Ex post evaluation – Tajikistan

| Sector: Phase I: Social welfare/social services (CRS Code 1601000)  
Phase II: Primary school education (CRS Code 1122000)  
Project: Community funds to promote primary education and rebuilding of community infrastructure – Phases I and II (BMZ no. 2002 66 429* and 2005 66 315) | **Implementing agency:** National Social Investment Fund of Tajikistan (NSIFT) |

**Ex post evaluation report: 2017**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Project 1 (Planned)</th>
<th>Project 1 (Actual)</th>
<th>Project 2 (Planned)</th>
<th>Project 2 (Actual)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Investment costs (total) EUR million</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>13.60</td>
<td>13.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterpart contribution EUR million</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding EUR million</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>of which BMZ budget funds EUR million</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
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</table>

*) Random sample 2016

**Summary:** Both phases of the project encompass construction or rehabilitation of community infrastructure in the Khatlon Region. In Phase I, 29 “micro-projects” (24 schools, 3 health facilities, 2 energy projects) were financed, as were 39 micro-projects (especially primarily schools) in Phase II. The executing agency was the National Social Investment Fund of Tajikistan (NSIFT), which was supported by a consultant in both phases. Training of Parents’ and Teachers’ Associations (PTAs) and energy efficiency matters were areas of cooperation with GIZ.

**Development objectives:** The project’s goal at impact level (adjusted for the evaluation) was to contribute to improving the living conditions of the population (Phase I) and to improving learning success (Phase II). The adjusted objectives of the FC measure at outcome level were for improved access to sustainably used community infrastructure facilities (Phase I) and improved conditions for teaching and learning in the schools, resulting from the provision and adequate use of school infrastructure which is appropriate in quality and in some cases expanded (Phase II). Political participation from poor segments of the population via a community-driven approach was a secondary objective of the project.

**Target group:** All children required to attend school in the programme region, users of the other infrastructure measures.

**Overall rating: 2 (both phases)**

**Rationale:** Both phases were highly relevant, taking place in the Khatlon Region which was heavily damaged by the Civil War (1992-1997) and taking an approach that was sensitive to the possibility of conflict when involving the impoverished and traumatised population. The buildings were utilised effectively and the communities were mobilised successfully. A healthy and attractive learning environment was established, which keeps teachers present; school leaving rates have fallen and the proportion of girls in secondary school education has risen. In addition, the past experiences often make it possible for the communities to make further improvements independently. The buildings are in good condition and are well maintained, in particular due to the commitment of the PTAs. NSIFT’s mandate, financing and differentiation from Ministry of Education functions should be clarified going forward, in order to either put NSIFT on a solid institutional footing or to fully integrate this valuable work into state structures.

**Highlights:** Buildings impressively maintained by highly committed PTAs, even after nine years in use; socially conscious project design bringing together a variety of population groups following the civil war and overcoming the communities’ passivity stemming from the Soviet era; high construction quality and innovative use of solar power.
Rating according to DAC criteria

Overall rating: 2 (both phases)

General conditions and classification of the project

Phase I was planned in 2002, five years after the end of the civil war which had caused many deaths and heavy damage to infrastructure in Khatlon Region. This conflict had broken out in the wake of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic declaring independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. The struggle for power between various regional power holders in Tajikistan persisted until 1997. Following independence, infrastructure and access to social services deteriorated dramatically in the absence of markets and the former financial transfer payments from Moscow, as well as due to the civil war's destruction. Consequently, the government instituted the National Social Investment Fund of Tajikistan (NSIFT) in consultation with the World Bank. This was intended to rebuild community infrastructure with significant input from communities, contributing to poverty reduction nationwide. The World Bank co-financed NSIFT with two projects running until 2007 and then, on government request, financed reform projects in the education and health sectors via the sector ministries. German Financial Cooperation (FC) started as a co-financier to the World Bank for Khatlon Region and remained the sole external financier of NSIFT following the World Bank’s exit. As a result of the serious drop in its funding level after World Bank support ending in 2007, NSIFT reduced its staff and concentrated on Khatlon Region. The FC financing was limited to the education sector in Phase II. NSIFT is currently implementing a third phase with FC financing.

