household-level information; and a community perspective highlighting the diversity of social or cultural groups and their wide-ranging coping strategies.

Local people's understanding of their poverty can be increased if the PPA—especially if it includes a PRA—involves the community in the analysis. In Zambia, one participant in the yearly participatory poverty monitoring stated that the research had enabled the people in the com-

munity to get together to discuss their problems and reflect on their situation, that of their neighbors, and the community as a whole. Owen (1997) adds that by using PRAs, the PPA in Mozambique encouraged communities to become conscious of their life conditions, opportunities, strengths, and limitations. This, he says, is particularly important where government has limited capacity to assist people in many areas of the country.

In summary, PPAs are deepening the understanding and providing a dynamic picture of poverty. For example, all of the following insights have emerged from Zambia's PPA: child-headed households, child labor, crime, violence, and prostitution as coping strategies; increased feelings of insecurity and lack of safety as an outcome of these strategies; seasonal fluctuations in sickness, rates of work, and access to food as triggers of greater vulnerability; and the impact of these new dimensions on people's behavior as individuals, as household members, and as part of a community.

Attitudes and Policy Change

Formulation of more appropriate and poverty-focused policies can be constrained when Bank staff and government officials involved in the policy dialogue have different attitudes. Some governments have little immediate political incentive to help the poor because the poor are often not organized, have a weak voice, and are difficult to reach. And most Bank staff have little direct experience with poverty.

Some PPAs have helped to change the attitudes of both Bank staff and senior government policymakers, thereby contributing to policy formulation. It is rarely possible to establish clear causality between the PPA and policy change because policymaking is part of a wider social process. In addition, it is usually difficult to separate the impact of the PPA from that of the poverty assessment. However, some indicative evidence is presented below.

World Bank

Insights arising from the PPAs are contributing to the broader debates within the World Bank on how to measure and monitor poverty, integrate social dimensions into policy and project work, and increase the impact of the Bank's operations by adopting participatory approaches. There is a growing realization of the value of integrating quantitative and qualitative data in the analysis of poverty, in order to produce better measurement, better analysis, and, through more appropriate policy

recommendations, better action (Carvalho and White 1997; Chung 2000).

Influencing the World Bank lending program

In certain instances, PPAs have successfully contributed to a shift of policy emphasis. In Nigeria, for example, the World Bank had been focusing on health and education, yet the PPA highlighted that the poor viewed water and roads as the priorities. There is now a greater focus on water and roads. In Ghana, the PPA contributed to a shift of emphasis within the Bank to rural infrastructure and the quality and accessibility of education and health care (see Norton 1996), which was subsequently followed by the preparation of the Village Infrastructure Project.

In Ecuador, the PPA highlighted the fact that women were reluctant to work away from home because of street crime and violence. The poverty assessment identified the provision of street lighting and guarded public buses in the evening as effective ways to address this problem. In Zambia, the World Bank's Social Fund supported some of the priorities identified by the communities in the PPA, and a health project now includes cost recovery conditions as identified in the PPA. In Niger, the PPA influenced the design of the proposed Infrastructure Project to be more poverty focused and include pilot rural operations. And in Burundi, the Bank designed a community-based poverty project, which used the recommendations of the PPA.

In other cases, the PPA impact has been less evident. The poverty assessment in Kenya reflected the major findings of the PPA, but the results have not been extensively incorporated into other country reports. In Costa Rica, delays in the analysis and dissemination of the findings have limited the impact of the PPA.

Rapid assessments using PPA approaches were used to better understand the social impacts of the financial crisis in East Asia. Initial surveys were undertaken in Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Laos.¹ The objective was to consult with a cross-section of organizations—including community groups, local and international NGO networks, academic institutions, labor unions, professional associations, other donors, and government departments—to determine shifting patterns of vulnerability. Focus groups, rapid assessment techniques, and participatory exercises were used. These initial assessments contributed to creating the framework to begin a dialogue with governments and other donors and jointly formulate strategies for action (see appendix B).

In all these countries, there was a time lag in obtaining reliable statistical data. The advantage of the initial rapid assessments was to quickly produce a series of hypotheses about the potential impacts of the finan-

cial crisis on the poor. The participatory surveys highlighted the new social dimensions of the crisis beyond unemployment, price changes, access to services, and the credit crunch, to include intrahousehold dynamics, coping strategies, and social capital. These data now form the basis for further ongoing problem identification with the objective of providing a baseline and defining the issues for more detailed, systematic, and representative participatory surveys. For example, this next step was taken in Thailand, where a national participatory assessment, using the PPA approach, was designed as part of the Bank's Social Investment Project. The objectives of this assessment were to, first, increase the Bank's and the country's understanding of the shifting patterns of vulnerability as the impacts of the crisis deepen; second, inform Bank and government policymakers and therefore influence policy; and third, strengthen the capacity in country to undertake participatory surveys and to analyze results, particularly by consolidating the results of participatory and traditional surveys. In addition, the ADB worked with the governments of Lao and the Philippines to undertake more detailed participatory assessments on the impacts of the crisis.

Links to World Bank policy documents

The results of some PPAs have been reflected in Bank policy documents. An example is the Bank's "Taking Action for Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa" (World Bank 1996*i*), the product of the Bank's Africa Region Poverty Task Force that resulted from extensive dialogue with development partners. The task force was established to assess the Bank's operations in the Africa Region, and the report is now being used as a basis for the Bank's strategy in Africa. In addition, a series of PPAs in Zambia, Mali, Ghana, and Nigeria identified both physical isolation and lack of access to water as major concerns. As a consequence, it was recognized that rural water and roads infrastructure had been neglected areas of investment for the Bank. The report recommended that these should be priority areas in the future. In Gabon, the results of the PPA influenced the Bank's decisions to undertake a Public Expenditure Review in the health and education sectors.

Links to the country assistance strategy (CAS) are difficult to determine at this stage. However, five examples in which the CAS was clearly influenced by the PPA and the poverty assessment are Armenia, Zambia, Niger, Ethiopia, and Rwanda. In Armenia, the PPA highlighted the importance people place on health and education. The CAS emphasizes protecting access to these sectors. In Zambia, the PPA highlighted the limited access the poor have to public services. The CAS has made this a central theme. In Niger, the value added of the participatory process for the poverty assessment and the PPA was recognized and was adopted for the Niger CAS. In Ethiopia, the results of the quantitative

survey were delayed because of data problems. The CAS for Ethiopia therefore drew extensively on the data from the PPA. In Rwanda, the PPA results fed into the CAS, the agriculture strategy note, and an agricultural learning and innovation loan.

The importance of using poverty assessment to focus the CAS on the Bank's overarching objective of poverty reduction is now widely recognized in the Bank. Thus, in order to more effectively focus the CAS and country programs on poverty, the Bank is shifting from mandatory one-time poverty assessments to long-term strategic poverty monitoring that combines periodic household surveys with periodic participatory research.

The impacts of some PPAs on poverty reduction strategies are beginning to emerge. For example, PPAs are being used to consult with the poor as part of the process of participation, in addition to using the results of the PPA to diagnose poverty. Chapter 4 discusses this in more detail.

National Level

Attitudinal change starts with appreciating the value of how the poor perceive their situation. In Tanzania, the government was initially cautious about the PPA exercise but became more receptive when the PPA highlighted the capacity of local people to analyze their own problems. Policymakers began to understand the value of including the poor in the policy dialogue. Similarly, in Benin the PPA strengthened the interest of the Ministry of Planning in consulting the poor through a participatory assessment.

In Zambia, the government was influenced by the priorities expressed by the poor in a ranking exercise. The Ministry of Health has been using the results of the PPA and the poverty assessment to develop policy. In other countries, the poverty assessment and PPA have opened up the policy debate, enabling discussions of once highly sensitive issues. In Swaziland, the workshop convened in February 1997 to discuss the results of the PPA was the first government-sponsored workshop on national poverty. Key insights from the PPA on such issues as women's rights, land tenure, and the role of traditional authority were given higher priority in the policy agenda as a result of this workshop and the dialogue surrounding the PPA. In Lesotho, three key themes emerged from the PPA that were not identified in the household surveys: alcoholism, political factors, and corruption. Through the government's action plan, these issues were placed on the policy agenda. As the process has developed in Lesotho, government ownership has increased, and the topic of corruption has now appeared in speeches and policy discussion documents.

Opening up the policy debate can be a conflict-ridden process. The results of both the PPA and poverty assessment were a shock to people in Cameroon inside and outside the government, as poverty had not previously been acknowledged as a serious problem. Ownership had not been developed among key policymakers during the PPA process, because the central government was not strongly committed to poverty reduction. As a consequence, there was little initial acceptance or use of the results. The poverty assessment and PPA did seem to have an impact at the local government level, where officials expressed a great deal of interest in replicating the methodology of the PPA.

Strengthening the Capacity to Deliver Policy

The impact of a PPA on strengthening the capacity to deliver poverty-focused policies can be assessed by identifying new institutional alignments and partnerships that arise as a result of the PPA. Increased dialogue and consequent partnerships can also contribute to widening the constituency for reform, increasing ownership, and strengthening the commitment to poverty reduction.

World Bank

The extent to which PPAs have had an impact on the Bank's capacity to fulfill its poverty reduction mandate is difficult to determine at this early stage. As stated above, the links between the PPA and poverty assessment, the lending program, and the CAS are evident in only a few countries. The Bank is now developing an interdisciplinary approach to the diagnosis of poverty and the analysis of how all types of institutions affect the poor. This approach will lead to a better understanding of the problem of poverty and increase the Bank's capacity to work with the relevant institutions. In addition, the Bank is in the process of ensuring that the findings of the *WDR 2000/2001* influence its policies and projects, with the objective of increasing empowerment and security for the poor.

National Level

In some countries the process of compiling the PPA has helped to create a dialogue and partnerships for policy delivery. One of the strengths of the Mozambique PPA was the diversity of the involved institutions (university, government, NGOs) and researchers. The multi-institutional approach has strengthened relationships between the various participating institutions (Owen 1997). In Argentina, increased coordination between government agencies and programs has been developed. In

addition, dissemination of the results of the PPA has validated the methodology and contributed to the development of an integrated (qualitative and quantitative) approach to monitoring and evaluating social programs undertaken by different organizations.

In other countries, the PPAs have increased the capacity of certain civil society institutions as well as government. In Cameroon, the Bank manager of the PPA stated in an internal communication to team members that "involving local institutions and holding workshops with both government and civil society are mechanisms for expanding ownership of the poverty problem and in-country capacity to analyze and address it." In some cases, the researchers and intermediary institutions that undertook the PPA were empowered by the process. In South Africa, for example, the local researchers later adopted an activist role. In Ghana, the capacity of local organizations to undertake credible participatory research has been developed, with the local NGO, Centre for Development of People, benefiting from extensive training and institutional linkages created by the PPA process. In Uganda, the PPA impact has even extended to the budget (see box 7).

Through dialogue at the community level, communities that are no longer passive recipients of a policy might become more committed to policy delivery. In some communities, PRAs resulted in local people identifying their priorities, which were later followed up in the form of projects supported by various agencies. In South Africa, for example, the PRA work became a catalyst for communities to initiate a project to benefit the poor. The impact of PPAs has been limited where follow-up has not been extensive, leading many to question the value to the poor of such work. Indeed, at the workshop in Mozambique organized for this study, participants explained that many communities had "respondent fatigue—fadiga dos informantes." The workshop concluded that many communities, especially those accessible from major cities, are the subject of excessive research, and "agreed...that before initiating any study, a review be undertaken of existing data and material pertaining to the area" (Owen 1997).

Determinants of the Level of Impact

Methodology

Of the 43 PPAs reviewed for this study, 21 (the ones with sufficient data) were analyzed in more detail to quantify the level of impact and take the first step in exploring the effects of a variety of possible explanatory variables.² From the data in appendixes A and B, a list of key impact variables was identified. For each variable, a rating of high, medium,

Box 7. Can the Poor Influence the Budget? Case Example from Uganda

What is the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF)?

- The Ugandan government adopted an MTEF under which medium-term budget priorities are formulated, consistent with Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan and medium-term financial stability.
- Under the MTEF, line ministries are provided global budgetary ceilings on which to base their sector allocations. Sector working groups comprising the Finance Ministry, line ministries, technical advisers, and some civil society representatives develop sector priorities within these limits.
- Given this resource envelope, a comprehensive review of all sector spending proposals is undertaken. This requires an analysis of trade-offs of various funding decisions among and within sectors on the basis of affordability and intersectoral priorities. This new process forces ministries to prioritize early in the budgeting process.
- This review feeds into the Budget Framework Paper (BFP) and the annual Background to the Budget.

Participation at the central level

- Since 1998–99, civil society organizations have been involved in the dialogue on priorities and spending commitments, and public debate in the media has been encouraged. However, officials recognize that there is still a long way to go to open up civil society and engage the media.
- In 1998–99, the government implemented the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Project (the UPPAP), for which the poor in rural and urban areas were directly consulted. The results of the UPPAP influenced budget allocations. For example, a higher weighting was given to provision of safe water supply in central and district-level budgets as a result of communities identifying access to clean water as a priority. Findings from the UPPAP were also included in the Background to the Budget 1999–2000.
- Involvement of civil society is also encouraged by publication of (a) an abbreviated version of the BFP (the version that goes to the cabinet before expenditure allocations are approved); (b) an annual Background to the Budget; and (c) a detailed summary of the composition of expenditure for all sectors for the three-year MTEF, as an appendix table in the Budget Speech document.
- To broaden consultation in the budget process, donors are invited to join sector working groups and participate in the public expenditure review, where discussions focus on sector priorities of government expenditure and on the consistency of government assumptions regarding external financing and donor financing plans.
- In the 2000–01 budget process, the Poverty Eradication Working Group was established, comprising Ministry of Finance officials and donor and civil society representatives. The group reviews each sector working paper for a poverty focus. It then makes recommendations on inter-

and intrasectoral allocations of resources and on poverty-focused output indicators, based on the latest poverty analysis.

- The budget process also provides an opportunity for parliament to take a more strategic look at the government's expenditure plans and examine how the government is performing in the implementation of its overall budget strategy.
- A strategy to increase public awareness and transparency to further the budget process is currently being developed. This involvement will enhance the evolving partnership between civil society and government.

Participation at the district level

- Responsibility for the provision of a large number of services was devolved to district and urban authorities. This increased people's participation in the decisionmaking process, and made decisions more transparent and public officers more accountable. The long-term aim is to integrate central and local government budgetary processes and devolve spending decisions to local governments to enable them to respond to district poverty priorities.
- Recent UPPAP findings demonstrate major differences in the poverty profile among districts. This resulted in policymakers' recognizing the need for flexibility in the use of central government conditional grants to districts.
- In partnership with the Ministry of Local Government, the UPPAP will work directly with nine districts, initially to strengthen their capacity to consult poor communities for the purposes of district planning and budgeting.

Monitoring budget expenditures

- The government established a Poverty Action Fund (PAF) to enhance transparency and monitoring of HIPC and other donor resources going to expenditure programs focused on poverty. The PAF involves both civil society and government in monitoring the impact of PAF outlays, and the government holds quarterly meetings to discuss delivery against budget allocations.
- The budget process is being further developed to open up multiple channels of accountability. For example, to increase transparency in decentralized management of resources, advertisements are placed in the press indicating amounts disbursed to each district by sector. In the education sector, budget allocations for schools are posted on school notice boards.
- In addition, the Poverty Monitoring Unit integrates annual household surveys, conducted by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, with other data sources (e.g., participatory analysis, sector surveys, line ministry data sources) to ensure that impacts of policy are understood and policy development is informed by poverty data and the perceptions of the poor.

low, or zero was assigned to each country PPA on the basis of desk work, discussions with participants, and field research in the five countries the author visited for this study. The ratings are largely subjective; they are not objectively measured indexes of a PPA's success. In the future, more empirical research will be required. The results of the analysis are summarized in table 6.

The analysis of the 21 PPAs suggests a significant influence on the diagnosis of poverty in 71 percent of the cases examined. Twenty-nine percent of the PPAs had a significant impact on policy formulation, both in the Bank and in country, while in only 24 percent of the cases did the PPA have a significant effect on the country's capacity to deliver some policies.

The analysis involved classifying the PPAs in a 3×3 matrix based on the composite impact index (CII) and a variety of possible explanatory variables. The CII used the ratings assigned to four key impact variables. These variables and the weights assigned to them were as follows:

DUP—deepening the understanding of poverty (1)

IWP—influencing World Bank policy (2)

ICP—influencing country policy (2)

ICD—increasing capacity to deliver policy (4)

Table 6. Summary of PPA Impacts

<i>Impact variable</i>	<i>Number of PPAs (out of 21 analyzed)</i>				<i>Percentage of PPAs, by impact</i>			<i>Percentage of PPAs with significant impact^a</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	
1. Deepening the understanding of poverty	0	6	10	5	28	48	24	71
2. Influencing policy at the World Bank	8	7	4	2	33	19	10	29
3. Influencing policy at the national level	9	6	4	2	28	19	10	29
4. Increasing country's capacity to implement policy	13	3	3	2	14	14	10	24

^a Significant impact = medium or high rating.

The four rating levels were assigned a score as follows: none = 0; low = 1; medium = 2; high = 3.

For each of the 21 country PPAs, the CII was calculated as follows:

$$\text{CII} = 1(\text{DUP rating}) + 2(\text{IWP rating}) + 2(\text{ICP rating}) + 4(\text{ICD rating}).$$

The maximum attainable score was therefore 27, calculated as follows:

$$\text{CII} = 1(3) + 2(3) + 2(3) + 4(3).$$

The next step was to define a series of independent variables that had potential to explain the level of PPA impact as measured by the CII. For each independent variable, subjective ratings of low, medium, and high were assigned for each country PPA. These results are set out in table 7.

Pairs of impact variables were then chosen and charted against the CII. Only high and low ratings were included to highlight the more marked differences observed among the PPAs.

Table 7. Summary of Impact Variables

<i>Impact variable</i>	<i>Number of PPAs (out of 21)</i>		
	<i>None</i>	<i>Low extent</i>	<i>Medium extent</i>
<i>World Bank</i>			
1. Ownership within the World Bank (by staff, departments)	0	10	6
2. Bank management support	0	11	5
3. Links to poverty assessment	2	8	5
4. Links to country assistance strategy	0	19	0
5. Team work	7	5	6
<i>Country level</i>			
1. Involvement of policymakers	0	7	6
2. Involvement of other stakeholders	0	8	9
3. Ownership by government	0	8	6
4. Dissemination at the national level	0	9	4
<i>Community level</i>			
1. Skills of researchers	0	7	8
2. Dissemination to communities	13	6	2
3. Length of time in field	0	4	9
4. Cost	0	7	7
5. Follow-up; action with communities	9	6	6

Main Findings

When the CII was plotted against the subjective estimates of the quality of the PPA research team, there was a clear positive correlation (see figure 2). PPAs judged to have high-quality teams averaged more than 15 out of a possible 27 on the CII. Those judged to have medium-quality teams averaged 7, and those with low-quality research teams averaged only 2.

The relationship between the CII, the quality of the PPA manager, and Bank management support revealed a high level of interaction between the latter two variables (see figure 3). Where both Bank management support and PPA manager quality were high, average CII was high (17 out of a possible 27). However, even high-quality PPA managers were unlikely to produce high-impact PPAs without strong Bank management support—the PPAs in that category scored only 7 out of a possible 27. There were no PPAs with high Bank management support and low manager quality; hence the zero CII score in the lower left corner of figure 3.

When the CII was plotted against links to the poverty assessment, there was a clear positive correlation (see figure 4). PPAs judged to have a greater link to the poverty assessment averaged a CII of more than 19 out of a possible 27. Those judged to have medium links averaged 5, and those with limited links averaged only 2. To have a significant impact, PPAs need to be linked to the poverty assessment.

Figure 2. PPA Impact by Quality of Research Team

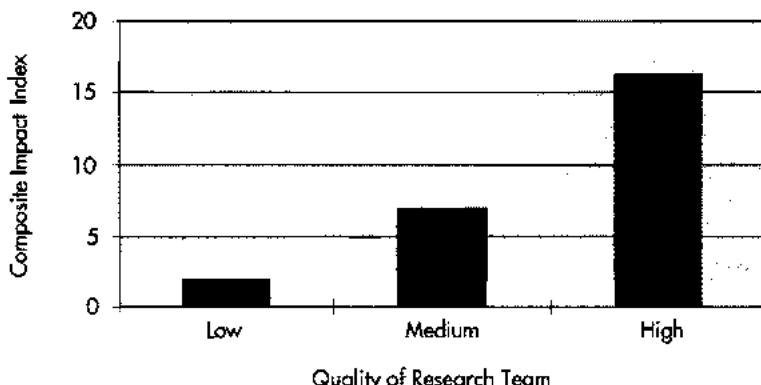


Figure 3. PPA Impact by Quality of PPA Manager and Level of Bank Management Support

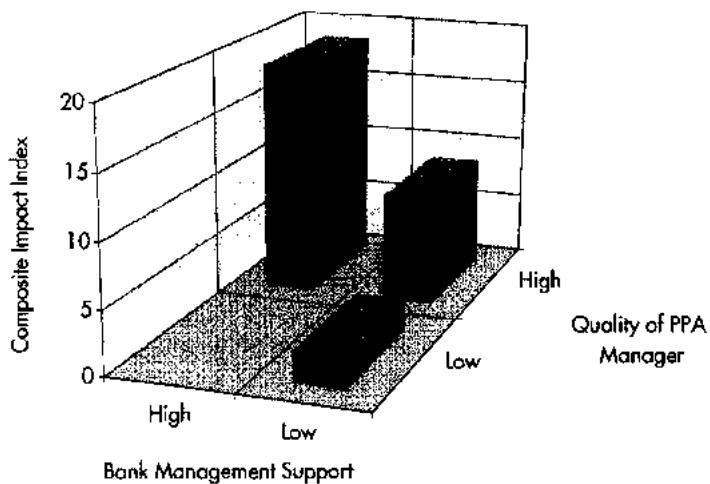
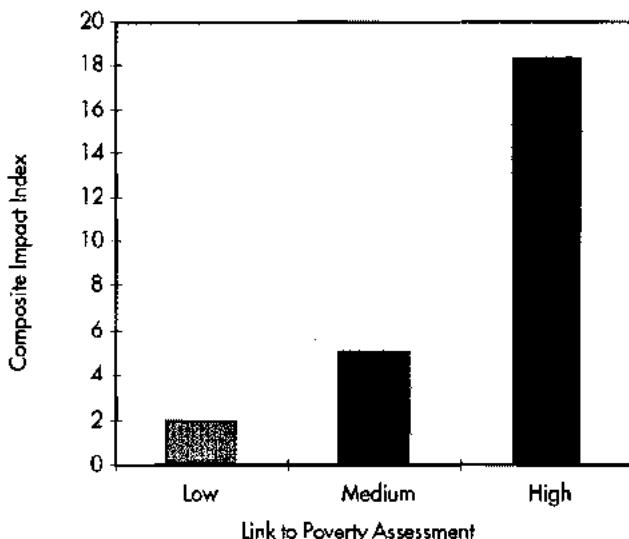


Figure 4. PPA Impact by Link to Poverty Assessment



The relationship between CII, ownership by the government, and ownership within the World Bank revealed a high level of interaction between the latter two explanatory variables (see figure 5). Where there was a high degree of ownership in the Bank and by government, the CII reached 20 out of a possible 27. Ownership by both the Bank and government is important to achieve a high-impact PPA. There was no instance of a PPA with high World Bank ownership and low government ownership; hence the zero CII score in the top right corner of figure 5.

When the CII was plotted against the extent to which policymakers were involved, there was a clear positive correlation (see figure 6). Where there was a high level of policymaker involvement, the CII was more than 16 out of a possible 27. Those PPAs judged to have medium involvement averaged 7 and those with limited involvement averaged only 3. The level of PPA impact depends to some extent on the level of policymaker involvement.

The following chapter builds on this analysis of the key variables in more detail, analyzing case examples to elucidate recommendations for good practice.

Figure 5. PPA Impact by World Bank and Government Ownership

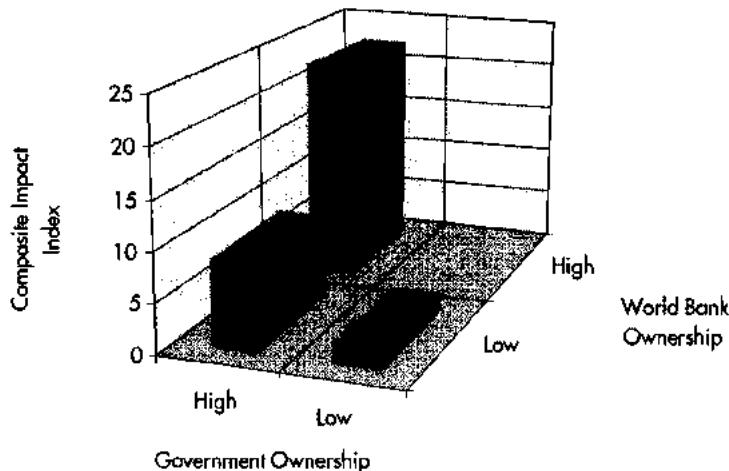
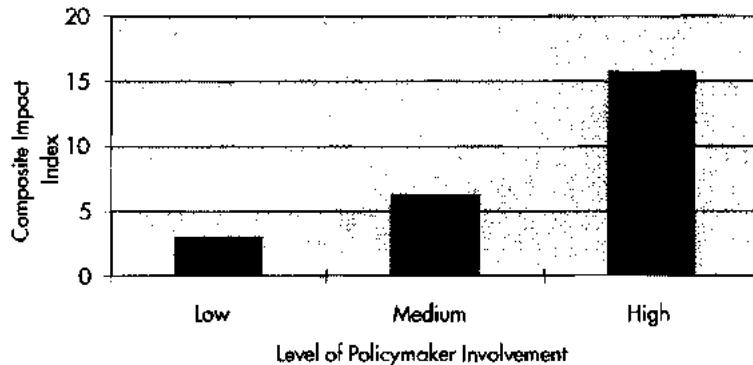


Figure 6. PPA Impact by Level of Policymaker Involvement

Notes

1. See Robb (1998) for a summary of these initial surveys.
2. The section titled "Determinants of the Level of Impact" was compiled with assistance from James Edgerton of the World Bank's Social Development Department.

3

Emerging Good Practice

This chapter identifies good practices that should be considered when undertaking participatory policy research for policy change. Emerging good practice builds on the diverse impacts of key variables discussed in the previous chapter. It is divided into three main areas in which issues are similar and linked: first, issues to be considered from an institutional perspective within the World Bank;¹ second, good practice when managing a PPA in country, at the national level, including how to open up the dialogue in participatory policymaking; and third, emerging good practice in conducting participatory research with the poor at the community level, and the principles behind this method of data collection. There is no unconditional good practice in this type of work because the best approach will be determined by the context. However, box 8 gives some suggestions for good practice and minimum standards that have emerged from experience with the Bank's PPAs. These issues are then discussed in more detail throughout the chapter.

At the World Bank: Initial Steps and Follow-Up

This section is divided into five main parts: (a) professional input and commitment, (b) ownership of the PPA in the Bank, (c) management support and follow-up, (d) PPA design, and (e) linking to the Bank's country assistance strategies.

Professional Input and Commitment

The first step in initiating a PPA and poverty assessment is to ask, Will the outcome drive policy reform within the country and in the work of the Bank? Whether PPA and poverty assessment will move from an academic exercise to influencing policy depends on the extent to which the

Box 8. Twelve Hallmarks of Good PPAs

World Bank

1. The Bank's role is to provide support (technical or financial) to the government to enable the government, not the Bank, to lead the process.
2. The PPA research agenda is discussed with country team members, leading to broader ownership and understanding of results within the Bank.
3. Results of the PPA are combined with household survey data by the government, with support from donors if necessary. Such analysis should then influence World Bank poverty assessments and the country assistance strategies.
4. Bank managers and staff observe the PPA being conducted in the community so as to better understand the strengths and weaknesses of the data.

Country level

5. Government leads the process, and support should be secured from the beginning. Key policymakers and administrators are included in designing, planning, and implementing the PPA and analyzing the results.
6. Timing and extent of involvement of other stakeholders (NGOs, line ministries, unions, religious groups, local social science institutes) are attuned to the social and political environment.
7. In-country capacity to conduct ongoing PPAs is strengthened so PPAs can feed into the policy dialogue.
8. PPAs can contribute to the development of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers by including the poor in the consultation process; providing data for poverty analysis; and where the PPA is an ongoing process, building country capacity to monitor poverty.

Community level

9. Local research teams are trained to conduct high-quality participatory research, with an understanding of both the principles and techniques.
10. Communities are involved in analysis of the data.
11. Results of the PPA are disseminated to the communities involved in the policy research and to agencies that can follow up at the community level with action and projects.
12. Results are presented in a clear and concise manner.

Bank and, more specifically, the sponsoring Country Department is committed to poverty reduction. Although there is no one approach to poverty reduction, and the definition of poverty is broadening (see

box 9), PPAs have yet to be as generally accepted as traditional household surveys. However, the Bank is now moving toward undertaking ongoing poverty analysis and monitoring as opposed to one-time poverty assessments, and is recognizing the importance of including the poor in this analysis.

Experience has shown that the PPA manager needs to have a diverse set of skills, including technical methodological skills and skills in managing a participatory policy dialogue. Operating at a policy level and opening up the policy dialogue in country often mean that conflict will occur. Conflict is not always negative—from it, greater understanding of the problems of the diverse groups involved can evolve. An understanding of people and their motivations, as well as sensitivity, tact, and diplomacy, is required when opening up a policy dialogue. This is never a smooth process: it is unpredictable, and no matter how skillful the PPA manager, the process might not go according to plan.

Who Owns the PPA in the Bank?

Ownership within the World Bank, across departments, emerges as a key issue when considering the impact of PPA exercises on World Bank policy and projects. For the PPAs in Pakistan, for example, there was limited ownership and understanding of the process. Consequently, the results were not reflected to a significant extent in other World Bank documents. In Cameroon, changes in the team managing the country program occurred while the poverty assessment was being prepared. Within the country department, the PPA results had limited credibility

Box 9. What Is Poverty Reduction?

The Bank is broadening its view of poverty reduction, as reflected in the comments below by economists and sociologists affiliated with the Bank.

- “*Commitment to poverty reduction is dependent upon the government’s public expenditure priorities. An example may be the targeting of clean water for the poor, which would consequently improve their health and thus increase their productivity.*”
- “[Poverty reduction is] increasing income and general assets to a level where the poor are less vulnerable to risks and falling below a certain level.”
- “*Poverty reduction is giving people greater control and the means to determine their lives.*”
- “*Poverty reduction starts with the poor’s perceptions of their own poverty in a process of sharing strategies, priorities, and solutions of various stakeholders.*”

with those who were not part of the process. Additionally, keeping poverty issues on the agenda proved difficult when the CFA (Communauté Financière Africaine) was devalued as the emphasis shifted to macroeconomic issues.

To achieve greater policy relevance and broader ownership, a broader team approach is important. In Armenia, for example, the manager of the poverty assessment had in-depth country knowledge, built up respect among key policymakers and within the country's academic community, and encouraged a team approach within the Bank. In addition, the PPA manager worked closely with those managing the household surveys and the country department's macroeconomist to establish a research agenda for the PPA. As a result, the process had the following outcomes: first, the results of the PPA were reflected in the poverty assessment; second, the country program and the CAS integrated the results of the poverty assessment; and third, the poverty assessment was well received and used by policymakers in Armenia.

Management Support and Follow-Up

Limited management support and follow-up within the Bank have sometimes led to lost opportunities. In Madagascar, for example, there was a high degree of in-country support because key policymakers were included from the beginning. With changes in the Bank management, however, there was a delay in follow-up of more than a year and a half, and the commitment and interest of the government consequently weakened. In Equatorial Guinea, the information was controversial and the Bank was reluctant to continue the process.

Appropriate follow-up measures are sometimes difficult to identify because the outcomes of the PPA and poverty assessment consultations are not always reported accurately. In one country, many NGOs and high-ranking government officials openly opposed the results of the poverty assessment. In addition, many felt unhappy that their views were sought during the consultation but then not included in the final poverty assessment. Yet within the Bank this poverty assessment was considered technically sound and successful. A recommendation for good practice is to monitor not just the outcome of the policy dialogue or the poverty assessment but also the process and outcomes of the participation and consultation. For example, CASs, poverty assessments, and PPAs could document who was consulted and how, and the major lessons learned from consulting each of the key stakeholders.

Decentralizing the management of the PPA to resident missions might be appropriate in some countries because it is difficult to coordinate the PPA process from Washington. The manager of the Tanzania

PPA, for example, suggested the need to strengthen that resident mission to enable it to undertake frequent PPAs and contribute to a broader poverty assessment. Teams could be located in the field, and people skilled in the analysis of poverty could be located within the mission. To increase the capacity of the resident mission, training in participatory policy research could be conducted and tool kits provided. Where appropriate, the NGO officers and social scientists (recently recruited in many resident missions) could assist in such poverty-focused work.

PPA Design

Some PPAs can be strengthened by the use of sampling methods. For example, the selection of PPA sites could be informed by traditional household survey data. In Kenya, the Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS) was used to identify the poorest districts in each of six provinces.

Trust and understanding should be developed among those who use different approaches to defining research agendas and collecting and analyzing data with the aim of influencing policy. The integration of data sets will evolve through this trust building. Both survey and participatory assessment practitioners need to understand the limitations of various data sets, appreciate the biases in their own research methods, and know when alternative methods can compensate for some of these limitations.

In an attempt to better understand the various approaches to poverty analysis, the local NGO research team (Participatory Assessment Group) in Zambia is currently undertaking participatory poverty monitoring exercises and combining the results with those of the household survey carried out by the Central Statistics Office. In other countries, policymakers have visited research teams in the communities. In Costa Rica, for example, a senior official from the Ministry of Economic Planning was involved with the research and consequently was better able to appreciate the value and limitations of the PPA. And in Armenia, where the manager of the poverty assessment built trust among those managing the household survey, the Bank's PPA team, and government policymakers, the resulting integrated analysis of poverty was widely used both by the Bank and by government policymakers.

Another PPA design issue is the need to ensure that the results are shared with various stakeholders. Dissemination of results should be part of the PPA planning and budget, but in most PPAs this has not been the case. If the information gathered is not fed back to the communities, the participatory nature of the work is incomplete. There are several important reasons to feed back information from the PPA: to validate the information; to continue the process of constructing a dialogue with

communities so that semipermanent linkages are created; to show respect for the partnership with the community by sharing the information; to continuously reevaluate the relationship of the PPA facilitator (for example, the Bank) with the various stakeholders, especially the poor; to increase the credibility of the information and thereby enhance the potential of the PPAs to influence policy formulation and delivery; to facilitate a process whereby the poor monitor and evaluate the impact of the PPA; and to encourage action at the community level.

In designing a dissemination strategy, the demands of the various stakeholders should be considered and key stakeholders should be involved. Where governments have not been involved, results have been mixed. In Cameroon, for example, the results of the PPA were perceived as threatening to the government. Thus, the impact of the PPA was greatly reduced. To build a political base for policy change, effective use of the media as part of a communications strategy can help to increase understanding between the government and the public.

Different documents might be needed to meet various stakeholder demands. For example, those at the community level might be more interested in detailed site reports of their community, whereas line ministries might want a country-level document. To increase awareness and to disseminate the broad results and policy recommendations of the PPA, countries such as Zambia, Guatemala, and Lesotho have produced clear, well-written, short summary documents that have contributed to widespread ownership and understanding. Another suggestion is for the Bank to produce a separate document on the PPA results in addition to integrating these results into the overall poverty assessment. This could give the PPA managers more autonomy and accountability.

The design stage should include consideration of how the data will be presented. In Ghana, for example, the information from the PPA was relatively complex and extensive, making incorporation into other World Bank reports time-consuming. In other PPAs, it might be appropriate to use the visual diagrams from the PRA exercises (see appendix D) in the final report as a means of conveying information.

One reason that PPAs have not resulted in more action has been the lack of specificity in the presentation of results. Wherever possible, therefore, proposals should be presented in matrix form, detailing the following:

- Actions that could be taken immediately
- Actions that require policy change
- Cost requirements
- Whether a short or long time is required for results

- Administrative order or legislation required
- Which ministry, donor, or NGO could take responsibility for carrying out the action.

To follow up on such proposals, the PPA should include a monitoring component.

