

Ex post evaluation – Benin

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Sector: Urban development and management (43030)
Project: Infrastructure Fund for Secondary Towns / Fonds d'Infrastructures Villes Secondaires ("FIVIS") – Phase I (BMZ 2000 66 100*) and Phase II (BMZ 2002 66 650*)
Implementing agency: Agence d'Exécution des Travaux Urbains (AGETUR)



Ex post evaluation report: 2019

All figures EUR million	Phase I (Planned)	Phase I (Actual)	Phase II (Planned)	Phase II (Actual)
Investment costs (total)	5.37	5.40	6.30	6.30
Counterpart contribution	0.26	0.29	1.30	1.30
Funding	5.11	5.11	5.00**	5.00**
of which BMZ budget funds	5.11	5.11	5.00**	5.00**

*) Random sample 2016

**) Including an increase of EUR 2 million on 2 November 2009 and contract addendum no. 3 from 10 December 2013

Summary: The aim was to strengthen local self-government in four secondary cities (Abomey, Bohicon, Natitingou, Ouidah) and, starting in phase II, also in four rural municipalities (Bassila, Kérou, Péhunco, Tanguiéta) by expanding economic infrastructure (markets, municipal buildings, access roads and large car parks) as part of the decentralisation process. The non-profit project-implementing agency AGETUR was responsible for planning and construction on behalf of the municipalities (*maîtrise d'ouvrage déléguée*). AGETUR and the local authorities were supported in the process by an Financial Cooperation (FC) consultant. The two-phase project was designed and carried out as a cooperative programme with Technical Cooperation (TC), which strengthened the capacity of the local authorities by introducing important control mechanism (municipal development planning, human resource management, electronic accounting system).

Objectives: The Development Cooperation (DC) programme goal at impact level for both phases was to contribute (i) to improving the living conditions of the population and (ii) to supporting the decentralisation process. The programme objective at outcome level was (i) for the infrastructure to be intensively used and properly maintained and (ii) to sustainably strengthen the municipalities and apply good local governance practices.

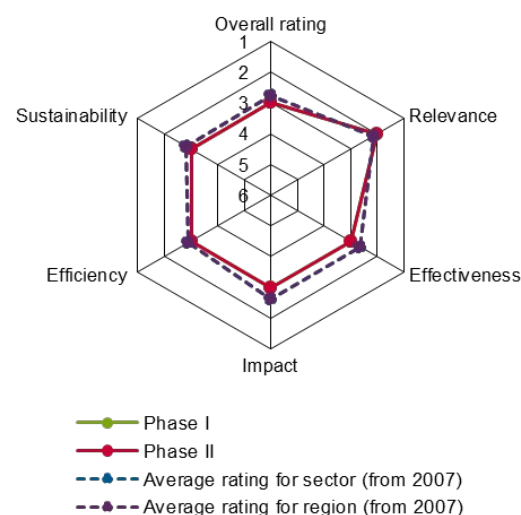
Target group: The target group was the population in the programme cities and their catchment areas (at the time of appraisal: 600,000 inhabitants; over 1,025,000 inhabitants in 2016).

Overall rating: 3 (both phases)

Rationale: The infrastructure financed, which was built with a considerable delay, is mostly used intensively and was still in satisfactory condition despite maintenance deficiencies. The project made a positive contribution to decentralisation by increasing the municipalities' revenues, raising the professionalism of the administrations and introducing good governance criteria.

Highlights: The decision on the amount of the allocation by the FIVIS infrastructure fund also depended on the achievement of the good governance criteria. These are still today part of the annual allocation process of the Fonds d'Appui au Développement des Communes (FADeC) and the annual audit of the municipalities by CONAFIL.

The long-standing cooperation between FIVIS (FC) and the Programme d'Appui à la Décentralisation et au Développement Communal (PDDC) (TC) was very successful.



Rating according to DAC criteria

Overall rating: 3 (both phases)

Ratings:

	Phase I	Phase II
Relevance	2	2
Effectiveness	3	3
Efficiency	3	3
Impact	3	3
Sustainability	3	3

It is not possible to evaluate the phases separately, as several structures were financed from both phases.