Relevance

At the time of the appraisal in 2002, Tajikistan was one of the poorest countries in the world with an annual per capita income of USD 170 (2016: USD 804 – World Bank). In the Soviet era, population groups from all regions of the country were relocated to Khatlon Region to work in the cotton kolkhozy (collective farms). The collapse of the Soviet Union was followed by the collapse of the region’s economic foundation – agricultural product exports. GDP growth rates fell from 13.9% in 1988 to 10.8% in 2002. The education and health infrastructure was heavily damaged and neglected, with its maintenance underfunded. This led to declining school enrolment and attendance rates. Specifically, net school enrolment rates at primary and secondary level fell from over 95% (in 1988) to 85% and 73% respectively (in 2002). In a similar vein, the maternal mortality rate rose from 107 to 151/100,000 births and the child mortality rate (under five years of age) rose from 108 to 121/1,000 births. Poverty-related diseases such as diarrhoea, tuberculosis and respiratory illnesses spread. The programme was intended to improve the target group’s access to social services, especially basic health services and primary education, in addition to improving living conditions through better education, health, power and water supply. Plans additionally involved empowering the community organisations to take control of their own destiny by means of a participatory approach to planning, implementation and maintenance of infrastructure projects; to fill the institutional vacuum following the dissolution of the Soviet Union; and to promote peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic groups.

The project’s dual approach has not changed and still makes sense. A key problem for the region – inadequate infrastructure and access to social services – was correctly identified. Given that school projects were already clearly prioritised by the population in Phase I (83% of funds used) and funds were scarce after World Bank financing had ended, NSIFT and German FC decided by mutual agreement to fully concentrate on school construction in Phase II. The micro-projects (MPs) were to be implemented with even greater efficiency and were to benefit more communities. This stands to reason from today’s perspective. The sharply increasing need for pupil places stemming from the persistently high population growth (2.4% p.a.) and the poor conditions – sometimes even hazardous to health – in the old school buildings point to the project’s high level of relevance.

A separate programme component implemented by the Ministry of Health (delivery and assembly of a computed tomography system) is not part of this EPE, as its performance after being installed in 2005 has already been reported on extensively within the scope of the final review in 2013. This component was implemented successfully and was the start of a fruitful cooperation with Tajikistan in the health sector, including efforts to combat tuberculosis.
Alongside the infrastructure improvement, the two phases aimed at increasing popular participation on the community level. This is also to be considered sensible under the general political conditions present today, since Tajikistan remains a country with increased conflict potential, even after the Civil War. The improvement in school infrastructure and collaborative work of the population groups in the programme could also potentially have stabilising effects. Since the FC valued NSIFT’s participatory strategy as well as its efficiency in implementation, it continued to promote NSIFT after the World Bank’s withdrawal. This was accomplished in unison with the Tajikistani government, which saw NSIFT as an implementing body for smaller, community infrastructure projects with a participatory model of execution, whereas larger infrastructure projects should be carried out by the sectoral ministries.

The project’s aims have been and remain in line with national Tajikistani policy in the areas of poverty reduction, reconstruction and education. Phase I was embedded in the national anti-poverty programme at the appraisal; both phases were embedded in a national education reform programme which was supported by the World Bank, DFID, GIZ, UNICEF and the ADB. Since 2007, along with the construction of larger schools, the World Bank has financed reform to education finance, further teacher education, development of curricula, creation of classroom materials, and the launch of a national test centre for school leavers. Due to the phase being embedded in a broader-based education programme, the focus on construction and sustainable maintenance of school infrastructure was a sensible move within donor coordination. The projects are in line with both the cross-sector strategy of “alleviating poverty through self-help” and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) education strategy. In addition, they had the potential to help to achieve the MDGs.

The financing of school building works with adequate equipment, as well as their design, construction and upkeep (while including the affected population of parents and teachers), help to create classroom conditions where pupils can participate in lessons. Additionally, this enables teachers with training to also work in more remote regions. Furthermore, when coupled with a parallel improvement in the quality of education via further teacher education, curricula and classroom materials, this contributes to improving learning success and, in turn, opportunities for training and better living conditions. A key problem in the region was identified at the time of the appraisal – correctly from today’s perspective – and was tackled with the right measures. The cause-and-effect chains rest on sound logic.

**Relevance rating: 1 (both phases)**

**Effectiveness**

Within the EPE, the following slightly adjusted system of objectives is used on the outcome level for both phases: (1) improvement in access to sustainably used community infrastructure facilities in the programme region of Khatlon and (2) improvement in conditions for teaching and learning in the schools, resulting from the provision and adequate use of school infrastructure which is appropriate in quality and in some cases expanded.