Link to Country Strategies

To better reach the poor, the results of PPAs and poverty assessments should be closely linked to the World Bank's CASs. Their impact on CASs has been weak because of broad constraints on adopting participatory approaches in both projects and policy work. These constraints include the following:

- Accountability. In some areas, it is not always possible to assess the quality and extent of participation. Stakeholder analysis and a plan for including stakeholders in the evolving dialogue are not always clearly presented. Thus, it is difficult to track the process and compare the level and quality of actual participation with the level and quality of planned participation.
- Support. Some participatory activities are limited because of the lack of time and funding. In both project and policy work, it is sometimes difficult and time-consuming to obtain funding to include a wider cross-section of stakeholders. Trust funds (grants given by bilateral aid agencies) are available but can be difficult to access for policy work. Core Bank funding is often not available, and many governments are still unwilling to borrow money for such activities. Pressure to conform to ever-tightening deadlines often undermines broader participation and consequent ownership and commitment.
- Evidence. A few people in the Bank and some government officials still question the cost benefit of participation.

In 1996, the Operations Evaluation Department surveyed the managers of completed and ongoing poverty assessments (see World Bank 1996j). Only 46 percent of those who answered the question, "What influences the impact of poverty assessments?" believed that the poor should participate in the design and preparation of such assessments. A draft OED report, "Participation Process Review" (World Bank forthcoming), took note of a World Bank task manager survey on participation, conducted in May 1999, which revealed that the most significant constraints to participation in Bank operations were a lack of time and

money, rigid project cycles, and inadequate incentives and management support. In this survey, 81 to 88 percent of task managers agreed or strongly agreed that primary stakeholders should participate extensively in Bank-supported work. For structural adjustment loans and sector adjustment loans, 68 percent agreed.

There is now a move to increase the poverty focus of operations by overcoming barriers such as strategic issues—weak links between the PPA and the poverty assessment, between the poverty assessment and the CAS, and between the CAS and operations; lending—emphasis on loans approved rather than on poverty reduction goals; and impact—focus on input and disbursement indicators rather than on laying the foundation for assessing impacts on the poor.

Another Bank report, "Taking Action for Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa" (World Bank 1996*i*), notes that "poverty reduction is rarely a central or motivating theme for the business plan or country assistance strategies, although responsiveness on this issue has recently improved" (p. 15). The report contends that CASs are too general to address poverty and that much of the poverty focus of projects is lost by the time the lending program is implemented. The report further states that CASs usually do not make poverty reduction a core objective of economic development programs, that poverty reduction is incidental to macroeconomic stability or lending, and that the link between the reform agenda and poverty reduction usually is not made. The report adds that past CASs have lacked a "strong strategic vision on poverty reduction and clear monitorable actions for reducing poverty" and argues that

this shortcoming at the operation level is often rooted in: (a) a lack of information on poverty, (b) inadequate analysis, (c) a disinterested attitude toward poverty reduction, and (d) Bank management's willingness to compromise on poverty reduction to maintain good country relations and to be satisfied with lending operations that address aggregate growth with little attention to the distribution of growth . . . Operational decisions, therefore, tend to be based more on sector interests than on poverty reduction [whereas poverty is] a multisector issue requiring an integrated strategy (p. 20).

The report calls for the Bank to revamp its strategy to include responsiveness to the needs of the poor, which in turn, requires a better understanding of poverty—precisely what the PPA can deliver, in conjunction with household surveys.

There is now a demand for better poverty analysis to help both the Bank and governments focus their projects and policies more effectively. To achieve this, PPAs should aim to become a building block and not just an adjunct to CASs and policy framework papers. Experience from

past PPAs shows that this linkage is greater where the research agendas for the PPA and the poverty assessment have been developed with those working in country departments and on CASs. This cooperation can be time-consuming and requires more preparation, but the payoff is a greater impact on the CAS. Another report, "Poverty Reduction and the World Bank" (1997c), details how many of the CASs have become distinctly more poverty focused, particularly those for Sub-Saharan Africa, ever since the May 1996 directive from senior management to put poverty reduction at the center of the country assistance strategies. Other recent developments include more poverty-focused guidelines for CASs and the rewriting of the Operational Directive on poverty. The reports note that all CASs that are written a year or two after a poverty assessment incorporate the main findings of the assessment, although some do so more comprehensively than others.

Since the introduction of the PRSP in 1999, the nature of the CAS has been gradually changing. The CAS will become more like a "business plan" linked to the country's poverty reduction strategy (see figure 8 in chapter 4).

A summary of this section is provided in box 10.

At the Country Level: Linking PPAs to the Process of Policymaking

Using the PPA examples, this section looks at the major issues to be considered when working with institutions in country. It is divided into the following parts: starting point—understanding the political environment, creating a conducive policy environment, who controls the research agenda and outcome, and strengthening the policy delivery framework.

Starting Point—Understanding the Political Environment

Participatory policymaking involves linking information from communities into a broader policy dialogue that includes a cross-section of stakeholders. In moving from community-level research results to policy analysis, issues surrounding policy change should be considered. For example, policy formulation is an inherently political process. Rules, legislation, traditions, networks, ethnic alliances, patronage, political allegiances, and bureaucratic structures all interact to form a complex and fluctuating policy environment. Key questions, therefore, include what factors affect policymakers' decisions to create, sustain, alter, or reverse policies; what are the legal complexities of policy change; and what influence does individual survival in an institution, institutional

Box 10. Factors for the World Bank to Consider to Increase the Impact of PPAs

Professional input and commitment

- Promote poverty reduction as a clear commitment. The extent to which country departments and country directors at the Bank are committed to poverty reduction will affect the impact of the PPA and poverty assessment. Where this commitment is not clear, operations will tend to be biased toward sector interests rather than poverty reduction.
- Measure performance of country directors by the poverty focus of the country assistance strategy (CAS), pipeline projects, and adjustment policies.
- Develop skills to conduct poverty assessments and PPAs. Challenge individual behavior, approaches, and motivations.
- Observe participatory research in communities to understand the strengths and weaknesses of PPAs.

Poverty analysis

- Develop trust and understanding between those who managed data collection for the various approaches (surveys and participatory research) and those who are doing the poverty analysis.
- Promote a team approach within the Bank and include different disciplines to enhance the understanding of the various dimensions of poverty.

Ownership in the Bank

- Establish broad ownership within the Bank for greater policy relevance.
- Create the research agenda for both the poverty assessment and PPA with others working in country departments.

Management support and follow-up

- Increase the capacity of resident missions for poverty analysis.
- Support governments to undertake continuous participatory poverty monitoring, as in Zambia (see box 2), to build up time sequence data.
- Monitor not just the outcome of the policy dialogue (the PPA, poverty assessment, and CAS) but also the process of participation and consultation. Also monitor the follow-up of the PPA and poverty assessment recommendations.

PPA design

- Build government capacity to link participatory research with household surveys (as in Vietnam). Support the building of an iterative process whereby traditional surveys and participatory research inform each other on an ongoing basis.
- Help design PPAs that include dissemination strategies.

- Build government capacity to produce clear, well-laid-out reports and different reports for different audiences. Detail the process of consultation in each report.
- Assist the government in the use of the media to promote communication with the public and increase the political base for policy change.

Link the PPA and poverty assessment to the CAS

- Ensure that PPAs and poverty assessments are building blocks for the CAS.
- Work to ensure that the poverty assessment drives policy reform, both in country and in the work of the Bank.
- Identify, in the CAS, clear, monitorable actions for reducing poverty that link to the poverty reduction strategy papers.
- Build on existing social knowledge in the country.

survival in a government, and the maintenance of a regime within a country have on policy choice?

A further complexity of the policymaking process is the relationship between policy formulation and implementation. Policymaking and implementation are not disconnected but are part of ongoing interrelated processes of change (Grindle and Thomas 1991). But while some policymakers might be willing to incorporate certain issues in the policy agenda as statements of intent, they might be less willing to implement the resulting policies because of the political dimensions of implementation (see Wildavsky 1979; Moser 1993; and Wuyts, Mackintosh, and Hewitt 1992).

It is within this dynamic that the World Bank is trying to influence policy and therefore needs to understand the often hidden influences on policy decisions, including the many institutional, formal, personal, and informal networks that can either help or hinder implementation.

For example, in some of the countries where PPAs have been undertaken, poverty has not been high on the political agenda. Limited political support, or a lack of trust between the government and the World Bank, has led to a lack of support in country for some PPAs. In Cameroon, there was a perceived lack of support from the central government, in part because some key policymakers felt excluded from the PPA dialogue. Although the fieldwork was considered to be good quality and the results relevant, the government was not willing to embrace the findings of the PPA or to initially include in the political agenda controversial issues emerging from the PPA.

In general, open political environments provide greater opportunities for building consensus in regard to poverty issues. For example, in

Costa Rica, where there is a tradition of bringing marginal groups into the political sphere, the government was eager to better understand poverty from the perspective of the poor and welcomed the PPA. Similarly, in Argentina, the government requested assistance from the World Bank to undertake participatory research. As a result, a strong level of commitment and coordination existed between the Bank and the government in the preparation of the poverty assessment and the PPA. In contrast, in Mali, because of the sensitivity of the poverty issue, the PPA had to be renamed the Living Conditions Survey and open dialogue on poverty was constrained.

In countries where poverty is highly sensitive, however, not all policymakers will be opponents. Individuals respond to a great many factors, including bureaucratic structures, political stability and support, technical advice, and international actors (see Grindle and Thomas 1991). Some might support the PPA if they perceive it to be for the good of their society, since not all policymakers are just rent seekers. It is good practice to identify and include those who support the idea of the PPA at the beginning of the dialogue and gradually build up broad-based support. Such good practice requires that Bank teams have an in-depth country knowledge of policymakers and that they develop relationships with and understanding of the key players.

The experience with PPAs is showing us that merely presenting to policymakers the results of new information generated through PPAs does not guarantee policy change. As a result, more recent PPAs have also focused on the policymaking process and the political context of policy choice and policy change.

Creating an Environment Conducive to Poverty Dialogue

Without government support, or even with limited support, the impact of the PPA is lessened. Because the ultimate objective is to influence policy rather than just produce technically sound documents, the value of conducting a PPA with little government support should be questioned. With limited support, a key issue will be what happens when the research results run counter to the government's interest. Thus, dialogue is needed to build trust and understanding between the Bank and the government before the PPA is undertaken. Generating a more open climate can help ensure that the government is less threatened by the PPA results and that the PPA thus will have greater impact.

The participatory process will vary greatly from country to country, and the inclusion of different stakeholders within the PPA and poverty assessment should be attuned to the country's overall political, social, economic, and institutional environment. In this kind of highly context-

specific work, it is not possible to provide a blueprint; personal judgment is required. In some countries it might be appropriate to include a cross-section of stakeholders rather than targeting only a few policymakers. In South Africa, for example, the unexpected closure of the South African Reconstruction and Development Office meant that the initial strategy of focusing on one particular department was rendered inadequate (see May and Attwood 1996).

Maintaining a receptive attitude is not easy in a dynamic environment, where unexpected conflict often occurs and agendas and people change. Continuous follow-up and dialogue with various stakeholders are therefore recommended. This approach requires a shift from top-down prescription to a more flexible process approach, with local dialogue being maintained in country. The challenge for many PPAs, and for the Bank's wider country programs, is to maintain the new partnerships created through such dialogue.

Who Owns and Controls the Research Agenda and Outcome of the PPA?

At the national level, ownership and commitment of stakeholders have varied among the PPAs. The Bank's experience has shown that the involvement of key policymakers from the beginning enhances ownership and commitment. Where appropriate, the following measures can help to increase policy impact:

- Involve policymakers in the early planning of the PPA
- Bring key policymakers into the field to participate in the PPA
- When sharing a report with government policymakers, include local communities who contributed their analysis
- After the results are presented, convene workshops with policymakers and local people
- Negotiate high-level commitment to follow up the PPA and monitor the implementation of key recommendations.

In Argentina and Zambia, key government officials were included from the beginning and often led the process. As NGOs and other stakeholders were gradually included, the room for dialogue on poverty increased. This approach led to greater understanding and trust between the government and the NGOs. In South Africa, stakeholder involvement from the beginning was a time-consuming but important step in a complex process of dialogue, with a high level of ownership and commitment evident. In contrast, in Togo and Cameroon, key policymakers were not included early in the process and, therefore, the PPA's impact

has been limited. Similarly, in Lesotho, the government was initially not included and there was limited ownership. Local ownership was created only when the action plan was formulated by the government with a cross-section of stakeholders.

In regard to control, Owen (1996), in his analysis of the PPA in Mozambique, discusses the difficulty of satisfying the demands of multiple stakeholders. He asks, "Whose PPA is this?" Diverse and sometimes conflicting demands have the potential to undermine the participatory nature of the PPA, with the institutions that control the process wanting to produce documents according to predetermined deadlines and documents that represent their point of view. Owen further points out that where control has been relinquished there may be a tradeoff between ownership and quality. Box 11 discusses the complexity of achieving ownership even where a participatory process has been adopted.

Control and ownership of the PPA are also linked with the government's ability to negotiate with the World Bank. Generally, if donors adopt a top-down approach to assisting in policy formulation, there will be limited ownership and commitment on the part of the government. Several government officials in Guatemala felt excluded from the PPA process, and relations between the Bank and the university that undertook the PPA were weak and antagonistic. Ownership of and commitment to the PPA results were, therefore, limited until the university published an independent document on poverty in the country, without any World Bank input.

Although the information from PPAs might be relevant and result in changes to policy documents, without ownership there will be no long-term shifts in attitude. It is recommended that for greater ownership, the research agenda should not be determined solely in Washington. Those who influence policy in country should be part of the discussion. This process might take much longer than anticipated, so the PPA design should be flexible to accommodate unexpected delays. Delays become more likely as more stakeholders become involved, and it is not always possible to predict how or even if consensus will be achieved (see box 12).

Strengthening the Policy Delivery Framework

Policy change is not just about writing a new policy document—it is also about implementing that policy. To link policy formulation to implementation, good practice is to focus on the following:

- Increasing in-country capacity for ongoing research
- Creating channels for ongoing dialogue among a cross-section of stakeholders

- Opening up a process of continual negotiation on the political agenda, in which the views of the poor are taken into account
- Maintaining partnerships.

Box 11. Handing Over the Document Does Not Equal Ownership

Zambia: There was extensive dialogue with a cross-section of stakeholders in the Zambian poverty assessment and PPA and, as a consequence, there was a strong and widely shared feeling of ownership of the process and the action plan. The Zambians drafted the recommendations section of the poverty assessment. However, in discussions with the local research team in Zambia,^a one government official asked about the PPA:

What is there on this document's cover to show that it is owned by the government? There is no coat of arms or government logo, no preface by any government official.

An NGO representative added,

The World Bank calls a national workshop at Mulungushi International Conference Center, introduces the poverty assessment, and hands over the ownership of the poverty assessment to the Permanent Secretary chairing the workshop. Just like that and the Bank thinks it has resolved the ownership issue.

It had been clearly stated and widely understood from the beginning that the poverty assessment was a Bank document. Although one objective is government ownership, it might not be appropriate to expect some governments to feel ownership of documents that were initiated in Washington and carry the World Bank logo. Some governments might not even want ownership, but might want the document to remain identified as a Bank document in order to promote an independent assessment. However, in other cases it might be appropriate for the Bank and the government to publish a joint document.

South Africa: The PPA included key policymakers from the beginning and ownership gradually developed among high level stakeholders. For example, the cabinet met twice to discuss the PPA. The first meeting took two hours and was chaired by Thabo Mbeki, the Deputy President of South Africa.

^aFor this study, a local research team was contracted to review the process and impact of the PPA. For a full report, see Mutesa and Muyakwa (1997).

Box 12. Participation Is More Than Holding Workshops

Pakistan: The poverty assessment was the first economic-sector work in Pakistan to be widely disseminated and discussed. The workshops were followed by many positive press reports and increased awareness of poverty issues. The process helped encourage the government to form a group specifically to look at poverty issues.

There was a general feeling that the poverty assessment was a good analysis but that it was too narrow because it used only the consumption measurement of poverty. How to measure poverty was the subject of extensive debate. Government officials and NGOs felt that the main message from the assessment was that poverty in Pakistan had declined. This was disputed by some Pakistani economists, who stated that different measurements would produce different results, and by NGOs that had extensive countrywide experience.

Stakeholder views had been expressed in various workshops for the poverty assessment but many felt these views had not been adequately reflected in the final document. As a consequence, some commented that the assessment was the Bank's "justification for structural adjustment" and challenged its objectives. One senior government official had attended many workshops but felt that his extensive participation during the workshops and written comments had not been considered. The question was raised about which institution controlled the research agenda and outcome of the poverty assessment.

The main message from this experience is that participating in workshops is not the end of a process of participation. A final consensus might not be feasible, so differing views should be reflected in the final document. Furthermore, if people's views are not included, that should be explained. A recommendation is that PPA and poverty assessment managers should know how to organize workshops and do appropriate follow-up, including incorporating the views of all participants in the research results where possible, or at least the main themes emerging from the research. The quality and follow-up of workshops will affect both the impact of the PPA and the relationship among participating stakeholders.

In most countries, it will be important to build a constituency for reform beyond the government because societies are becoming increasingly pluralistic and change often depends on a variety of partnerships. The role of other international donors, which have the power to influence national policy, should also be considered. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is currently undertaking poverty analysis in some countries using participatory methods. In Togo, the UNDP was a partner in the PPA exercise, and its resident mission continues to promote participatory analysis. In Ecuador, UNICEF used PPA methodologies to evaluate the impact of its program.

Some PPAs have been carried out in partnership with institutions that specialize in social research (universities, networks of social scientists, etc.). Such partnerships help to increase the capacity of such institutions while avoiding the duplication of research and helping to ensure that PPAs become part of the body of social knowledge.

The process of policy implementation often alters intended policies. It is, therefore, important to understand the linkages between intention (policy) and outcome (implementation), and identify and include those who will implement policy in the policy dialogue. Administrators at the central and local levels must be included in the PPA. To increase understanding of the various research approaches, it is also crucial to include statisticians from line ministries. For example, in Kenya, the Central Bureau of Statistics assisted in coordinating the PPA.

Because governments and donors have traditionally focused on sectors as opposed to cross-cutting themes, it might be difficult to place participatory research results within one institution. A recommendation is to identify an institution in country where such data could be analyzed, coordinated, and disseminated. Many countries have collected great quantities of participatory data but lack follow-up and coordination. Finding an entry point for participatory research results might encourage more continuous research by a cross-section of institutions, thus contributing to broadening the policy dialogue and eventually to an increased government and Bank commitment to poverty alleviation.

See box 13 for a summary of this section.

At the Community Level: Including the Poor

This section analyzes how to undertake participatory research at the community level, focusing on good practice to achieve credibility and legitimacy of the PPA. The section is divided as follows: research teams, management of research teams, and research process.

Research Teams

Composition

The composition of the research team working at the community level is usually context specific. In general, men and women should be equally represented, and familiarity with local culture, especially a knowledge of local languages, is essential. In Zambia, for example, the research team comprised one manager (male), and five male and four female facilitators of mixed ages and ethnicity. This team then split into mixed gender groups of three to four researchers and spent two to three days in each community. In Tanzania, 35 researchers split into teams of five or six and worked in six different provinces.

Box 13. Factors to Consider at the National Level to Increase the Impact of PPAs

Understand the political environment

- Secure support from the beginning; government leads the process.
- Undertake the PPA only after potential political implications have been thought through.
- Use the institutional, formal, personal, and informal structures and networks, and understand the impact they have on policymakers. This requires Bank teams to have an in-depth knowledge of the country.

Create a conducive policy environment, if possible

- Question the value of conducting a PPA for which there is limited government support.
- Build dialogue to create a more open climate, so that governments feel less threatened by the resulting data.
- Maintain a policy dialogue through continuous follow-up with various stakeholders.
- Attune stakeholder involvement to the overall political, social, economic, and institutional environment in country. There is no blueprint approach to the timing of stakeholder inclusion in the policy dialogue.

Promote ownership

- Include key policymakers from the beginning. Develop relationships with and understanding of the key players.
- Include key policymakers and administrators in designing, planning, and implementing the PPA and analyzing the results.
- Consider publishing PPA results as a government document where possible. Data should be government owned.
- Know how to organize workshops with appropriate follow-up. Workshops are not the end of a process of participation. Final consensus might not be achieved, so the documents should reflect the differing views. If people's views are not included, that should be explained. The quality and follow-up of workshops will affect the impact of the PPA and the relationship among participating stakeholders.
- Use PPAs to contribute to the development of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers by including the poor in the consultation process, providing data for poverty analysis, and where the PPA is an ongoing process, building country capacity to monitor poverty.

Strengthen the policy delivery framework

- Identify a credible institution in which participatory research could be analyzed, coordinated, and disseminated. Investigate provincial capacities.
- Work with institutions (universities, networks of social scientists, and the like) already undertaking social research to ensure that research is not duplicated and the PPA becomes part of the body of social knowledge.

Preparation

Teams should be well prepared before going to research sites. PPA experience has shown that even where teams are experienced in participatory methods, at least two weeks of training are required to discuss the complexities of undertaking national-level policy analysis; match participatory tools with the research agenda; decide on methods of recording and reporting; create an initial framework for analysis of results; build up a team spirit; and discuss attitudes and behavior. Compromising on training time leads to poor-quality research. Teams should also be aware of major policies linked to the research agenda before going to communities.

Skills

The skill and role of facilitators become increasingly important to achieving credibility when participatory exercises are extended from the project level to the national level for large PPAs. The speed of scaling up, often to fit with donor agendas, has often led to compromises on the quality of research. If the facilitation of participatory methods is poor, data could be biased, vulnerable groups excluded, and outcomes inaccurately analyzed. This bad practice has hurt the credibility of participatory methods. Good-quality work requires a combination of factors, including a good attitude, technical skills, and experience on the part of the facilitator.

In Mexico, it was difficult to find a suitable national consultant who was not politically affiliated to coordinate the PPA. In addition, controlling the process of gathering information proved problematic because the teams attempted to follow their own agenda. In Togo, the teams in the field had limited skills to analyze the results. In Mozambique, in an internal evaluation of the preliminary research phase, it was concluded that teams were too unfamiliar with the communities to develop trust, and some were not able to apply the methods effectively.

The major question now emerging is how to integrate the diverse data sets into a comprehensive analysis of poverty. Some have also argued that integration could be relevant at the data collection stage (see Chung 2000; Ravallion 1996). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research using the same teams has implications for the types of skills required by research teams. Whereas questionnaire surveys require enumerators, participatory research requires facilitators who have a completely different set of skills, behaviors, and attitudes. Therefore, although it might not be feasible to expect a team of enumerators to conduct credible participatory research, different teams could be used for different research techniques (for example, PPAs in India [Uttar Pradesh and Bihar] and Kenya).

Management of Research Teams

A key issue for good-quality participatory research that is emerging from this study is how to effectively manage research teams. Two major concerns require further investigation:

Diverse team structure

Most PPA research teams have been selected to represent the major groups in society. In Tajikistan, where participatory research was undertaken to support a World Bank poverty alleviation program, team members were selected to reflect the composition of Tajik society. The team consisted of men and women of all ages (college students, middle-aged people, elders) and education levels (from village schoolteachers to doctors and academics), from rural and urban areas, and from all major ethnic groups. The objective was to design a team that was not biased toward any one subgroup, especially the more educated urban elite.

During debriefing sessions and informal discussions with fieldworkers, the research manager was able to gather a great deal of information as long as she did not show preferential treatment toward any group. This meant breaking some social rules in Tajikistan by making room for the less-educated rural woman to voice her opinion. However, it also meant creating opportunities for the elder male to represent the team in meetings with local officials. The manager stated, "While on the whole this choice had positive results for the team, participation practitioners need to be aware that this minisociety is not necessarily easy to manage."²

Certain members of the team tried to control the discussions based on their societal role. In Tajikistan, social hierarchies are designed along education, age, and gender lines. There is also a hierarchy among regional ethnic groups and among castes within some groups. The manager noted that although she was able to supervise and effectively manage the debriefing sessions, the dominant people were able to take over the report writing, which was done in separate groups.

Psychological toll of poverty research

Another challenge is managing the psychological toll of poverty research. PPAs, which are based on the premise of seeing poverty from the point of view of the poor, might expose fieldworkers to some degree of trauma for which they are not prepared. In Tajikistan, although the fieldworkers had been involved in surveys and other studies, most of them lived in the capital and had little information about the depth of poverty in the regions. The manager stated that as fieldwork progressed into its second week, some fieldworkers broke down as they described their day's work. In Equatorial Guinea, as well, the poverty was more

severe than expected and in this case also, fieldworkers broke down during debriefing sessions. The outcome is often that fieldworkers feel depleted emotionally and physically, which could affect the quality of their analysis.

Research Process

Selection of an institution

Identifying an appropriate institution to undertake the research can be difficult. Local knowledge of credible, neutral institutions is required. In general, PPAs have been more successful when the selected institution has some existing capacity to undertake participatory research; for example, a research institute, NGO, or social science network. However, some organizations claim to have experience in participatory research but do not have the capacity to undertake good-quality research, thereby compromising the credibility of the PPA.

To increase credibility, it might be appropriate to use an existing NGO network, where there is often a wealth of knowledge and skills. The advantages of using these networks, as opposed to training new teams, are as follows:

- Many NGOs have already established trust with communities and undertaken participatory research.
- The results could be followed up by the NGOs working in the communities, thereby ensuring that the research is not purely extractive. The limitation here is that the research results would be biased toward communities where the NGO has already had some impact, and the poorest communities might not be included.
- The PPA research could help to strengthen the capacity of existing NGO networks.
- Information could be collected by NGOs over time, and links established between the NGOs, policymakers, and statistical departments.

It should be noted, however, that few NGOs have the skills and capacity to undertake good-quality research on a large scale and that some NGOs may have sector biases.

Raising expectations

The research process in some PPAs has been viewed as exploitative because it takes the community's time, raises expectations, and undermines self-reliance. Facilitators should, therefore, clearly state the objective of their visit. An example of bad practice is producing community wish lists instead of analyzing the community's needs. Furthermore, if the agency then funds the priority identified on the wish list without community participation and capacity building, dependence on the

outside organization increases, community self-reliance is undermined, and false expectations are raised.

PPA researchers in Pakistan, Mozambique, and Zambia reported that some communities expressed hostility toward the research teams, especially where there was extensive research with limited follow-up. In Armenia and Moldova, communities expressed frustration and anxiety over being involved with many research exercises with no improvement in their situation. In these countries, the fieldworkers also reacted with frustration and some accused the participants of complaining rather than doing and being stuck in old ways. The manager of these assessments suggested that the fieldworkers were reflecting the frustration of the participants.

Time spent in communities

In many communities, it is easier and quicker to interact with the local elite, thereby missing the poorest (who are often less articulate, over-worked, and unable to attend meetings) and women (who do not often leave their homes and are used to being excluded). To overcome this limitation, facilitators need to be aware of the power relations in the community and the composition of the community as a whole. Some PPAs have rushed the research process in order to meet deadlines, often leaving out the poorest and those on the periphery.

The difficulty of undertaking participatory research in urban areas has been an issue in many PPAs (see Norton 1994) where more time and flexibility are required than in rural areas. For example, Moser and Holland (1996) highlight the issue in Jamaica of confidentiality in wealth ranking and fear of being identified as part of the research because of safety. In the urban areas in Zambia, it was difficult to identify social groups, and people were occupied and not willing to participate. In other urban areas there might be a question of safety for the research teams, especially for women researchers, as was the case in Costa Rica and Zambia.

Tools

There is a widely held belief that for participatory research to be more accurate, the tools and techniques should be standardized. However, flexibility can be strength, for the approach, tools, and techniques will vary depending on the community. But in some circumstances it is possible to use certain standardized participatory methods on a wide scale to generate numeric information. Beneficiary assessments have quantified results based on a sampling frame, as in Costa Rica and Madagascar. The UNDP's PPA in Bangladesh used standardized methods for focus discussion groups and the identification of priorities (see UNDP 1996). The utilization survey conducted by Action Aid in Syndhupal-

chowk, Nepal, used participatory mapping in more than 130 villages to generate service utilization data.³

In some household questionnaire surveys, questions are preset by outsiders and the respondent is not likely to know the interviewer. PPAs that use the participatory rural appraisal tools (visuals and group analysis) typically elicit more accurate responses when

- Institutions conducting the research are known and trusted by the communities
- Group dialogue and analysis encourage people to challenge inaccurate responses
- Data are triangulated (checked with informants and data sources) to test for accuracy and to find areas that need probing
- Researchers and local people learn from the process
- Marginal groups are targeted
- Data are analyzed by the community.

Skilled facilitators are needed to conduct this type of participatory research. Where skills have been lacking, the accuracy of PPA data has suffered.

During the research process, teams can learn from each other in regular meetings where tools and approaches are reviewed and differences between various social groups discussed. Site reports could be compiled as a result of the meetings and later disseminated to communities. Local officials should be included where appropriate and results of the participatory research at the community level shared with them. See box 14 for a summary of this section.

Analysis and Synthesis: Combining PPAs with Household Survey Data

In the past, poverty analysis was dominated by quantitative data derived from nationally representative household surveys. Since the beginning of the 1990s, participatory research has been increasingly used to define poverty and influence policy. The need to combine participatory research with household survey data is now more accepted, as illustrated in recent literature. However, at the operational level, household survey data are used more extensively in poverty analysis and are still seen to be more credible than data from PPAs. This section discusses some of the strengths and weaknesses of the most important surveys now used in poverty analysis, focusing mainly on household surveys and PPAs; and highlights some of the tensions that have arisen from attempting to combine these data sets.

Box 14. Factors to Consider at the Community Level to Increase the Impact of PPAs

Research teams

- Develop trust between the research teams and communities.
- Be aware of bad practice in participatory rural appraisals (PRAs). Facilitators need experience, skills in applying the tools, and the ability to hand over control.
- Training of teams takes at least two weeks to discuss the complexities of undertaking national-level policy analysis; match participatory tools with the research agenda; decide on methods of recording and reporting; create an initial framework for analysis of results; build up a team spirit; and discuss attitudes and behavior. Experience has shown that compromising on training time leads to poor-quality research.
- Be aware of major policies linked to the research agenda before going to communities.

Management of research teams

- Be aware of the difficulties in managing diverse research teams that often represent different ages, genders, and ethnic groups.
- Be aware that research teams working with poor communities may experience some degree of trauma for which they are not prepared. Managers should understand that this outcome is possible. This is an emerging issue, and more training is required for both field researchers and managers to find ways in which such outcomes can be better managed.

Research process

- Share information with communities on an ongoing basis.
- Do not undermine community self-reliance.
- Be aware of respondent fatigue and raising expectations. Many communities—especially those accessible from major cities—are the subject of excessive research.
- Review existing data and material pertaining to the area before initiating any study.
- Identify credible, not just experienced, institutions to undertake research. Use existing NGO networks where appropriate to promote follow-up.
- Allow for more flexibility in urban than in rural areas.
- Link results of PPA with other institutions for follow-up.
- Write clear site reports to disseminate to communities.
- Recognize the limitations of the PPA. Participatory poverty research is not a methodology for empowerment.

Methodologies

- Adapt the methodologies to the research agenda.
- Use PRA for greater community-level analysis and ownership. Be aware of the dangers of rapidly scaling up PRA methods, which can undermine the quality of the research.
- Avoid biases—triangulate data.
- Quantify and record the number of people involved in the participatory research.

Analysis and synthesis

- Understand the difficulties of drawing macro conclusions from micro analysis.
- Present clear policy messages—do not present everything

Background to Household Surveys

World Bank poverty assessments have used different types of household surveys since underpinning all poverty statistical analysis is a need for a wide variety of data. Table 8 provides a summary of the main household survey types.

Typically, a national household income or expenditure survey, or a multipurpose Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS), is undertaken to provide basic information on the patterns of poverty. A number of countries have based their poverty analysis almost exclusively on national income and expenditure surveys. It is now widely recognized that this approach is one-dimensional, and where possible, these data are supplemented with other data from such sources as demographic and health surveys. In order to have a single survey cover a range of topics, multитopic surveys were developed. In Africa, a common form of multitopic survey has been the Priority Survey—a single-visit survey that includes household consumption estimates.

The most comprehensive and ambitious multitopic survey is the LSMS. Many World Bank poverty assessments use data collected through the LSMS. Data are collected by an enumerator who typically makes two household visits, each usually lasting three to four hours. The Priority Survey is similar to the LSMS but has a shorter questionnaire and usually covers a larger sample of households—8,000 as compared to the 2,000 to 5,000 covered by the LSMS (Carvalho and White 1997). The first LSMS in a country can take between 18 and 36 months and costs between US\$500,000 and US\$1 million.

More recently, the World Bank has been developing the Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ).⁴ The CWIQ is a household survey

Table 8. Summary of Household Survey Types

<i>Household survey</i>	<i>Advantage</i>	<i>Limitation</i>
Multitopic surveys (for example, LSMS and Priority Survey)	Measurement and analysis of different poverty dimensions, their inter-relationships and correlates	Time-intensive collection and analysis
Demographic and health surveys	Health-poverty measurement, health behavior analyses, basic poverty diagnostics	Measurement of other dimensions of poverty limited, diagnostics limited
Employment surveys	Analysis of employment patterns, wage income analysis (linked to education)	Limited use for poverty measurement and diagnostics
Single-topic surveys	Income-poverty measurement (or another single dimension)	Limited diagnostics possible
Rapid monitoring surveys and service satisfaction surveys (for example, Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire)	Quick and cost-effective monitoring of key welfare indicators, often with a focus on measuring beneficiaries' access to, use of, and satisfaction with services	Income-poverty measurement not possible, limited diagnostics

Source: Adapted from the World Bank *Poverty Reduction Strategy Sourcebook* (2000, p. 43) at the following address: <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies/chapters/data/data.htm>.

that uses structured questionnaires and probability-based samples. It draws extensively from market research methodologies. It is used mainly to monitor development objectives through the use of leading indicators such as beneficiaries' access to, use of, and satisfaction with services. The CWIQ is based on large samples (in Ghana, the sample was 15,000 households), short questionnaires, easy data collection, quick data entry and validation, simple reporting, and fixed core and flexible modules. The CWIQ, by virtue of its streamlined format, can yield results more quickly than other household surveys.

The World Bank is planning to pilot, in Tanzania, a Community Service Delivery Survey, which combines a simple household survey based on the CWIQ model with a participative needs assessment survey. The main objective will be to monitor the delivery of local government services. The survey will be facilitated by local government and filled in by communities. The idea will be to aggregate the results for each district and then present them to communities so that they are able to compare their village's services with those of others in their district.

Key Differences and Similarities of Household Surveys and PPAs

Table 9 compares the kinds of data collected by household surveys and PPAs, as well as differences in collection, analysis, and synthesis of data.

The different survey approaches have evolved from different traditions. Whereas household surveys determine one reality and attempt to predict behaviors by testing hypotheses (positivist tradition), PPAs seek diversity and present what can sometimes be uncomfortable results reflecting many realities of a diverse and unpredictable environment (post-positivist or constructivist). Unlike household surveys, which collect statistical data on the extent of poverty through standardized methods and rules, PPAs focus on processes and explanations of poverty as defined by individuals and communities within an evolving, flexible, and open framework. Participatory research is more open-ended and interactive. Rather than looking for statistically significant relationships to explain behavior, it emphasizes multiple realities and divergence. Thus, it is important to be clear about which paradigm informs and guides the researcher's approach (Guba and Lincoln 1996).

Traditional survey data can be used to count, compare, and predict. The strength of the PPA is not in counting but rather in understanding the hidden dimensions of poverty and analyzing processes by which people fall into and get out of poverty. PPAs also seek diversity and recognize that behavior is difficult to predict; moreover, comparisons are often not possible in a dynamic situation. Booth and others (1998) make a distinction between contextual methods (for example, PPAs) that aim to capture social phenomena within their social, cultural, economic, and political context, and noncontextual methods (for example, household surveys) that are designed to collect information that is untainted by the context.

Quantitative and qualitative

There has been a tendency to see a dichotomy between traditional household surveys, which are considered quantitative and objective, and PPAs, which are considered qualitative and subjective. In practice, however, these divisions are not as clear and are often misleading, since subjective questions are increasingly being used in traditional surveys and many PPAs contain quantified information and analysis. Further, there is a qualitative dimension to traditional survey work. In household surveys, for example, interviewers and analysts will interpret informants' answers subjectively. In the best poverty analysis, the two merge into one integrated analysis (for example, the World Bank's poverty assessments for Armenia and Zambia, and the Ugandan government's 1999 *Poverty Status Report*). For clarification, methods and data should

Table 9. Characteristics of Household Surveys and PPAs

<i>Household survey</i>	<i>PPA</i>
Deductive	Inductive
One reality	Multiple realities
Representative sampling	Purposive sampling
More breadth	More depth
Structured interviews are used to collect data	Semistructured interviews, focus group discussions, and participatory visual exercises are used to collect data
Noncontextual methods	Contextual methods
Collects both quantitative and qualitative data	Collects both quantitative and qualitative data
Seeks statistically significant relationships	Looks for meaningful patterns; identifies causality and explains statistical correlation
Less rapid: can take 18–36 months to complete	More rapid: can take 6–9 months to complete
Methods drive the questions	Questions drive the selection of participatory methods used
Outcome oriented	Process oriented
Household as primary unit of analysis	Intrahousehold relations, social groups, and community as the primary units of analysis

be clearly separated. For example, PPAs are a contextual method that collect quantitative and qualitative data, and household surveys are a noncontextual method that produce quantified data (see Hentschel 1999 and Booth and others 1998).