Relevance

At the time of the appraisal in 2001, Benin was one of the poorest countries in the world with an average annual per capita income of USD 380 (2017: USD 800 – World Bank, Atlas method). More than half of the population lived on less than FCFA 180 per day (around EUR 0.25). Although the municipalities had been granted important powers to provide their citizens with public services as part of the decentralisation process, they were not allocated the necessary financial resources. The lack of social and economic infrastructure in the municipalities was seen as a core problem. As a result, support was provided to four secondary cities and, starting in 2006, another four regionally important rural municipalities to create and operate key municipal infrastructure. Priority was given to selecting projects that could be subsequently operated based on revenues they generated on their own or that had been positively received by the population, so as to increase acceptance for local taxation. The aim was also to strengthen the administrative capacity and good governance of the municipalities through the TC in parallel to the FC-financed measures.

The programme's dual approach is still coherent from today's perspective. The core problem of the cities addressed by FC – namely, that they lack sufficient infrastructure to fulfil their duties – was correctly identified. It was also consistent to view the inadequate administrative capacity and insufficient self-generated municipal revenues as further core problems to be addressed in parallel for successful decentralisation. The programmes' focus on economic infrastructure (markets, roads, large car parks and town halls) is therefore reasonable. Cooperation with TC, which aimed to strengthen municipal capacity, was a necessary complement since, without the ability to properly operate the infrastructure, both the desired outcome (i.e. appropriate use of public services by the population) and the targeted impact of improving their living conditions would be at risk. Strengthening the municipal administration must be seen as an essential prerequisite for successful decentralisation. Decentralisation - as shown by the progress regarding the framework conditions for the decentralisation process - is still a national policy priority and a priority of German development cooperation, which remains active in this priority area. The relevant sector concepts for decentralisation were taken into account in the dual approach of strengthening both infrastructure and municipal governance. From today's perspective, we thus consider the relevance of the programme to be high.

Relevance rating: 2 (both phases)

Effectiveness

The dual module objective of the FC programme (outcome level) within the scope of the FC-TC cooperation programme of FIVIS I was: (1) sustainable provision of social and economic infrastructure (FC) and (2) improved management of municipal administrations (TC).

The dual module objective of FIVIS II was: (1) for the municipal infrastructure to be sustainably operated and maintained by the programme municipalities, and (2) for the programme municipalities to apply principles of good local governance.

For the EPE, the following objectives shall apply for both phases, on the one hand for the purpose of standardisation and on the other hand to capture use as an indispensable component of the outcome:

- 1) For the infrastructure created by the programme to be used intensively and properly maintained.
- 2) For the municipalities to be strengthened for the long term and apply principles of good local governance.

The programme's objectives defined at the time of the programme appraisal are to be measured by the following indicators:

Indicator	Status PA, target PA	Ex post evaluation <small>(FIVIS I and II cannot be kept strictly separated as infrastructure is partly financed by both phases)</small>
1) Three years after the start-up of operation, the infrastructure is used as planned.	FIVIS I: n/a, 80% FIVIS II: n/a, 75%	Achieved, use approximately 90% ¹⁾
2) Three years after the start-up of operation, the buildings are in satisfactory condition.	FIVIS I : 0, 80% FIVIS II: 0, 75%	Overall: achieved (often more than 3 years after the start-up of operation); 4 town halls: 3 visited and all in good condition 11 markets: 6 visited and in satisfactory condition with some deficiencies 3 roads/bridges: 3 visited and all in good or satisfactory condition 2 large car parks: 2 visited, 1 unsatisfactory, 1 satisfactory to good 1 bus station: visited and good
3) Three years after start-up, the municipalities have established a budget for maintenance and they carry out preventive maintenance and repairs on a regular basis.	0, 80%	Overall: not achieved; Budget established: 100% of the municipalities. The maintenance budget amounted to an average of just under 5% of the total municipal expenditure. Budget used for maintenance: only minimal use of the maintenance budget for maintenance, preventive maintenance never gained acceptance. None of the municipalities surveyed had a maintenance team, but maintenance work is externally outsourced.
4) The municipal revenues have increased.	n/a, n/a	Achieved; Status 2016: increased by 216% from 2005 ²⁾ (compared with all Beninese municipalities: 244%; see population growth 2000–2018: 171% ³⁾)

5) The percentage of self-generated revenues in the total revenues of municipalities has increased	2005: n/a, 64%	Not achieved; Status 2016: 38% (compared with all Beninese municipalities: 40%)
6) The self-generated revenues of the municipalities cover their operating costs	n/a, 100%	Not achieved: 63% (compared with all Beninese municipalities: 70%)
7) The administration of the municipalities has improved and is more professional: a) Transparent procedures and instruments introduced as described in the FIVIS manual b) Skilled/qualified experts available	0, 75% n/a 75%	Achieved; a) 100% of the municipalities have introduced the national requirements consistent with transparent procedures (FADeC manual). ⁴⁾ b) 75%: skilled/qualified experts are available in most municipalities, including some that provide on-the-job training during FIVIS.