In the region affected by the Civil War, the aim in particular was to support the poor population via political participation and involvement in identifying, executing, repairing and maintaining the individual measures (secondary objective of the two phases). This objective had only been formulated for Phase I, but is to be applied to both phases. Although today the political situation has stabilised and decentralised administration structures have been restored, we continue to rate political participation by the population as critical. The intensive inclusion of the community members must also be regarded today as a decisive factor for sustainability and as important for the peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic groups.
The project's objectives are measured using the following indicators:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>PA target value</th>
<th>Ex post evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) After three years in use, at least 75% of the classrooms at the programme schools are used intensively (30 pupils per classroom/2 shifts)</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>Surpassed: 96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average above 30 pupils in two shifts per classroom (despite the official figure of 24/classroom), growing demand.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) After three years in use, at least 80% of the furniture is present and in satisfactory condition</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>Surpassed: 90%</td>
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<tr>
<td>(3) After three years in use, at least 80% of the sanitation systems are present and in well-kept condition</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>Unmet: the toilet buildings are present and in good structural condition (100%), but only 60% in acceptable hygienic condition. For the most part, there were no hand-washing facilities in the immediate vicinity of the toilets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) After three years in use, 80% of the programme schools have working power connections and heating</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>Surpassed: 100%, with the solar systems also working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) After three years in use, 90% of programme schools have Parents' and Teachers' Associations (PTAs), which:</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>Surpassed: 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have completed training courses on matters of maintenance and the running of the school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Acquire funds for smaller repairs in the community and perform these independently</td>
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<tr>
<td>Actively participate in the school’s operations with a variety of activities (e.g. spreading information to community members about regular school attendance, running school transport minibuses, school meals, etc.), and work together with the school leadership and local education departments.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall, the PTAs were trained in 11 different modules, topics of which included supervision of works, upkeep, school operations, the community organisation, the importance of school attendance for girls, questions of hygiene, and much more. Regardless of how long they had been running (1-9 years), the schools were in good structural condition. PTAs collect money for maintenance and repairs each year. The PTAs’ activities spanned standard maintenance jobs, creating school gardens, afforesting school grounds, putting up barriers, building new classrooms and a library, cooking for the school meals, procuring firewood, developing new projects, and maintaining contact with the regional and national authorities.</td>
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Between 2004 and 2009, 68 MPs were supported in Khatlon Region. Sixty-three of these were schools, three were health stations and two were small energy projects. The evaluation mission visited ten schools from Phases I and II, one health station and one energy project. In this process, importance was attached to the fact that these MPs had not previously been visited within the scope of progress reviews or final reviews. The communities involved were predominantly peripheral or hard to reach.

All the school buildings were used intensively. The average number of pupils to each classroom was 85, with the number of pupils per class generally being 34. All the schools taught in two shifts; two of the schools even had three shifts. There was only one “free” classroom in each of two schools, which were used as kindergartens. As the demand for pupil places rose continuously after the appraisal, the old buildings which have been maintained as well as possible by the PTAs have been reused. There were also two schools where the PTAs had already built new classrooms of their own accord. The school environments (garden, water supply, sports facilities, fencing) were created by the PTAs in every case and were
predominantly in good condition. Another gratifying achievement was the connection of a disabled care home to the power supply via a 10 kV transmission line. As a consequence of this, the home is no longer affected by frequent power outages. This has resulted in a significantly improved quality of life (heating, lighting, residents' security, hot food, friendly atmosphere) in the home, which is fully occupied by 90 people.

The use of the health station was less impressive. The building's design was suitable, though the staffing appeared to be disproportionate, with six health professionals for only 10-15 patients per day. It should be noted that particular emphasis was placed on energy efficiency in all the buildings (floor and ceiling insulation, double-glazed windows), and solar panels are used at some schools for back-up heating in the winter and during transition periods, resulting in coal savings of around 15%.

All the schools are supplied via a central heating system with two coal-fired furnaces, except for a pilot school which is completely energy-independent with solar heating. These furnaces are substantially more energy-efficient than the previous coal-fired furnaces in the classrooms, which also polluted the rooms with soot and smoke. Centrally heated classrooms act as a major incentive for regular school attendance, even during the cold winters.