Types of data collected

Neither household surveys nor PPAs are more accurate than the other, since each produces different types of data, fulfilling different informational requirements and illuminating various dimensions of poverty and what it means. While household surveys can provide information on the extent of poverty, PPAs provide explanations, shed light on complexities, and identify the priorities of the poor, making possible new levels of analysis. A PPA alone will not give the whole picture; neither will a household survey. Household surveys often interview only the head of household (usually a man). PPAs typically gather information on intrahousehold issues from more than one perspective, and also

explore interhousehold and community-level social issues in addition to gathering household data. The accuracy of a method should also be judged by the extent to which it yields fruitful answers to the questions being asked. Further, a technically accurate method can be inappropriate if it is not the best and/or most feasible way to answer a given question.

Quality of collection and analysis

It is now more widely recognized that scaling-up (carrying out larger-scale research beyond individual communities) of participatory techniques has led to the quality of information being compromised. Likewise, household surveys have been criticized for manipulating data and producing misleading results—that is, that which is measured in household surveys is all that matters. What is measured is usually determined by outsiders who may have limited knowledge of local people's realities. Chambers (forthcoming) states that there is a need for codes of behavior when analyzing participatory research. He adds that it is necessary to repeatedly examine how information and knowledge are generated. "This means critically straining for honest reflection on how one's own ego, mindset, institutional context, and social and political interests combine to select and shape both personal knowledge and the form it is given when passed on to others." A further limitation of both household surveys and PPAs is respondent fatigue—many respondents have complained about the demands on their time.

For PPAs, research teams should begin to analyze information during the research process. However, analysis and synthesis require highly trained teams to ensure that the results are valid. In South Africa, a two-day workshop on report writing was convened for the PPA researchers, and card sorting techniques were used with the communities to analyze the material and determine categories for the reports. Policymakers could be involved at this early stage of analysis to better understand the process. Quick and early feedback to key individuals could help policymakers understand the preliminary findings and feel some early ownership before the final report is issued. Some PPAs have collected valuable information, but not all of it has been useful to policymakers. PPAs should try to achieve "optimal ignorance"⁵ (Chambers 1993), so that information is collected only on issues relevant to policymaking. Careful selection of methods that link to the identified research issues is required. In Mozambique, the PPA presented too much information to policymakers. This was the result of a lack of coordination between the research agenda and methods applied in the field, as well as the reporting style of the coordinating institution. PPAs have achieved less credibility when the results have been too broad, too obvious, or too complex for policy use.

Influence of knowledge and power

In the process of data collection, analysis, and synthesis, the key question is, Who controls the selection of data used to influence policy? The handling of data is often determined by power relations, and power influences the construction and use of knowledge. As Chambers (forthcoming) states, "It is that power forms and frames knowledge and that interpersonal power distorts what is learnt and expressed." In most traditional surveys, control remains in the hands of those outside the community, especially in

- Designing the questionnaire, which is inflexible and based on what policymakers want to know. Questions are generated in the capital city, reflecting the researchers' bias.
- Asking the questions, with control remaining with the interviewer, and respondents often feeling inhibited by power differentials (especially between educated enumerator with paper and pen and illiterate respondent; male enumerator and female respondent; urban enumerator and rural respondent). Respondents frequently react to such power relations by telling the enumerators what they want to hear.
- Analyzing the data, which remains outside the community, as does control of its publication.

Once results are accepted, they are repeated and consequently widely believed. Chambers (1997) notes, "To this day, the extent to which survey results are socially and personally constructed remains under-researched, under-reported and under-recognized" (p. 95).

Participatory research is undertaken by facilitators using a diverse set of participatory tools determined by the research agenda and local context. Enabling the poor to participate leads to a reversal in the relationship between the community and the outsider that is implicit in traditional surveys. Facilitators of participatory research need different skills and behavior, including listening to and respecting the expertise of participants, building trust, handing over control, and allowing the community to define the poverty issues that matter. The poor are viewed as participants or partners in the research process, data are shared with them, and the analysis of research results takes place within the community. The poor thus have more control over the research process, and their capacity to appraise, analyze, plan, and act is recognized.

However, even though the analysis of PPAs is controlled by communities to some extent, when this information is translated into macro policy messages and results are aggregated, local people may lose the control and results may not be fed back to communities for comment

and verification. Complex and detailed community-level information is valuable for both project design and policy formulation. However, inaccuracies sometimes arise from extrapolating to the national level for policymaking as information becomes too generalized and the context ignored (see Attwood, 1996 for a case study in South Africa of this issue).

Criteria for measuring robustness

It is recognized that there is a need to strengthen the rigor and thus the quality of participatory research. Sample surveys, including the LSMS, are based on the principle that behavior can be measured, aggregated, modeled, and predicted according to statistical measures of reliability or "robustness." One way to test the robustness of PPA data is to add questions to household surveys based on the findings of the PPA. However, many key PPA conclusions may be context specific and it is not always possible for the results to be representative at a national level, standardized, or aggregated. Many PPA practitioners would argue that it is not always desirable to aggregate and generalize. The strength of some PPA data is their diversity and context-specific nature, as priorities vary across different communities/districts/regions.

Guba and Lincoln (1981) argue that traditional criteria for robustness are inappropriate for participatory research and should be defined differently. Moreover, many surveys are judged on sampling error, but Stone and Campbell (1984) contend that there is also a nonsampling error such as "contextual bias" (for example, cultural differences), which surveys do not take into consideration but which influence the robustness of the results.

There is a widely held belief that for participatory research to be more robust, the tools and techniques should be standardized. Flexibility, however, can be a strength, as the approach, tools, and techniques will vary depending on the community. But in some circumstances it is possible to use certain participatory methods on a wide scale to generate quantitative information. Beneficiary assessments have quantified results based on a sampling frame. The UNDP PPA in Bangladesh used standardized focus discussion groups and the identification of priorities. Also in 1991, the Utilization Survey conducted by Action Aid in Syndhupalchowk, Nepal, used participatory mapping in more than 130 villages to generate data about service utilization.⁶ Chambers (1997) argues that relevance is also an important consideration—can the results be used for learning and action?

Bias

In both PPAs and traditional surveys, bias emerges through the interpretation of answers and, most critically, the analysis of results. In par-

ticipatory research, changing the relationship between the outsiders undertaking the research and members of the community is not an easy process. In a few recent PPAs, the outside facilitator remained dominant and community members tended to say what they thought the facilitator wanted to hear. PRA visual exercises can help to reduce such distortions by opening up the discussion and analysis. But some distortions might still exist, because the process of compiling PPA results involves many stages of information filtering (see figure 7). Where PPAs are more closely linked to the policymaking process, it should be recognized that they may not be politically neutral. In household surveys, bias emerges through preset questionnaire designs, the enumerator's interpretation of answers to the preset questions, and analysis of results.

From micro (community level) to macro (policy level)

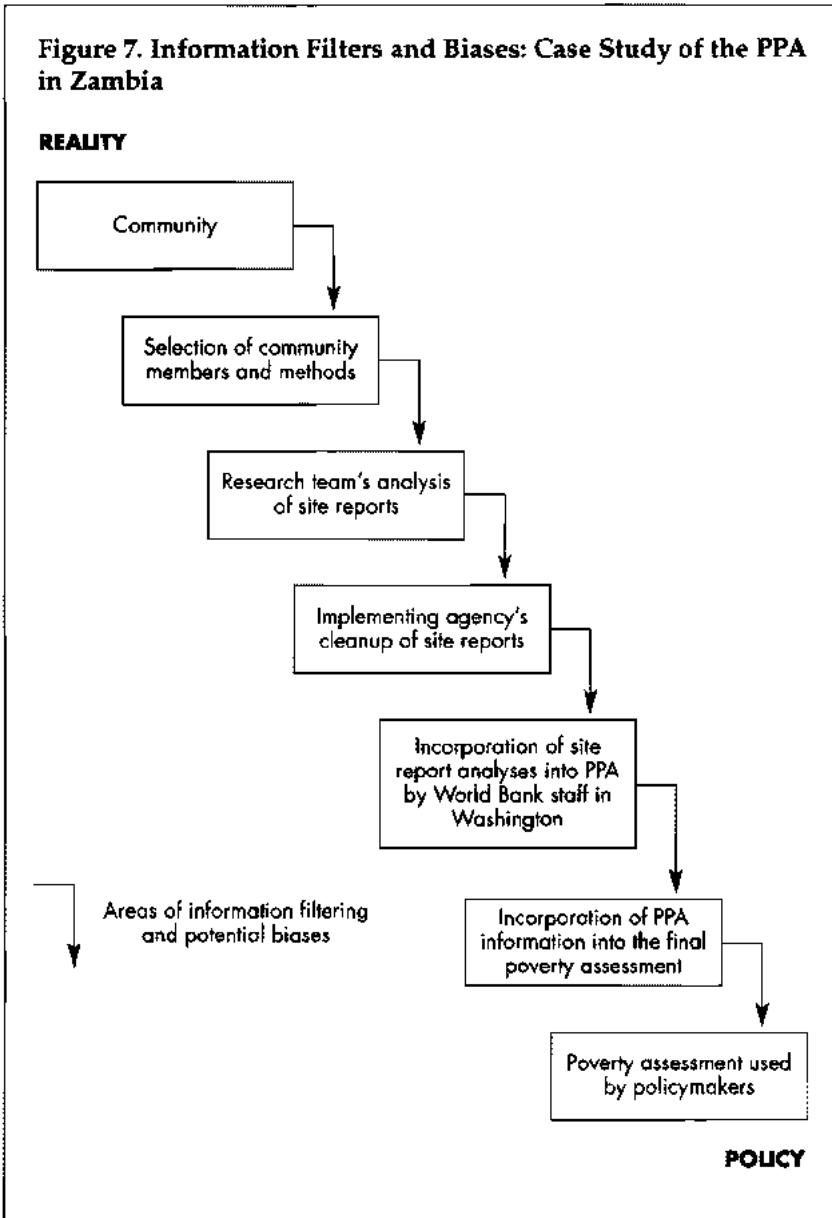
Although community-level PPA information is valuable for project design, inaccuracies sometimes arise in extrapolating from the community level to the national level for purposes of policymaking, as it is not easy to filter and translate complex messages from the local level. These inaccuracies, however, do not always occur. For example, the Zambian PPA used a small number of communities in different parts of the country, and they had certain characteristics that were administratively uniform and climatically similar. School fees had to be paid in December and January all over the country, and these months were stressful for all rural areas. Thus, a simple message was created. The lesson is that different types of conditions need to be better identified, as well as the degree to which they can be generalized for policy purposes.

Combining PPAs with Household Surveys

To ensure that PPA data do not remain an "add on" to the poverty analysis, the surveys should be combined throughout the research process into four stages: design, implementation, analysis and synthesis, and dissemination (see table 10).

Design stage

Trust and understanding should be developed among those who use different approaches to defining research agendas and collecting and analyzing data with the aim of influencing policy. Both survey and participatory assessment practitioners need to understand the limitations of various data sets, appreciate the biases in their own research methods, and know when alternative methods can compensate for some of these limitations. In Zambia, in an attempt to better understand the various approaches to poverty analysis, the government has located



the local NGO research team (Participatory Assessment Group, PAG) at the Central Statistics Office (CSO). PAG is currently undertaking participatory poverty monitoring exercises and combining the results of these exercises with the household survey work of the CSO.

Table 10. Summary of the Ways Data Sets Can Be Combined

<i>When</i>	<i>How</i>
Design stage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build trust and understanding between those undertaking the PPA and the household surveys • Match sample design for PPA and household surveys • Use results of PPA to influence household survey design, and vice versa
Implementation stage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Take policymakers and statisticians to the communities • Include statisticians from central statistics office in the PPA research field teams—this may be appropriate in some countries • Gather perception variables in household surveys
Data analysis and synthesis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triangulate for validation and analysis by comparing PPA and household survey results. To test the robustness of PPA, key results can be included in the more representative household surveys. PPAs can assess the validity and interpretation of household data at the local level • Combine results of the surveys for one set of key policy recommendations
Dissemination stage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feed back main results from both the PPA and household surveys to civil society and communities

The selection of PPA sites can be informed by traditional surveys. For example, in Kenya, the Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS), which was based on a nationally representative sample of some 12,000 households, was used to identify the poorest districts in each of the six provinces. These districts became the center of focus for the PPA. Within each of these districts, two WMS clusters (roughly equivalent to a village) were randomly selected for the PPA, and the WMS survey enumerators most familiar with the selected clusters were then attached to the PPA teams to serve as guides. Thus, the PPA was conducted in a subsample of clusters used for the WMS. In Guatemala, detailed participatory research was conducted in 10 villages that were later included in the LSMS.

Chambers (forthcoming) states that there are important tradeoffs when designing participatory research. These include the following:

scale and representativeness versus quality—the larger the scale the more representative, but the more difficult to assure quality; scale versus timeliness for training, fieldwork and analysis—the larger the

scale, the more time and resources needed for training, fieldwork supervision, and analysis; scale versus resources for follow-up—for a given level of resources, larger scale diminishes scope for follow-up with communities, and for policy-related workshops; standardisation and analysability versus open-endedness and difficulty of analysis; care and comprehensiveness of analysis versus timeliness in influencing policy; the qualifications and nuances of academic standards versus simplified messages for policy influence.

Participatory research and household surveys may be conducted interactively, so that they enhance each other. If a PPA is conducted after the household survey, the results will explain, challenge, reinforce, or shed new light on household survey data. The results of the household survey can also, of course, explain, challenge, or reinforce the PPA (see Carvalho and White 1997; Chung 2000). If the PPA is conducted before the household survey, the PPA results could assist in generating hypotheses, shaping the design of the household survey, and developing survey questions appropriate for the respondents. Ideally, this should be an ongoing process whereby both PPAs and household surveys are conducted periodically and feed into each other (see figure 1). The results of past PPAs indicate that when they are used in conjunction with household surveys, the final assessment is a much fuller analysis of the varying dimensions of poverty, and the policy recommendations are more relevant and informed. The sequencing will be determined by the context in country. In Armenia, for example, the PPA was conducted after the survey work and was able to illuminate areas not covered in the survey, such as reciprocity and kinship networks and the impacts of crime. In Mongolia, the results of the PPA will be used to determine the research agenda of the next LSMS.

Implementation stage

Increase awareness of methods by going to the communities: A key recommendation is for policymakers to go to the field and be involved in the research process, in order to understand the strengths and limitations of different approaches and to gain insight into the reality of poor communities. For example, in Costa Rica, a senior official from the Ministry of Economic Planning went with the research teams to the communities and consequently was better able to appreciate the value and limitations of the PPA.

Composition of PPA teams: In some countries, it may be appropriate to include statisticians from the central statistics office in the PPA field teams. This was done, for example, in Pakistan and Mongolia.

Gather perception variables in household surveys: Household surveys could be used to gather data on perceptions using different approaches,

such as using more open-ended and semistructured questions with a random group of people, or by including subjective questions on welfare. In general, World Bank LSMSs have yet to incorporate such variables. However, the recent LSMS in Guatemala included questions on trust and social organizations.

Analysis and synthesis stage

Comparing survey results: As stated above, Carvalho and White (1997) argue that it is possible to examine, explain, confirm, and/or enrich information from household surveys to PPAs and vice versa. The results from household surveys and PPAs can be triangulated (validated through cross-checking). Apparent conflicts in data can be further researched. To test the robustness of PPAs, key results can be included in the more representative household surveys. PPAs can assess the validity and interpretation of household data at the local level.

However, when one is synthesizing data, it is not always possible to directly compare different data sources. For example, it can be misleading to use aggregated wealth-ranking PPA data from different communities since communities determine the ranking criteria, which will most likely vary from community to community. As a result, comparisons of such PPA data with household survey data are not very meaningful. Some PPAs have attempted to undertake such comparisons. For example, in the Kenya PPA (see Narayan and Nyamwaya 1996), the results of the Poverty Profiles from the Welfare Monitoring Survey (1992) were compared with the PPA. The report concluded that in three of the five districts, the results of the two approaches were almost identical, with a similar percentage of people falling below the conventional poverty line. And in Tanzania, the PPA report noted the similarity of results from two separate surveys: 50.3 percent were identified as poor and very poor by the PPA, while 49.7 percent fell below the poverty line in the Human Resources Development Survey (HRD) (Narayan 1997). It should be stressed that although such comparisons may have value as an indicator for further investigation, these data sets are not directly comparable.

Combining results for policy recommendations: Some countries are beginning to produce a clear set of policy recommendations based on the results of PPA and household survey data (for example, Armenia, Uganda, Zambia, Vietnam).

Dissemination stage

As stated above, one of the principles of participatory research is to feed back the findings to communities. This is rarely done in the case of household surveys. However, in some countries the PPA and household survey data have been integrated into one set of policy recom-

mendations, which have then been discussed with communities for further policy feedback (for example, Uganda).

Mongolia Case Example

Mongolia is a good case example of how a PPA has been combined with the household survey.⁷ The PPA, called the Participatory Living Standards Assessment (PLSA), was the first exercise of its kind in Mongolia to use participatory learning and action methods to broaden and deepen understanding of poverty at the national level. It was conducted by the National Statistical Office (NSO) in 2000 with assistance from the World Bank and other international agencies. It was intended to inform national policy, in part as an essential building block for Mongolia's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. The LSMSs were conducted in 1995 and 1998 and remain the most reliable sources of quantitative data on poverty in Mongolia.

The PLSA is linked to the LSMS in three main ways: (a) research sites for the PLSA were selected to correspond to the 1998 LSMS sites; (b) the results of the PLSA will be used to determine the research agenda for the next LSMS; and (c) capacity was built at the NSO to conduct similar participatory assessments in the future and to promote better integration of data derived from both household surveys and PPAs.

The PLSA aimed to complement and, to the extent possible, update and expand earlier poverty analyses carried out on the basis of the 1995 and 1998 LSMSs, as well as to broaden public discourse on poverty in Mongolia, which has turned largely on distinctions between deserving and undeserving poor. In the past, antipoverty strategies such as the National Poverty Alleviation Program (NPAP) have been conceived as social assistance and formal public safety nets, rather than as public action to enhance the capabilities of poor and vulnerable groups to sustain their own livelihoods. In addition, there has been little understanding of the multiple dimensions, causes, and consequences of impoverishment and vulnerability; of differentiation among the poor and the places they live (implying that very different forms of public action may be required to reach different groups of poor people); of poverty dynamics and distinctions between chronic and transitory poverty; and of how the poor themselves define ill-being and well-being. Although there was some participatory action-research in particular localities throughout Mongolia during the 1990s, and some strengthening of local capacity to carry out such analysis, the PLSA represents the first exercise of its kind to bring these skills to bear on national-level understanding of poverty and the formulation of future antipoverty strategies. It was also the first experience on the part of NSO in applying participatory methodologies in poverty analysis.

Using participatory research methodologies, the PLSA permitted a deeper analysis of certain issues that LSMS and other household survey methodologies are often not well equipped to address, such as poverty dynamics over time, spatial dynamics in livelihood strategies, and processes that affect individuals and communities as well as household units. Headcount data mask the fact that the location of poverty may shift over time through migration, for example; and they disguise complex rural-urban linkages which are themselves dynamic. In the future, a time series survey could also yield data on these issues. Such data could then be integrated with results of the PPA.

The PLSA was designed to ensure a high level of complementarity between existing quantitative data from the LSMS and other surveys, and the new qualitative (and, to a lesser extent, quantitative) data arising from the PLSA. This was achieved in the following ways:

- First, the field research was guided by hypotheses that emerged from an initial desk study of the 1995 and 1998 LSMSs and other surveys.
- Second, the sampling approach (see below) entailed revisiting many of the same clusters that were sampled under the 1998 LSMS.
- Third, an attempt was made to include in the analysis, where possible and relevant, newly analyzed and previously unavailable quantitative data from the 1998 LSMS.
- Fourth, an action plan was prepared to guide further analysis of the 1998 LSMS data by NSO staff, which would assist in deepening the poverty profile when used in conjunction with the PLSA findings.⁸ This action plan dealt with, among other things, the construction of simple household-level asset indexes to complement the analysis of vulnerability.

The selection of provinces (*aimags*), districts (*sums*), and communities that participated in the PLSA was guided by three principles: (a) the need to ensure complementarity and comparability with existing quantitative data; (b) the need to capture as much as possible the diversity in living conditions among rural and urban communities; and (c) the need to balance sample size (number of participating communities) with depth of analysis.

In accordance with these principles, the PLSA followed the broad-level sampling frame used for the 1998 LSMS. At each site, the research teams held focus group discussions with three men's groups, three women's groups, and one youth group, with 7 to 15 people in each group. A total of 220 focus group discussions and 269 individual household interviews were conducted, involving more than 2,000 participants. This sample is of the same order of magnitude as the 1998 LSMS.

Certain logistical factors impeded this ideal sample frame from being followed in all cases, however. In the rural field sites, the considerable distances that research teams had to travel, owing to extremely low population density, presented a significant challenge to gathering together sufficient people for focus group discussions. In Ulaanbaatar, some community members were reluctant to participate when they realized they would receive no payment or other material incentive for doing so. These problems probably led to some degree of sampling error or self-selection bias in some groups.

Within these practical constraints, the sampling of households and individual participants in communities was guided by participatory wealth ranking. Using this technique, focus groups stratified their communities according to locally relevant parameters of different levels of household well-being. The parameters were themselves elicited through the use of the wealth-ranking method. Using the resulting stratification as a sampling frame, individual households (and individuals within them) were then randomly selected within each stratum, to generate a purposive-random sample. This method combined the advantages of purposive sampling, to ensure that the full range of diversity in living standards was represented, with some measure of random sampling.

The PLSA did try to disseminate the results through the media. However, this proved to be difficult, since the media were at that time more occupied with the national elections. The government intends to disseminate the results of the PLSA by publishing a shortened version with the key policy messages.

Box 15 provides a summary of this section.

Box 15. Summary of Emerging Good Practice for Integrating Data Sets

Develop trust and understanding

The starting point is developing an understanding of the different approaches, and trust among those who control research agendas and those who select, collect, and analyze data used to influence policy.

Confront limitations of own data sets

Practitioners need to confront the limitations of various data sets and to appreciate the hidden biases, lack of objectivity, and the like, in their own research methods. It is important to see where alternative methods may address some of these limitations.

Ongoing process of household surveys and PPAs

If the PPA is conducted after the household survey, the results may explain, challenge, or reinforce household survey data. If the PPA is conducted before the household survey, the results of the PPA may assist in generating hypotheses, shape the household survey questionnaire, and design and develop appropriate survey questions that will be understood by the respondent. Household surveys can help define a research agenda for the PPAs. Ideally, this should be an ongoing process whereby both the PPA and household surveys are done intermittently and feed into each other.

Use survey data to select sites for the PPA

Traditional surveys can identify the poorer areas for PPA research.

Increase awareness of methods by going to the communities

A key recommendation is that policymakers go to the field and be involved in the research process, in order to understand the strengths and limitations of different approaches and gain insight into the reality of poor communities.

Institutional context

The existing institutional frameworks, both in country (central statistical offices) and within the World Bank, currently provide an entry point for the quantitative data sets and the link with policy analysis, but this is less so for participatory data. The challenge is how to move from research results to policy analysis by finding an appropriate institutional entry point for various data sets and for longer-term analysis.

Notes

1. Some of the issues highlighted here may be appropriate only for the World Bank. However, the author hopes that other institutions will find the Bank's experience useful.
2. Gomart, E. Personal communication. July 1997. Washington, D.C.
3. See Mukherjee (1995) for other participatory methods being used to generate commensurate data.
4. For the CWIQ website, see <http://www4.worldbank.org/afr/stats/cwiq.cmf>.
5. Chambers (1993) defines "optimal ignorance" as the need not to know everything—the key is to find out as much as you need to know. He states (p. 19) that "it requires experience and imagination to know what is not worth knowing, and self-discipline and courage to abstain from trying to find it out." Cornwall (2000) contributes the concept of "appropriate imprecision," where "there is no need to know everything exactly" (p. 43).
6. See Mukherjee (1995) for other examples of the generation of quantitative data through participatory methods.
7. Details for this case example are adapted from Dulamday, Shah, and Mearns (2001).
8. This work is being used as an input to continuing World Bank and UNDP assistance to enable NSO to strengthen its regular Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES), which will include additional LSMS-type modules in order to rationalize future survey instruments for measuring living standards in Mongolia.

4

Linking PPAs to Poverty Reduction Strategies

The recent introduction of the poverty reduction strategy (PRS) represents a significant shift in development thinking. This chapter explains the background to the development of the PRS.¹ It then shows how the PPA is relevant to the development of the poverty reduction strategy by focusing on four key features of the PRS that benefit from direct consultations with the poor: poverty analysis, consultation during formulation of the strategy, monitoring of implementation, and evaluation of outcomes.

Background to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

During the 1990s, governments and civil society saw an increasing need to change the way that countries develop and implement national poverty reduction strategies. This recognition was based on the fundamental idea that to substantially reduce poverty, it is essential to implement both policies that promote growth, and social policies and sectoral programs that directly improve the living conditions of the poor. This approach and emphasis on policies to reduce poverty were also behind the launch of the enhanced HIPC Initiative at the G7 Summit in Cologne in mid-1999, which made debt relief conditional on the formulation of a poverty reduction framework. The approach responded to the concerns of many civil society organizations, including the Jubilee 2000 international debt campaign.

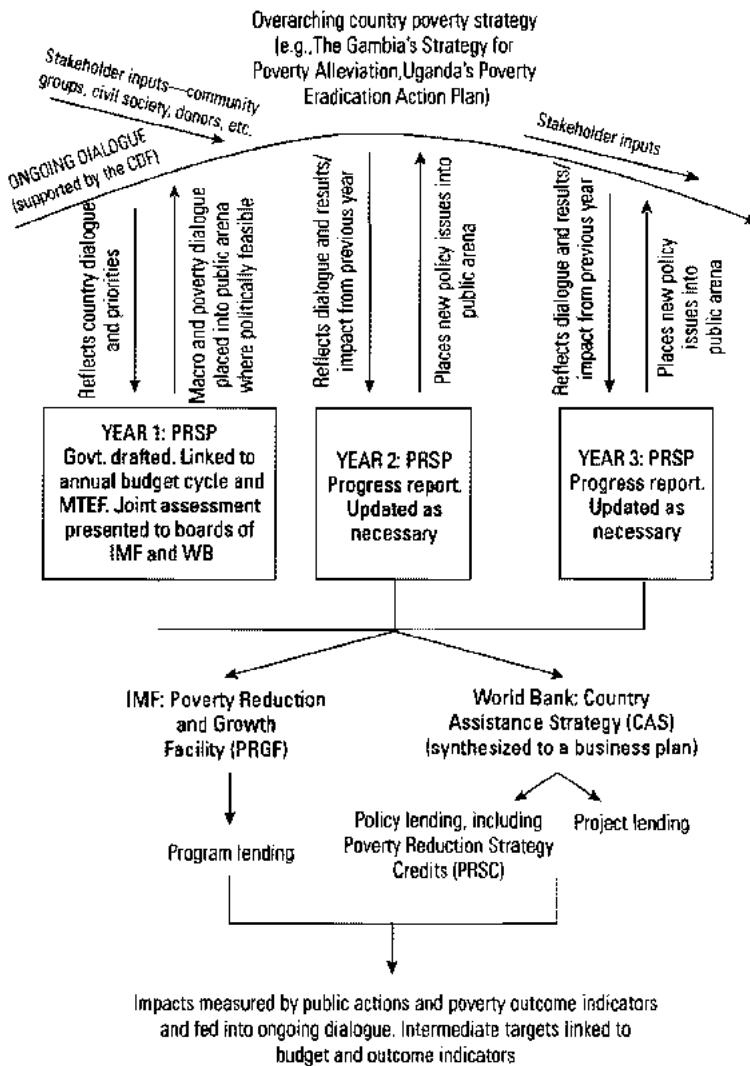
After the East Asian crisis, the World Bank introduced the comprehensive development framework (CDF) 1999, which focused on a more holistic approach to development. The CDF seeks a better balance in policymaking by highlighting the interdependence of all elements of development—social, structural, human, governance, environmental,

economic, and financial. It emphasizes partnerships between governments, donors, civil society, the private sector, and other development actors. Perhaps most important, the country leads the process, both owning and directing the development agenda, with the Bank and other partners each defining their support in their respective country plans.

The CDF and other donor frameworks provided the basis for introducing the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). In September 1999, the World Bank and the IMF agreed to major changes in their operations to help low-income countries achieve sustainable poverty reduction (see box 16). Henceforth, programs supported by the two institutions will be based on country-driven poverty reduction strategies (PRSs), developed in consultation with civil society and summarized in PRSPs. The PRSPs also provide the basis for debt relief under the enhanced HIPC Initiative as well as for all World Bank and IMF concessional lending (see figure 8).²

Box 16. Why PRSPs Are Different

- PRSs are locally generated and owned national strategies formulated through a wide participatory dialogue within government and throughout society. Although participation is now widely accepted at the project level, PRSPs are different because participation is focused at the policymaking level. There is no blueprint for participation—an understanding of the political economy of policy choice and policy change will result in different participation strategies.
- Poverty analysis includes direct consultation with the poor through, for example, a PPA. Including the poor increases the understanding that poverty reduction requires a long-term and multidimensional approach, in which growth is a necessary but insufficient condition for sustained poverty reduction. The PRS focuses on how to target institutional and policy change that will enable poor people to participate in achieving and benefiting from growth.
- Public spending and choices of costed alternative public actions are more closely linked to poverty analysis within a stable macroeconomic environment over a time frame of at least three years.
- The effectiveness of public actions and expenditure plans is monitored through country-determined poverty outcome indicators, which depend on participation to improve accountability in implementation.
- PRSs encourage accountability of governments to their own people and domestic constituencies rather than to external funders; the poor to become active participants, not just passive recipients; and donors to provide more predictable medium-term financial support for domestic budgets.

Figure 8. PRSP Operational Linkages

CDF—Comprehensive development framework

MTEF—Medium-Term Expenditure Framework

PRSP—Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

Civic engagement in the PRS process is important for the following reasons:

- a. Experience has shown that widening consultation in national policymaking can build **ownership** of policies and actions (including both political and administrative commitment).
- b. Participation can also contribute to more **accountable government**. Transparency is increased when the public have a better understanding of government processes; institutions are strengthened and accountable; the poor are more informed about government's commitment to tackling key poverty issues; and governments are held accountable to their domestic constituencies for actual performance.
- c. Building the role and capacity of nonstate institutions through participation can **balance the power of the state**.
- d. In the process of consultation, civil society organizations can provide **specialist and local knowledge** to improve the quality of policy-making. Although not all civil society organizations are representative and some are politically aligned, some genuinely represent the views of poorer citizens and interest groups.
- e. The **poor are empowered** through bringing their analysis, priorities, and voice into the decisionmaking process, thereby making the policy framework more relevant and responsive to their needs.
- f. **Equity and social integration** are promoted through appreciation of varied needs within society (by geographic region, gender, ethnic and age group, and so on). Participation can lead to creating durable, inclusive political systems (which are particularly important in ethnically diverse societies).
- g. **Partnerships** can be built between governments, business, and civil society groups, leading to joint actions to achieve poverty reduction goals.

How to Include the Poor in the PRSP Process: Operational Implications

Preliminary Steps for Consultation in the PRS Process

Participation is a complex political process; thus, several important preliminary steps should be taken in planning a nationwide participatory process. First, understanding the policy environment, the government's degree of openness and its commitment to poverty reduction, is a key starting point. Since political structures can determine

the extent of participation, political obstacles to implementing pro-poor policies should be understood. Second, conduct a stakeholder analysis to identify stakeholders, evaluate their interests and capacities, and determine what type of participatory process will best incorporate their views.

Third, drafting participation action plans can be a useful tool to detail the path for participation, promote discussion and consensus about who should be involved, and provide a basis for monitoring progress. These plans vary from country to country, depending on the political context and the extent of participation the government feels is appropriate. An action plan can define the boundaries of participation and therefore enable the public to have more realistic expectations. In some countries, narrow participation (even only within government) may be more appropriate at the beginning of the process. Initially, all views may not be accepted by government, but even a limited debate can present new knowledge, improve the quality of policymaking, and ultimately broaden the support for policy implementation. Different groups, such as parliament, local government, local representative bodies, civil society organizations, private sector groups, and the poor, can be gradually included in the process at a later stage. The participation action plan should *build on existing elected and democratic bodies and processes* (such as the budget cycle) to strengthen—not undermine—the local electoral process. The ideal process for selecting groups to include in the consultation involves joint decisionmaking by the government and civil society organizations. Transparent decisions about who participates, and when and how, will add legitimacy to the participatory process.

Fourth, key areas for building capacity also need to be identified at the beginning of the process. These include the government's capacity to carry forward a reform process; the capacity of civil society organizations to be increasingly involved in the macroeconomic debate; and the capacity of the judiciary, the legislature, and the media to be more effective. Finally, information about the planned participation process needs to be disseminated at the beginning, within government and to the public, in order to inform civil society of their expected involvement. Such dissemination can be promoted through media involvement, where politically feasible.

Entry Points for Including the Poor in PRSs

There are four key stages in the PRS cycle where PPAs can be a useful tool for reaching the poor and eliciting their views, which can then be incorporated into the PRS.

- a. Poverty analysis. The PRS can incorporate information from the PPA on the multidimensional aspects and causes of poverty.
- b. Formulation and dissemination of the PRSP. The priorities of the poor should be reflected in the goals set forth in the PRSP. This can include the sequencing of public actions, including macroeconomic and structural reforms, the choice of indicators for monitoring implementation of poverty reduction strategies, and budget allocations.
- c. Monitoring the implementation of the PRS. The PPA can provide policymakers with information on the effectiveness and relevance of both poverty reduction strategies and the institutions that implement them, as well as delivery of the budget and quality of services.
- d. Evaluating outcomes of the PRS. Outcomes reported during the PPA should be integrated with other data on outcomes gathered from other sources, and used to inform decisions about whether to change policies and budget allocation.

Below are examples of various *country processes* that may be strengthened by widening government and civic participation.

Participation in poverty analysis

As described in chapter 2, including the poor in the diagnosis of poverty can deepen our understanding of the many dimensions of poverty. One of the key questions in the Joint Staff Assessment Guidelines³ is "whether the poor have been consulted (for example, by conducting a participatory poverty assessment), and how these results have been utilized and combined with household survey data." This highlights the increased importance placed on including PPAs in poverty analysis by the Bank and the Fund.

Participation in macroeconomic policy formulation

National level dialogue can promote a public debate around national policies, strengthen political participation, and support good governance. In many countries formulating PRSs, participation has been organized through convening national and regional workshops (which include locally elected officials, the private sector, unions, and the like), as well as through dialogue with community groups, specialized focus group meetings, media discussions (radio, newspapers), traditional forums (village heads, district chiefs meetings), and direct consultations with the poor through a PPA. Many countries have used existing forums for consultation. For example, in Uganda, the PRSP was discussed at national and regional meetings originally convened to promote

members of parliament's involvement in the budgeting process. In Tanzania, PRSP discussions are linked to the participatory public expenditure review process.

Consultation in formulating the PRS presents an opportunity for the public to engage in new areas that previously were not always in the public domain, such as the poverty and distributional impacts of reforms; environmental impacts of reforms; and links between growth and poverty, including issues of equity. Where possible, such assessments can use multiple data sources, including PPAs. The information could help inform an assessment of alternative policy options and appropriate sequencing. Both before and after assessments are useful for policymakers and civil society when they discuss alternative reforms and sequencing in light of the potential impacts on various vulnerable groups.

In many countries, the capacity to have a dialogue on such issues remains limited. Uganda is the exception. The Ugandan Debt Network, one of the groups representing civil society on the Drafting Committee of Uganda's PRSP, debates these issues. Further, the information in Uganda's PRSP stimulated some debate around difficult policy tradeoffs, although still more work is required.