1) 16 of 21 buildings were visited during the EPE. All buildings are used intensively with the exception of the large car parks.

2) All 77 municipalities in Benin now apply the procedures and instruments described in the FADeC manual. This is the only way they can obtain funds from the FADeC for investments.

3) Source: Worldometers

4) Source: FIVIS and FADEC database

The infrastructure projects were 100% available and operational at the time of the EPE. Only the individual components of service areas and restaurants at the large car parks as well as the toilets at the markets and car parks were either not operational, no longer operational or not in operation as planned at the time of the EPE; in one case, however, a bus station was set up on the site. The use of infrastructure was particularly intensive in the case of roads/bridges, markets and town halls. In the case of the markets, it was important that the projects had rehabilitated or enlarged traditional market locations. The use of large car parks for lorries was much less than planned. 200 markets stalls in Bohicon and 60 in Tanguiéta located inside the market (hangar structure with indoor passageway) as well as approximately 12 boutiques on the second floor of Tanguiéta's Yara market were unused or hardly used at all, as their location made proximity to the customer more difficult. A trend towards daily use of the market stalls, and the growing number of merchants in uncovered stalls and non-stationary merchants further increases the intensity of use. This is also reflected in the high demand for more market stalls.

In terms of the indicator for operation and maintenance, it was evident that municipalities set up maintenance budgets but hardly use them for maintenance. Cities spend an average of 8% of their operating costs on maintenance, which is less than 1.5 % of the investment costs of their infrastructure. The exception is the maintenance of the town halls and, in most cases, cleaning of the drainage systems at markets and along roads, as well as waste collection from a collection point outside the market. While fee collection is well organised, maintenance and repair work has been largely left to users or user organisations. In most municipalities, there was no transparent division of labour or consensus on this matter between city and users. Maintenance by the user organisations functioned with varying degrees of effectiveness, depending on the degree of organisation and commitment of the users. The user organisations assumed responsibility for cleaning and waste transport to the collection point at almost all markets, mostly through the involvement of a non-governmental organisation. Users paid for these services on top of the fees to the city, even though assurances had been made when operation started that these services would be included in the fees. Access to toilets, water and electricity also had to be paid for by the users. These services were organised privately. The toilet operators pay a fee to the city. The toilet flushing mechanism did not work anywhere, with buckets of water used instead. The flush toilets proved to be an unsuitable technology, whereas the pit toilets worked much better. In many cases, the cities had not paid the electricity and water bills or had not emptied the toilet pits, which meant inadequate lighting and fewer available toi-

lets. Security guards also had to be employed and paid by the users themselves. Solar cells were installed everywhere to solve the lighting problem.

City authorities have said that no major repairs have yet become necessary as a result of the good building standards. Smaller jobs like cleaning the gutters were carried out by some of the users themselves. The lack of preventive cleaning of gutters at some markets resulted in broken rain gutters and drainpipes, which made it much more difficult to improve conditions for people and goods during the rainy season. In addition, there were problems with damp ceilings at some boutiques in Ouidah, which was probably also attributable to the roofs not being cleaned properly. A ficus has already started growing on one building. This is cut back at irregular intervals by the tenants. The structural “further development” of the market buildings to better meet user needs (more shade, protection from splashing water, lighting, proximity to the customer) by lowering the roofs, laying electricity and water cables or installing solar cells and building passageways was largely carried out without consultation with the municipal authorities. In Bohicon, less desirable spots located on the interior were increasingly used for storage in lockable containers, for which the city is charging high permit fees.

The cities are not “service-oriented” towards users, but instead have prioritised fee collection. This often leads to conflicts with users about responsibilities and costs. Unresolved responsibilities and disputes in turn result in inadequate maintenance. It would seem extremely important to establish regular dialogue between user organisations and city authorities to settle disputes, if possible with external mediation. In general, however, it was apparent that most buildings are still in satisfactory condition due to the high construction quality and user activities.