The community members were actively involved in planning, building and financing (own contribution of 5%) in all the MPs. Although nine years had passed in some cases since the schools were built, the PTAs were active at all schools, sometimes involved in other new projects for the benefit of their school. One problem is the large fluctuation in male PTA members who are seeking work in Russia. To the extent possible, NSIFT allows new PTA members to receive subsequent training. All the MPs were in good condition, regardless of the year in which they were launched (2007-2014). They all have a caretaker, who had been trained by NSIFT, including for maintenance and operation tasks – in particular of the heating and solar systems. Multiple schools share one accountant. Some points of weakness in Phase I were the doors, some of whose veneer had been stripped away due to heavy use. However, this had been repaired at almost every location. Similarly, the chairs and tables had consistently been repaired. As far as it was possible to see, the furniture that had been delivered was present and in use. In places with very cold winters (up to -20°C), cracks and crumbling areas could be found on the concrete outdoor paths. The wooden eaves (Phase I) need to be painted each year. The pupils had particularly been made aware of having to treat their school buildings and furniture well. It was impossible to miss the pupils’ and teachers’ pride in attending such a beautiful, modern school, which was also reflected in the pupils’ appearance and behaviour, according to the teachers. The high-maintenance parts (doors, furniture, eaves, terraces) were improved in Phase II and replaced with a less vulnerable design or better quality.

The project did not address the quality of teaching, although the World Bank is tackling this on a national level with teacher training and improvements to lesson plans and classroom material (along with better availability of these). However, the impacts are not yet being felt across the board. The objective indicators stated above were almost all exceeded (four out of five), the buildings were effectively used, and the successfully created infrastructure conditions provide better circumstances for teachers and pupils, as well as clear motivation for teachers to also go to remote regions and for pupils to continue attending school. Parents and teachers have been successfully mobilised and it is apparent that they are committed. The programme’s objectives were achieved in both phases and the results are beyond expectations.

**Effectiveness rating: 1 (both phases)**

**Efficiency**

The production efficiency, measured by the number of MPs, the number of pupil places and the unit costs, is rated as good. Phase I financed 29 MPs, compared with 45 planned MPs. The project had planned to create 4,250 pupil places, which was accomplished. The reduced number of MPs can be attributed to the communities requesting more new school buildings and larger school buildings than anticipated. The cost per square metre increased from EUR 212 to EUR 335 between 2006 and 2008, as increasing building quality was already achieved in Phase I. The average cost per pupil place is EUR 955, which had been planned at EUR 1,006. We regard the costs per unit as appropriate.

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1 Due to legibility improvement, simultaneous application of male and female speech form is relinquished; in general, male syntax is used. Any people designation generally refers on both gender.
Phase II envisaged the construction of 35 MPs, though it was possible to implement 39 MPs. 7,080 pupil places were planned, with 7,272 provided in practice. The cost per square metre, at EUR 253, was 25% below the same cost at the end of Phase I. The cost per pupil place was EUR 1,292, as against the EUR 1,387 that was planned. This is higher than in Phase I because the government issued new school building standards, requiring higher square metreages per pupil place and disabled access ramps. In addition, NSIFT increased the building and equipment quality further in the interest of low maintenance levels. The optimisation and standardisation of the design process, greater competition among the construction firms, and training measures laid on for the construction firms by NSIFT meant that the costs per pupil place were lower than expected. In addition, the changes in the exchange rate during the construction phase reduced the prices for local products and services. Building work was undertaken to extend the classrooms further in Phase II in order to leave extra space for more pupil places, which were almost always used during the EPE. This proactive adjustment of the design to demographic developments was sensible.

Programme implementation was delayed in Phase I from the planned 36 months to 48 months, and from 42 to 55 months in Phase II. In Phase I, this was due to initial problems with the programme organisation and consulting support, along with the programme design being reworked (six-month delay). Additionally, the building works had to be discontinued in the winter in the face of below-zero temperatures as per Tajikistani regulations (15-month delay). In Phase II, as part of a use of remaining funds owing to cheaper unit costs and currency fluctuations, three more MPs and additional toilets were built. This was possible in the context of a programme delay without additional administrative costs. The delays took place for substantive reasons and for the most part were not the responsibility of the executing agency.