Participation in the budgeting process

PPAs can help provide policymakers with a better understanding of the priorities of the poor. Further, negotiation among different interest groups on various public action choices can lead to broader ownership and wider consensus (see box 7 for ways the poor can influence the budget). Certain steps can be taken to increase participation in the budget process:

- a. The PRSP should present various aggregate spending scenarios to reveal tradeoffs among different macroeconomic and fiscal policy options. With this information, groups can weigh the benefits of various options for the allocation of resources.
- b. Elected assemblies (national and local) and domestic interest groups should be included in the process of scrutinizing plans and budgets. Medium-term public spending plans, which influence annual budgets, can incorporate poverty reduction priorities, especially if processes are transparent and accountable. The expertise of parliamentary committees should be strengthened, so they can examine budgets with an understanding of tradeoffs.
- c. Where possible, budgets may be published—even at the local level. This can give people an understanding of what they should expect and could demand.

Participation in monitoring and evaluation

Participation in monitoring and evaluation can promote transparency and accountability and increase the ownership and acceptance of findings. Participatory research can enhance people's awareness of their rights and strengthen the claims of the poor. For monitoring and evaluating the PRSs, data can be used from multiple sources beyond those usually controlled by government, such as specialized academic and NGO studies and PPAs.

There are several points of entry for participation in monitoring and evaluating the PRSP:

- a. Goal setting. Setting clear goals can promote a shared understanding of priorities, add transparency to the process of allocating resources, and provide a benchmark against which to monitor the success of policies.
- b. Selection of outcome and impact indicators. The PRSP should move from tracking disbursement to monitoring delivery of goods and services (number of school books received at the school, schools built), and then outcomes (literacy rates).
- c. Impact on beneficiaries. Participatory monitoring can be used to check that public services actually benefit intended beneficiaries.

Poverty Impact Assessments of Macroeconomic and Structural Reforms

Linking PPAs to the Macroeconomic Policy Dialogue

The PRSPs developed so far suggest that more needs to be done to develop an open and informed debate in PRSP countries around economic policies and structural reforms. This can be done in three ways: first, improve access to information; second, strengthen analysis of the poverty impacts of macroeconomic and structural reforms; and third, draw civil society groups into discussing these issues and build their capacity in this area.

The analysis of the poverty impacts of reforms should be an integral part of the development of PRSPs and of Bank and Fund-supported reforms, as it allows countries to evaluate different policy options before they are implemented, compensate groups that are adversely affected by policy changes, and reformulate policies that do not reduce poverty and increase growth. Analysis should be undertaken early in countries' preparation of their PRSPs to contribute to the national debate on policy choice, monitoring, and evaluation.

Analysis of the poverty impacts of macroeconomic and structural policies is often limited because of a lack of data or, more commonly, data exist but are fragmented and underutilized. Further, there are often weak links between the poverty analysis and policy choices, so the Bank and the Fund, as well as governments and other donors, are giving this type of analysis high priority.

In the future, the challenge will be to integrate data from various methods (for example, household surveys, PPAs, NGO surveys, and in-country studies) to better understand the past impacts and potential impacts. In addition, donors could build the capacity of national institutions to provide training for civil society organizations in financial programming, the poverty impacts of macro reforms, and the analysis of policy tradeoffs. This would contribute toward a more informed public discussion, and respond to the request of some civil society groups for assistance in better understanding the economic debates.

Linking PPAs to the IMF's Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility

Programs supported by the IMF's Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility will be modified to reflect the countries' PRSs. Policies to be implemented under these programs will have a greater focus on growth and poverty reduction.⁴ However, research is needed into how programs and policy reforms affect the poor, particularly (a) macroeconomic adjustments, such as tax increases, reduction or elimination of subsidies, and exchange rate alignment; (b) structural reforms, such as liberalization and civil service reform; and (c) public expenditures. Traditional household surveys and PPAs, as well as data gathered through other research methods by various organizations, will be crucial to understanding the poverty and distributional impacts of reforms. Such analysis can lead to better and more pro-poor program design.

Country Examples of the Links between the PPAs and PRSPs

Summary of Participation in PRSPs

A major achievement of the PRSP initiative has been the recognition of the importance of government ownership. As a result, there is emerging, in most countries, a greater commitment to broader participation in policymaking and a more diverse dialogue on poverty issues through direct consultations with stakeholders, including poor communities. However, at this early stage, the process of participation in the PRSPs is

in a developmental phase. For example, some full PRSPs were completed with limited time to develop full participation beyond consultation. Full participation would have helped to ensure that the PRSPs benefited fully from the participatory process. The guidelines for the full PRSP state that there is no time limit for the completion of a full PRSP and the timing should be determined by the government. The World Bank and IMF Boards have also stressed that the quality of PRSPs should not be sacrificed to speed of preparation and countries have been encouraged to take the necessary time required. Some CSOs have argued that the link between the PRSP process and the HIPC Initiative has affected the quality of participatory processes. For full PRSPs, it would be useful to develop milestones that indicate progress in the participatory process. The interim PRSPs (I-PRSPs) do not require full participation as the main objective of the interim strategy is to detail a plan to develop the full PRSP. However, in the interim PRSP, there should be some consultation on developing a participation plan for the full PRSPs.

Some CSOs have questioned the concept of ownership in some countries where the Fund and the Bank retain a strong influence over the final document. CSOs have also stressed the importance of greater public discussion in the choice of macroeconomic and structural reforms. As stated above, this will require more detailed poverty impact analysis of past and future reforms. It would also be useful if the rationale for policy choices and tradeoffs was made more explicit in PRSPs as well as in IMF and World Bank documents. Finally, it would be important to continue the ongoing efforts to adapt macroeconomic frameworks in a flexible manner to integrate the main poverty reduction objectives arising from the consultation process.

Current Status of the Links between the PPAs and PRSPs

Table 11 provides a summary of the impact of PPAs on recent PRSPs. To date, 38 PRSPs have been completed, of which 4 are full and 34 are interim PRSPs. The impact of the PPAs on PRSPs is varied and has been mainly dependent on (a) how recently the PPA was undertaken, (b) the level of involvement of key policymakers in the PPA, and (c) technical advice given to the government from donors in formulating the PRS.

At this early stage, it is not expected that PPAs will have a significant impact on I-PRSPs, since the interim guidelines do not specify the direct participation of the poor, the identification of a full set of priority public actions, or the selection of indicators.⁵ Such inputs are only expected as part of the full PRSP. However, many PPAs are already having an impact on both the full and interim PRSPs. The impacts fall into four main

areas: (a) formulation of the PRSP, (b) poverty analysis in the PRSP, (c) budget priorities and public actions set out in the PRSP, and (d) PRSP indicators.

The impact of the PPA in each of these areas has varied greatly, but table 11 is useful for a first glance. For example, out of the 38 countries that have completed interim or full PRSPs, 28 (73 percent) have in the past conducted a participatory analysis of poverty that included direct consultations with poor communities. Of these 28 countries, 10 (42 percent) used the PPA as part of the consultation process to include the poor in formulation of the PRSP (see column 1). Fourteen of the 28 countries (50 percent) referred to the results of the participatory poverty analysis in their analysis of poverty (see column 2). In Uganda, Vietnam, Lao, and Niger, the data from the PPA were used to a greater degree: the priorities of the poor identified in the PPA were also reflected in the budget and/or public actions (see column 3). Finally, in Uganda and Guinea, the selection of indicators for the PRSP was influenced by PPA data (see column 4). Out of the 38 full and interim PRSPs, 17 countries (45 percent) stated in their PRSPs that they intend to undertake a PPA in the future.

Case Examples

Uganda and Vietnam are cases where the PPA process is effectively linked to the PRSP (see appendix E and Norton 2001 for more details on the Uganda example, and Turk 2001 for more details on the Vietnam example). Both PPAs were designed to have a greater impact than simply providing information and, as a result, were linked to other established processes, such as budgeting, decentralization and planning at the local level, and household surveys.

In Vietnam, the PPA finding that poor people had a lack of information about their legal rights was included in the I-PRSP as an issue that needed to be addressed. In Uganda, the government implemented the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Project (the UPPAP) in 1998 and 1999, in which the poor in rural and urban areas were directly consulted. The results of the UPPAP have been used by policymakers in Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP)/PRSP, as detailed in table 12.

A two-way information flow can strengthen policymaking, with upward flows (data generated from PPAs) presented to policymakers, and downward flows (information about government policy and budget choice) put into the public arena to better inform communities (McGee and Norton 2000). For example, in Uganda, the UPPAP presented information to policymakers, who fed it into the budgeting process.

Table 11. Impact of PPAs on Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

Country and date of PRSP	PPA status		PPA impact on I-PRSPs and PRSPs			
	PPA conducted	PPA planned	Formulation ^a	Poverty analysis ^b	Budget priorities and public actions ^c	Indicators ^d
Full PRSPs						
Uganda March 2000	Three-year project commenced 1999	Ongoing PPA	✓	✓	✓	✓
Burkina Faso May 2000	1998	2001	✗	✓	✗	✗
Tanzania October 2000	1995 and 1997	No	✗	✓	✗	✗
Mauritania December 2000	No	No	✗	✗	✗	✗
Interim PRSPs						
Albania May 2000	No	Planned but no date specified	✗	✗	✗	✗
Benin June 2000	1993	No	✗	✗	✗	✗
Bolivia January 2000	1999	No	✓	✓	✗	✗
Cambodia October 2000	1998	October 2000–January 2001	✓	✓	✗	✓

Cameroon August 2000	1994	No	*	*	*	*
Central African Republic December 2000	No	No	*	*	*	*
Chad July 2000	No PPA	Perceptions of Poverty Study for mid-2000	*	*	*	*
Ethiopia November 2000	1997 and 1999	PPA of 1997 may be updated if required for the full PRSP	*	*	*	*
The Gambia October 2000	Three-year project com- menced 1999	Ongoing PPA	✓	✓	*	*
Georgia November 2000	1997	No	*	*	*	*
Ghana June 2000	1993–98	Planned but no date specified	*	*	*	*
Guinea October 2000	1993–98	Planned but no date specified	✓	✓	*	✓
Guinea Bissau September 2000	Rapid PPA 1998	April– July 2001	*	*	*	*
Guyana October 2000	No	No	*	*	*	*

Table 11. (continued)

Country and date of PRSP	PPA status		PPA impact on I-PRSPs and PRSPs			
	PPA conducted	PPA planned	Formulation ^a	Poverty analysis ^b	Budget priorities and public actions ^c	Indicators ^d
Interim PRSPs (continued)						
Honduras March 2000	No	No	✗	✗	✗	✗
Kenya July 2000	1994 and 1996	Planned but no date specified	✗	✓	✗	✗
Lao March 2001	1998	October 2000–May 2001	✓	✓	✓	✗
Lesotho December 2000	1994	No	✗	✗	✗	✗
Macedonia November 2000	1998	No	✗	✗	✗	✗
Madagascar November 2000	1993–94	No	✗	✗	✗	✗
Malawi August 2000	1999	2001	✗	✓	✗	✗
Mali July 2000	1993	No	✗	✗	✗	✗
Moldova November 2000	1997	September 2001	✗	✗	✗	✗
Mozambique February 2000	1995	No	✗	✗	✗	✗

Nicaragua August 2000	1999–2000	No	✓	✓	*	*
Niger October 2000	1996	November 2000– March 2001	*	✓	✓	*
Rwanda November 2000	1998	No	✓	✓	*	*
Sao Tome and Principe April 2000	No	No	*	*	*	*
Senegal May 2000	No	No	*	*	*	*
Tajikistan March 2000	No	No	*	*	*	*
Tanzania March 2000	1995 and 1997	No	*	*	*	*
Vietnam March 2001	1999–2000	Planned	✓	✓	✓	*
Yemen December 2000	No	No	*	*	*	*
Zambia July 2000	1994–2000	Ongoing	✓	*	*	*

Note: The data for this table were drawn from the interim and full PRS papers. In some countries (such as Cameroon), the PPA had a more extensive impact than was documented in the strategy papers.

^a PPA used as a method to include the poor as part of the participation plan for the formulation of the interim or full PRSP.

^b PPA results used in the PRSP's poverty diagnosis.

^c Priorities of the poor identified in PPA influenced budget and/or public actions identified in the PRSP.

^d Choice of goals and monitoring indicators influenced by PPA data.

Table 12. How the Poor Influenced the PRSP in Uganda

<i>Stage of PRS</i>	<i>Impact of Uganda's PPA on the PRSP</i>
1. Poverty analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Poverty Monitoring Unit in the Ministry of Finance integrates annual household surveys, conducted by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, with other data sources (participatory analysis, sector surveys, line ministry data sources) to ensure that policy impacts are understood and policy development is informed by poverty data and perceptions of the poor. • The outcome of the Uganda PPAP was that in addition to income and access to health care and education, poor people emphasized security problems (due to war, insurgency, cattle rustling, and domestic violence), corruption, isolation, lack of access to clean water, and lack of access to information on government policies as priority concerns. The PPA also highlighted the location-specific nature of poverty and the most vulnerable groups. These key poverty issues are now incorporated into the household survey questionnaires for further analysis.
2. Formulation of the PRSP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals: One of the four goals of the PRSP in Uganda is to ensure good governance and security. • Public actions: Recent UPPAP findings demonstrate major differences in the poverty profile of different districts. This resulted in policymakers' recognizing the need for more flexibility in the use of central government conditional grants to districts. • Indicators: Indicators are linked to PRSP goals and cover economic opportunities, human development, security, and empowerment (democratization and decentralization, human rights, law and order). • Budget allocations: Significantly more resources, including HIPC resources, have been directed to improving water supply. The findings from the UPPAP were included in the Background to the Budget 1999–2000. Measures to increase political accountability are being considered for funding with HIPC savings. With the Ministry of Local Government, the UPPAP will work directly with local governments to strengthen their capacity to consult poor communities for the purposes of district planning and budgeting.
3. Monitoring implementation of the PRSP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring the change in poverty analysis: Yearly the UPPAPs will be undertaken to build up trend data on changes in poverty and well-being. • Budget delivery: The budget process is being developed to open up multiple channels of accountability. For example, to increase transparency

<i>Stage of PRS</i>	<i>Impact of Uganda's PPA on the PRSP</i>
	<p>in decentralized management of resources, advertisements are placed in the press indicating amounts disbursed to each district by sector. In the education sector, budget allocations for schools are posted on school notice boards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy effectiveness and relevance: The government established a Poverty Action Fund (PAF) to enhance transparency and monitoring of HIPC and other donor resources allocated to expenditure programs focused on poverty. The PAF involves both civil society and government in monitoring the impact of PAF outlays, and quarterly meetings are held to discuss delivery against budget allocations. Sectors are requested to consider strengthening the links between service delivery and performance monitoring by local political leaders.
4. Evaluating outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government intends to strengthen the role of elected village councils in monitoring the performance of public service delivery in the new PEAP. • Participatory monitoring of the implementation of the PEAP will be integrated into the government's poverty monitoring framework. • Mechanisms for local-level accountability and monitoring of service delivery to the poor are being considered.

Note: This table is based on Bird and Kakande (2001).

In turn, the government increased communities' access to budget data by publishing allocations at the local level, thereby increasing transparency. This gave people a better understanding of what they should expect and what they could demand.

Next Steps for PPAs

From the analysis of the links between the PPAs and the PRSPs, four areas are emerging as important for the next round of PPAs:

- a. In the past, PPAs have presented clear data on sectors that poor people consider to be a priority (such as access to health care, education, and potable water). The next step for new PPAs is to detail priorities within these identified sectors to help policymakers make more informed public action choices. In addition, new PPAs should identify within the sectors the critical mechanisms, including

- appropriate institutions, that are likely to be the most effective and efficient for implementation and service delivery to the poor.
- b. In many countries, PPA findings have raised civic engagement in the policy dialogue. But many PPAs have been narrow bureaucratic requirements to develop policy options, rather than part of ongoing processes to influence policy. The next step is for PPAs to assist in developing the capacity of civil society to better negotiate policy options with the government. To support this and to develop an independent civic engagement process around poverty issues (that would include mass communications and other information-based media), PPAs could provide information to civil society. Such findings from PPAs could catalyze the debate and dialogue on poverty issues and, in so doing, could move PPAs beyond one-time, restricted surveys. PPAs could also be used to sensitize parliamentarians and other political leadership to poverty dimensions and outcomes.
 - c. Most PPA findings are not prioritized in the light of resource constraints and are not used for decisionmaking about resource allocation, spending, and performance across sectors. The next step is to link the findings of PPAs to public action choices with the objective of influencing national budgets.
 - d. Many PPAs have produced valuable new data on poverty. The next step is to institutionalize the approach to ensure that PPAs become part of a participatory monitoring system that influences public action choices over time. The challenge now is to move from isolated PPA research studies to ensuring that PPA consultations become part of the broader national policy dialogue and political decisionmaking, as well as part of a system to monitor the implementation of the commitments made by governments and donors.

The Challenge for PPAs

The moral imperative for giving the poor a voice in the poverty debate is self-evident. The bonus is that engaging with the poor also leads to better technical diagnosis of problems and better design and implementation of solutions. Through PPAs, the poor deepen our understanding of poverty and can influence policymaking. This new approach challenges traditional power relations and calls for a variety of partnerships that require trust, openness, and integrity.

Both poverty and policy change are inherently linked to the political process in any country. But when undertaken in an environment of increased trust, PPAs can present opportunities for a more open dialogue and greater understanding between the powerless and those in power.

Notes

1. This chapter is based on "How the Poor Can Have a Voice in Government Policy" (Robb 2000).
2. The PRS is presented to both the IMF and World Bank Executive Boards, which make a judgment as to whether the PRS provides the basis for the institutions' assistance. The staff of the Fund and the Bank provide the Boards with a joint staff assessment of the PRS.
3. See <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies/index.htm>.
4. For more details, see <http://www.imf.org/external/np/prgf/2000/eng/key.htm>.
5. The differences between a full and an interim PRSP are defined in World Bank and IMF (1999).

Appendixes

Appendix A. Methodology

Appendix B. Impact

**Appendix C. Poverty Assessments,
Completed and Scheduled (by Country),
Fiscal Year 1989–2000**

**Appendix D. Examples of PRA Exercises
in Thailand (1998) and Zambia (1996)**

Appendix E. Country Case Examples

**Appendix F. Social Aspects of the East Asian Crisis:
Perceptions of Poor Communities**

Appendix G. Methodology of This Review

Appendix A. Methodology

<i>Country, timing, and cost</i>	<i>Context Bank</i>	<i>Context in country</i>	<i>Institutions involved</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>
AFRICA					
Benin Partial PPA completed; three weeks fieldwork in 1993. Cost: \$40,000	Manager of the PPA also responsible for overall PA. Outside consultant assisted in the PPA. Various divisions in the Bank consulted at all stages.	Limited permission sought from central government, which was supportive of the approach. Local govern- ment extensively involved. Stable political environment.	A unit in the Ministry of Plan- ning assisted with coordina- tion. Several NGOs were consulted.	RRA: Twenty-three villages and some urban communities were covered in five of the regions (the sixth had already been extensively covered); RRAs involved semistructured interviews, children's drawings.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: The government was coop- erative and receptive. Discussions with NGOs and government during management workshop.
Burundi Oct-Dec 1997 Cost: \$130,000	Manager of the PPA also responsible for overall PA. The PA and PPA were requested and strongly sponsored by the country director. An external consultant, trained at IDS Sussex, provided training to the local consultants who carried out the PPA.	Government strongly sup- ported the PPA as part of the wider PA, although some were skeptical about the lack of statistical signifi- cance of results. New lend- ing in Burundi had been suspended following the 1996 coup, and the new government believed that a favorable assessment in the PA could lead to new lending.	The study was coordinated by a Poverty Committee con- vened by the Ministry of Plan- ning, and the study brought together UNDP and the Bank as the two main partners for poverty reduction. At the sug- gestion of the Bank, the com- mittee was widened to include other key ministries in poverty reduction issues.	PRA: A list of criteria was agreed upon with government for selecting the com- munities, including degree of impact of the conflict, proportion of the community displaced, socioeconomic status, degree of isolation from roads and markets, access to social infrastructure, and agro- climatic zone. Ten communities were cov- ered. Results presented in summary at a technical workshop before the report was written.	Some participation within the Bank, with country economist reviewing topic lists and preliminary results. Others: Strong participation from government, with senior officials attending PRA training course, for example. Very active participation from UNDP.
Cameroon Mar-Sept 1994 Cost: \$150,000	Human Resources was the managing division. Manager for PA also managed the PPA and was part of Africa's Technical Department. ENVSP assisted in the PPA. Involvement in and ownership of PA	Debt-distressed country. No longer an IBRD country. CFA devaluation. Some key policymakers reticent to support the PA and PPA processes.	CARE-Cameroun with sup- port from CARE-Canada pro- vided a technical advisor for the PPA and carried out two of the five regional assessments. University of Yaounde, ASAFAE, and PAID carried out the other three regional assessments.	BA: In-country four-day technical work- shop followed by national-level confer- ence for one day. A technical workshop was organized in Kribi and a national conference in Yaounde in November 1994. At these workshops, broad-based discussions of the PA and the views of the poor and some key NGOs were used to redefine key priorities for the poverty	Communities: Information sharing. Information sharing with selected institutions and with the govern- ment at different levels.

by country and sector departments were limited. The country economist focused on issues surrounding the CFA devaluation, with country department priorities shifting to development of new lending and resumption of adjustment support as opposed to poverty. Country department was restructured and management team changed during the course of the PA.

reduction strategy. BA used in six regions and included 1,559 households at about 30 sites, as well as 150 interviews with key informants—local government officials, community leaders, service providers, and church and women's groups. Fifty percent of those interviewed were women. Range of participatory techniques used in regional assessments.

Equatorial Guinea Two weeks fieldwork in 1995.	A Poverty Note was written rather than a full-fledged PA. COD requested that fieldwork be conducted because of a lack of reliable data.	Government involvement was minimal.	FAO. Local government officials interviewed.	RRA: Fifteen villages and two urban communities in the capital and two in another city.	Communities: Information sharing. Limited dialogue with key stakeholders.
Italian trust funds					
Ethiopia March–April 1997 Cost: \$100,000	The PPA was intended to complement quantitative analysis performed in preparation for a full PA and CAS. The task manager for the PPA was not the task manager for the full assessment. The PPA was financed by the Dutch Trust Fund for Poverty.	The PPA was jointly coordinated by the Ministry of Planning and the Bank. Central government organized approvals to enter rural villages, without which it would not have been possible to conduct the fieldwork.	Freelance Ethiopian consultants were employed. The PPA teams collaborated closely with a PRA-based study on women being conducted at the same time by the government's Women's Affairs Office. Teams were trained by an external consultant from IDS Sussex.	PRA: Six rural and four urban sites with a mix of socioeconomic levels, different agroclimatic zones, and different levels of isolation from roads and markets. Full use of tools: wealth ranking, causal diagrams, pie charts, timelines, seasonal calendars, daily calendars, Venn diagrams. Urban teams developed new tools to use for analysis of unemployment.	Good participation within the Bank, with the country economist and resident mission strongly supporting the PPA. Poor participation by in-country NGOs.

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix A. (continued)

<i>Country, timing, and cost</i>	<i>Context Bank</i>	<i>Context in country</i>	<i>Institutions involved</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>
Gabon Fieldwork: four weeks during May-June 1995. Results included in March 1997 poverty assessment. Cost: \$49,000, of which about \$19,000 was spent on local costs (mainly consultant fees and travel) and was financed by the Client Consultant Fund, and about \$30,000 (\$19,000 of which was financed by the French trust fund) was spent on the international consultant who initiated the survey and helped analyze results.	A typical IBRD country with a gross domestic product per capita of more than US\$4,000 and extremely unequal income distribution. Bank's exposure is limited. Initially, limited resources allocated to the poverty assessment. The PPA was cofinanced by the French (international consultant) and the Client Consultation Fund (local survey team and computer specialist). The Task Manager (TM) or the poverty assessment was also TM of the PPA. The Gabon PA is a flagship participation project.	The government welcomed the Bank's initiative to carry out the poverty assessment (including the PPA), which was viewed as a means to (a) collect information on poverty; (b) obtain technical policy recommendations from the Bank; and (c) possibly send a signal to the donor community that reduction of poverty will require better-adapted assistance and closer donor involvement. The government set up an Interministerial Technical Committee (about 40 members) to review each version of the assessment, and also provided a vehicle and driver for the PPA team.	Freelance Gabonese consultants (including students and a university professor) recommended by UNDP, the Planning Ministry, and the Employment Office. Very weak in-country NGO capacity (both national and international).	RRA: Team of five people. Participant observations, case studies, individual and group interviews; four out of nine regions covered; 325 qualitative interviews conducted (80 in Libreville, 140 in small cities, and 105 in rural areas).	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Donors, government, and, to a lesser extent, civil society involved through the interministerial Committee.
Ghana May-June 1993, April-May 1994, Nov 1994. Conducted after quantitative survey (Oct. 1991-Sept. 1992). Cost: DFID/UK funded phases 1 and 2, \$50,000. Phase 3 (social service assessment) funded by UNICEF, \$50,000.	Clear lines of communication established between the PA manager and technical department.	Stable political environment. Government support initially limited but now very strong.	Teams from academic institutions, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, NGOs, and international aid agencies (especially UNICEF).	PRA: Three phases, 15 urban and rural communities. Focus groups and PRAs.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Key policymakers not involved extensively until they gained a greater understanding of the PPA.

<p>Kenya Preparation: Feb. 1994 Fieldwork: March 1994 Write-up: April and May 1994. Final document published in 1995. Cost: \$100,000</p>	<p>Manager of the PA was initially cautious. The managers of the PA and the PPA were involved in drafting the Terms of Reference and preparing the PPA. The manager of the PPA coordinated most of work in country.</p>	<p>Relatively economically stable for Africa. Government centralized. Central Bureau of Statistics and Ministry of Planning involved.</p>	<p>AMREF (Regional NGO) and the DFID/UK. Final document published by UNICEF/DFID and AMREF.</p>	<p>SARAR, PRA, and household questionnaires aimed at community groups and schoolchildren. Seven districts were selected using information from the censor cluster samples. The poorest communities were then selected: 35 villages and urban areas in Nairobi; 514 households interviewed. Teams spent three days in each village.</p>	<p>Communities: Information sharing. Others: Local government was more involved than central government.</p>
<p>Lesotho Two qualitative surveys conducted in 1991 and 1993.</p>		<p>The new government is open to the inclusion of stakeholders in the analysis of poverty. There is a representative body of NGOs which is supported by the government but its capacity is limited.</p>	<p>UNICEF, Red Cross, NGO from Zambia, council of NGOs, and local government. A private consulting firm, Sechaba, undertook the PRA.</p>	<p>PRA: The original PA had no action plan. At a three-day workshop the government, NGOs, and World Bank agreed to draft the action plan. Participant observation, case studies, individual and group interviews in rural and urban areas.</p>	<p>Communities: Information sharing. Others: The action plan received extensive support from a cross-section of the stakeholders.</p>
<p>Madagascar Eight months commencing Nov. 1993.</p>	<p>The manager of the PA was committed to the approach and worked closely with the manager of the PPA. However, change in management of the division means follow-up has not been extensive.</p>	<p>The PPA was supported by the Minister of the Economy and Planning and Communications and Culture, but this support is fragmented.</p>	<p>Steering Committee composed of key line ministries, parliamentarians, NGOs, a national consultancy firm, and the university. A local consulting firm for two regions, and two groups of academics for the other two regions. Several Malagasy consultants and one Canadian consultant coordinated the activities.</p>	<p>BA: 2,600 qualitative interviews conducted. Periodic progress reviews with UNDP and government committees. Four regions. Focus groups of 6-12 people. Participant observation involved residence in selected sites for two to three weeks. Institutional assessments.</p>	<p>Communities: Information sharing. Others: Key policymakers have been fully involved in a process of consultation from the beginning.</p>
<p>Mali Three weeks field-work for Bamako for BAs and three weeks of RRA in rural areas (1992-93). Funded mainly by UNDP.</p>	<p>The managers of the PA and PPA were able to communicate clearly. An international consultant also assisted.</p>	<p>Because of the sensitivity surrounding poverty, the PA assessment was renamed the Assessment of Living Conditions. Preliminary results of household survey were used.</p>	<p>Save the Children, CARE, local university, rural radio.</p>	<p>BA conducted in Bamako. RRA in three rural regions, semistructured interviewing, and children's drawings.</p>	<p>Communities: Information sharing. Others: Initially limited participation of key stakeholders.</p>

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix A. (continued)

<i>Country, timing, and cost</i>	<i>Context Bank</i>	<i>Context in country</i>	<i>Institutions involved</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>
Mozambique Ongoing. First phase July 1995.	Freestanding document—not linked to a PA. Manager of the PPA located in Maputo had been involved in the Zambia PPA. Continued Bank support now unclear.	Government very supportive of the process of collecting qualitative information. Government has undertaken its own PA and the PPA will feed into it.	Poverty Alleviation Unit, established by the World Bank, and the university undertook the PRA surveys. NGOs were extensively involved, especially with problem ranking and prioritization.	PRA.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: One of the main objectives of the PPA has been to involve a wide range of stakeholders from the beginning.
Niger One month in April 1994.	The manager of the PA worked closely with the manager of the PPA.	The country is plagued with political instability, which has major consequences for achieving economic growth and poverty reduction. The PPA was undertaken right after the CFA devaluation. One of its intentions was to capture the preliminary impact of the devaluation on the poor.	A national sociologist supervised the urban phase. The rural phase received support from NGOs and several regional projects funded by FAO and GTZ.	RRA: Informal interviews, open questionnaires, and focus groups.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Involvement of the government and NGOs has been increasing.
Nigeria Late 1993 and early 1994. Three months in the field.	The manager of the PA approached DFID for technical assistance in the form of an economist, but DFID sent a social scientist. After seeing the value of the qualitative information, the country team became fully supportive of the PPA process.	The government was not initially supportive. As the process developed, however, the support increased. The government now runs its own poverty analysis program.	DFID, Ministry of Planning, NGOs, and UNICEF. No local NGOs were involved in the PPA work, but since the government has taken over, local NGOs are now involved.	PRA: Focused discussion groups; 2,000 people in 98 rural and urban locations.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Local NGOs initially excluded. Government included from the beginning and became more involved as the value of the qualitative information became apparent.

Rwanda Oct.-Dec. 1997 Cost: \$150,000	The PPA was initiated to complement quantitative survey analysis. Manager of the PA was also manager of the PPA, and was based in the resident mission on a short-term assignment for duration of the PA. The PA and PPA were strongly supported by the country director.	The PRA had previously never been used in Rwanda. In the wake of the genocide, many Rwandans were skeptical that communities would be prepared to talk to outsiders. Government was involved from the beginning through the PA steering committee, which included four government ministries. Developing a regional balance in the teams was difficult because of previous conflict, and team travel was interrupted frequently because of the conflict.	The PPA was carried out in partnership with <i>Reseau des Femmes</i> , a women's NGO specializing in rural development. A local representative of this NGO was present in each of the communities, thus improving trust and speeding up the process. The team also collaborated with UNDP, UNICEF, and FAO to develop questions.	PRA: Ten rural and two urban communities were selected based on degree of impact of conflict, proportion of the community displaced, socioeconomic status, degree of isolation from roads and markets, access to social infrastructure, population density, settlement pattern, and agroclimatic zone. Results were discussed at a large workshop in Kigali to which community leaders from PPA sites were invited, together with national and international NGOs, government departments, and donors.	Bank: Primarily information sharing. Other: Very active participation by the government. Government steering committee selected the communities, amended the question list, seconded a government official to participate in the teams, and hotly debated results. An official from the Ministry of Planning was seconded full-time to work as a counterpart manager of the PA. Also very good participation from Rwandan civil society, with good attendance at meetings to debate terms of reference of study and results.
South Africa Ongoing. PPA workshop convened in Feb. 1995. Final document July/August 1997 (likely to be published by the government).	The PPA was initiated to complement the household survey, completed in August 1994. One person manages both the PPA and PA.	Government involvement sought from the beginning. Initially distant but now very involved and committed through the RDP, which subsequently closed down. In parallel to the PPA, at the Bank's initiative, the government, the Bank, and UNDP are collaborating on the PA, now called the PIR. The PIR was approved by the Cabinet. South Africa may borrow from the Bank for the first time since the 1960s.	Worked with a private-sector development research consultancy and NGOs. The consultancy established a management committee comprising a cross-section of stakeholders selected during the initial workshop. The government was represented through the Reconstruction and Development Program Office. Cofunded by DFID.	PRA: Not roving teams. Regionally targeted. The three poorest provinces were selected, representing 62 percent of the poor. The household survey was used to identify the poorest provinces. Thirty to fifty communities were involved. The approach was to build upon the existing network of NGOs rather than create a parallel system. PRA training was provided. The existing network had already established trust in many of the communities.	Communities: In some cases the PRA work became a catalyst for commitments to initiate a project to benefit the poor. Others: Broad initial consultative workshop. The PPA process so far has stressed the importance of continuously including a cross-section of stakeholders. Very strong government ownership of the PIR, which incorporated the findings of the PPA. Interministerial Committee on Poverty and Inequality set up to oversee the PIR.

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix A. (continued)

<i>Country, timing, and cost</i>	<i>Context Bank</i>	<i>Context in country</i>	<i>Institutions involved</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>
<p>Swaziland 1995. Fieldwork completed. Report forthcoming. Cost: \$99,500 excluding Bank cost. Trust funded.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">II +</p>	<p>Current lending program confined to urban sector project, under implementation, and proposed education project. PPA not initiated as part of a Bank PA but carried out in tandem with HIES, undertaken by the CSO with support of IDE, from which a poverty profile is being drawn. Bank will now follow up with Poverty Note integrating the results of the two exercises.</p>	<p>Poverty debate in government was slow to be initiated. PPA and HIES originally conceived to contribute to UNDP Human Disparities Analysis. The PPA results have fed into this process. The Poverty Note will be geared specifically to the NDS.</p>	<p>University of Swaziland carried out the PPA. UNDP coordinated administration. Support from DFID for the national workshop.</p>	<p>PRA and BA: 600 households, 100 focus groups in 63 communities throughout Swaziland. Focus discussion groups, PRAs, and interviews.</p>	<p>Communities: Information sharing. Others: The government and NGOs became increasingly involved.</p>
<p>Tanzania Preparation: Feb/March 1995; Fieldwork: May. Cost: \$100,000</p>	<p>Manager of the PA was interested in and aware of the work being carried out in Tanzania.</p>	<p>Government was cooperative and fully involved at the district level.</p>	<p>University of Tanzania (but capacity limited).</p>	<p>SARAR, PRA: A team of 36 people visited 85 villages over 40 days. A total of 6,000 people were involved.</p>	<p>Communities: Information sharing with no immediate follow-up. Others: Government was cooperative and attended policy workshops, which were coordinated with the Bank's social sector review and CEM preparation.</p>

Togo Two weeks Nov 1994; one week Feb 1995 (seven teams working at the same time).	The PA was completed alongside the environmental assessment. COD was very supportive and committed to the approach. Lines of communication were clearly established. The Resident Mission was cooperative.	Social unrest prevailed from 1992 to 1993. Before the PPA, the government and the UNDP had already begun a policy debate about poverty.	UNDP. Fifteen unemployed graduates were trained. One team of 5 and a second team of 10 led by a Dutch consultant.	RRA: Semistructured interviews; information sheets; children's drawings depicting poverty. Covered all rural regions plus the capital. Forty villages covering five regions and urban neighborhoods in Lome.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Donors' participation more extensive than government's. Discussion of results during a series of regional workshops with NGOs and government.
Uganda One week 1992. One of the first PPAs.	The PPA was conducted with the PA.	Civil war in certain areas. Government willing to accept that poverty exists.	Ministry of Planning, UNDP, and the University.	RRA, pictorial drawings. The PPA was conducted only in areas where quantitative information did not exist, that is, in the war zones.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Involvement of other institutions limited because of time constraints.
Cost: \$3,000					
Zambia Research Sept.-Nov. 1993. Funded by Sida, \$100,000	The PA and PPA managers worked closely throughout the process. The PA manager had supported qualitative techniques in a previous Bank project in Zambia (Social Recovery Project) and promoted the BA/PRA approach in the Bank.	Government gradually included through the Systematic Client Consultation approach.	Nine-person interdisciplinary team of researchers. The team later formed an NGO called the PAG.	BA and PRA: Interview guide for semi-structured interviews with individuals and groups. Ten research sites over a variety of communities (urban and rural).	Communities: Moved beyond information sharing—the poor were consulted on an ongoing basis. PAG returned to the communities on a yearly basis to assess the changes in their welfare/poverty. Others: Extensive stakeholder consultation. Zambians drafted the recommendations sections of the PA.