The financial indicator “increase in self-generated municipal revenues” has been met in all municipalities, although not to the extent originally planned. Since the annual FADeC transfers have significantly increased the revenues of the municipalities since the appraisal, a negative trend can be seen for all municipalities in terms of the revenues they need to collect on their own. These are politically sensitive, which is why they decrease markedly, especially in election years. According to a study from 2016 conducted by CONAFIL, with the compelling motto “*et si les communes refusaient le recouvrement des ressources propres?*”, the cities often remain far below their potential for fees. After two years of intensive training by FADeC, ten selected municipalities succeeded in increasing their revenues from market infrastructure by 170% and achieved at least between 72% and 87% of their potential. Responsibility for this issue has been assumed by TC for the ongoing phase.

A positive trend is evident in the administrative and political indicators (improvement of administration, good governance). All municipalities have adopted the performance criteria, some of which were already developed in FIVIS and further developed by FADeC. FADeC conducts an extensive annual audit in each of the 77 municipalities. When the municipalities comply with these criteria, the annual allocation under FADeC increases. Unfortunately, only some of the comments from the audit are actually implemented.

One very positive aspect was that for the first time FIVIS provided the municipalities with skilled and qualified technical and administrative staff (first financed by FIVIS, then paid by the government as a counterpart contribution; by the municipalities in the final phase of FIVIS II), who were trained on the job. Many were still present as of the EPE and played important roles in the municipal administration. TC supported the roll-out of important transparent administrative instruments such as urban development plans, civil status registers, budget planning and digitisation, and FADeC continued to ensure their use. In one case, a modern citizens’ office (*guichet unique*) had been set up – made possible by the new town hall building – to handle citizens’ concerns quickly and transparently.

Use of the infrastructure was mostly very good and the other infrastructure indicators were largely fulfilled – even if they were achieved with the help of user organisations. On the other hand, the target indicators in the area of strengthening municipal capacity were only partially achieved. As a result, we rate the effectiveness for both phases as satisfactory.

Effectiveness rating: 3 (both phases)

Efficiency

The specific investment costs are customary and in the magnitude of infrastructure financed by other donors such as AGETUR. The construction costs/m² of the markets in the large secondary cities of Abomey

and Ouidah are higher than the costs of the district markets in Cotonou financed by the World Bank (EUR 198/m² and EUR 189/m² respectively compared with EUR 129/m²). However, they also meet a significantly higher construction standard. The smaller markets in the cities of Bohicon and Natitingou and the cities in the north are between EUR 126 and EUR 75/m².

The projects were completed with considerable delays. As some individual projects from FIVIS I were only completed during FIVIS II, the implementation period of FIVIS I was 140 months (planned: 36) and that of FIVIS II was 91 months (planned: 27). The main reasons for the delays were: 1) the difficulties faced by the municipalities in raising their counterpart contribution, 2) the poor quality of the small and medium-sized construction companies, 3) the application of quality criteria to determine the municipalities' annual tranches, which meant that the funds were only made available "little by little". Although this approach strengthened the implementation capabilities of the municipalities with regard to compliance with the performance criteria, it slowed down the construction work. 4) The extensive "no-objection" process between the municipality, AGETUR and FC for the individual small construction lots.

The allocation efficiency of the programmes is rated good due to the high level of use and the positive influence on the quality of the municipal administrations, but the overall efficiency is considered satisfactory in view of the years-long delays.

Efficiency rating: 3 (both phases)

Impact

The developmental impacts (objectives at impact level) for FIVIS I and II (with minor changes in wording) are:

- 1) For the programme to make a contribution to improving the living standards of residents
- 2) To contribute to decentralisation by strengthening the self-administration of the municipalities

FIVIS I did not define any indicators at impact level. Indicator 1) of FIVIS II is used here. However, instead of "citizen-related expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure", it should read "citizen-related expenditure as a percentage of current expenditure (*dépenses de fonctionnement*)". Total expenditure includes the investment costs financed by donors or FADeC, which would not make the indicator truly informative. Indicator 2) – "revenues cover operating costs" – was already analysed at outcome level.

Indicator	Status PA, target PA	Ex post evaluation
1) The citizen-related expenditure of the municipalities as a percentage of the running costs has increased.	Status 2003 (before investments) 32%, 60%	Status 2016 17%

Source: FADeC

In 2016, citizen-related expenditure accounted for only 8.3% of total expenditure, partly due to increased investment. For many years now, the percentage of citizen-related expenditure of the operating costs of municipalities has stagnated at approximately 17%, reaching a maximum of 29%. However, due to the significant overall increase in city revenues, citizen-related expenditure per capita has increased by an average of around 4% per year, which is almost twice as much with a population growth rate of 2.8% per year. However, it is clear that citizen-related expenditure is far from the overly optimistic target of 60% of total or current expenditure. If, however, the investment expenditure were to be treated as citizen-related, which was the case at the time of the implementation of FIVIS but not according to the current logic of municipal statistics, this target would be narrowly achieved (55%).