In Phase II, the following aspects underwent further optimisation: programme design and material selection, cost-benefit ratio, energy efficiency component, cooperation with the PTAs and targeted transfer of knowledge to engineers, workmen and students. The impacts are already apparent in Phase II, for instance in the reduced unit costs, but are also significantly apparent in Phase III, whose implementation is still in progress. We also rate the proportion of administrative costs in both phases (6%) as very good. The concept of only generally renovating a maximum of ten classrooms instead of the full number needed by a school has meant that old school buildings which continue to be used yield high maintenance costs. This, in turn, diminishes the funds available to maintain the new buildings, which must be viewed in a critical light in terms of allocation efficiency.

Efficiency rating: 3 (Phase I), 2 (Phase II)

Impact

The overarching developmental impacts (objectives at impact level) are (1) the contribution to improving living conditions in Khatlon Region and (2) the contribution to improving learning success in in Khatlon Region; these are measured using the following indicators:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>National situation at start of programme in 2000 (%)</th>
<th>National situation in 2014 (%)</th>
<th>EPE; 63 programme schools in Khatlon Region (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) After three years in use, the net school enrolment rates in the programme schools have stayed constant or improved (Total / male / female)</td>
<td>94.5 / 97.7 / 91.1</td>
<td>98.1 / 97.9 / 98.3</td>
<td>Met 100 / 100 / 100 ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) After three years in use, the effective numbers transitioning</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>99 / 100 / 98</td>
<td>Met</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ All national data from UNESCO, Global Education Monitoring Report, 2016 (unless otherwise specified)
² All 63 schools ensured that all pupils were reached and registered.
Based on the statistics available and surveys at all the programme schools, in addition to interviews and observations from the schools, ministries, among donors and at the executing agency, we can conclude that the learning and teaching conditions at the programme schools have improved substantially and can infer that learning success has improved. This is a function of how the programme schools are highly attractive for teachers (pleasant temperatures; no smoke, soot and dust in classrooms; teachers no longer have to fire up the heating), such that there are rarely any open teaching posts at the programme schools. In spite of their remote locations, the programme schools have usually been able to choose between multiple candidates when making appointments. The overwhelming bulk of teachers had completed a teacher training course (95% – national average of 89%; see below). In this area, the deficiencies are in fact in the quality of the teacher training. The World Bank is addressing this, but an impact has not yet been made across the board. Teacher salaries are only around TJS 800 (Tajikistani somoni; EUR 93) per month, which is considered decent in comparison with other government employees, but does not provide a sufficient living in urban areas. In rare instances, teachers have been allocated a plot of land to use for their homes and gardens. Classroom materials in the form of school books were present in most cases and could be loaned from the school library. Other teaching materials were almost entirely absent. Discrimination against girls could not be observed, except in the case of the only exclusively secondary school. Secondary school attendance by girls has risen significantly, including at the upper secondary level.

On the national level, a few important indicators have continuously improved since the appraisal. These are also relevant for target achievement in terms of development policy: for the programme region the proportion of qualified and trained teachers has risen to 89%; the gender disparity index has improved for girls (0.99% for primary education, 0.90% for the lower secondary level and 0.64% for upper secondary); the duration of compulsory schooling is nine years, with 75% of pupils moving up to the upper secondary level and 16% joining a form of vocational training (source: MoE). Governance of the education sector has been strengthened as an Education Information Management System and a reformed school financing system (per capita financing) have been rolled out, teacher training and curriculum development have improved, and a national test centre has been established for fairer access to university education.

Some definite weaknesses continue to be the quality of teacher training and further education, the low teacher salaries, the traditional pedagogical focus on rote learning and teacher-centred instruction, dated curricula with little focus on professional needs, and low management capacities at schools and education authorities. There are no comparable data for schools or regions on a national level due to a lack of learning assessments. Nonetheless, we can assume that the improvement made to the learning environment at the schools is, in turn, leading to an improvement in learning outcomes. We can also venture to suppose that the improvement in access to education, including to a greater degree for girls, is resulting in an

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### Table: Learning and Teaching Conditions

| From Primary to the Lower Secondary Level | 100 / 100 / 100 | From Lower to Upper Secondary School | 75% | Male: Female | 84% (90% of Boys and 78% of Girls) | Pupil-to-Teacher Ratio in Programme Schools | 12.9 | 16.2 | Met 16.7 |

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4 This relationship is not very instructive, as teachers often only have part-time contracts. Hence the pupil-to-stavka (full-time equivalent of a teacher) ratio should be used. WB calculated 20.4 pupils per stavka for 2014.
improvement in living conditions in the region, and reductions in child marriages and high fertility rates are some of its impacts. The programme’s participatory approach is likely to have had especially effective consequences for improving living conditions. It has enhanced appreciation of the public good and education while boosting self-help capacities. Last but not least, the secondary impact concerning quality improvement and energy efficiency in the construction sector, which was not incorporated in planning during the appraisal, also warrants attention. The design and construction firms contracted by NSIFT received an informal “quality seal” from the intensive training. This is actively demanded by other customers.