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix A. (continued)

<i>Country, timing, and cost</i>	<i>Context Bank</i>	<i>Context in country</i>	<i>Institutions involved</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>
LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN					
Argentina PPA started in Oct 1995. Estimated duration six months. PA already completed.	Before PPA was undertaken, time had been spent building an understanding between the technical team and the COD team, which engendered a positive attitude toward the PPA from the outset. Some questions were raised by the COD on whether the information would be "sound bite"-focused.	The government requested the assistance of the Bank in conducting qualitative research. Good coordination among government agencies. The initial activities were carried out during the preparation of the Social Protection Project (Ln AR-35495), particularly Component C: Technical Assistance for the Improvement of Social Information (SIEMPRO).	Ministry of Social Welfare through the direct involvement of the minister. NGOs: SIEMPRO under the Ministry of Social Welfare. PSA and PRONDER under the Secretariat of Agriculture.	BA: Conversational interviews and partial observation. The initial PPA was of limited scope and involved only a few rural areas. The objective of the PPA was to test methodologies and develop institutional support. In fact, after the initial exercise, PPAs for two provinces (Salta and Missions) have been planned.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Ministry and Minister of Social Welfare fully involved. A unit has been established within the ministry to monitor poverty and social programs. A seminar has been held with high-level government officials. Strong interest has already been expressed by other departments. NGOs will be involved in the execution work. The dialogue between the government and the NGOs has gradually increased.
Brazil Nine months	Focus on education and employment.	Strong interest by government in the qualitative approach.	Ministry of Education and Ministry of Planning	BA	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Local, state, and federal government.
Costa Rica 1995, two months fieldwork. Cost: \$36,500	Coordinated with the PA manager who lives in Honduras. Lines of communication between the managers of the PA and PPA were, therefore, often unclear.	The government was very supportive of the process. Senior officials from the Ministry of Economic Planning were involved from the beginning.	No NGOs were involved. The government wants to include them extensively at the dissemination phase.	BA in four regions; 262 interviews	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Government was extensively involved from the beginning.

Ecuador Preparation: April 1994 Fieldwork: May 1994 Meetings with stakeholders: Oct. 1995. Cost: \$70,000 Dutch Trust Fund	The manager of the PA had no access to funds from the Bank and had to raise the funding. As such he was unable to recruit consultants from the Bank's technical department. From the beginning, the manager was able to clearly define the information he considered to be relevant.	The government neither supported nor objected to the PA or the PPA.	UNICEF cofinanced the process. Two NGOs were involved in both the rural and urban areas. Government institutions were not extensively involved at any level.	PRA: seven villages and one urban community. SSIs and workshops. Communities: The PPA was called a Rural Qualitative Survey as it was felt that the process was not participatory but more information sharing. NGOs went back to share the results of the studies with several communities. Others: Participation of government institutions was minimal. The NGOs were extensively involved. Interest of nonparticipating NGOs was very high.
Guatemala Phase 1 in early 1993 Phase 2: three months, Nov. 1993-Jan. 1994.	The PPA was undertaken without extensive consultation with the Country Department.	The government would have liked to be more involved in the decision-making process of the PPA.	Liaised with the university but relations between the Bank and the university have not been strong. UNDP and UNICEF initially supportive.	BA: Two three-person teams. Average of 15 days in every municipality; 223 interviews; 22 focus groups. Participatory mapping too sensitive to undertake and subject to misinterpretation. Research teams could not stay overnight in some communities for security reasons. Communities: Information sharing. Others: The government produced its own publication using the results of the BA.
Mexico Interviews conducted in Feb. and March 1995. Conducted with the PA.	Clear lines of communication established between the PPA advisor and the PA manager. However, communications with the supervisor undertaking the PPA in the field were difficult.	Major devaluation. Strong initial support lessened as other priorities took over.	SDS (Government Poverty Agency) actively participated in the fieldwork. All consultants hired were from NGOs.	BA: Four teams interviewed 722 people in four areas (two urban, two rural). Qualitative research and conversational interviews. Communities: Information sharing. Others: UNDP and UNICEF cofinanced. The capacity of the SDS to conduct qualitative assessments increased.

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix A. (continued)

<i>Country, timing, and cost</i>	<i>Context Bank</i>	<i>Context in country</i>	<i>Institutions involved</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>
EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA					
Albania The Green Cover report was dated Aug 1996; most components were carried out Jan-July 1996.	The report was managed and written by a senior economist and was narrowly focused. One part was devoted to rural-urban migrants squatting on the outskirts of the capital and one other city. The other part was focused on the beneficiaries of the agriculture microcredit program.	Individual field researchers contracted. No institutions involved in the research.		Various: Individual interviews with households; interviews with key informants including academics, expat and local staff of agencies implementing land privatization, and microcredit.	Communities: Information sharing.
Azerbaijan Cost about \$50,000, including World Bank time and travel. In-country research component ranged from \$13,000 to \$25,000 (paid for by UNDP).					
Armenia Started in 1994. Completed June 1995. Fieldwork in Oct 1994 –March 1995.	Wanted to coordinate the PA with the Social Investment Fund. Good relations with COD. Senior management support.	Ministry of Economy	In the PA, Armenian Assembly of Armenia. Most other NGOs were involved in emergency aid. Church was also involved. In the PPA, the university was a formal organizer and contractor for the qualitative research.	Seven hundred semistructured interviews with individuals from poor and medium-income households and with local officials, medical personnel, teachers, and aid workers.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: The PPA manager and the field researchers (professional anthropologists and social scientists) presented field research findings at several workshops to local NGOs, government officials in Yerevan, and international NGOs. Their input was incorporated into the final report.

Azerbaijan Fieldwork conducted from Aug 1995-Jan 1996.	SORGU Institute attached to the Baku Institute of Sociology and Political Science. NGOs and government assisted with selection of sites.	Seventeen interviewers; mainly sociologists and education personnel with previous experience of quantitative and qualitative fieldwork. Semistructured interviews with groups of five and eight people. Results combined with community surveys conducted in 91 population points throughout the country in parallel with a national household survey in Nov.-Dec. 1995.	Communities: Series of stakeholder workshops will be convened and will include the poor, to feed back the preliminary findings, elicit comments and critiques, all of which will be incorporated into the final report and recommendations.		
Georgia Draft PPA completed April 1997.	PPA designed to complement other poverty surveys (income and expenditure, etc.) and contribute to the CAS.	Government informed, on board, otherwise not involved.	In-country research was part of a project financed by the UNDP. Project managed by local social scientist and one deputy.	Various: Semistructured, in-depth household interviews. Semistructured interviews with "expert" informants—aid workers from local and international NGOs and donor organizations; head doctors; school directors and teachers; and officials.	Communities: Information sharing.
Moldova PPA began in June 1996 and completed in June 1997.	The manager of the PA made considerable effort to coordinate other projects with the PPA (including the Social Investment Fund, an agriculture sector social assessment, micro-finance, etc.) in terms of selecting regions, highlighting issues, and trying to gather complementary data rather than repeat previous research.	Local NGO formed by and working under the auspices of an American NGO.	Various: Semistructured, in-depth household interviews. Semistructured interviews with "expert" informants—aid workers from local and international NGOs and donor organizations; head doctors; school directors and teachers; officials.		

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix A. (continued)

<i>Country, timing, and cost</i>	<i>Context Bank</i>	<i>Context in country</i>	<i>Institutions involved</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Level of participation</i>
Ukraine Completed 1996.	PA consisted of several components, one of which was the PPA.		World Bank manager and a U.S. anthropologist contracted with a Kiev-based sociological research institute and some individual researchers to conduct the interviews throughout the country.	Various: Semistructured, in-depth household interviews. Semistructured interviews with "expert" informants—aid workers from local and international NGOs and donor organizations; head doctors; school directors and teachers; and officials, etc.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Results were presented in several workshops for academics, NGO representatives, and government officials (and Ukraine office World Bank staff) upon completion of the field research; their input was incorporated into the final document.
SOUTH ASIA Pakistan Feb.-July 1994. Fieldwork for two months.	The manager of the PA was given limited time to complete the PA. Many felt that the PPA information was not adequately represented in the PA. The PPA was conducted after the household survey analysis was completed. The supervisor of the PPA was an outside consultant. The Human Resources Division and COD managed the PPA.	The government did not support or oppose the PPA. However, some government officials and NGOs disagreed with the PA's conclusions. Although there was consultation, some stakeholders felt their views were not considered and that the ongoing national poverty debate was not represented in the final PA.	The Federal Bureau of Statistics was involved in selecting the communities.	PRA: Local consultants were recruited. Roving teams were used.	Communities: Information sharing. Others: Workshops were held with a wide cross-section of stakeholders for the PA.

Notes: See list on pp. xxi–xxiii for definitions of abbreviations and acronyms. The column describing the levels of participation has limited value and is only indicative. To be more accurate, a multiple stakeholder analysis of participation using the stakeholders' own indicators would be required. The diversity of experiences of the PPAs has been affected by many factors, including the context in the World Bank and in country. This is detailed in the table, as are the methodologies employed to elicit the views of the poor.

Appendix B. Impact

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
AFRICA					
Benin	Children's drawings were used to understand their perceptions of poverty.	This was one of the first PPAs in the Bank, and its results initiated the ongoing dialogue on the use of qualitative and quantitative information. Those working on the PA stated that the PPA made the PA more interesting and readable.	The PPAs increased the interest of the Ministry of Planning in conducting qualitative assessments.		
Burundi	The PPA results stressed the vicious cycle of hunger, health problems, and low agricultural output. The new phenomenon of child-headed households resulting from deaths in the conflict was highlighted during the PPA. In urban areas, the PPA extracted the storyline of how the informal sector had been affected by the crisis and embargo.	Ongoing: The country team has recommended that the Bank undertake a new community-based poverty project, the design of which will use the recommendations of the PPA.	Ongoing: The government is currently reviewing the poverty note, which includes the results of the PPA, and intends to develop its own poverty reduction strategy.	UNDP has used the PPA results to feed into its own poverty reduction work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The PPA was useful in a postconflict situation as a rapid way to gauge the principal poverty issues when quantitative data were not available. • A full assessment needs to be made of the skills and experience available within the country to conduct the PPA. Where the teams have previously done neither PRA nor poverty work, two weeks of training is insufficient, and they may need external technical assistance to analyze results. This PPA did not produce the depth of analysis expected, primarily because the teams had too sharp a learning curve during the fieldwork. • PRA teams consisting entirely of economists (one of the Burundi teams) tend to be weak. They focus too much on extracting a number and do not properly document all the qualitative information a community is giving.

Appendix B. (continued)

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
Cameroon	The emphasis given by the poor to problems of hunger, nutrition, and high food expenditures justified and amplified the focus on addressing food insecurity in the poverty reduction strategy. The PPA also highlighted problems of isolation (transport system) and governance (decentralization). It provided key insights into the gender dimensions of poverty, confirming the disproportionate workload of women, and the fact that changing gender roles bring new opportunities and new burdens.	Although macroeconomic management and debt issues predominate in the country dialogue, some effort was made to integrate a poverty reduction strategy into the CAS, building on the results of the PA/PPA. Key elements are support for small-scale food production, processing, and marketing, and measures to enhance the status of women, including land and legal reform, rural infrastructure, and girls' education. Some viewed the PPA as having limited credibility, with some information being too generic. Interpretation of the data in the Bank was limited because of lack of time.	The results of the PA and PPA were a shock to Cameroonian both inside and outside government, as poverty had not previously been acknowledged as a serious problem. Ownership was not developed among key policymakers, as the central government was not strongly committed to poverty reduction or to building on the results of the PA/PPA process. Some local government officials did develop a keen interest in the PPA and in replicating its methodologies elsewhere.	NGOs and other institutions involved in the PPAs understood the value of the approach and appreciated the opportunity to engage in dialogue on poverty issues with the government, the Bank, and other donors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working with NGOs in preparing the PA and PPA provided a highly cost-effective means of tapping into expertise and capacity. • The effectiveness of the exercise depends on the willingness and commitment of government to engage in dialogue with civil society and on its determination to tackle the poverty problem identified. This commitment was largely absent in Cameroon, and the results of the PPA were published without extensive government support. There was, therefore, limited learning and shifting of attitudes. • The composition of the team in the Bank affects the way the information is managed, disseminated, and analyzed. There was limited ownership in the country and sector departments, and the PPA was managed in the Technical Department. • The PPA was a valuable instrument for bringing the concerns of the poor into the dialogue. • The PPA provided critical new insights (governance, isolation) and reinforced the priority of tackling food insecurity and poor infrastructure. • Ensuring gender balance in the PPA yielded key insights into the dynamics of poverty. • Involving local institutions and holding workshops with both government and civil society are mechanisms for expanding ownership of the poverty problem and in-country capacity to analyze and address it.
Equatorial Guinea		The PPA was considered sensitive and was rewritten in the Bank.	It is too early to assess the impact on the government, which has not yet seen the rewritten Green Cover version.	UNDP Assistant Resident Representative in country and the Executive Director of the Bank have requested a meeting to discuss the PPA findings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The information may be accurate but if the institutional frameworks of the borrower and the Bank make them unable to embrace the results, the impact will be limited.

Ethiopia	<p>Provided ideas on the causes of recent increases in agricultural production found in survey data. Differentiated winners and losers among rural communities. Raised the issue of the inappropriate timing of the school calendar and payment of school fees for poor families. Showed the importance of seasonal poverty in urban areas.</p>	<p>Because data problems delayed the results of quantitative surveys, the PPA results were extensively drawn upon for the CAS. Results also fed into the upcoming food security project and the social-sector note.</p>	<p>Very limited, except for the part of the PPA results that came through in the CAS. The government department that acted as a counterpart for the PPA has little clout and did not widely disseminate or debate the results.</p>	<p>None, because the Bank and government have not yet released the report.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional links with government are vital to ensure that the PPA results are used. • It would be useful to have a standard publication vehicle for PPAs. In this case, the PPA was intended as part of a PA and would have been published as an annex. But the PA has been delayed two years because of data problems. In this type of situation it would be useful to publish the PPA separately, since it often contains information that would be useful to local organizations but is only valuable within a limited time window. • This PPA showed the value of including at least one anthropologist as a team member.
Gabon	<p>Household data exist for Libreville and Port-Gentil (50 percent of the population) only. The PPA complemented the quantitative information for these two cities and provided key qualitative information for small cities and rural areas. Quantification of the qualitative results permitted the definition by zone of clear priorities of the poor.</p>	<p>The PPA shed light on the inefficiency of public spending in the social sectors. To follow up on recommendations, PER is being carried out in the health and education sectors. Depending on the PER recommendations, the Bank might envisage projects in these sectors.</p>	<p>The PA, incorporating the results of the PPA, was discussed with the government's Interministerial Technical Committee, which received it well and provided detailed and constructive comments. The government recently requested the Bank's assistance to improve the transparency and efficiency in public spending in the health sector. A poverty seminar was held in June 1997 with financing from the government, the Bank, and UNDP. The objectives were to disseminate the results of the PA, to define action plans for the health and education sectors, and to build capacity to collect and analyze statistical data, in collaboration with other donors.</p>	<p>Despite the delicate character of poverty in Gabon, the participatory process of the PA generated significant ownership and the Interministerial Technical Committee provided more detailed and constructive comments than did the Bank.</p>	

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix B. (continued)

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
Ghana	The PPA complemented the quantitative information and provided further information on such problems as the problem of female-headed households in the north. The importance of rural infrastructure and the quality and access of education and health were highlighted.	The information from the PPA is relatively complex and extensive, thus making incorporation of its analysis into other Bank reports often time-consuming and difficult. However, the CEM—an influential Bank instrument—had a poverty focus which, in part, was influenced by the results of the PA.	The information from the PPA and PA has been analyzed in a UNICEF report, later disseminated at a national conference attended by key government policymakers. An ongoing process of dialogue has now developed between the Bank and the government regarding poverty. The government was initially not receptive to the results of the PA and PPA. However, the government's interest was underscored by the initial PPA results in the CEM. The capacity of the Statistics Department was strengthened through the PA (published poverty profile, training, increased dialogue with line ministries).	Other institutions were already involved in promoting a dialogue on poverty. It is thus difficult to assess the impact of the PPA alone on other institutions. The formulation of a poverty policy through joint donor action and the Consultative Group meeting in Paris is now being developed.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initially, key stakeholders were reluctant to become involved. However, a process approach was adopted whereby the PPA and PA were viewed as a means of initiating dialogue and not an end in itself. For such an approach, Bank follow-up is vital.
Kenya	The information in the PPA was used to design a more effective and focused quantitative questionnaire. The PPA focused on issues such as social capital, coping strategies, female-headed households, and the use of services, including water. It resulted in the recognition that rural water was a problem. It highlighted the fact that	The PA does reflect the major findings of the PPA. Some argued that the PA and PPA could have been more extensively incorporated into other country reports.	Some in government were initially skeptical and not willing to become involved directly. The benefits of adopting the approach were not clear to them. However, after the first PPA analysis and dissemination workshops, the government initiated a second round with the NGOs. This is being funded by the DPID.	Capacity in country to conduct qualitative assessments has increased.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sequencing of the PPA and quantitative analysis is important. The PPA was able to influence the design of the household surveys. More time was required to develop dialogue with key stakeholders.

Lesotho	Some key themes emerged from the PPA that were not highlighted in the quantitative surveys: for example, alcoholism and political factors such as injustice and corruption. These issues fed into the policy level through the action plan.	Initially limited ownership by government. Some in government felt that the draft PA was not a clear policy document. But as government ownership increased, such issues as corruption and the role of local government appeared in speeches and documents.	PA widely used by donors and other agencies in country.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Initially there was limited ownership in country. Ownership increased only when responsibility for the action plan was handed over to a cross-section of stakeholders. A workshop was held in February 1997 that solidified local ownership of the action plan.
Madagascar	The PA information put such issues as access to social services and security on the agenda for discussion.	Impact upon Bank documents has been limited to date.	Government commitment and ownership of the poverty problem vary. Those who were involved in the PA are now more committed. Government officials have visited the Bank on several occasions to follow up the results of the PPA. However, follow-up by the Bank has not been extensive.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Because the initial approach was not just a one-time intervention of information gathering, but part of a process of building up dialogue at different levels with various stakeholders, government ownership has developed. However, because Bank follow-up has not been extensive, it has not been possible to consolidate all the advances in policy dialogue.
Mali	The information from the qualitative survey explained some of the perceived anomalies from the quantitative survey. For example, the disproportionate amount of money spent on clothing was explained by the fact that clothing is also an investment for "social insurance."	Project on grassroots initiatives was identified and is under preparation. The PPA was one of the first in Africa and its methodology was replicated in the Bank's PAs in Niger, Chad, and Benin.	Was a first step in putting poverty on the political agenda as a cross-cutting issue in itself.	

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix B. (continued)

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
Mozambique	The PPA generally sounds out local communities using an approach that is more flexible and more open to defining issues according to the poor's own concerns. It encourages and is based on their direct participation and embraces direct observation as a key component of the research method.	Too early to assess policy impact.	The PPA process was successfully internalized in the Ministry of Planning. High degree of local ownership. Working groups in sector ministries have used information on specific sector issues (such as health, water, livestock). Ministry of Social Action and other institutions have nominated staff for PRA training and seconded staff to participate as members of the field teams.	Other stakeholders have been included through widespread dissemination of the PPA material from the beginning. A real strength of the PPA has been its multidisciplinary approach, in terms of background, type of institution (university, government, NGO), and type of researcher ("insiders" and "outsiders"). This multiinstitutional approach has also strengthened relationships among the participating institutions. Collaborating NGOs (partners in fieldwork in Phase I) have benefited directly while non-participating NGOs have used field-site data for improved targeting, and poverty mapping data for longer-term planning.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a tradeoff between local ownership and quality control. • For increased impact, the PPA reports should be written in a more concise manner. • In the first phase there was an overcrowding of the research agenda and the interview guide was too broad. Careful matching of the research issues to methods of investigation is required. • A major problem has been the demands of multiple stakeholders. The World Bank had its own internal deadlines and the Bank PPA manager, located in Maputo, also had to be responsive to the needs of the other stakeholders. • PRA represents a significant and useful methodological approach to encourage communities to be more conscious of their life conditions, opportunities, strengths, and limitations. This is particularly important in the context of a government without the capacity to help in many areas of the country.
Niger	Some key elements of the poverty profile (based on statistical data) were confirmed by the PPA (for example, food insecurity, low enrollment) and some other elements were added (causality for	The manager of the PA, since the publication of the Gray Cover, has succeeded in influencing the design of the proposed Infrastructure Project to include pilot rural operations. The CAS will use	The government formed an Interministerial Committee on Poverty and has been actively involved in the PA process, having written its own PA with UNDP. A Round Table on Poverty has been planned but has not yet been held, largely	As a result of the Bank's PPA and PA process, UNDP and EU have now participated in regional workshops for the Niger CAS 1997 in an attempt to design their own assistance strategies, with poverty as a central focal point. NGOs are	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The primary lesson learned is that the perception of poverty issues by major stakeholders is a key element in understanding poverty and will be taken into account in future projects, programs, and policies dealing with poverty reduction.

	low enrollment, nonuse of health services) and will be incorporated into the new survey design.	participatory techniques such as regional workshops and consultation, which have been recognized as very valuable based on the experience of the PPA.	because of political uncertainty in the country.	now major participants in the poverty dialogue.
Nigeria	The PPA highlighted that the poor viewed water and roads as priorities. In addition, the weakness of the coping mechanisms was highlighted. Strategy needs to be focused on pattern of growth, as bottom 20 percent of the population has become worse off despite an overall poverty decline.	The Bank refocused its program toward water and roads. Targeting public expenditures in health, education, and water was indicated to be important in alleviating the suffering of the poor.	In country, the PPA has initiated an ongoing debate about poverty and gender issues. The PPA process initiated the government's increasing interest and involvement in the work of the NGOs.	NGOs are now being increasingly more accepted as part of the development process.
Rwanda	The PPA highlighted the labor constraint in the agricultural sector since the genocide; the national debate had previously assumed a continuing labor surplus economy. It also highlighted restrictions on labor mobility, the increasingly female face of poverty, problems of rising costs of health care, migration patterns, and information on changes in community networks and social relationships.	The PPA was a central input to the PA, which was used as a base document for the Consultative Group meetings. PPA results also fed into the CAS, the agriculture strategy note, and the agricultural LIL.	Government was initially somewhat skeptical about the PPA, but has increasingly become interested in and supportive of the results. The results of the PPA were very high profile in Rwanda, in part because of the controversy about labor constraints and the tradeoff between economic costs and security benefits in imposing mobility restrictions. The government is reviewing the PA and will make a decision about whether it wishes to publish a joint PA and poverty reduction strategy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> While funding has been shrinking, the PPA process facilitated increased donor coordination. PRA can be an extremely useful tool, even in the worst of postconflict situations (and there can hardly be less trust than in postconflict Rwanda). Putting together a team of people based on their commitment as well as their skills can immensely improve the quality of results--in this case the team showed a remarkable commitment to producing a good analysis. The influence of the PPA can be greatly increased by carefully choosing partners to conduct it and gaining the involvement of high-profile government or civil society individuals. These informal networks disseminated and lent credibility to the results. For the PRA training, we had allocated two weeks. This was sufficient to transfer the tools but

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix B. (continued)

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
South Africa	The PPA highlighted the various dynamics of the decisionmaking process, coping strategies, seasonality, intrahousehold gender relations, and the constrained access to services. As an example of the stresses caused by seasonality, the problem of paying for school fees at a time when income was short was also highlighted through the PPA.	Too early to assess.	The PPA included key policy-makers from the beginning and ownership gradually developed among high-level, influential stakeholders. The Cabinet met twice to discuss the PPA. The first meeting took two hours and was chaired by Thabo Mbeki, the Deputy President of South Africa.	Too early to assess.	<p>not the substance of all the questions. It would be useful to increase the length of the training and carry out fieldwork in several rounds, so that teams can analyze results from the first communities immediately.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust with communities is increased and the process moves more quickly where the team includes a member from the community. <p>• Stakeholder involvement from the beginning was an important step. Although the initial stakeholder workshop was time-consuming and problematic to convene, many advantages became apparent as the process evolved. The workshop identified the most appropriate approach and methodology. As a result, the PPA was both rapid and efficient.</p> <p>• Management of the process by the local consulting firm was transparent and effective.</p> <p>• The unexpected closure of the South African Reconstruction and Development Office rendered the initial strategy of focusing on one particular department inadequate.</p>
Tanzania	Both the PA and the PPA estimated that the number of poor in the rural areas was approximately 50 percent of the population. The PPA highlighted that a larger proportion	The financial-sector reform is using the same methodology. The information from the PPA is reflected in the PA.	The government was initially cautious but became more receptive as it understood the value of the approach. The PPA highlighted the capacity of the poor to analyze their own problems.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More time and resources are required to promote a longer process, which would lead to a greater understanding of poverty and its links to policy. • Teams could be located at the field level. Coordination by one person in Washington proved difficult. The Resident Mission in Tanzania could be strengthened to take the initiative. People skilled

of these poor households are female headed. Whereas the PA focused on consumption and expenditure, the PPA used criteria as defined by the poor, such as feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness. Many problems were gender specific; the women identified food, water, and health as their main problems, whereas men identified transport, farming, and drunkenness.

Togo

Attention drawn to generally ignored, vulnerable groups: displaced people and domestic child labor.

There was limited impact on the CAS because the PTA was completed afterward. The PA was written by the PPA manager and thus the qualitative information was incorporated.

Greater ownership of proposed strategy. The PA was "more interesting" and therefore more readable.

Other donors such as the UNDP are also promoting the use of qualitative techniques. The PPA assisted in building dialogue between the Bank and other donors.

in the analysis of poverty could be located within the Resident Mission. To increase the capacity of the Resident Mission, training in best practice of gathering qualitative information could be conducted and tool kits provided.

Uganda

Knowledge about areas of the country where no information was available because of the civil war.

The Ugandan PPA was one of the first in the Bank, and it initiated Bankwide discussions on the value of qualitative data.

- It was difficult for researchers to analyze and organize information in the field within the limited time frame. Therefore, some analysis might not have been accurate and it was not written in a way easy to understand.

- The data should have been disaggregated by gender.

- Men and women were consulted, but the information was not disaggregated.

- A lot can be learned quickly.

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix B. (continued)

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
Zambia	Information detailed and comprehensive. Disaggregated by gender where appropriate. Such issues as school fees and the timing of their payment were highlighted.	The PA includes a detailed action plan that incorporates some of the recommendations of the PPA. Specific elements that influenced the action plan included emphasis on rural infrastructure investments and urban services. The poverty profile—especially community-based identification of the ultrapoor, coping strategies, safety nets, and targeted interventions—were also influenced by the PPA. The Bank's Health Project contains conditions of cost recovery based on the PPA and supported by the second Social Recovery Project.	The government was influenced by the priorities expressed by the poor in the ranking exercises. The Ministry of Health has been using the results of the PPA and the PA in developing policy. In the Ministry of Education, a new policy is in preparation with reference to the timing of school fees. Positive feedback has been received from the communities in the PPA on the functioning of the emergency safety net during the southern Africa drought of 1992.	The NGO, PAG, has developed into an effective policy-oriented institution. The capacity of the NGO has been built. However, it is now dependent on government and donors for sustainability and its capacity requires further strengthening.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Feeding information back to the communities and promoting ongoing dialogue should be part of the design of the PPA. Information from the PPA could then be used to develop action plans. ▪ Including key stakeholders from the beginning enhanced long-term ownership.

**LATIN AMERICA
AND CARIBBEAN**

Argentina

Identification of eligibility and targeting criteria for beneficiaries of social programs. Development of impact indicators to monitor social programs.

PA has been completed. There is great potential for the results to be integrated into other Bank programs because of the team ownership within the Bank.

Increased coordination between government agencies and programs. Dissemination of the results has validated the methodology and contributed to the development of an integrated (qualitative/quantitative) approach to monitoring and evaluating social programs. Some government programs are modifying their M&E indicators as SIEMPRO has developed program-specific indicators.

With NGOs: Only a few NGOs have been able to meet the technical qualifications required by SIEMPRO to carry out the PPA. It is expected that the higher standards set by SIEMPRO would have a positive impact on the NGO community as they would have to professionalize their services. At the same time, SIEMPRO is carrying out a training program for government officials and planning to develop a more structured training program (a master program). Outside the country: SIEMPRO experience on monitoring and evaluation of social programs is being disseminated to other countries.

- Issues of ownership in the Bank context are relevant. From the beginning, the PPA was planned and prepared using an inclusive, consultative approach within the Bank. To be effective and have multiplier effects, PPAs have to be linked to broader operations or sector work.
- Results have to be translated into operational recommendations for ongoing operations (M&E methodologies and indicators, eligibility and targeting criteria, etc.).

Costa Rica

The PPA highlighted the linkages between home ownership and status in society. Family was viewed as the most important institution, and in times of stress people rely on their families for support.

Delay in the analysis and dissemination of findings has meant that the impact within the Bank has been limited to date.

The government was eager to disseminate the results, but it took nine months for the Bank to grant permission.

Too early to assess.

- A clear dissemination strategy should be defined as part of the PPA's design.

Appendix B. (continued)

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
Ecuador	Quality of information is good. The results fed directly into the type of questions analyzed in the quantitative survey.	The PA information has been strongly reflected in the CAS. Several sector divisions have started sector studies as preparation for operations based on the PA results.	Although the government was not included in the process of the PPA and the PA, the results of the PA have affected the country's perceptions of its priorities. Such issues as access to secondary schools and off-farm rural markets, previously not part of the poverty debate in Ecuador, were placed on the agenda. The PPA work has initiated dialogue between different groups and the Bank.	The NGOs in country have increased their capacity to conduct qualitative surveys. UNICEF used the PPA methodology to evaluate the impact of its program.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were advantages of the qualitative assessment preceding the quantitative assessment. The qualitative information was used in the design of the quantitative survey. • The PA manager should be closely involved in the whole process. A greater understanding of the qualitative research techniques from the beginning would have enhanced the results. It is proposed that the preparation of the teams involved in the PPA and PA be clearly thought through for each team and each country. • The results should be analyzed by someone who has an understanding of the country and its culture in order to put the poverty into the country context.
Guatemala	The findings of the PPA have recently been published in a book, and follow-up studies are underway on such issues as gender, problems of indigenous peoples, and rural-urban dichotomies.				
Mexico	The quality of the PPA was mixed. The information was not ranked adequately. However, it was gender specific, which added value. The report found that the women of	The results are still being assimilated.	The results are still being assimilated.	Too early to assess.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was difficult to find a suitable national consultant who was not politically affiliated. • Controlling the process of gathering PPA information proved problematic, as the teams attempted to follow their own agenda.

**EUROPE AND
CENTRAL ASIA**
Armenia

Mexico City are unwilling to leave their houses and go to work. Because they do not have tenancy rights, they are afraid that their houses may become occupied. In the northern areas it is easier for women to obtain jobs than for men. This challenges the traditional gender roles as many men find themselves out of work. Conflict within the household was highlighted as a major issue.

The qualitative information assisted in the analysis of the results of the quantitative surveys. The PPA highlighted the great variety of coping strategies and the lack of trust for any organization such as local government, NGOs, and community groups.

The PA manager knew the country well, had built up respect among key policymakers and within the country's academic community, and encouraged a team approach within the Bank. In the Bank, the PPA manager and those managing surveys worked closely to establish a research agenda for the PPA. The country department's macro-economist was also extensively involved. The outcome was the follow-

The results were disseminated at a seminar in March 1996.

- If there had been adequate resources and time, the PA should have been integrated with the Social Investment Fund.

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix B. (continued)

<i>Country</i>	<i>PPA highlights</i>	<i>Impact on World Bank</i>	<i>Impact on borrower</i>	<i>Impact on other institutions</i>	<i>Lessons learned</i>
SOUTH ASIA Pakistan	<p>The PPA highlighted the fact that the poor spend a large proportion of their income on health care. The poor felt that social services were inadequate and there was a lack of accountability to the communities. Many income-earning opportunities were lost through ill health.</p> <p>ing: first, the results of the PPA were reflected in the PA; second, the country program and the recently drafted CAS integrated the results of the PA; and third, the PA was well received in country.</p>	<p>The awareness of some Bank staff of the information contained in the two PPA studies is limited.</p>	Limited.	Limited.	<p>Some key stakeholders were consulted during the preparation of the PA. The Resident Mission helped to organize the workshops. Some felt that although the consultations were fairly extensive, the final document did not reflect the views of the majority.</p>

Notes: See list on pp. xxi–xxii for definitions of abbreviations and acronyms. In some cases, it has been too early to assess the impact. In others, the impact of the PPA has been difficult to isolate from other factors. Policy change and attitude shifts are part of a complex social process and thus it is often difficult to isolate the impact of the PPA.

Appendix C. Poverty Assessments, Completed and Scheduled (by Country), Fiscal Year 1989–2000

East Asia and the Pacific			
<i>Completed (15)</i>			
Philippines*	1989	Costa Rica	1991
Indonesia	1991	Ecuador	1991
Malaysia	1991	Mexico	1991
China ^a	1992	Venezuela	1991
Philippines (update)	1993	Paraguay	1992
Indonesia (update)	1994	Peru	1993
Fiji	1995	Uruguay	1993
Vietnam ^a	1995	El Salvador	1994
Lao PDR ^a	1996	Guyana ^a	1994
Mongolia ^a	1996	Jamaica	1994
Philippines (update)	1996	Paraguay (update)	1994
Thailand	1997	Argentina	1995
Cambodia ^a	2000	Brazil	1995
Philippines (update)	2000	Colombia	1995
Vietnam (update) ^a	2000	Dominican Republic	1995
<i>Scheduled Updates (4)</i>		Guatemala	1995
China ^a	2001	Honduras ^a	1995
Indonesia	2001	Nicaragua ^a	1995
Lao PDR ^a	2001	Bolivia (update) ^a	1996
Thailand	2001	Ecuador (update)	1996
Europe and Central Asia		Trinidad and Tobago	1996
<i>Completed (22)</i>		Costa Rica (update)	1997
Kyrgyz Republic ^a	1995	Chile (update)	1998
Poland	1995	Haiti ^a	1999
Russia	1995	Panama	1999
Armenia ^a	1996	Peru (update)	1999
Belarus	1996	Argentina (update)	2000
Estonia	1996	<i>Scheduled Updates (5)</i>	
Hungary	1996	Colombia	2001
Ukraine	1996	Honduras ^a	2001
Albania ^a	1997	Mexico	2001
Azerbaijan ^a	1997	Nicaragua ^a	2001
Romania	1997	Uruguay	2001
Kazakhstan	1998	Middle East and North Africa	
Armenia (update) ^a	1999	<i>Completed (6)</i>	
Bulgaria	1999	Egypt, Arab Republic of ^a	1992
Georgia ^a	1999	Morocco	1994
Kyrgyz Republic (update) ^a	1999	Jordan	1995
FYR Macedonia ^a	1999	Tunisia	1996
Russia (update)	1999	Yemen, Republic of ^a	1996
Latvia	2000	Algeria	1999
Moldova	2000	<i>Scheduled Updates (2)</i>	
Tajikistan	2000	Jordan	2001
Turkey	2000	Morocco	2001
<i>Scheduled (1)</i>		South Asia	
Croatia	2001	<i>Completed (11)</i>	
<i>Scheduled Updates (1)</i>		Bangladesh ^a	1990
Hungary	2001	India ^a	1990
Latin America and the Caribbean		Nepal ^a	1991
<i>Completed (29)</i>		Pakistan ^a	1991
Bolivia ^a	1990	Sri Lanka ^a	1995
Chile	1990	Pakistan (update) ^a	1996
		India (update) ^a	1997
		Bangladesh (update) ^a	1998

(Table continues on the following page.)

Appendix C. (*continued*)

South Asia-continued			
India (update) ^a	1998	Kenya ^a	1995
Nepal (update) ^a	1999	Mauritania ^a	1995
India (update) ^a	2000	Mauritius	1995
		Senegal ^a	1995
		Zambia ^a	1995
<i>Scheduled Updates (1)</i>		Zimbabwe ^a	1995
Sri Lanka ^a	2001	Eritrea ^a	1996
		Lesotho ^a	1996
Sub-Saharan Africa		Madagascar ^a	1996
<i>Completed (40)</i>		Malawi (update) ^a	1996
Malawi ^a	1990	Niger ^a	1996
Mozambique ^a	1991	Nigeria ^a	1996
Ethiopia ^a	1993	Tanzania ^a	1996
Ghana ^a	1993	Togo ^a	1996
The Gambia ^a	1993	Congo ^a	1997
Mali ^a	1993	Côte d'Ivoire ^a	1997
Namibia	1993	Gabon	1997
Sierra Leone ^a	1993	Guinea ^a	1997
Uganda ^a	1993	Chad ^a	1998
Benin ^a	1994	Djibouti ^a	1998
Cape Verde ^a	1994	Rwanda (update) ^a	1998
Guinea-Bissau ^a	1994	Burundi ^a	1999
Rwanda ^a	1994	Swaziland	2000
Seychelles	1994		
Cameroon ^a	1995	<i>Scheduled Updates (1)</i>	
Comoros ^a	1995	Ethiopia ^a	2001
Ghana (update) ^a	1995		

Total Number of Assessments:

Completed—23
Scheduled—1
Scheduled Updates—14
Grand Total—138

Notes: Assessments classified as completed are in gray or red cover, except for three assessments that were completed before Operational Directive 415: Poverty Reduction was issued. Schedule as of March 28, 2000.