Unfortunately, no disaggregated data on the poverty situation in individual cities is available, nor are there any statistically meaningful target group surveys on the situation of the target population that would make it possible to make a data-based statement on the influence of the programmes on living conditions. The following observations and qualitative discussions nevertheless allow important conclusions to be drawn:

The programme's target group is large: a total of almost 200,000 people benefit directly from the infrastructure projects in their day-to-day work. If market customers and visitors to the town halls are included, more than 1 million people (today's population of programme cities without surrounding countryside) have benefited directly and indirectly from the two projects.

The rehabilitated markets are in most cases the most important economic operations in the cities and often the only way to generate income for the poor population, especially women. The number of the direct target group in all supported markets amounts to approximately 29,000 people, of whom more than 10,000 are merchants, as well as transporters, carriers, cooks, recyclers, water sellers, cleaning personnel and other service providers who rely on the economic system of the market for their livelihood. The living and working conditions in the markets have improved – despite some persistent shortcomings – as the modern halls offer much better protection against rain, sun and pollution than before the measures. Particularly important is the rainwater drainage and paving of passageways to ensure hygiene and protect goods. It is unfortunate that the toilets do not work – apart from a few exceptions where the toilets are flushed with buckets. The pits were often not emptied because the cities did not feel responsible. People are looking for a solution outside the markets, either paid or unregulated. Other problems included the inadequate lighting and access to water, as the cities do not pay electricity or water bills. Another problem was the lack of enforcement of the house rules, which can lead to fire safety problems (e.g. stalls set up in passageways, cooking on open fire).

Roads and bridges facilitate transport for more than 50,000 people. Residents also benefit from a clean environment with less dust and mud and fewer puddles, made possible by the drainage system, and thus healthier living conditions (including less malaria). A district of Natitingou was connected to the centre by two small bridges, which made life much easier for around 10,000 inhabitants and made urban development possible. The city collects more property taxes due to the increase in the value of the properties. The use of the large car parks Bohicon and Péhunco is so far only about 20–30% of their capacity, the associated hostels are not in use and the restaurants are hardly used at all. The situation is different in the case of the large car park in Natitingou, where some areas are used for bus parking and leased to various construction projects due to the lower numbers of lorries. Restaurants and shops are operating successfully and offer drivers and passengers a clean and safe environment.

However, it can still be assumed that the improvements made do not have a quantifiable impact on poverty indicators. The high rate of demographic growth, the lack of jobs and the increasing degradation of natural resources are much stronger factors in the local environment. The percentage of people living in poverty is on the rise again nationwide (according to the World Bank, 49.6% of the population live under USD 1.90/day), although GDP is growing at 5%.

If it is assumed that, as in the total population, about 50% of female merchants live below the poverty line of USD 1.90/day (FCFA 1100), then it can be assumed that the payment of the fees represents a significant burden for the poor female merchants (between FCFA 100 and 250 under the hangar; FCFA 50–100 from “non-stationary” merchants). Since fees for stalls under the roof were also charged before the rehabilitation projects, the impact on income is likely to be negligible. Market fees for non-stationary merchants were only introduced in secondary cities. It may have led to them being displaced from the inside of the market to the outside streets. Although some municipalities are planning to tax non-stationary merchants around the markets (even more) in order to put an end to unregulated market activity, so far only a few non-stationary merchants (800 vs. several thousand) have been asked to pay. It is apparently very difficult here to fully exploit the “income potential” of the markets. However, this can also be seen as a positive step towards the social liberation of the poorest female merchants. At the same time, there are signs of the prospering development of individual areas of the markets, which are increasingly turning into permanent daily shops, which would not have been possible without the new infrastructure. However, it is not possible to make general estimates about the development in the income of merchants, more than 90% of whom are women, due to a lack of target group analysis.

In the case of the rehabilitated and new town halls, the establishment of *guichets uniques* and large transparent fee signs help to facilitate citizens' access to municipal services. The new buildings, combined with an increasing level of professionalism and digitisation, are making a visible contribution to enhancing employment in municipal administration and also making it attractive for skilled and qualified young people. The core assumptions for the success of the programme were largely met: the government adheres to its policy of decentralisation and has created important administrative and financing instruments for it.