Despite the generally enduring flaws in teaching quality in Tajikistan, we can deduce from the indicators and on-site observations that there is above-average engagement at the programme schools and this has most likely also led to above-average learning success levels, along with an improvement in living conditions and community coexistence.

Impact rating: 1 (both phases)

Sustainability

The micro-projects visited were in a good or satisfactory condition after 2-9 years in use. This is also true for vulnerable areas such as drainage, central heating, solar technology and even the most intensively used items like doors, chairs and tables. The recipe for success comes from combining NSIFT’s participatory approach with the PTAs/community development committees’ intensive training and gradually increasing quality standards in construction, which has led to lower-maintenance buildings.

The district authorities are responsible for maintaining the buildings. However, the funds available are often very low, if not outright token amounts. This means that around 60% of the maintenance and repair costs were covered by contributions from the PTAs at all the schools surveyed. Each year, the PTAs create a maintenance plan before the summer holidays, raise money and award contracts. Usually, TJS 5-10 (EUR 0.60-1.20) is collected per child per year. Poor families and single parents need to contribute less money, or none at all, with better-off families voluntarily giving more. The teachers also participate, despite their low salaries. As far as possible, the works are carried out in-house during the holidays. The annual maintenance and repair costs amount to between TJS 2,700 and 16,500 (EUR 340 to 2,060) a year, depending on the school size and climatic conditions. With construction costs per school running at TJS 1-1.6 million (EUR 125,000-200,000), this superficially seems satisfactory. Yet most of the repair costs arise from the old buildings, with only a small portion used for the new buildings, meaning that reserves cannot be invested in larger-scale repairs. This is likely to pose a risk to sustainability in the medium term.

The communities’ identification with and pride in their schools, combined with the generally good working relationships with the district authorities and the good follow-up support from NSIFT suggest that the situation will remain sustainable in the future. If NSIFT ceases to exist (see below), this presents a further risk. New technologies introduced with Phase II, such as improved energy efficiency and heating with solar back-up, have lowered operating costs. Additionally, the PTAs still seemed to be highly committed, even after many years of operating. When there is turnover in their memberships, NGOs offer “subsequent training” courses. Women in particular, who are more stationary, are encouraged to get involved in the PTAs to decrease the amount of fluctuation. The training on quality standards, energy efficiency and solar technology given to many construction firms continues to have an effect. Intensive use of the infrastructure created is also guaranteed in the years ahead because of the persistent population growth of 2.1%. Instead, there exists the danger of overuse (excessively large classes, multiple shift scheduling), which would have the knock-on effect of worsening the learning conditions and the quality of education. Nevertheless, even after running for nine years, no serious flaws could be found in the buildings.

The Tajikistani ministries primarily take charge of major infrastructure projects, while NSIFT is responsible for smaller projects with its participatory approach. However, the ministries are represented on the fund’s management board, giving them a place in the structure of decision-making processes. Despite this, in financial terms, NSIFT only receives a small contribution from the government to cover its operating costs, so it fundamentally still depends on FC financing. This may also pose a risk to the MPs’ sustainability, since NSIFT is still in contact with the PTAs and offers them advice when needed, even many years after completion. Given that establishing a sustainably viable institution was not an objective during the appraisal, NSIFT’s lack of sustainability is not due to undergone evaluation. During term of Phase IV (now a commitment), particular insistence should be made on clarifying the future of NSIFT within the political
dialogue. It remains to be seen how NSIFT's successful participatory operating principle in Khatlon Region can either be adopted in state structures or guaranteed for the long term with suitable authorisation and with allocation of sufficient budget funds.

Even though the schools have been successfully maintained to date, there are still financial (e.g. funds for larger-scale renovation measures) and institutional (ongoing support and follow-up training for PTAs without NSIFT) risks for their future maintenance. On the other hand, the committed PTAs (which primarily manage upkeep) and their good work together with the district authorities must be highlighted as positives.

**Sustainability rating: 3 (both phases)**
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).