In East Asia and the Pacific, poverty assessments are not scheduled for Myanmar, due to its inactive status, and the Pacific Island States, because of limited Bank support. In Korea, poverty is being monitored in the context of the structural adjustment loans, and the country economic report discusses the impact of the economic crisis on poverty. No poverty assessment is formally scheduled because the Bank's support for Korea is in response to the crisis and is expected to be short term. A poverty study for Papua New Guinea was completed in FY00.

In Europe and Central Asia, poverty assessments are not scheduled for the Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia, due to limited Bank support. Poverty assessments are scheduled for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lithuania, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan in FY02.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, poverty assessments are not scheduled for Suriname, due to its inactive status, and for the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), due to limited Bank support. A poverty assessment update for Mexico is in green cover.

In the Middle East and North Africa, poverty assessments are not scheduled for Iran and the Syrian Arab Republic due to limited Bank support.

In South Asia, poverty assessments are not scheduled for Afghanistan, due to its inactive status, and for Bhutan and Maldives, due to limited Bank support.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, poverty assessments are not scheduled for Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Somalia, and Sudan, due to their inactive status, and to Equatorial Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe, due to limited Bank support. A poverty assessment for South Africa, titled "Poverty and Inequality," was completed by the government in FY98. The Bank contributed to this report, including by undertaking an LSMS and participatory poverty assessments, and by preparing the poverty profile and background papers. Poverty notes have been completed for Burkina Faso (FY97) and Central African Republic (FY98). Additional poverty notes/studies will be prepared for Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, and Uganda.

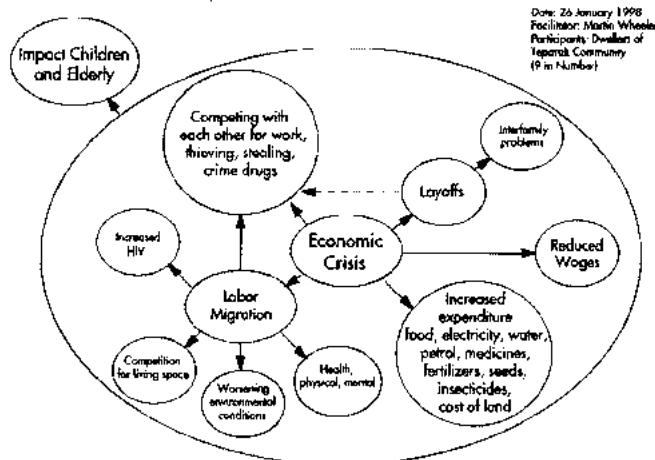
^a IDA borrower.

Source: Table compiled by PRMPO, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Appendix D. Examples of PRA Exercises in Thailand (1998) and Zambia (1996)

Example of PRA Exercise in Thailand

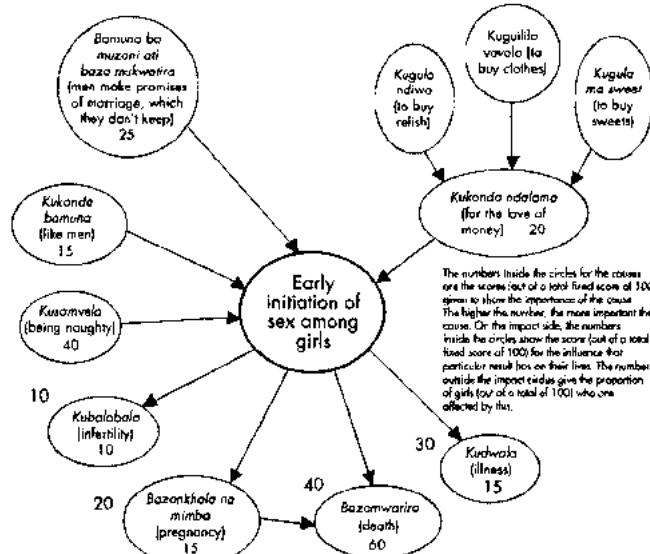
Impact of the Economic Crisis: Khon Kaen



Source: Robb and Zhang (1998).

Example of PRA Exercise in Zambia

Causes and Impact of Early Initiation of Sex among Girls
(Analyzed by a group of girls, Chawama Compound)



Source: Shah and Nikhama (1996).

Appendix E. Country Case Examples

Costa Rica

Background

Costa Rica has a per capita income of US\$2,590 (1995) annually and thus is at the higher end of the lower-income countries. Its quality-of-life indicators are similar to those of a developed country. However, the key indicators of social well-being are more similar to those of a middle-income country.¹ Costa Rica has traditionally had an efficient public social sector and a strong pro-poor political party, and government is actively seeking ways to alleviate poverty and open up the policy dialogue. A program called the National Plan to Combat Poverty, administered under the Second Vice President, has identified the 17 poorest communities in Costa Rica. Under the plan, pilot studies to analyze poverty have been initiated.

Process

Policy dialogue in the poverty assessment

The Bank consulted a wide range of government line ministries as part of the preparation of the poverty assessment and later to share the findings of the report. National workshops were convened with a cross-section of stakeholders. By the time the assessment was completed, consensus had been achieved through dialogue, according to the Bank manager. However, some ministries were not widely aware of the report. Officials in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Policy—the implementing agency—as well as in the Second Vice President's Office felt that although the Bank had made an agreement with the previous government to undertake the poverty assessment, the consultations with the new government had been less extensive. Some officials stated that they thought the assessment was an internal Bank document.

Participatory research process

National consultants were contracted to undertake the PPA. Because of the political commitment to alleviate poverty, high-level government officials supported the PPA from the beginning. Senior advisers from the Planning Ministry were involved and are now committed to incorporating the results into the analysis of poverty. They are in direct contact with the minister and have the ability to influence policy. However, the involvement of other line ministries has so far been limited, to the extent that the PPA was described by one government agency as "the

secret study." In addition, there was limited consultation with the NGO community. However, the ministry is now committed to the wide dissemination of what it perceives to be a valid and credible document. The dissemination process should result in wider ownership.

There is confusion over the ownership of information contained in the PPA. In the implementing ministry, information was felt to be the property of the World Bank. Nevertheless, government officials were eager to publish the PPA results without waiting for completion of the poverty assessment, since they considered the PPA a valid stand-alone document with clear and implementable policy messages. In addition, they were concerned that the final poverty assessment would not reflect the findings of the PPA. The Bank manager attempted to gain clearance as quickly as possible for publication of the PPA, but there were administration delays. Permission to print and disseminate the information was finally gained, nine months after the government's initial request.

Methodology—beneficiary assessment

The fieldwork for the PPA was undertaken in December 1994 and lasted one month. Seven sites were selected from the government's National Plan to Combat Poverty, which had identified the poorest areas. A cross-section of rural, peri-urban, and urban communities was selected. The fieldwork included a combination of individual interviews and focus group discussions. A team of researchers was selected from students at the university and recent graduates. Senior government officials assisted in the fieldwork. A consultant from the United States trained the team in interviewing techniques. During the pilot phase in one community, techniques were refined and a manual was written by the research team. The final report was written by a multidisciplinary team. The total cost of the study was US\$36,500.

Value Added

The PPA found that housing is a major priority of the poor (up to one-third of the PPA report focused on housing). Twenty percent of those surveyed felt that housing was a major goal before any other material possession; 20 percent felt that one of their most serious problems was not having a home; and 50 percent of the families felt that their houses were in poor condition, with, for example, poor or incomplete roofing or an earth floor.

Other priorities of those interviewed included poor quality of services in health centers; lack of day care centers in urban areas; and the need for more effective transport services and feeder roads to take their goods to market. Although literacy rates were high (94.6 percent for females and

94.4 percent for males), secondary education was not perceived as a priority in a majority of households in either urban or rural areas.

Links to Policy Change

The PPA approach is new to Costa Rica, and the director of the study felt that the process had been a learning experience. It was the first study in Costa Rica to undertake a nationwide survey using anthropological techniques. In the past, such studies were confined to small sections of the population and had a sector focus. The lack of sector bias in the PPA enabled people to express priorities instead of focusing on predetermined sectors.

Because senior government officials were involved in the studies at the community level, there was a greater understanding of and commitment to the PPA approach within the Ministry of Planning. Ministry officials felt that the PPA approach could have a wider impact in the future. Rather than serving as an add-on to the poverty assessment, the PPA is being treated as a building block to gain a wider understanding of poverty issues. Ministry officials see a need for more participatory studies in the future.

Lessons for Increasing Impact

Increase ownership

Overall, broad ownership of the PPA study was limited despite the fact that government officials were included from the beginning.

Ministry officials felt that the delay in approving publication of the findings reduced the credibility of the information in the PPA. The Minister of Planning and Economic Policy had already read the PPA and agreed with the conclusions but was reluctant to pass it on to the Vice President and the other ministers before receiving approval from the Bank.

Include a wider range of stakeholders

The extent to which other stakeholders could have been involved and the timing of their inclusion were subjects of debate. The ministry felt that including a wider range of stakeholders during preparation would complicate the process. The Ministry now plans to undertake a series of workshops at the national and regional levels to disseminate the findings among a wider cross-section of stakeholders.

The Association of Latin America NGOs felt that many groups had information and experience that could have been valuable during preparation of the PPA, and that involving a wider range of stakeholders

would have created broader support for the policy recommendations. For example, the Central American Council of Cooperatives had already undertaken significant work on how poor people have been affected by various social and economic policies. The NGO association also felt that the information in the PPA could have been cross-referenced with existing studies to make the conclusions more representative. The Ministry of Planning now intends to involve the NGOs extensively in the ongoing dialogue.

Dissemination of the study

Impact of the PPA should increase now that the government is able to disseminate the information. Some government agencies feel they can apply the approach effectively in their own work. For example, the Social Welfare Fund is attempting to work directly with local government, and fund officials stated that the approach could assist district councils in identifying community priorities. In addition, the coordinating body for the National Plan to Combat Poverty commented that the PPA would be relevant to their work of realigning the program to meet community needs.

Dissemination of the study to communities could help build national ownership and awareness and increase involvement of communities in the poverty debate. However, a ministry official commented that feedback had already been given to communities during the fieldwork and that communities would be more interested in proposed interventions than in the findings of the PPA.

To increase the impact of the PPA, it could be disseminated through existing communication structures to broaden the policy debate. Costa Rica already has an effective communications strategy for social issues. Recent campaigns have included awareness of health and domestic violence issues. Through the use of these existing structures, the PPA could become a vehicle for deepening the understanding of poverty.

A recommendation for the Costa Rica PPA, and for future PPAs throughout the Bank, is that a dissemination strategy should be part of the PPA design. It should be detailed in the terms of reference and budgeted from the outset.

Management in the Bank

Coordination between the poverty assessment and the PPA was logistically difficult. The task manager for the poverty assessment lives in Honduras and one consultant lives in Chile. Three others, however, live in Costa Rica and could have been more extensively involved in the PPA. Their involvement would have given them a better understanding of the participatory approach and would have helped the team to more

effectively combine the household survey results from the poverty assessment with the results of the PPA.

The resident mission felt excluded from the PPA, although the mission had not been established at the time of the PPA fieldwork. The NGO liaison officer had extensive knowledge of the various groups in civil society and believes that he can now assist the government in formulating a dissemination strategy for the PPA.

Timing

The Bank set a deadline for the PPA to be completed by December 1994. This was to correspond with the completion of the poverty assessment, which was later delayed. Because of this deadline, the PPA director felt that the fieldwork had been rushed and that it could have been more extensive (it should have included other poor areas, such as in the north) and more intensive (more time should have been spent at each site). Only marginal costs would have been incurred had the deadline been extended.

Mozambique

Background

The PPA was sponsored by the Poverty Alleviation Unit (Department of Population and Social Development) of the National Directorate of Planning in the Ministry of Planning and Finance, and financed by the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID) and the World Bank through the Dutch Trust Fund for Poverty Assessments.²

Process

The policy dialogue

The PPA was initiated in late 1994 to correspond with the government's preparation of a poverty assessment and was motivated by the need for qualitative insights on poverty at the household and community levels. The objectives of the exercise were to contribute to government policy formulation by the Poverty Alleviation Unit in the Ministry of Planning; sharpen the focus on poverty alleviation in donors' work programs; contribute to a broader understanding of livelihood trends and changes in the country; and enhance the capacity of the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane at Maputo, the Poverty Alleviation Unit, and collaborating agencies to carry out participatory research.

The specific objectives of the Mozambique PPA, as set out in the initial discussion paper,³ were to explore, in poor rural and urban communities, the following:

- The main concerns, problems, and priorities in people's lives; how these have changed since the peace accord; how they differ according to gender; and the perceived constraints to addressing poverty problems
- Local conceptions of relative well-being; causes of vulnerability and seasonal stress; and the nature and effectiveness of community coping mechanisms, household survival strategies, and other (government/NGO) safety nets
- Perceptions of social service delivery: access, quality, and cost of different service providers (public, traditional, NGO)
- Access to land: security and conflict in tenure, and situations under which terms of entitlement are changing
- Access to infrastructure, markets, and other social and economic services; and the barriers that limit access to income and participation in markets, employment, and so forth

The PPA was structured in three phases:

Phase I: a preparatory phase to produce preliminary poverty profiles using wealth and problem rankings and priority needs assessments from two districts in each of the country's 10 provinces. Preparation for Phase I began in February 1995 and involved broad consultation with the government and the NGO, donor, and research communities.

Phase II: to more closely define the research agenda, with much of the work subcontracted to partner NGOs, which carried out extended livelihood assessments in fieldwork areas and compiled poverty data for five provinces. Fieldwork for Phase II was carried out between September and December 1996.

Phase III: a short follow-up in rural sites to capture aspects of seasonality through supplementary fieldwork in selected communities; completion of overall PPA synthesis, documentation, and dissemination.

Feedback on progress of the PPA was provided through regular meetings with the Poverty Alleviation Unit and line ministries, donors, NGOs, and the research community. Emerging findings from the PPA were disseminated through the national press and numerous workshops and seminars within and outside Mozambique, including through the Red Cross and the UNDP Poverty Forum. In addition, PPA outcomes were integrated into poverty analysis and participatory methodologies in academic and practical courses at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane. Information on PPA methodology and materials was also provided to various local and international NGOs and to donors. All PPA documentation has been freely available to the public.

Participatory research process

The methodology for the PPA was a mix of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques, including semistructured conversational interviewing, direct observation, and also more complex visual research methods such as thematic mapping, seasonality diagramming, wealth ranking, institutional mapping, and trend and livelihood analysis.

Value Added

- A qualitative approach based on direct observation enabled researchers to be more flexible and open to the concerns of the poor and to encourage their direct participation.
- A real strength of the PPA approach has been its inclusion of multidisciplinary researchers and multiple stakeholders. This approach has also strengthened relationships between the participating institutions (the university, the government, and NGOs).
- The PRA approach enabled communities to become more conscious of their life conditions, opportunities, strengths, and limitations. This is particularly important because the government does not have the capacity to help the poor in many areas of the country.

The PPA has made a considerable impact through the participatory process. The participation of a variety of local institutions and stakeholders was encouraged: collaborating NGOs (partners in fieldwork in Phase II) benefited directly, while nonparticipating NGOs have used field data for improved targeting and poverty mapping data for longer-term planning; working groups in sector ministries have used information on specific sector issues (such as health, water, livestock); and Ministry of Social Action and other institutions nominated staff for PRA training and seconded staff to participate as members of the field teams.

Institutional issues

The PPA was adopted by the Poverty Alleviation Unit in the Ministry of Planning and Finance and contracted to the Centro de Estudos de População at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (CEP-UEM). The emphasis on local ownership resulted in the PPA process being successfully internalized in the strategic poverty work of the Poverty Alleviation Unit.

In institutional terms, Phase II provided for increased emphasis on partnerships, particularly with NGOs under subcontract, to carry out fieldwork or analyze poverty data in their areas of operation. This feature of Phase II allowed for the realization of the capacity-strengthening component of the PPA. Collaborating NGOs benefited from training

and from guidance in poverty-sensitive community assessments as a consequence of their participation in the exercise.

The PPA began as a World Bank initiative, but beyond Phase I the Bank did not play a significant role in the exercise—partly because of the protracted absence of a focal counterpart in the Bank after the departure of the PPA task manager in June 1996 and the consequent reorganization of task responsibilities in Washington. A participant in the workshop organized for this study asked whether the PPA was contributing to project or policy formulation at the World Bank. The facilitator responded that the primary client for the PPA was the government of Mozambique.

The government's assessment of the PPA

The director of the Poverty Alleviation Unit gave a presentation at the workshop in which she underscored the value of the PPA as a source of community-level information on rural livelihood conditions in this post-war period (and given the lack of data because of conflict conditions). The PPA has been closely consulted by a number of ministries—Education, Health, Labor, Youth and Culture, Social Action, and Environment—as they formulate development plans. The Poverty Alleviation Unit has also used the PPA results to evaluate proposed government strategies and test the validity of strategic priorities. The PPA has highlighted the heterogeneity of poverty and the complexities inherent in different regions and among different social groups of the poor, and has encouraged the Poverty Alleviation Unit to systematically monitor poverty in selected districts.

Despite this interest at the national level, there are limitations to what the PPA can achieve because locally specific descriptive material might not be applicable at the macroeconomic level. PPAs can be valuable at the microeconomic level, however—especially if conjoined with other survey results—even if they do not directly influence policy.

In terms of institutional linkage, the bridge between the Poverty Alleviation Unit and the university was considered to be extremely beneficial, and both parties hope that their collaboration will continue.

An assessment by NGO partners

During the field research, a representative from the NGO Kulima, from Inhambane, suggested that involvement by subcontract in Phase II of the PPA enabled the NGO to achieve greater understanding of communities with which they work and learn new methods for community development, especially methods for targeting vulnerable groups. With this experience, Kulima expects to scale up its participatory approach in priority needs assessments and project support. The representative also

said that CEP-UEM could have provided more technical support in training and report writing.⁴ A representative from Concern, an international NGO, noted that its participation in the PPA contributed to internal planning and programming in Nampula province. She also referred to potential conflicts in PPA outcomes, particularly if community action plans are not consistent with government priorities for a district.

Enhancing in-country capacity in participatory methodologies

An important feature of Phase II was the development of a PRA participation network. Through this network, PRA approaches and methods have evolved and spread rapidly, but research and process documentation are still sorely lacking. The PRA network aims to facilitate the sharing of experiences and critical reflection. It has successfully hosted several open meetings attended by representatives of government, donors, the university, and NGOs.

Links to Policy Change

Although policymakers generally recognize the value of the PPA, many have serious reservations about using qualitative findings from micro-economic-level field studies to inform the national policy debate and create macroeconomic-level policy.

However, certain policy-relevant information is immediately apparent from the PPA (see table A1). First, outputs from wealth-ranking and problem-ranking exercises in the poverty assessments show who the poor are and their priority concerns. Second, the results of aggregated livelihood analyses show the multidimensional reality of deprivation.

In policy terms, the PPA has contributed to the poverty profiles of the Poverty Alleviation Unit, to sector working groups, to NGO operations and programming, and to policy debates on livelihoods and poverty. It has also given rise to a process of participatory poverty monitoring and to an effective network of alliances between local and national NGOs, research institutes, and government agencies.

Regarding the PPA's substantive contributions to a general understanding of poverty in Mozambique, the following were considered key outputs from the work:

- a. Phase I poverty profile outputs were based on wealth ranking in communities and on a comprehensive poverty mapping exercise using available data in Maputo and the provinces.⁵ As expected, the participatory poverty mapping contributed a more nuanced composite profile and challenged the somewhat heterogeneous categorizing of better-off south, average center, and poor north, which has characterized much of the poverty debate. The PPA, by contrast, found poverty to be highly disbursed throughout the country, district

Table A1. PPA Outputs and Applications

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Relevant outputs of PPA</i>	<i>Amenable action</i>
Government—Poverty Alleviation Unit	Poverty profile, problem ranking, livelihood and institutional analysis	Rural poverty assessment
Government—provincial and district-level offices	Provincial and district reports	Input to decentralized planning initiatives
Government—sector ministries	Institutional and livelihood analysis, priority ranking	Sector planning and policy debates
Donors	Provincial summary and synthesis	Review portfolio program mix
Nongovernmental organizations	Local field site reports	Participatory micropatterns
Research community	Site and summary reports	Contribution to research seminars on livelihood changes

Source: Reproduced from "Summary Report" (UEM 1997).

by district. Furthermore, wealth ranking revealed community members' understanding of community-level stratification (generally defined by four levels of relative well-being).

- b. Phase I and Phase II analysis of the linkage between isolation and poverty highlighted both the negative deprivation-inducing dimensions of isolation and positive impacts such as social stability and environmental and natural resource balance.⁶
 - c. Problem ranking in rural communities provided ample evidence of the reasoning behind long-term survival strategies, most of which were based on physical labor. The site reports showed consensus in the communities on entitlements for social welfare, identification of the most vulnerable (the elderly and the physically incapacitated), and identification of those who are capable of working and should not receive formal welfare assistance.
 - d. The PRA tools of problem ranking and matrix analysis were designed to evaluate two sets of priorities, one relating directly to livelihood issues and the other to the services needed to sustain those livelihoods (and people's lives). The summary priority needs assessment from the PPA is often presented as follows:⁷
1. Roads/transport
 2. Commercial networks/markets
 3. Water
 4. Health
 5. Education

Social services such as water, health, and education were identified as priorities by all communities. That they often were ranked after access, mobility, and infrastructure concerns probably reflects a perception that health, education, and water services are unlikely to be extended to inaccessible areas. Women, however, consistently gave health and other social services the higher rankings.

Of interest in the problem-ranking exercises was the lack of reference to consumption as a dimension of poverty at the household level, suggesting that household food security is not a common comparator of relative well-being among households. It was also surprising that rural extension ranked very low, suggesting either that extension is not effective or that it is not considered a priority. When probed, respondents expressed satisfaction with local technical knowledge.

Lessons for Increasing Impact

Key issues for PPA design

- Community priorities change over time in response to many social, political, and economic factors. It is important to take this into consideration in conceptualizing a policy dialogue mediated by PRA-type interlocutor mechanisms with communities.
- PRA can be an important tool for facilitating continual dialogue between policymakers and communities, and for defining policies and strategies for implementing poverty alleviation programs.
- It is important to fuse material outputs from both qualitative and quantitative research approaches and to couple qualitative and quantitative information on community priorities for action with the global policies and strategies of government and policymakers.
- PRA should not be used simply as a diagnostic test to assess poverty but also as a monitoring tool at the community level. It should be exploited to its fullest potential, enabling community members to participate and make decisions at the local level on development programs that affect them.

Limitations of PRA

Limitations of the PRA method include the potential mismatch between the rapid application of research methods and the gradual and sometimes paralyzed pace of development; the problem of transferability and replicability of methods from one village or region to another; the raising of expectations and community research fatigue; and the need for thorough training to ensure quality of facilitation.

Weaknesses of the approach

Weaknesses of the PPA approach include the following:

- Little standardization of criteria for the selection of community informants, and a continuing tendency—despite efforts at reversal—to interview community leaders and the more visible, articulate, and sociable members of the community
- Difficulty on the part of community members in understanding the point of particular rapid appraisal methods, particularly visualization exercises such as institutional diagramming
- Limited time in the field and limited time for preparation of field-work
- Difficulty in analyzing participatory research material and drafting a summary report that reflects all interviews and community-level interactions
- No satisfactory means to address the problems of raising expectations and community fatigue with research teams.

Recommendations for future work

Future PPA work should do the following:

- Clearly explain the research objectives to the community. Researchers should also have a thorough knowledge of the locale and of previous work conducted in the research areas. Fieldwork should not duplicate information available from previous assignments.
- Elicit insiders' knowledge and experience of how to confront community-level problems (researchers should not rely on the strong opinions of district administrators, for example).
- Match the issues under investigation with the right mix of skills in the research team (particularly the gender mix of team). Research teams should also have the skills to use different methods in sequence and to overcome unanticipated obstacles.

Main conclusions

The PPA has shown that

- Participatory methods can be useful for generating insights relevant to a poverty reduction strategy and that these local-level insights can be selectively translated to the national policy agenda.
- Involving government policymakers in the PPA process will enhance its policy impact.
- Systematically involving local NGOs for direct follow-up on community concerns and community-generated action plans is beneficial.

- The participatory process is useful as a means of encouraging debate on poverty.
- There is no perfect method for poverty assessment, and methodological approaches and tools still need to be practiced and perfected. Self-critical reflection will lead to improved poverty assessments and to improved dissemination and learning.
- Assessing and alleviating poverty is a long-term effort, and PPAs should be structured with this understanding in mind.

Next steps

The workshop participants had two main concerns related to follow-up and continuity of the PPA: how to maintain a database of district-level information and how to train teams for research and analysis.

The Poverty Alleviation Unit felt that CEP-UEM should play a key role in developing participatory methods for poverty assessment in Mozambique, consolidating the experience gained to date, holding training workshops, and maintaining the link with the government.

Workshop participants considered the PRA network that grew out of the exercise an important resource for linking different sources of information from different institutions.

Pakistan

Background

In 1995, Pakistan had a per capita income of US\$460 and a population of 129.7 million. With the population growing at 3 percent per year, Pakistan is one of the world's most populous and fastest growing countries. The gross domestic product growth rate between 1970 and 1991 was 5.5 percent. However, disparities are high—20 percent of the households receive 43.6 percent of the total income while the poorest 20 percent receive only 7.9 percent. Pakistan lags behind other low-income countries with regard to health and education. The infant mortality rate is more than 100 per 1,000 live births; maternal mortality is 270 per 100,000 births; and less than 30 percent of the population is literate.

Process

Policy dialogue in the poverty assessment

The poverty assessment was completed in September 1995 after extensive dialogue with the government, NGOs, and other groups in civil society. The resident mission organized workshops and meetings, including a high-level seminar in Islamabad and three provincial work-

shops in Peshwar, Quetta, and Lahore in December 1995, to discuss the results with a cross-section of stakeholders. This was the first economic-sector work in Pakistan to be disseminated and discussed so widely. The workshops were followed by many positive press reports and increased awareness of poverty issues. The process helped encourage the government to form a group to look specifically at poverty issues.

Participatory research process

As part of the poverty assessment, participatory studies were carried out after the household survey analysis. The first study, funded by the World Bank and managed by the Human Resources study department and COD, was undertaken by an outside consultant working with local consultants from the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics. The Federal Bureau of Statistics was involved in selecting the communities—10 rural and urban communities in Punjab, Balochistan, and the Northwest Frontier Province. The fieldwork lasted for two months (March–April 1994) and was carried out by a roving team. The focus was on factors that influence investments made by the poor in education, health, and family planning. The methodology used was open-ended interviews and focus groups.

The second study took place during October and November 1993 and was funded by DFID. Its main objective was to study the formal and informal safety nets and social networks in Pakistan. PRA methods were used to collect data. The study focused on the poorest segments of Pakistani society and was based on the perceptions of the poor. In addition, the team conducted semistructured interviews with NGOs, research organizations, and government officials at various levels. The research was undertaken in both rural and urban areas, although there was a bias toward urban areas.

Value Added

The conclusion of the poverty assessment that drew the most attention was that the incidence of consumption poverty had fallen sharply, from 46 percent in 1984–85 to 34 percent in 1990–91. This conclusion was quoted in the World Bank's November 1995 country assistance strategy paper. The report went on to say that a major concern in Pakistan is the low human development indicators. However, the poverty assessment integrated the results of the participatory surveys only to a limited extent. For example, the second report, funded by DFID, detailed the institutional issues related to social safety nets and the roles of government and the NGOs. That information was not extensively incorporated into the final poverty assessment report.

Links to Policy Change

The impact of the report, both in Pakistan and within the Bank, has not been significant. Many commented that the poverty assessment was a good piece of analysis but felt that the final report had some limitations. Although it recognized that poverty is multidimensional, some felt that the report could have presented the wider debate in Pakistan as opposed to focusing on consumption poverty.

Although the process of consultation was extensive, some felt that their views were not reflected in the final document. Furthermore, there is currently an extensive and well-documented debate on the measurement of poverty in Pakistan. To increase the impact and credibility of the poverty assessment, this debate could have been included in the report. One objective of the poverty assessment was to help reconcile the views of the government and the Bank. But some senior government officials felt that the poverty assessment did not accomplish this.

Focusing on the PPA, the first survey undertaken with the Institute of Development Economics highlighted the fact that the poor spend a large proportion of their income on health but feel that service standards are low and accountability is limited. However, this survey was criticized for having a limited sample size, and the validity of drawing conclusions for policy was questioned. A member of the research team stated that more detailed community-level information could have been gained if PRA methods had been used instead of just focus groups and semistructured interviews. The DFID report was thought to be more credible because it used a larger sample size and included both individual and community views. However, awareness of this report was limited and it was not widely disseminated.

Lessons for Increasing Impact

Is participation linked to influencing the final outcome?

Ideally the poverty assessment is an investment in creating a policy reform process that is a byproduct of consensus building. However, in Pakistan this has not yet occurred. The impact of the PPA might have been lessened because of the limited participatory follow-up. Workshops and meetings are not an adequate measure of participation if those attending feel that their views have been ignored. Moreover, such an approach could have a negative impact if disappointed participants become less willing to engage in future dialogue. If their views are not included, then the reasons for this should be explained. A process of sharing results before the document is finalized may be of value to ensure that participants' views are represented and that information is not just extracted.

If there is a debate, it should be included in the final policy analysis
The objective of the poverty assessment in Pakistan was to contribute to the ongoing poverty debate. But the debate was not clearly reflected in the final report. As a result, many felt that the report represented only the Bank's narrow analysis of poverty.

Increasing the quality and credibility of participatory research

To increase the credibility of participatory research, it might be appropriate in some countries to use the existing NGO networks, which often have a wealth of knowledge and skills. Pakistan has a number of such networks, including Strengthening Participatory Organization and Association for Development of Human Resources. The advantages of using these networks, as opposed to training new teams of people, are as follows:

- Many NGOs have already established trust with communities and have undertaken participatory research.
- To ensure that research is not purely extractive, the results could be followed up by NGOs working in the communities. The limitation here is that the results of a follow-up survey would be biased toward communities—not necessarily the poorest—where the NGOs have already played a role in development.
- The capacity of existing NGO networks could be strengthened by the experience of undertaking countrywide PPA research.
- Time-sequencing data could be collected by NGOs and links established between NGOs, policymakers, and statistical departments. However, some NGOs might have sector biases or limited capacity.

To increase the credibility of participatory research, policymakers could join the teams undertaking participatory research in order to understand the value and limitations of including the poor; there should be a greater focus on recording, reporting, and analyzing PRA research results to ensure that the information collected reflects the research agenda; and a dissemination strategy should be developed to feed back the results to the communities involved. For example, the DFID report was written in two volumes. The second volume contained the results of the surveys and was designed to be disseminated to those who participated.

Management in the Bank

Limited ownership of the poverty assessment within the Bank appears to be linked to the lack of emphasis the poverty assessment was given as a management priority. Although the assessment took a long time to complete, a team approach was not extensively adopted.

Uganda

Background

Uganda^a is a landlocked country in eastern Africa, with an estimated population of 22 million people, 47 percent of whom are below 15 years of age. In 1986, Uganda emerged from a period of severe civil conflict. Under the leadership of President Yoweri Museveni, Uganda is gradually being rebuilt. A greater level of security has been achieved; however, Uganda continues to be plagued by conflict in the northern and western regions. Political and civil institutions have also been strengthened in recent years, but considerable challenges lie ahead before Uganda can achieve full political and social rights for the population, build effective public institutions that can deliver quality services, and create an environment with opportunities for all Ugandans, including the poorest and most marginalized, to move out of poverty. Approximately 83 percent of Uganda's population lives in the rural areas. The economy relies heavily on the agriculture sector, which accounts for 43 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) and provides the main source of livelihood for more than 80 percent of the population. Economic performance over the past decade has been impressive: in real terms, the GDP has expanded at an annual rate of more than 6 percent. Although recent poverty analysis indicates a reduction in poverty measured by consumption, Uganda is still one of the world's poorest countries, with a per capita income of US\$320 in 1997.

Key Objectives of the UPPAP

Purpose

The purpose of the UPPAP was to bring the voice of the poor into national and district planning for poverty reduction.

Outputs

The main outputs of the UPPAP were enhanced knowledge about the nature and causes of poverty and strategies for action generated and applied; district capacity in planning and implementation for poverty reduction strengthened through enhanced use of participatory methods; a national system for participatory and qualitative poverty monitoring developed; capacity for participatory policy research established in Uganda.

The first year of the PPA concentrated on carrying out a national PPA with communities in 9 of the 45 districts in Uganda. In the second year, at a national level, dissemination of the findings continued, while within the nine districts, the findings of the research were followed up and

activities were undertaken to sustain the use of participatory methods to inform planning of the priorities of the poor. In the third year of the process, a second national PPA was planned.

Process

The UPPAP originated in a context of poverty emerging in the agenda of the Uganda Government. The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) was launched in 1997, and was a policy statement of how the government intended to mainstream poverty. A significant level of consultation had been undertaken in developing the PEAP, across government and with donors, academics, and NGOs. However, the poor themselves had not been consulted. The concept of the UPPAP was born during a World Bank country assistance strategy consultation process involving the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (MPED), the World Bank, and DFID. The UPPAP was developed with financial backing from DFID and the World Bank, and in-kind support from MPED. A desk study of all previous participatory poverty studies in Uganda was undertaken. This exercise found many useful studies, but also gaps in the research, and revealed a clear need for a comprehensive national participatory study of poverty.

The PPA focused on issues about which policymakers wanted to know more, and on filling the gaps identified in the desk study. Therefore, areas not traditionally covered by PPAs were included, such as governance, people's knowledge of existing policies, and people's experience of policy implementation. The PPA also improved the understanding of poverty and service delivery issues. Policymakers who were consulted were eager to know whether their policy framework was relevant to the needs of the poor. The decentralized context of Uganda required that the UPPAP be designed to produce findings relevant at the district level as well as the national level. The PPA was also integrated into the poverty monitoring system. Sustainable capacity was built for undertaking rigorous participatory policy analysis and for increasing the acceptance and use of the findings.

Key features of the process

- a. Senior government officials. The ongoing involvement of senior government officials in periodic management meetings has assisted the UPPAP implementation process to stay relevant to the wider policy context.
- b. Partnership. The partnership of government, donors, academic institutions, and NGOs is fairly unique in the Uganda context. This partnership has often been referred to as a "new way of working" in

- development. Government was in the lead from the beginning, with assistance from donors, research institutions, and NGOs. NGOs led the implementation due to their expertise in participatory methodologies. Nine research institutions and local NGOs provided experienced researchers and were involved in the UPPAP technical committee. A technical committee was also set up by government to bring together representatives of various donors and implementing partners, including government departments such as the Uganda Bureau of Statistics.
- c. Flexibility and responsiveness. Another key factor in the UPPAP's success was its ability to be flexible and responsive to the wider policy environment. This was facilitated by two key elements: flexibility in funding arrangements; and the ability to make staff and information available in a timely way, to feed into key policies such as the plan for modernization of agriculture and the poverty status report.
 - d. National and district focus. Research teams in each district included representatives of the district administration and a local NGO, to provide capacity for research. Strong linkages were made with district planning units, and findings were fed back to district administrative and political leaders.
 - e. Methods of dissemination. Key events include the inclusion of a chapter on poverty in the 1999–2000 Background to the Budget; the presentation of key findings at the high-profile launch of the Poverty Status Report; and the production and dissemination of the UPPAP video. The target audiences for dissemination have been political leaders as well as civil servants, donors, and civil society. The video has been particularly effective. It features people from communities speaking strongly on challenging issues such as corruption, exploitation, gender discrimination, and ineffective service delivery; and senior government officials responding to these issues. Further, senior officials of the Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development (MFPED) supported the dissemination of the findings and discussed them openly.

Policy and Institutional Context

When the UPPAP was initiated, the first PEAP and the MTEF were in place, and the process of decentralization to districts was under way. Three key factors have ensured that the UPPAP has been able to feed into key policy processes as they emerge.