In particular, the annual audit of all municipalities, which also helps to determine the amount of FADeC transfers, provides a strong incentive to implement the rules of good local governance. Most donors use the basket for harmonised financing of municipal infrastructure (FADeC). However, transfers from the sector ministries are still limited and far from sufficient to perform the delegated tasks. However, work continues on the decentralisation process and shortcomings are being improved. In the future, for example, municipal positions are to be advertised centrally on the basis of a central evaluation in order to curb clientelism in appointments and turnover. The meeting fees of the local councils will also be capped. Freedom House rates Benin as “free” with 78/100 points, but with serious shortcomings in the area of corruption.

We rate the overall impact as satisfactory due to the improvements – or, at least, stabilisation – in living conditions achieved by most infrastructure types and the continuously improving governance situation.

Impact rating: 3 (both phases)

Sustainability

From today’s perspective, the sustainability of the developmental impacts of the programme is likely to decline due to insufficient maintenance, but will remain ensured, provided Benin adheres to its policy of decentralisation and deconcentration. Based on this assumption, the validity of which is supported by numerous indicators as described above, it is conceivable that municipal administrative capacity will further improve. The municipalities would then be in a better position to meet the challenge, adopt a service-oriented approach to users and exploit the economic potential of the infrastructure created. However, the foundation for this is a better cooperation with the user organisations on the basis of a transparent division of labour. There seems to be a lack of intermediaries who could kick-start a process of understanding again. In general, the sector ministries (*FADeC affecté*) also need to demand higher fiscal transfers in order to increase the municipalities’ financial flexibility, especially in the area of social infrastructure.

A further aspect of sustainability lies in FADeC’s adoption of important conceptual programme components of FIVIS. The allocation of funds conditional on compliance with the rules of good local governance and the efficiency of the implementation of existing funds can be considered as the most important. Even today, these annually measured indicators influence the determination of FADeC’s annual allocations to municipalities, in addition to population size and poverty rate. The involvement of local authorities that began under FIVIS I and intensified under FIVIS II, and on-the-job training of staff in the areas of public tenders and contracts, construction supervision, documentation and accounting, will be continued through the annual audits, which clarify and evaluate in the form of supportive supervision. The training started under FIVIS in the municipal administration to make greater use of the economic infrastructure is being continued in the current phase by GIZ.

Sustainability rating: 3

Notes on the methods used to evaluate project success (project rating)

Projects (and programmes) are evaluated on a six-point scale, the criteria being **relevance, effectiveness, efficiency** and **overarching developmental impact**. The ratings are also used to arrive at a **final assessment** of a project's overall developmental efficacy. The scale is as follows:

Level 1	Very good result that clearly exceeds expectations
Level 2	Good result, fully in line with expectations and without any significant shortcomings
Level 3	Satisfactory result – project falls short of expectations but the positive results dominate
Level 4	Unsatisfactory result – significantly below expectations, with negative results dominating despite discernible positive results
Level 5	Clearly inadequate result – despite some positive partial results, the negative results clearly dominate
Level 6	The project has no impact or the situation has actually deteriorated

Rating levels 1-3 denote a positive assessment or successful project while rating levels 4-6 denote a negative assessment.

Sustainability is evaluated according to the following four-point scale:

Sustainability level 1 (very good sustainability): The developmental efficacy of the project (positive to date) is very likely to continue undiminished or even increase.

Sustainability level 2 (good sustainability): The developmental efficacy of the project (positive to date) is very likely to decline only minimally but remain positive overall. (This is what can normally be expected).

Sustainability level 3 (satisfactory sustainability): The developmental efficacy of the project (positive to date) is very likely to decline significantly but remain positive overall. This rating is also assigned if the sustainability of a project is considered inadequate up to the time of the ex post evaluation but is very likely to evolve positively so that the project will ultimately achieve positive developmental efficacy.

Sustainability level 4 (inadequate sustainability): The developmental efficacy of the project is inadequate up to the time of the ex post evaluation and is very unlikely to improve. This rating is also assigned if the sustainability that has been positively evaluated to date is very likely to deteriorate severely and no longer meet the level 3 criteria.

The **overall rating** on the six-point scale is compiled from a weighting of all five individual criteria as appropriate to the project in question. Rating levels 1-3 of the overall rating denote a "successful" project while rating levels 4-6 denote an "unsuccessful" project. It should be noted that a project can generally be considered developmentally "successful" only if the achievement of the project objective ("effectiveness"), the impact on the overall objective ("overarching developmental impact") and the sustainability are rated at least "satisfactory" (level 3).