- a. Poverty has stayed high on the government's agenda, with the continued commitment of the President of Uganda.

- b. The original location of the UPPAP within the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, which was remerged with the Ministry of Finance in 1998 to become the Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development, has been a critical factor in its success. The MFPED is an innovative ministry with strong leadership, willing to take up new ideas, embark on reform processes, and engage in the political negotiations necessary to move them forward.⁹ The merger created a more integrated planning and budgeting context into which the UPPAP could feed.
- c. The continued support for the UPPAP by senior government servants within MFPED, despite staff changes over the period of implementation, has ensured that the UPPAP has been positioned to benefit from institutional changes and has access to key policy processes. Key senior staff in MFPED have been open to learning from the UPPAP process.

Institutionalization of poverty monitoring and policy linkages in government

A poverty monitoring and coordination function had existed in MPED. In 1999 the Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit (PMAU) was established in MFPED to oversee the government's poverty monitoring function, and to collate quantitative and participatory data on poverty from both government and nongovernment sources. The UPPAP is situated within the same department of MFPED as the Poverty Monitoring Unit, and the links are strong. For example, the PMAU produced an influential Poverty Status Report in 1999, which brought together the findings from the household surveys, the UPPAP, and other relevant studies in Uganda. The unit then used these findings to assess progress against the original objectives of the PEAP, and identify key challenges facing the government in tackling poverty.

Opening up the budget process

During the 1998–99 budget preparation, MFPED started to open up the national budget process, bringing in civil society, encouraging public debate, and setting up sector working groups on the budget that included civil society and donor representatives. In the 2000–01 budget process, a cross-cutting poverty eradication working group (PEWG) was established to consider, on the basis of available poverty analysis, inter- and intrasectoral allocations of resources and other budgetary issues, such as taxation, that needed reassessment from the perspective of impact on the poor. Individuals involved in the UPPAP and the findings of the participatory analysis have played a key role in the work of this group. Key cross-cutting issues emerging from the UPPAP and the household survey data have been applied in policy and expenditure

analysis. The analysis focuses on such issues as the information needs of the poor; the level of attention paid to monitoring and supervision of sector policy implementation; actions proposed to address gender and geographical inequalities and the needs of the poorest 20 percent; and actions proposed to tackle poverty issues that fall between sectors, such as nutrition and sanitation. This analysis has led to significant policy recommendations.

Policy developments

The concept of sector working groups was an opportunity to open up the government's resource allocation decisions and increase the transparency of policy development, expenditure, and outcomes, and the concept has been extended across departments and sectors.¹⁰ Primarily through the PEWG, the UPPAP has fed into these sector discussions. The design of the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) was informed by the UPPAP data, such as issues of food security. More widely, the UPPAP has influenced the PMA by demonstrating that poverty varies across the country.

Revision of the PEAP

The PEAP is being revised three years after publication of the first PEAP, due mainly to the fact that new poverty data were available from the UPPAP and the household surveys. The decision to revise the PEAP coincided with the requirement of the World Bank and IMF to produce a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) as a basis for qualifying for HIPC debt relief. The UPPAP policy recommendations are featured centrally in the revised PEAP.

Decentralization

The UPPAP was designed to maximize the decentralized context by generating district-level reports and allowing for follow-up reports in districts where it is operating, and to generate key findings for the national synthesis report.

Impact of the UPPAP

The UPPAP findings have stimulated policy responses in a number of broad areas:

- a. Redefinition of government priorities (the original areas of priority under the PEAP were confirmed; however, safe water has received significant resources, and the actions to improve security, governance, and public service delivery to the poor are central features of the new PEAP)

- b. Missing links in the processes of policy implementation (for example, weakness in information flows, the need for budget flexibility to allow lower-level governments to respond to local priorities and be politically accountable)
- c. Shifts in the focus of sector policies to be increasingly pro-poor (for example, agricultural policy)
- d. Highlighting key intersectoral areas important to tackling poverty that current structures of government are not well equipped to handle (for example, nutrition, sanitation, information).

Not all policy responses can be attributed entirely to the UPPAP. In many cases they have confirmed what has been suspected, or have enhanced the focus on issues highlighted in other studies or surveys. The power of the UPPAP material, however, is that it does represent the poor. In a context where political commitment to poverty eradication is high, and political leaders are increasingly being called to account for their promises to the electorate, what the people have to say carries weight.

Many of the separate findings have illustrated the dynamics of poverty and reinforced each other in establishing the basis for policy recommendations. For example, the findings on powerlessness, corruption, and restricted information flows to communities have led to a strong policy recommendation on improving public information as a cross-cutting issue. Findings on poor leadership, limited information flows between layers of government, and the lack of accountability of public service delivery agents have led to a recommendation to strengthen local political accountability.

The UPPAP includes other key findings to which there are not yet clear policy responses: lack of social cooperation as a cause of poverty; excessive alcohol consumption as a cause of poverty; seasonal vulnerability during the rainy season and in times of drought; a mixed picture on poverty trends, which is being researched further; and the negative impact of current local tax structures on the poor.

Key Areas of Impact

Increasing resources for poverty-focused expenditures

Government has increased the flows of resources toward sectors recognized as key to eradicating poverty. When the first PEAP was developed, the priority areas for additional resources were feeder roads, primary education, agricultural extension, and primary health care. Resource allocation to these areas has incrementally increased since 1997–98. As additional resources and increased knowledge on the pri-

orities of the poor have become available, additional priority areas were added, including water supply and accountability. Uganda qualified for enhanced HIPC debt relief first in 1998–99 and again in 2000–01, which significantly increased resources for poverty-related expenditures. Decisions on allocation of resources are currently being made and may well include the neglected areas of adult literacy, restocking of livestock, and implementation of the Land Act.

Shifting the definition of poverty

The UPPAP analysis has shifted the discourse on poverty, making it more relevant to how Ugandans see poverty in their own country. The definition of poverty now incorporates dimensions such as isolation, powerlessness, and gender inequality, in addition to the traditional consumption deficit definition. During the period of the UPPAP implementation, the first reliable statistical information became available on poverty trends and on such factors as levels of service delivery utilization by the poor.¹¹ The availability of this data enhanced the usefulness of the UPPAP data, as it illustrated the extent of some of the problems identified under the UPPAP and explained the reasons behind some of the statistical findings.

Health is a good example of how data from the two types of analysis were mutually enhancing. The UPPAP ranking exercises revealed ill health as the number one cause of poverty identified by the poor. The household data revealed that out of a nationally representative sample of the population, only 20 percent were using government health services when ill. The UPPAP provided insights into why people are not using government health services (drug leakage, abuse of cost sharing, and the negative attitude of many health workers). Another example is corruption. The National Integrity Survey, carried out in 1998, revealed the extent of corruption in the country and the population's perspectives on corruption and service delivery, based on a nationally representative sample. The UPPAP illustrated some of the dynamics of corruption, including lack of information, poor leadership, unaccountable leaders, and lack of voice of poor households in local democratic institutions. The household surveys have become an annual exercise of government and generate a wide range of very useful information on poverty. The UPPAP has been able to interact with the Uganda Bureau of Statistics to refine and improve the questionnaires. For example, questions on insecurity and how it affects the household are now a feature of the annual survey.

Building government–civil society relationships

There were three key aspects to building the government–civil society relationship in Uganda: (a) Oxfam personnel were seconded to work within MFPED; (b) the network of UPPAP partners, through the UPPAP,

had exposure and input into the poverty analysis and policy development processes of government; and (c) for government, there has been a greater appreciation of the contribution that civil society organizations can make to the development of poverty analysis and poverty policy.

International impact

The enthusiasm of senior government officials for the UPPAP process and the contribution it has made to strengthening their poverty strategy has been articulated in a variety of international forums, and has had a wide influence on current development thinking. This is most evident in the development of PRSPs in all countries that are recipients of World Bank/IMF programs. The PRSP approach has drawn significant lessons from various aspects of the Uganda case study, including Uganda's adoption of the MTEF and mechanisms to strengthen budget discipline, the strong links between the poverty plan and the MTEF, the use of participatory poverty assessments, and enhancement of the role of civil society in policy development and monitoring.

Challenges

Acceptability of participatory data

Achieving acceptability for participatory data has been a major challenge for the UPPAP. There have been suggestions that UPPAP data are "anecdotal" or "unrepresentative" or "representative of only the poorest communities in Uganda." This was particularly problematic in relation to the UPPAP data on poverty trends, which early in the analysis process appeared to contradict the consumption poverty data, which showed a dramatic reduction in poverty.

These challenges have been managed in a number of ways:

- a. In the research process, triangulation of findings was carried out through the use of different methodologies to ensure that conclusions reached were robust.
- b. The sampling framework was clearly presented.
- c. There were efforts to ensure the quality of the data processing.
- d. On the controversial issue of poverty trends, the UPPAP commissioned further analytical work by an international technical adviser.

Influencing policy

The UPPAP has not been accepted in every department of government. There was some suspicion about the ability of participatory data to help increase understanding of poverty and thereby inform policy responses. The UPPAP had to prove itself by generating information that was robust and useful to policymakers, by paying careful attention to the

quality of the research and analysis, and by ensuring that the findings were presented in an easily digestible form. In addition, not all government departments demonstrate the level of commitment to tackling poverty as MFPED. For example, the Ministry of Health has shown reluctance to tackle key institutional weaknesses that prevent health services from providing quality service to the poor. Drug leakage is one area where corruption is known to be prevalent. The police department is another. It took a presidential initiative—establishment of a commission of enquiry into the police force—to expose corruption and abuse of power among the police, which disproportionately impacts the poor and powerless.

Extractive research or empowering the poor?

A key dilemma in the UPPAP process is whether it is a research project designed to extract information from communities for policy purposes, or an activity designed to empower the poor directly. The UPPAP has attempted to create a middle ground between these two points at the community level and through national and district-level policy dialogue. For example, the research process included a community action plan (CAP) activity, under which each of the 36 communities consulted developed a CAP.

There has been some debate about whether the UPPAP should provide funds to communities for follow-up to the CAPs. While the process of participatory research can raise communities' expectations of action, the key issue is who should be responsible for assisting the communities in realizing these expectations—government or an external agency? Would direct follow-up of CAPs using a community project approach negate the underlying purpose of adopting the participatory approach within the framework of government—that is, to increase the accountability of government itself to the poor? In broader terms, and as illustrated in table A2 the UPPAP has attempted to identify key actions and approaches to empower the poor that can be integrated into policy development.

Ensuring a sufficient understanding of policy and policy processes

The UPPAP has found it difficult to recruit staff with a sufficient understanding of Uganda's policy environment. NGOs and the individuals involved from research institutions have limited exposure to policymaking. Experts in participatory research tend to focus on projects and microprocesses rather than policy research. Researchers require more briefing on policy frameworks and a greater level of technical guidance in this area. Policy literacy and exposure are also important for the dissemination stage. The UPPAP has been fortunate to have the support of senior officials in government and donor partners¹² to identify and pro-

Table A2. Links between Poverty Analysis and Policy Change

Finding	Policy response
Poverty varies across the country, it is not uniform, and this must be reflected in the responses to tackling poverty.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition that central government grants to districts should be more flexible in allowing districts to respond to their priorities • Refocus on the need for bottom-up planning to work effectively in the decentralized context
The need for a safe water supply is a priority of the poor.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significantly more resources, including HIPC resources,^a have been directed to improving water supply
People are outraged by the level of corruption in the country and the ineffectiveness of government in delivering basic services.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Additional focus in the PEAP on governance and accountability^a • Measures to increase political accountability being considered for funding with HIPC savings • Sectors requested to consider strengthening the links between service delivery and performance monitoring by local political leaders • Increased transparency through enhanced flows of information being developed^a
People lack information on government policies, resource flows, and how they are expected to benefit from services and government programs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information needs of the poor adopted as a cross-cutting issue in poverty assessment • Public information strategy being developed • Increased resources to institutions responsible for public information being considered, conditional on clear outputs
Powerlessness is a key dimension of poverty, defined in terms of women lacking voice and being subject to domestic violence; inability to call government to account; lack of information; and factors beyond the control of individuals or communities (e.g., crop disease, disasters, insecurity).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to improve information flows to the public on their rights, resource flows, and how they are expected to benefit from government programs • Need to strengthen political accountability • Need for increasing government focus on adult literacy, especially for women^b
Isolation is a key cause of poverty; this encompasses geographical and social isolation between areas of the country and within districts and communities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reemphasis on geographical disparities, between regions and within districts, in access to services and opportunities as a cross-cutting issue for poverty reduction policy and resource flows • More targeted interventions

(Table continues on the following page.)

Table A2. (*continued*)

Finding	Policy response
Insecurity (due to war, insurgency, and cattle rustling) is a fundamental factor preventing the poor from moving out of poverty; insecurity also encompasses theft and domestic violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Include in the political agenda the issue of insecurity as a key cause of poverty. Questions being asked about the effectiveness of using the defense budget to protect the poor
Government is seen as very distant by the people; village leaders, however, are generally appreciated.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proposal in the new PEAP to strengthen the role of elected village councils in monitoring the performance of public service delivery
People face barriers to achieving food security and higher incomes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plan for Modernization of Agriculture refocused on food security and basic production needs of the poor^a
Poor communities appreciate being consulted on their views of poverty, policy, and their priorities, and want government to continue consulting them on policy development; they also want government to monitor the implementation of policy at the community level, to ensure that the benefits of programs for the poor are delivered as intended.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plan to integrate participatory monitoring of PEAP implementation into government's poverty monitoring framework^b Mechanisms being considered for local-level accountability and monitoring of service delivery to the poor

^a Areas in which there is evidence of substantial action by the government.

mote the dissemination of UPPAP data. However, a great deal more could have been done if policymaking processes had been mapped out, pressure points identified, and a dissemination strategy designed in a timely and responsive way.

Analysis of the data and writing up the research

One of the UPPAP's key challenges has been undertaking rigorous analysis and synthesis of the findings at all levels of report writing, from site level to the national report. Writing up participatory data is a difficult task because of the diversity of the information collected in many different contexts, and the need for cross-checking among the different exercises. Inevitably, much detail is lost in the process of aggregating the findings, and there is a challenge in, at the same time, representing the diversity of findings. National-level policy contexts often demand clear, concise recommendations, while participatory data, by revealing social complexities, can sometimes fail to generate clear recommendations for action. As with all research, judgments are necessary at certain points in the analysis. Because of the interactive nature of participatory research, a team approach to making these judgments in analyzing and present-

ing the data is called for. In retrospect, the analysis of the UPPAP findings may have been better managed by a small team comprising individuals with various skills: policy literacy, direct involvement in the research, and strong writing and presentation skills.

Partnerships

The partnership of government, NGOs, research institutions, and donors has been successful but has also presented challenges. Institutional identities and cultures differ, and the clarification of the roles and the maintenance of transparent communication and decisionmaking was critical. One major challenge has been for the partners to submerge their own organizational identities within the UPPAP, which sits under the framework of government. A clearer definition of the roles (whether funding, implementing, or participating in the research) would have assisted in the functioning of this relationship. Another dimension of the partnership has been the issue of NGO advocacy. Questions have been raised about the appropriateness of NGO partners that were engaged in the UPPAP process with government then using the findings to lobby government. Has their involvement reduced their ability to act as a watchdog of government?

One of the initial objectives of the UPPAP was to build the capacity of partners to undertake participatory policy research. In deciding who the research partners would be, a decision was made to expand the number of partners from one, initially, to nine. While this had the positive effect of extending the network of institutions in the process, it also diluted the capacity built in any single institution (although the capacity of individuals from these institutions has certainly expanded).

Maintaining the focus at national and district levels

The main focus is at the national level. District-level follow-up is harder because of the number of districts covered by the UPPAP (nine), the complex district planning processes, difficulties in financing district plans,¹³ and the limited capacity at the district level. Providing feedback to districts and communities on the outcomes of the PPA is a priority for the UPPAP in the second phase.

Future Directions

Dissemination and internalization of findings

National and district reports will be widely distributed to government and nongovernment stakeholders at all levels. In addition, papers on particular sectors will be developed for relevant sector ministries and presented to policymakers. Follow-up work will be undertaken to identify areas for public action. The issue of the poor's lack of access to infor-

mation as an impediment to development has been taken up by government in the development of a national communication strategy. Through this strategy, "information for action" will be disseminated to the population. The UPPAP findings will influence the issues selected and types of information to be disseminated, which should allow the poor to take action to achieve their rights and entitlements (an example of this is the cost-sharing policy in the health sector).

Use of statistical and participatory methodologies for poverty research

The UPPAP is useful in identifying areas for future research and analysis, and areas for monitoring by government (the poverty monitoring unit, in particular) and external stakeholders. The UPPAP has also reconfirmed the belief that researchers should use both quantitative and qualitative approaches to better understand and measure dimensions of poverty. The research agenda for the poverty monitoring unit, aimed at further improving the understanding of poverty and appropriate policy responses, will use both methodologies. For the PEAP, both quantitative and participatory sources will be used.

Follow-up to ensure that policy-relevant findings translate into change

Ensuring that the UPPAP findings do translate into real change will continue to be a challenge. While some policy change as a result of the UPPAP findings is evident, the UPPAP research has also shown that there is a gap between policy formulation and effective implementation in Uganda. Through systematic monitoring and production of bi-annual poverty status reports, assessments will be made and challenges for policy and its implementation will be identified for action by government.

Zambia

Background

Country context

Until 1975, Zambia was one of the most prosperous countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to *Prospects for Sustainable Human Development in Zambia* (UNDP 1997), human conditions have worsened since the mid-1980s; people have become poorer and most government services have further declined. The report states that "...[economic] decline for two decades has been accompanied by stagnation and collapse in people's livelihoods and in available forms of social support. This has been especially severe under structural adjustment after 1991" (UNDP 1997, Summary p. i). Roughly 6 million people (two-thirds of the popu-

lation) are living below the poverty line. Average annual growth in gross domestic product fell from 2.4 percent in the 1970s to 0.7 percent from the 1980s onward. With a gross national product per capita of only \$290 in 1992, Zambia is now one of the poorest countries in the world. The United Nations has estimated that 1.1 million Zambians will die from AIDS by the year 2005 and that Zambia is the fourth worst-affected country in the world after Uganda, Zaire, and Tanzania.

In the past, there have been limited opportunities to promote participatory approaches. During the era of one-party rule, the tradition of self-help was replaced by dependency on the state. However, the capacity of the state to provide services was gradually eroded. Also during this period, many aspects of administrative rule were politicized, such as the positions of district governor and provincial secretary. The appointees to these positions were not accountable to the local electorate, thus further decreasing the people's expectations.

Prolonged economic decline led to political discontent, and with the rise of democratic elections in other countries, multiparty elections took place in Zambia in 1991. The new government has attempted to reform the economy by reducing inflation and the budget deficit. In addition, since 1991 the new government has been attempting to introduce a more decentralized administrative structure and promote greater participation and ownership. Donor agencies such as Africare, World Vision, and UNICEF, in conjunction with the government, have been developing participatory ways to include people in the development of their communities. A social sector Rehabilitation and Maintenance Task Force has been established to look into the social service delivery system and accelerate social infrastructure rehabilitation and maintenance.

However, poverty continues to grow. The government has yet to formulate a national policy on alleviating poverty. One permanent secretary stated that there was a lack of national perspective on poverty issues, with members of Parliament being focused only on their own areas. She added that the civil servants and NGOs were aware of poverty issues but that members of Parliament were less aware, and she questioned whether there was a political understanding of the problem even at the highest levels. Because of a lack of exposure and adequate information on the extent and impact of poverty, there is a lack of emphasis on the problem and a consequent lack of political will. Donor and government interventions have thus remained ad hoc and uncoordinated.

World Bank context

The PPA in Zambia built upon an approach developed by the Southern African Department in the World Bank and on the experiences of the Bank's Social Recovery Project (SRP) in Zambia. Before the PPA in Zambia, participatory research had been conducted under the SRP using

beneficiary assessment (BA) methods such as focus discussion groups and semistructured interviewing. In 1992, when the first BA in Zambia was undertaken, the approach of consulting beneficiaries in a systematic way was not widespread throughout the Bank. Within the country department, management support existed and the poverty assessment manager was willing to take the risks involved in supporting a new initiative. A consultant from the division made regular visits to Zambia to assist in the development of the BA and build the capacity of the research team, located at the Rural Development Studies Bureau, University of Zambia. In 1994, the Southern African Department introduced a method called systematic client consultation, which promoted continuous dialogue with those affected by World Bank-supported programs and projects. The Task Manager of the SRP also managed the poverty assessment and thus had already gained an understanding of the value of the approach. Therefore, unlike other countries in which PPAs have been conducted, here the Bank had experience in participatory research.

Process

Policy dialogue in the poverty assessment

The poverty assessment was based on data from two priority surveys and included studies on the urban, rural, and macroeconomic sectors as well as the PPA. A wide cross-section of stakeholders was consulted throughout the process. The two Bank PPA managers were closely involved in the critiquing and commenting on drafts of the poverty assessment to ensure that the PPA material was satisfactorily integrated.

Participatory research process

The objectives of the PPA were to

- Explore local conceptions of poverty, vulnerability, and relative well-being in poor urban and rural communities in Zambia
- Explore what the poor themselves see as the most effective actions for poverty reduction that can be taken by (a) individuals or families, (b) communities, (c) government agencies, and (d) other institutions
- Investigate local perceptions of key policy changes related to economic liberalization
- Investigate what people in poor urban and rural communities see as the main concerns and problems in their lives at present and how these have changed over the past 5 to 10 years.

The PPA was conceived and designed by the World Bank in Washington and was somewhat less participatory than the poverty assessment. However, the preparation for fieldwork included a wider range of institutions.

Methodology

A team of researchers (five women and five men) based at the Rural Development Studies Bureau at the University of Zambia conducted the research work. The team later formed an NGO called the Participatory Assessment Group (PAG). DFID contributed to the cost of training the research team, and Sida supported the in-country costs. Ten research sites were selected, representing a variety of urban and rural communities. BA and PRA tools and techniques were used. An interview guide for semistructured interviews with individuals and groups was compiled. The researchers prepared site reports following each period of fieldwork. These reports were used at a final synthesis workshop to bring together policy insights and information from the exercise.

There was a Poverty Assessment Conference in August 1994 at which both the PPA and poverty assessment papers were presented. In 1995, workshops were convened in four provinces to draft provincial plans of action. However, because of a lack of resources the government has not been able to hold such workshops in the remaining five provinces. Furthermore, no additional capacity was created to implement the provincial action plans.

Value Added

The PPA contributed to a greater understanding of the survival strategies of the poor; the impact of sector programs and policies; the development of both national and provincial-level action plans; and the compilation of baseline data for participatory poverty monitoring.

New understanding of poverty

The wealth-ranking exercises provided consistent messages on the characteristics of the very poor. Many people interviewed commented on the fact that the poverty assessment was useful in the respect it was the first comprehensive study on poverty in Zambia. One important finding of the PPA was that the term "female-headed household" did not fully capture what the report suggested is better understood as the "feminization of poverty" (see World Bank 1994d, Vol. 1, p. 135). The PPA highlighted the fact that "women without support" was a more appropriate term. This term describes women who have no current relationship with a man and have no adult children who could provide either labor or remittances. Women without support were often ranked as the poorest by the communities.

The priority-ranking exercises provided valuable insights into the cross-sector balance of priorities. Consistent messages were generated from these exercises. Seasonality analysis revealed the dynamic dimen-

sions of poverty (see World Bank 1994d, Vol. 1, p. 47) and covered issues such as income and expenditure, health status, and food security. Stress periods such as the hungry season in urban and rural areas were highlighted through the participatory research and incorporated into the final report (see World Bank 1994d, Vol. 1, p. 52). At the community level, the PPA covered access to services such as health, education, and credit. The information was detailed and comprehensive and was disaggregated by gender where appropriate.

Participatory Poverty Monitoring (PPM)

PAG now undertakes yearly PPAs in some of the same communities, as well as some new communities, to monitor changing living conditions. The results of the participatory poverty monitoring are used as a complement to household survey data.

Institutional capacity building

The PPA has contributed to the creation of an in-country capacity to conduct participatory research on an ongoing basis. PAG was officially registered as an NGO in August 1995. The group originated at the University of Zambia, where members used to undertake research assignments for the university's Rural Development Studies Bureau. In August 1994, the Rural Development Studies Bureau was phased out and only 3 of the 11 members were retained by the university. PAG now consists of an interdisciplinary and gender-balanced team of 12 people—6 men and 6 women from various disciplines.

The World Bank, Sida, and the Microprojects unit of the European Union have continued to increase the capacity of PAG. Since 1992, the members have received training in PRA methods from the Institute of Development Studies and other consultants. PAG continues to do research and PRA training for government ministries and donor agencies. Its current program includes BAs, participatory planning, and PPAs. PAG works with government ministries and donor agencies and is conducting a study for Sida on Coping with Cost Sharing in Health and Education. In the future, PAG will work closely with the LCMU in the Department of Statistics. It has recently moved its offices to the Central Statistical Office with the objective of more closely coordinating its participatory research with traditional household surveys.

Links to Policy Change

The PPA influenced the poverty action plan recommended in the poverty assessment. The stress on rural roads and water infrastructure and on urban services such as water supply was revealed by the PPA.

The poverty profile in the poverty assessment also drew from the PPA on such issues as community-based identification of the ultra-poor, coping strategies, safety nets, and targeted interventions. The government was also influenced by the priorities expressed by the poor in the ranking exercises. Positive feedback was received from communities involved in the PPA on the functioning of the emergency safety net during the 1992 drought in southern Africa.

In recognition of the value added of the PPA, a permanent secretary stated:

Everyone knows that poverty exists in Zambia and people always talk about it. But the PPAs have enabled us to appreciate the fact that there is growing poverty in urban areas. Even high-ranking politicians do not talk about urban poverty. The PPAs are helping us appreciate, therefore, that poverty is a nationwide problem, not just a rural one.¹⁴

Ministry of Health

The Ministry of Health has been using the results of the PPA and the poverty assessment to develop policy. The National Strategic Health Plan refers specifically to the poverty assessment. A policy recommendation from the PPA was that the drought area should be exempt from paying health fees. This was taken up by the Ministry of Health and is now policy. In addition, the PPA highlighted the fact that the poor were not using health facilities because of the rudeness of health staff. To empower and decrease the frustration of health workers, the Ministry of Health has increased resources allocated to rural areas.

As a result of the PPA, PAG undertook an evaluation of the Public Welfare Assistance Scheme in 1996. The evaluation recommended that communities should select the beneficiaries of the scheme. Closely connected to this evaluation was a further study undertaken by PAG to develop an eligibility profile for those who should receive welfare benefits and exemptions from health care costs and education fees. This study was undertaken in collaboration with the ministries of Health, Education, and Community Development.

Ministry of Education

In the Ministry of Education, a new policy is being prepared regarding the timing of school fees, which currently coincide with the period of maximum stress.

Ministry of Agriculture

The PPA methodology is being replicated in the Agricultural Sector Investment Project for planning and monitoring.

Donors and NGOs

Some of the NGOs interviewed for this study by the local research team felt that "the use of participatory methods in the preparation of the Poverty Assessment by the World Bank encouraged and justified their own use of [qualitative] methods" (Mutesa and Muyakwa 1997, p. 15). The researchers added that some NGOs were surprised at certain results, such as the finding that Copperbelt is a very poor province. This information has encouraged them to initiate projects in that province.

Lessons for Increasing Impact

The strengthening of PAG

The sustainability of PAG is a key concern at this stage. PAG has the potential to influence other projects and government policies. It also has the potential to help increase the understanding of poverty by combining its participatory work with quantitative surveys. PAG's capacity to continue to produce good-quality work is in question, however, because it has a limited capacity to analyze results and write reports. Although PAG has received extensive support from the World Bank's Social Recovery Project, continual follow-up is required to ensure that quality is maintained and management systems are established.

Methodology

Working with communities requires detailed follow-up on the effectiveness of various approaches. For example, Milimo, Norton, and Owen (1998) point out that "in the first PPA one of the field teams held regular meetings to check on recording and reporting, to discuss findings and strategies, and to plan the next day's work, while the other field team functioned with less coherence. The difference in the quality and coherence of the outputs and policy insights was very striking" (p. 109). In addition, PAG stated that by staying overnight in the villages, the team developed more trust with the communities.

The PAG team recommended the use of PRA tools in future research because such tools can lead to "greater involvement of the communities and more enthusiasm" and "encourage the participation of the women."¹⁵ For PRA, continual training of field researchers is required to ensure that teams are adhering not only to the methods but also to the principles of such research; that is, by embracing error, showing respect, optimizing ignorance, offsetting biases, and triangulating data.

Process issues

- The researchers felt that the time frame for the PPA had been too tight, with only four months from research design to analysis.
- There were differences in undertaking research in urban and rural

settings. Urban communities were more complex and more difficult to organize, with community being difficult to define. Some methodologies, such as wealth ranking, were inappropriate because neighbors were not always aware of each other's wealth or the patterns of social networks. In rural areas the social networks were more visible, being based, in some cases, on kinship and community.

- The institutional framework should be studied further. As Milimo, Norton, and Owen (1998) add, "The PPA was much more effective at eliciting priorities at the local level than on outlining the institutional mechanisms by which identified needs and problems could be resolved—a stronger focus on institutional issues would have increased policy impact" (p. 110).
- The manager of the poverty assessment stressed the importance of combining the PPA data with other methodologies such as longitudinal sociological studies, survey data, econometric modeling, and household behavior models.

Notes

1. For example, life expectancy is 75 years; the infant mortality rate is 15 per 1,000 live births.
2. This section is based on a summary of a workshop by D. Owen carried out for this study.
3. See Owen (1994).
4. CEP-UEM did provide Kulima with technical assistance for PRA training in Inham-bane.
5. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (1996).
6. See especially World Bank (1996k) for a preliminary discussion on relative isolation.
7. Problem ranking and priority lists are dependent on context and are vulnerable to misinterpretation, indirect influence, and poor facilitation. Generalizing on the basis of local ranking exercises should be done with utmost caution and the results treated as indicative only.
8. This section was adapted from Bird and Kakande (2001).
9. This is most evident in the area of economic management, for which the government of Uganda has received much praise in recent years and which has resulted in significantly increased flows of finance toward priority areas for tackling poverty.
10. Examples include the sector working groups on the budget process, which cover the traditional sectors of health, education, and water, as well as accountability and law and order. These working groups bring together key institutions in the sectors for the purpose of establishing clear strategies and outputs, against which the effective utilization of inputs will be measured.

11. The findings from the set of household surveys 1992–97 became available in 1998, and a National Integrity Survey was also undertaken in 1998.
12. Individuals with donor agencies such as the World Bank, IMF, and DFID have played an important role in identifying opportunities and making suggestions for dissemination of both the UPPAP findings and the process.
13. Districts are funded through a combination of central government finance and locally generated revenue.
14. Personal communication. 1996. Lusaka, Zambia.
15. The PAG team. Personal communication. 1996. Lusaka, Zambia.

Appendix F. Social Aspects of the East Asian Financial Crisis: Perceptions of Poor Communities

In a radically changing economic environment, the impacts of the crisis on people and their livelihoods are difficult to capture.¹ However, what is beginning to emerge is that the impacts are heterogeneous in nature, people have a growing fear that in such a volatile environment these impacts will deepen, and, in order to survive, people are adopting a great variety of coping strategies. These strategies have both social and economic consequences on individuals, their communities, and society as a whole.

Methodology

To begin to understand this process of change, a quick analysis of social conditions was undertaken in Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Malaysia between January and April 1998. The objective was to consult with a cross-section of community groups, NGO networks (local and international), academic institutions, labor unions, professional associations, donors, and government departments to determine shifting patterns of vulnerability. Focus groups, rapid assessment techniques, and participatory exercises were used. These initial assessments contributed to creating the framework to begin a dialogue with governments and jointly formulate a strategy for action.

There was often a time lag in obtaining data from official sources. The advantage of the initial rapid assessments was to quickly produce a series of hypotheses about the potential impacts of the financial crisis on the poor. It must be stressed, however, that the data from such rapid assessments have limitations and the hypotheses now need to be rigorously and systematically tested. The next step is to use the preliminary data for further ongoing problem identification with the objectives of (a) providing a baseline and (b) defining the next steps of a more detailed, systematic, and representative participatory survey (see box A1). The resultant participatory data should then be combined with future statistical data and data from ongoing monitoring by other institutions (see Walton and Manuelyan 1998). The longer-term objective is to establish capacity in country to undertake more systematic monitoring that integrates the results of both participatory and traditional surveys. Such data can serve as a basis for a social early warning system. The challenge is then to link this diagnosis to operations.

In the focus groups throughout all five countries, three key points emerged:

- a. The high quality of people's analysis of the crisis
- b. The anger they felt about not fairly benefiting from the past 10 years of growth and now having to pay the price for the debts accumulated by those who did benefit
- c. Their capacity to propose solutions and implement projects.

Box A1. Creeping Crisis in Vietnam

Vietnam has so far avoided the most dramatic aspects of the crisis, but now significant impacts are beginning to emerge. The World Bank expects Vietnam's growth rate, in 1998, to drop from 8 to 4 percent. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) approvals for 1998 are likely to fall by 60 percent, and export growth is down by more than half. Because of the fall in FDI and the labor shedding from state-owned enterprises, urban unemployment is expected to rise sharply. The growth of urban wage employment may fall to zero, making it even more difficult for Vietnam to absorb the 1.3 million new entrants into the labor force each year.

The World Bank, in conjunction with NGOs and other donors such as DFID, is embarking on a major exercise to deepen the understanding of poverty and social issues by combining the new quantitative data emerging from the previous household expenditure survey (undertaken five years ago) with participatory poverty assessments in each of Vietnam's seven major regions. It is expected that over the next nine months a more informed understanding of poverty will emerge. This work, in turn, is expected to lead to a major set of new projects that will target the country's poorest communes and generate employment in rural infrastructure and social programs.

DFID's new higher-profile engagement in Vietnam is coming at an ideal time. The Government of Vietnam remains deeply concerned about the impact of the slowdown on rural employment and social conditions. It is seeking support from donors to help address this problem. At the same time, the concern for poverty has not been matched with increased understanding of how to diagnose poverty and target programs. The Bank, in partnership with DFID, will be working with government to sharpen these diagnostic targeting tools.

Emerging Social Consequences of the Crisis

In all countries, the causes (economic, political, and drought induced) and impacts of the crisis have varied in character and degree. To assess the impacts, this section is divided into three major parts: income loss and increasing poverty, household coping strategies, and erosion of social capital (see figure A1). At times it is difficult to differentiate the impact of the crisis from outcomes of rapid economic growth. For example, migration and family breakdown have been occurring for many years. The crisis, however, does seem to have exacerbated such trends.

Figure A1. Social Impacts of the East Asian Crisis in Thailand

Financial Crisis

1. Primary Impacts

Income loss and increasing poverty

- unemployment and cuts in wages
- price changes
- reduced access to and quality of social services
- credit crunch

2. Secondary Impacts

How people are coping

- family members forced to enter informal market
- family cohesion weakens as migration increases
- women and children suffer as households cut expenditures (less food, children pulled out of school)
- young men turn to illegal activities

3. Tertiary Impacts

Impacts of coping strategies on social capital

- some networks of support strengthened (more linking between rural and urban areas, idea sharing)
- overwhelming social capital being eroded
- increased conflict and tension within households (domestic violence), within community (crime, theft), within society (political)
- decreased trust and security
- increased competition for jobs and space
- increased isolation and depression

Income Loss and Increasing Poverty

Increasing unemployment

In Thailand, the latest government estimate (February 1998) for unemployment is 8.8 percent of the work force, or 2.8 million people (1.5 million permanent and 1.3 million seasonal), as compared to the previous year's figure of 1.7 million (0.7 million permanent and 1.0 million seasonal). In Indonesia, unemployment may increase by 6 million by the end of the year. Those initially affected are laboring families whose livelihoods depend entirely on daily wages, such as factory workers, construction workers, taxi drivers, and casual laborers. In Indonesia, even export-oriented businesses are cutting back on workers because of no access to credit due to the collapse of the banking sector. According to statistics from the International Labour Organisation, 240,000 women in Indonesia will lose their jobs during 1998, just in textiles and garment industries, and a survey from an independent Indonesian NGO² indicates that women are prime targets for redundancy.

The Philippines has yet to experience such massive business closures and layoffs (although, based on National Statistics Office's latest Labor Force Survey, the unemployment rate rose to 13.3 percent in April 1998 from 10.4 percent a year ago—the highest since it reached 14.4 percent in 1991). However, labor unions have expressed concern over the increased "flexibilization" of the labor market, as well as a likely decrease in union membership and further erosion of workers' rights if employers view the crisis as an opportunity to push their advantage. At the same time, labor NGOs in Thailand have been concerned about the increased numbers of contract workers, low working standards, safety in the workplace, and human rights in general.

Cambodia appears to be in the grips of a creeping crisis with no national-level impacts yet apparent. However, local markets linked to neighboring countries have already been affected, leading to small business closures. In the Philippines and Thailand, rural NGOs have been concerned that urban unemployment would decrease remittances to rural areas. It is not clear to what extent this is beginning to affect rural households. Many workers have been given three months' severance pay; when this runs out, others in rural areas may also feel the impact. Discussions with a group of elderly women in Kanplalai, in Northeast Province, Thailand, revealed that they depend almost entirely on remittances from their children in Bangkok. Without this source of income they would have to look for work, but fear that their labor would be in demand for less than four months a year, and even then intermittently.

Price changes

In Indonesia, the consumer price index for food increased by more than 50 percent between June 1997 and March 1998. Households in Sap po pan (Northeast Province, Thailand) reported that the price of rice had increased from 12 to 20 baht per kilo, cooking oil from 25 to 40 baht per liter, sugar from 12 to 16 baht per kilo, and fuel from 9 to 13 baht per liter, compared to last year. According to the Department of Agriculture, Thai farmers have not benefited from the price rises of rice exports for two reasons: price gains had been expropriated by traders, and the cost of inputs has increased. In northwest Cambodia, focus groups reported that rice had increased from 1,100 to 1,700 riel per kilo and cooking oil from 3,200 to 4,300 riel per bottle as compared to last year.

Access to and quality of social services

In all countries, NGO networks expressed concern that government budget cuts would reduce the access of the poor households to basic social services. For example, in the Philippines, a combination of devaluation-linked price increases, increased domestic and foreign debt service, and reduced revenues (accounting for up to US\$1 billion) have compelled the government to instruct departments to reduce their budgets by 25 percent of nonpersonnel expenditures in order to create a mandatory reserve equivalent. This has impacted both health services (cut in immunization programs) and education (cut in the budget for textbooks). In Indonesia, public funds have remained fixed but prices have increased, leading to difficulties, for example, in printing exams and tests.³

In Thailand, many important public health programs may be affected, such as the treatment of HIV/AIDS patients with imported drugs. The AIDS NGO network expressed great concern that the economic crisis may further marginalize vulnerable HIV/AIDS patients. They stated that HIV infection rates would inevitably increase due to increasing prostitution and poor-quality care. The vulnerable groups of women and children (some of whom may be forced into prostitution) would be the most affected.

In all countries, private health services have been affected by the increased cost of drugs and higher cost of servicing loans from abroad. Many private clinics may either go bankrupt or increase their prices. As a result, more people would turn to an already strained and unequally distributed public health system. Quality of care would drop substantially. The NGOs feel that their capacity to provide services to the poor is already being affected by decreased support from government and major reductions in private sector donations.

Availability and access to credit

In the Philippines, high interest rates have significant negative effects on a wide array of social groups, including employers, middle-income families, farmers, the informal sector, and the poor. High rates could be one of the factors driving rising retrenchment rates and foreclosures on household loans, although the evidence for this is inconclusive at present. Teachers in Davao stated that many low-middle-income workers are now taking advances on their salaries to maintain their mortgage and school fee payments, but at a significant loss. The nonfarming poor also have few alternatives when faced with an increased need for credit. Many informal sector workers, such as street hawkers, borrow money on the "5:6 arrangement," whereby they take 5 pesos in the morning to buy their wares and have to repay 6 in the evening. In focus groups in Mindanao, people reported that the poor are increasingly turning to pawnshops and traditional village moneylenders for credit. Informal moneylenders are often preferred over banks because gaining access to a bank loan is often too complicated and time-consuming to meet the demands of the poor.

In Thailand, some NGOs added that farmers would soon be under even more financial pressure with high rural debt and limited liquidity resulting from the crisis. In Bangkok, the group reported that moneylenders were exploiting this situation by charging an increased interest rate of 3 percent per day.

Coping Strategies

Family members are forced to enter the informal labor market

Reduced household income in all countries has already forced many families—particularly the poor—to tap into their available labor resources, that is, women, children, and the elderly. In Thailand, children's NGOs have noticed an increase in child labor and child prostitution, and NGOs from the Handicapped Network added that the number of child beggars has increased.

In all countries, there are indications that school dropout rates are increasing, as poor households now can no longer afford to send their children to school, but expect them to work to supplement household income; some children are already working long hours after school. In Teparak, Thailand, there was anger from the women who could see no justice in having to send their children to the garbage site every day to support the family. The elder woman of the group stated that she felt very anxious about the future of her grandchildren, who would not receive a good education or adequate health care. In Indonesia, there are reports of children leaving school to join padat karya programs (labor-intensive projects). To date, these programs employ mostly men.

Family cohesion is weakening as migration increases

The figures and flow of migration are not clear. All focus groups were certain that people had already begun to migrate because of economic pressures. Four possible flows of migration were identified:

- a. Urban to rural. In Thailand, as the majority of the labor force in the industrial areas are from the rural areas, it is expected that increased unemployment will force many rural laborers to migrate back to the rural areas. Estimates vary widely. A Tambon representative in Sap poo pan estimated that out of the village population of 260, 40 people had already returned because of the crisis. Another 70 were still working outside the village, mainly in Bangkok. The returned labor force will significantly increase the competition for jobs in both rural and urban areas in the north and northeast. This will further marginalize farm laborers, who are less educated and have fewer skills and therefore face great competition in the labor market. However, in Indonesia, this flow was less strong, as many urban dwellers were reluctant to return to the drought areas where jobs were no longer available.
- b. Rural to urban. The combination of economic crisis and drought has forced a change in behavior on the part of the inhabitants of Kalianyar, Jakarta, Indonesia, and their counterparts in the countryside. In a focus group it was reported that this year, at the end of Idul Fitri, only about 1,500 rural inhabitants returned to the urban area for work, which is only about 40 percent of the normal level of about 4,000. So few returned because of the crisis and its effects on labor demand in the urban area.
- c. Urban to rural to urban. Some groups in Thailand feel that migration may become triangular, that is, urban-rural-urban (from Bangkok to provincial towns and eventually back to Bangkok). In Khon Kaen in northeast Thailand, the group reported that with the increased flow of migrants there was a lack of room in slum areas, whereas in Bangkok the slum dwellers noted an increase in vacant rental rooms during the past six months.
- d. Cross-border. The impact of migration from neighboring countries is, at this stage, difficult to define and will need monitoring. In Cambodia's northwest province, entire communities often relied on jobs in Thailand, many working as illegal laborers. They often put themselves into great debt to get over the border illegally. Focus groups reported that within the last three months, a majority of these workers (especially the men) have been forced to return, having lost their

jobs and still in debt. In the Philippines, there has not been a high rate of return of overseas contract workers, as was expected.

The focus group in Jakarta explained that normally a period of drought can be compensated by a seasonal migration of labor to urban areas, which leads to reduced labor demand in rural areas. In the same way, an economic slowdown that leads to some layoffs in trades in urban areas can be compensated through a reverse migration to rural areas, where people are able to grow enough to survive until employment prospects in the urban areas improve. This year, however, the combination of economic crisis and drought meant there was no recourse for those who could not find employment or earn income in either the rural or urban setting. Both rural and urban areas are experiencing a contraction of labor demand, and neither has a safety valve available to absorb the excess labor supply. The focus group further explained that there are complex connections between rural and urban areas and that information concerning circumstances in each area is transmitted to the other as the basis for behavioral decisions. This had resulted in fewer people migrating than was anticipated.

Women and children suffer as households cut down expenditure

There is increasing pressure on the poor to cut their household expenditure. In the slum areas in all countries, people reported that they already had to cut down from three to two meals per day and in some cases only one. This has a greater impact on vulnerable groups, such as women and children, who are, as a result, more likely to suffer inadequate nutrition. In Indonesia, (Maluku and South Sulawesi), school principals complained that parents were having difficulty paying parent association fees on time or at all. In both Indonesia and the Philippines (Mindanao), teachers reported that children were eating less before coming to school in the mornings and buying less from vendors. This affected some children's ability to concentrate.

Young men are turning to illegal activities

The focus groups noted that crime had increased in slum areas in the Philippines and Thailand. The slum dwellers in Bangkok added that unemployed youth were already turning to selling drugs as a means of supporting their families. In Cambodia, there were reports of increased trafficking in women and children.

Erosion in Social Capital: the Downward Spiral

In terms of social capital (defined here as trust, reciprocity, and networks of support), the impact of the crisis on households and commu-

nities can be both positive and negative. In some communities, a time of crisis may result in strengthened social cohesion and may even generate new relations that improve overall social capital as poor communities find resourceful ways of overcoming their problems. For example, in Davao, a community savings scheme called a bubuwai, where everyone contributes to cover the cost of festivals, was introduced; and community self-policing programs (ronda) were introduced in another community in response to increased crime. But at this stage, the discussions were overwhelmingly focused on how, during the past six months, the crisis had eroded certain elements of community cooperation and trust quite suddenly. Figure A2 illustrates the results of a focus group in the Philippines, where community leaders discussed their perceptions of the impact of the crisis.

Conflict

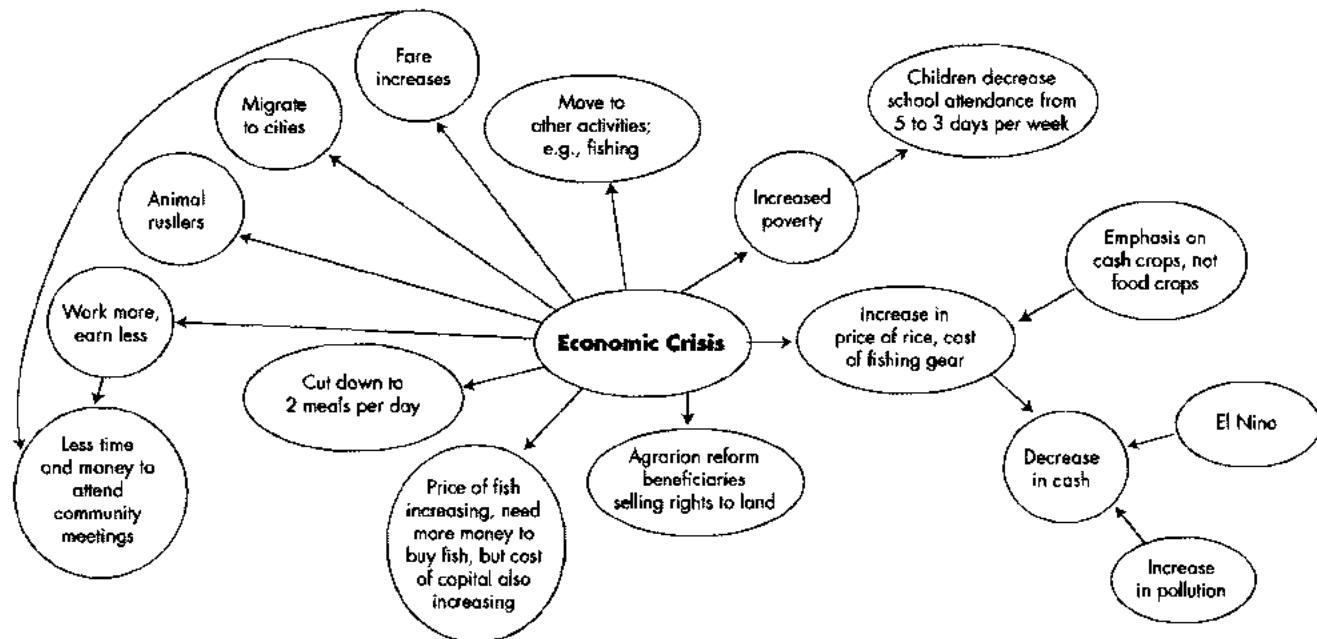
In all countries, NGOs identified three levels of increased conflict: (a) within the household, increased pressure led to increased domestic conflict, which sometimes involved children; (b) in the community, the focus group (in Bangkok) reported that many people were unable to pay back their loans to moneylenders, who had begun to attack those who could not pay, contributing to community violence and increased feelings of insecurity, which the local police did little to allay; and (c) in society, NGOs expressed concern over potential social unrest, a concern that became a reality in Indonesia, where there has been extensive ethnic violence against the Chinese population.

Vulnerability and insecurity

In Teparak, in Thailand, the focus group identified a breakdown in community trust within the last six months. Increased competition for survival, frustration, and psychological stress had all led to increased household and community tension. With increased competition for jobs, neighbors who once cooperated were now competing. Stealing, crime, and violence, they stated, were on the rise. People were feeling unsafe and insecure. They expressed great concern for their children's future. Some had been forced by their parents to drop out of school. Surprisingly, this strategy was not to enable children to go to work but to guard the home, as both parents were now working and break-ins had increased. The group added that it was well known that their own neighbors had been the thieves. Within this environment of declining trust and increasing competition, Teparak was witnessing the weakening of community ties that had evolved over a long period of time. This has implications for social cohesion and longer-term stability.

In the Philippines, the Social Weather Station has been conducting a nationally representative quarterly survey for more than 15 years. The

Figure A2. Perceptions of the Impact of the East Asian Financial Crisis: Results of a Focus Group in the Philippines (Drawn by a group of Community Board Organization Leaders in Davao, Mindanao, February 12, 1998. Facilitator: Billy de la Rosa, AFRIM)



survey includes a question that explores "self-reported" poverty (that is, whether people think they are poor). The proportion of the population that reported itself as poor had declined slowly but steadily for almost five years, until the September 1997 survey. In that survey, there was, for the first time in five years, a rise in self-reported poverty. Moreover, the survey of December 1997 showed that this rate of increase had accelerated.

Isolation

In rural areas, NGO representatives expressed concern about returning migrants. Some said that migrants who were forced to return to their family homes may find it difficult to assimilate again into the rural way of life. This may lead to a sense of alienation. All groups emphasized the impact of returning on the migrant's mental health, including the increased risk of suicide. They also said that although families had been under stress before the crisis, the sharp increase in the need to migrate to find work would further contribute to the breakdown of family ties.

All focus groups noted the general feeling of uncertainty, insecurity, and isolation. Many participants said that although the poor had benefited from improved social welfare in the past, they still felt excluded. There was also a feeling that the poor had not received their fair share of economic growth. Many blamed the rich for the current crisis and were unable to understand why the poor should carry the burden. Even their newly gained (but still limited) access to social welfare was beginning to disappear. In Teparak, Khon Kaen, Thailand, a community leader added, "The crisis has happened too quickly and has left us confused, puzzled, and let down. We have been laid off but given no explanation" (see box A2). Many discussions with groups focused on the declining emphasis on traditional values and spiritual well-being. They blamed that "drive for consumerism" for this erosion.

Box A2. How People Are Coping in Khon Kaen

"It was the rich who benefited from the boom...but we, the poor, pay the price of the crisis," explained Khun Bunjan, a community leader from the slums of Khon Kaen, Northeast Thailand. "The crisis has happened so quickly it has left us confused, puzzled and let down. We have lost our jobs but given no explanation." Within Khun Bunjan's community there is a feeling of uncertainty, insecurity, and isolation. "Even our limited access to schools and health is now beginning to disappear. We fear for our children's future," added her husband, Khun Wichai.

In this chaotic and unpredictable environment of increasing unemployment, pay cuts, higher prices, and reduced access to social services, Khun Wichai and Khun Bunjan are having to adjust rapidly. Khun Wichai recently lost his job at the local factory and his wife is selling less at the local market, where competition has rapidly increased. As a result, they took both their son and daughter out of school to work. "What is the justice in having to send our children to the garbage site every day to support the family?" questions Khun Bunjan. But Khun Wichai thinks he is lucky. His neighbors are sending their children to beg and there are a few reports of girls becoming prostitutes. Among the older male youths, drug dealing has become an increasingly attractive source of income.

"Many private health centers have closed down because they are no longer able to pay the loans they borrowed from abroad and imported drugs have rocketed in price. People are forced to rely on the strained public health system. Our fear is for the children, elderly, and HIV/AIDS patients," explained Khun Somjit, a health worker. Khun Bunjan added that they had already seen a rapid inflow of migrants from Bangkok and the rural areas. "Migration has brought increased competition for living space and jobs, and we are worried that migrants will bring more HIV to our community."

Within an environment of declining trust and increasing competition, along with decreased time, the slum was witnessing the weakening of essential community groups and networks that had evolved over a long period of time. "This breakdown of our community's networks will affect stability," added Khun Bunjan. Khun Wichai blames the "drive for consumerism" during the boom years for the decline in traditional values and spiritual well-being. "This decline will make it even more difficult for us to recover from this shock," he concludes.

Notes

1. This appendix is based on a paper prepared for the East Asian Crisis Workshop (Institute of Development Studies, United Kingdom, July 13–14, 1998), and for a seminar on the Implications of the East Asian Crisis for Poverty Elimination (DFID, July 15, 1998).
2. APIK (Indonesian Women's Association for Justice), Indonesia.
3. Information in this book on Indonesia's education sector is taken from initial rapid research (April 1998) undertaken by Haneen Ismail Sayed and Deon Filmer, World Bank, Washington, D.C. Interviews and focus groups were conducted in 14 schools in Maluku and South Sulawesi.

Appendix G. Methodology of This Review

The first phase of the participatory poverty assessment (PPA) review was a desk study based upon existing PPAs, poverty assessments, and related documents, both within and outside the Bank. In addition, semi-structured interviews were held with a wide cross-section of people in the Bank who undertook the PPA and/or the poverty assessment. This first phase resulted in the formulation of a number of hypotheses. A World Bank in-house workshop was convened in January 1996 to discuss the results of the desk study and interviews. The results of the first phase and the PPA in-house workshop were then discussed at a workshop at the Institute of Development Studies in Sussex, United Kingdom, in May 1996. Many of the PPA practitioners, from a cross-section of countries, presented their experiences.¹ The hypotheses were then tested in the following countries during a second phase of fieldwork from 1996 to 1997: Zambia, Costa Rica, Pakistan, Mozambique, and Swaziland. A variety of approaches were used, including semistructured interviews, focus groups, and workshops with communities, government officials, donors, NGOs, and civil society organizations.

In presenting good-practice situations, it has been difficult to represent the perception of all participants in this limited study. Personal interpretation has been inevitable, although an attempt has been made to present multiple perspectives. Much of the work of the PPAs has been innovative and new. The main objective of this study has been to identify examples from which to learn. It is hoped that this study will also be useful to practitioners. The analysis has relied heavily on many ideas from people both within and outside the Bank.

Note

1. The outcome of this workshop is summarized by Holland and Blackburn (1998).

Bibliography

- Attwood, H. 1996. "South African Participatory Poverty Assessment Process: Were the Voices of the Poor Heard?" Paper for the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Policy Workshop, May 13-14. Institute of Developmental Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Beall, J., N. Kanji, F. Faruqi, C., Mohammed Hussain, and M. Mirani. 1994. "Social Safety Nets and Social Networks: Their Role in Poverty Alleviation in Pakistan." Vol. 1: "Executive Summary and Report." Commissioned by the Overseas Development Administration, United Kingdom.
- Bird, B., and M. Kakande. 2001. "The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process." In A. Norton, *A Manual for Participatory Poverty Assessments*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Booth, D., J. Holland, J. Hentschel, P. Lanjouw, and A. Herbert. 1998. "Participation and Combined Methods in African Poverty Assessment: Renewing the Agenda." Social Development Division, U.K. Department for International Development, London.
- Brock, K. 2000. "PPA Topic Pack." Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Brown, G. 1998. "Impact of Factory Closures on Women: Discovering Survival Strategies of Unemployed Women Workers." Draft note. World Bank, East Asia Region, Washington, D.C.
- Carvalho, S., and H. White. 1997. "Combining the Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to Poverty Measurement and Analysis: The Practice and the Potential." Technical Paper 366. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Chambers, R. 1983. *Putting the Last First*. London: Longman.
- . 1993. *Challenging the Professions: Frontiers for Rural Development*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- . 1997. *Whose Reality Counts: Putting the First Last*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- . (forthcoming). "Power, Knowledge and Policy Influence: Reflections in an Experience." In K. Brock and R. McGee, eds. *Who Knows Poverty? Critical Reflections on Participatory Research and Policy*. London: Earthscan.

- Chung, K. 2000. "Qualitative Data Collection Techniques." In M. Grosh and P. Glewwe, eds. *Designing Household Survey Questionnaires for Developing Countries: Lessons from 15 Years of the Living Standards Measurement Study*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Clark, J. 1992. "Participatory Country Poverty Assessments." Draft note. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Clark, J., and L. Salmen. 1993. "Participatory Poverty Assessments: Incorporating Poor People's Perspectives into Poverty Assessment Work." World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Clark, J., B. Harris, E. Jimenez, and C. M. Robb. 1998. Socio-economic Impact of the Financial Crisis on the Philippines." World Bank, East Asia Region, Washington, D.C.
- Clay, E. J., and B. B. Schaffer. 1984. *Room for Maneuver*. London: Heinmann.
- Conyers, D. 1982. *An Introduction to Social Planning in the Third World*. Chichester, U.K.: Wiley.
- Cornwall, A. 2000. "Beneficiary, Consumer, Citizen: Perspectives on Participation for Poverty Reduction." Sida (Swedish International Development Authority) Studies No. 2, Gothenburg, Sweden.
- Dogbe, T. 1996. "The One Who Rides the Donkey Does Not Know the Ground Is Hot." Paper for the PRA and Policy Workshop, May 13–14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Dulamday, E., M. Shah, and R. Mearns, with B. Enkhbat and L. Ganzaya. 2001. "Mongolia: Participatory Living Standards Assessment." Summary report prepared for the Donors Consultative Group Meeting, May 15–16, Paris. National Statistics Office of Mongolia and The World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- The Gambia, Ministry of Finance. 1994. *Strategy for Poverty Alleviation*. Geneva.
- Gaventa, J. 1998. "Poverty, Participation, and Social Exclusion in North and South." *IDS Bulletin* 29(1): 50–57.
- Grindle, M. S., and J. W. Thomas. 1991. *Public Choices and Policy Change: The Political Economy of Reform in Developing Countries*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Guba, E., and Y. Lincoln. 1981. *Effective Evaluation*. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- . 1996. "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research." In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Guja, B., M. Pimbert, and M. Shah. 1996. "Village Voices Challenging Wetland Management Policies: PRA Experiences from Pakistan and India." Paper for the PRA and Policy Workshop, May 13–14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Harris, B., and C. M. Robb. 1998. "Social Impacts of the Crisis on Households and Communities: Preliminary Findings in Indonesia." World Bank, East Asia Region, Washington, D.C.
- Hentschel, J. 1999. "Contextuality and Data Collection Methods: A Framework and Application to Health Service Utilization." *Journal of Development Studies* 35(4): 64–94.

- Holland, J., and J. Blackburn, eds. 1998. *Whose Voice? Participatory Research and Policy Change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Inglis, A., and S. Guy. 1996. "Scottish Forest Policy 'U-turn'—Was PRA in Laggan Behind It?" Paper for the PRA and Policy Workshop, May 13–14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Institute of Development Studies. 1989. *Bulletin on Vulnerability*. Sussex, U.K.
- . 1994. "Poverty Assessments and Public Expenditure: A Study for the SPA Working Group on Poverty and Social Policy." Sussex, U.K.
- . Forthcoming. "The New Dynamics of Aid: Power, Procedures, and Relationships." Policy briefing. Sussex, U.K.
- International Institute of Environment and Development. 1991–2001. *RRA Notes* (now *PLA Notes*). London: Sustainable Agriculture Programme.
- Johda, N. S. 1988. "Poverty Debate in India: A Minority View." *Economic and Political Weekly*. Special Number 2421–28 (November). India.
- Lesotho. 1996. *Pathway Out of Poverty. An Action Plan for Lesotho*. Lesotho.
- Marshall, C., and G. Rossman. 1995. *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- May, J., and H. Attwood. 1996. "Kicking Down the Doors and Lighting Fires: the South African PPA." Paper for the PPA and Policy Workshop, May 13–14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- McGee, R., with A. Norton. 2000. "Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Synthesis of Experience with Participatory Approaches to Policy Design, Implementation, and Monitoring." IDS Working Paper 109. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Milimo, J. 1995. "Coping with Cost Sharing in Zambia." Swedish International Development Authority (Sida), Stockholm.
- . 1996. "A Note on the Use of PRA Approaches and Methods and Their Impacts on Policy and Practice in Zambia." Paper for the PRA and Policy Workshop, May 13–14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Milimo, J., A. Norton, and D. Owen. 1998. "The Impact of PRA Approaches and Methods on Policy and Practice: The Zambia PPA." In J. Holland and J. Blackburn, eds. *Whose Voice? Participatory Research and Policy Change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Moser, C. 1993. *Gender Planning and Development: Theory Practice and Training*. London: Routledge.
- Moser, C., and J. Holland. 1996. "A Participatory Study of Urban Poverty and Violence in Jamaica: Analysis of Research Results." World Bank, Urban Development Division, Washington, D.C.
- Mukherjee, N. 1995. *Participatory Rural Appraisals and Questionnaire Surveys: Comparative Field Experience and Methodological Innovations*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Mutesa, F., and S. Muyakwa. 1997. "Participatory Poverty Assessment Review: Report for the World Bank, Lusaka." World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Narayan, D. 1997. *Voices of the Poor: Poverty and Social Capital in Tanzania*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Narayan, D., and D. Nyamwaya. 1996. "Learning from the Poor: A Participatory Poverty Assessment of Kenya." Environment Department Paper 034. World Bank, Washington, D.C.

- Narayan, D., R. Chambers, M. Shah, and P. Petesch. 2000. *Voices of the Poor: Crying Out for Change*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Norton, A. 1994. "Observations on Urban Applications of PRA Methods from Ghana and Zambia: Participatory Poverty Assessments." *PLA Notes* 21: 55-56.
- . 1996. "The Ghana Participatory Poverty Assessment: Some Notes on the Process and Lessons Learned." Paper for the PRA and Policy Workshop, May 13-14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- Norton, A., with B. Bird, K. Brock, M. Kakande, and C. Turk. 2001. *A Manual for Participatory Poverty Assessments*. London: U.K. Department for International Development.
- Norton, A., and P. Francis. 1992. "Participatory Poverty Assessments in Ghana." Draft discussion note and proposal. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Norton, A., and T. Stephens. 1995. "Participation in Poverty Assessments." World Bank, Environment Department, Washington, D.C.
- Owen, D. 1994. "Mozambique Participatory Poverty Assessment." Discussion paper and proposal. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- . 1996. "The Mozambique Participatory Poverty Assessment—Lessons from the Process." Paper for the PRA and Policy Workshop, May 13-14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K.
- . 1997. "Mozambique Participatory Poverty Assessment." Stakeholder Workshop Report. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Parker, B. 1994. "Pakistan Poverty Assessment: Human Resource Development: A Social Analysis of Constraints." Paper prepared for the Pakistan Poverty Assessment. Processed.
- Participatory Assessment Group. 1995. "Participatory Poverty Monitoring in Zambia." Lusaka, Zambia.
- Ravallion, M. 1996. "How Can Method Substitute for Data? Five Experiments in Poverty Analysis." *The World Bank Observer* 11(2): 199-221.
- Rietbergen-McCracken, J., and D. Narayan. 1997. "Participatory Tools and Techniques: A Resource Kit for Participation and Social Assessments." World Bank, Environment Department, Washington, D.C.
- Robb, C. 1997. "PPAs: A Review of the World Bank's Experience." In J. Holland and J. Blackburn, eds., *Whose Voice? Participatory Research and Policy Change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- . 1998. "Social Impacts of the East Asian Crisis: Perceptions from Poor Communities." Paper prepared for the East Asian Crisis Workshop, July 13-14. Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, U.K. Also given at a seminar on the Implications of the East Asian Crisis for Poverty Elimination, July 15. U.K. Department for International Development, London.
- . 2000. "How the Poor Can Have a Voice in Government Policy." *Finance and Development* 37(4): 22-24.
- Robb, C., and C. Zhang. 1998. "Social Aspects of the Crisis: Perceptions of Poor Communities in Thailand." Informal sector strategy paper. World Bank, East Asia Region, Washington, D.C.

- Robb, C., M. Shivakuma, and N. Vanna. 1998. "The Social Impacts of the Creeping Crisis in Cambodia: Perceptions of Poor Communities." World Bank, East Asia Region, Washington, D.C.
- Salmen, L. 1992a. "Participatory Poverty Assessment." Draft note. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- . 1992b. "Reducing Poverty: An Institutional Perspective." Poverty and Social Policy Series, Paper 1. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- . 1995a. "Participatory Poverty Assessment: Incorporating Poor People's Perspectives into Poverty Assessment Work." Social Assessment Series Paper 024. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- . 1995b. "Beneficiary Assessment: An Approach Described." Environment Department Paper 023. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- . 1995c. "Listening to the People." *Finance and Development* 32(2): 44-48.
- Shah, M., and G. Nikhama. 1996. "Listening to Young Voices: Participatory Appraisals on Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health in Chawama Compound." CARE International, Lusaka, Zambia.
- Srinivasan, L. 1990. *Tools for Community Participation: A Manual for Training Trainers in Participatory Techniques*. New York: Promotion of the Role of Women in Water and Environmental Sanitation/United Nations Development Programme.
- Stone, L., and J. Gabriel Campbell. 1984. "The Use and Misuse of Surveys in International Development: An Experiment from Nepal." *Journal for the Society for Applied Anthropology* 43(1): 27-37.
- Turk, C. 2001. "Linking Participatory Poverty Assessments to Policy and Policy Making: Experience from Vietnam." Policy Research Working Paper 2526. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- UEM (Universidade Eduardo Mondlane). 1996. "A Pobreza em Moçambique: Um Estudo Participativo." Relatório da Primeira Fase. CEP/95/003 - Doc 22b. Centro de Estudos da População. Moputo, Moçambique.
- . 1997. "Summary Report." Centro de Estudos da População. Moputo, Moçambique.
- Uganda Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development. 1997. *Poverty Eradication Action Plan*. Kampala.
- . 1999. *Poverty Status Report*. Kampala.
- Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Project. 2000. "Uganda Poverty Assessment Report: Learning from the Poor." Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Kampala.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). 1996. "UNDP's 1996 Report on Human Development in Bangladesh. A Pro-Poor Agenda." Vol. 3: "Poor People's Perspectives." Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- . 1997. "Prospects for Sustainable Human Development in Zambia: More Choices for Our People." Lusaka, Zambia.
- University of Cape Town. 1995. "Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa." Ministry in the Office of the President, Reconstruction and Development Program. Cape Town, South Africa.

- Walton, M., and T. Manuelyan, with S. Commins and C. Robb. 1998. "Responding to the Global Financial Crisis. Social Consequences of the East Asian Financial Crisis." World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Wildavsky, A. 1979. *The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis: Speaking Truth to Power*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Wolfensohn, J. W. 1998. "The Other Crisis." Address to the World Bank Board of Governors, October 6. World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- World Bank. 1990. *World Development Report 1990*. Washington, D.C.
- . 1991. *Assistance Strategies to Reduce Poverty*. Washington, D.C.
- . 1992. *Poverty Reduction Handbook*. Washington, D.C.
- . 1993a. "Tanzania: A Poverty Profile." Report 12298-TA. Washington, D.C.
- . 1993b. "Mali Assessment of Living Conditions." Report 11842-MLI. Washington, D.C.
- . 1994a. "Rwanda. Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Growth." Report 12465-RW. Washington, D.C.
- . 1994b. "Benin. Toward a Poverty Alleviation Strategy." Report 12706-BEN. Washington, D.C.
- . 1994c. "Zambia Poverty Assessment." Vol. 5: "Participatory Poverty Assessment." Report 12985-ZA. Washington, D.C.
- . 1994d. "The World Bank and Participation." Operations Policy Department, Washington, D.C.
- . 1995a. "Kenya Poverty Assessment." Report 13152-KE. Washington, D.C.
- . 1995b. "Cameroon. Diversity, Growth, and Poverty Reduction." Report 13167-CM. Washington, D.C.
- . 1995c. "Guatemala. An Assessment of Poverty." Report 12312-GU. Washington, D.C.
- . 1995d. "Brazil Poverty Assessment." Report 14323-BR. Washington, D.C.
- . 1995e. "Ghana Poverty Past, Present and Future." Report 14504-GH. Washington, D.C.
- . 1995f. "Uganda. The Challenge of Growth and Poverty Reduction." Report 14313-UG. Washington, D.C.
- . 1995g. "Lesotho Poverty Assessment." Report 13171-LSO. Washington, D.C.
- . 1995h. "Reducing Poverty in Zambia: Getting from Ideas to Action." Washington, D.C.
- . 1995i. "Pakistan Poverty Assessment." Report 14397-PAK. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996a. "Malawi Human Resources and Poverty. Profile and Priorities for Action." Report 15437-MAI. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996b. "Nigeria Poverty in the Midst of Plenty: The Challenge of Growth with Inclusion." Poverty Assessment Report 14733-UNI. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996c. "Armenia Confronting Poverty Issues." Report 15693-AM. Washington, D.C.

- . 1996d. "Mexico: Poverty Reduction. The Unfinished Agenda." Report 15692-ME. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996e. "Togo. Overcoming the Crisis, Overcoming Poverty." Poverty Assessment. Report 15526-TO. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996f. "Niger Poverty Assessment: A Resilient People in a Harsh Environment." Report 15344-NIR. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996g. "Azerbaijan Poverty Assessment." Report 15601-AZ. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996h. "Madagascar Poverty Assessment," Vol. I and II. Report 14044-MAG. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996i. "Taking Action for Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa: Report of an African Regional Task Force." Human Resources and Poverty Division, Technical Department, Africa Region Report 15575-AFR. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996j. "Poverty Assessment: A Progress Review." Operations Evaluation Department Report 15881. Washington, D.C.
- . 1996k. "Mozambique Participatory Poverty Assessment Phase I Rural Summary." Maputo, Mozambique. Processed.
- . 1996l. "Poverty Lines." Poverty and Social Policy Department, Washington, D.C. (October)
- . 1997a. "Costa Rica. Identifying the Social Needs of the Poor: An Update." Report 15449-CR. Washington, D.C.
- , with the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development of the Kingdom of Swaziland. 1997b. "Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor." Washington, D.C.
- . 1997c. "Poverty Reduction and the World Bank: Progress in Fiscal 1996 and 1997." Washington, D.C.
- . 2001. *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . Forthcoming. "Participation Process Review." Operations Evaluation Department, Washington, D.C.
- World Bank and the IMF. 1999. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers—Operational Issues." Washington, D.C.
- Wuyts, M., M. Mackintosh, and T. Hewitt. 1992. *Development Policy and Public Action*. London: Oxford University Press.

This new edition of *Can the Poor Influence Policy?* reflects a dramatic shift in the policy dialogue since the first edition appeared in 1999. The dialogue has moved from a debate over why the poor should be included in policy formulation to an explanation of the ways this can be achieved. In addition, international development organizations are now working together to support countries as they devise national strategies to reduce poverty. This edition includes a new chapter that draws on recent case examples from participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) to share emerging best practice of how to involve the poor in the development of these strategies.

A joint foreword by James D. Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank, and Horst Köhler, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, highlights their institutions' shared commitment to poverty reduction. They conclude, "The book is essential reading for policymakers who wish to understand how to improve consultation with the poor; for governments, NGOs, and donors who wish to undertake PPAs; and for all those embarking on PRSPs [Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers]."

Can the Poor Influence Policy? is a clear and authoritative review of experience with the major new phenomenon of participatory poverty assessments. Caroline Robb documents the scale and depth of a quiet revolution in thinking and practice with profound implications for development professionalism and policy.

The book, published as it is by the World Bank and the IMF, is a landmark. After this book, things should never be the same again, for there will be less excuse than ever for ignoring the realities and priorities of those who are poor and disadvantaged.

Robert Chambers, Institute of Development Studies

If we are to meet the global target of reducing the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015, we must listen to the poverty experts—the poor themselves. *Can the Poor Influence Policy?* unravels this unique learning experience ... the only way forward.

Margaret Kakande, Ministry of Finance, Government of Uganda

This important and timely book rightly argues the voices and concerns of the poor should shape policies. The challenge will be to ensure this happens in practice.

Justin Forsyth, Oxfam International



INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND



THE WORLD BANK

1818 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20433 USA
Telephone: 202-477-1234
Facsimile: 202-477-6391
Internet: www.worldbank.org
E-mail: feedback@worldbank.org

A standard linear barcode is located in the bottom right corner of the page. To its left is a series of numbers: 9 780821 350003. Above the barcode, the number 15000 is printed vertically.

ISBN 0-8213-5000-5