



TRANSLATING RESEARCH INTO ACTION

### Measuring the Impact of Urban Services

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## Outline – Measuring Impact of Urban Services

I. About J-PAL

- 2. What is **Impact**? Why should we care about measuring impact? How do you really measure impact?
- 3. Steps in a Randomized Impact Evaluation
- 4. When is an RCT Suitable (or Not)?
- Additional Resources and Q&A

#### J-PAL'S MISSION IS TO ENSURE THAT POLICY IS DRIVEN BY EVIDENCE AND RESEARCH IS TRANSLATED INTO ACTION

www.povertyactionlab.org

#### **EVALUATIONS:**

J-PAL researchers conduct randomized evaluations to test and improve the effectiveness of programs and policies aimed at reducing poverty.

#### **CAPACITY BUILDING:**

Through training courses, evidence workshops, and research projects, J-PAL equips policymakers and practicioners with the expertise to carry out their own rigorous evaluations.



#### **POLICY OUTREACH:**

J-PAL's Policy Group analyzes and disseminates research results and builds partnerships with policy makers to ensure policy is driven by evidence and effective programs are scaled up. J-PAL started in 2003 as a Center at MIT's Economics Dept. – now over 350 projects at J-PAL Regional Offices and at Partner Organization IPA





Bangladesh, *Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mali*, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Peru, Philippines, *Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia*  J-PAL's Research is Led by it's 80+ Affiliated Professors from 40 Universities using Randomized Evaluations to Assess the Impact of Development Programs



#### NORTH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES



LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES



SOUTH ASIAN UNIVERSITIES



Institute of Financial Management Management Calcutta and Research

## Many Development Organizations Actively Support **Randomized Impact Evaluations**



EVALUATION

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WITH I-PAL

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## What is Impact and Why Do We Care?

What is Impact?

<u>Causal</u> effect of a program, policy, or a funding decision on an outcome of interest

Why do we care about Measuring Impact?

- Increases Accountability of the Program
  - Did the program do what it was supposed to?
- Improves Development Policy
  - What is the most effective way to achieve an outcome?
  - What are the reasons for success or failure?
  - Institutionalize learning and facilitate replications and scale-up
- Ultimate Goal
  - Bigger impact on poverty due to more effective programs
  - More funding commitment for these proven programs

What are the Key Inputs into Program/Policy Design at your Organization?

• Do you use "impact estimates"? Describe some...

## A Real Example: Diarrhea is a Big Public Health Problem in Both Urban and Rural Areas

- Nearly 2 million children die each year from diarrhea
- 3.2 episodes of diarrhea per child under 5
- 20% all child deaths (under 5 years old) are from diarrhea

## So How do we Reduce Diarrhea?

- Infrastructure improvements: piped water
- Improve existing water sources to reduce contamination
- Increase demand and supply of Chlorine treatment:
  - Free chlorine dispensers at the source
  - Free chlorine delivered to homes
- Changing behavior:
  - Education on sanitation and health, e.g. Hand washing promotion
  - Free soap to overcome barriers
- Improve Sanitation Infrastructure





## But How Do You Know Which of These Interventions Will Work the Best?

#### Either Look at Existing Evidence or Do a Pilot and Conduct:

- I. Anecdotal evidence (people presented to you on visits)
- 2. Qualitative Surveys (ask local people on surprise visits)
- 3. Before-After difference in diarrhea
- 4. Simple Comparison: Measure diarrhea in villages that got the program vs. one that did not?
- 5. Difference in Difference of those with Program and without
- 6. Regression Analysis
- 7. Randomized Evaluations

# Measuring Impact – Anecdotes and Qualitative Surveys

#### **Problems?**

- Anecdotal evidence cherry pick people presented to you on visits or beneficiaries hesitate to answer your questions candidly
- 2. Qualitative Surveys surveyor or questionnaire biases; hard to replicate

## Measuring Impact – Compare Outcomes "Before" to "After" a Program is Introduced

#### What is the Impact here?

- Potential Problems?

How do you disaggregate impact of other things?

- New, cleaner water source by government (e.g. piped water)
- WHO campaign to increase awareness





# Measuring Impact – Simple Difference between outcomes with "Program" vs. "No Program"

### What is the Impact here?

- Potential Problems?
- Selection Bias in how district was chosen
- Minister's district
- Efficient administrator
- Poor history (previous pandemic)
- Remote / Rural
- Close to state capital



#### **Incidence Proportion**

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## **Regression Analysis**

### **Statistical Tool**

- Potential Problems?

Requires Data on Observable and Unobservable Variables:

- District Topology
- Quality of district administration
- Motivation of local health staff
- Citizen
  Involvement

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All these Methods attempt to Measure Impact – But what exactly is impact?

*Impact* is defined as a comparison between:

- 1. the outcome some time after the program has been introduced
- 2. the outcome at that same point in time had the program not been introduced

The *"counterfactual"* 

## What is Impact?



Time



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## What is Impact?



Time



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## What is Impact?



Time



## How should we measure impact?

*Impact* is defined as a comparison between:

1. the outcome some time after the program has been introduced

--and---

2. the outcome at that same point in time had the program not been introduced (the *"counterfactual"*)

**Problem**: Counterfactual cannot be observed

*Solution*: We need to "mimic" or construct the counterfactual



Randomized Evaluations are a powerful tool to measure impact as they use the Comparison Group as counterfactual

• Before the program starts, eligible individuals are *randomly* assigned (via LOTTERY) to two groups.



- Two groups continue to be identical, except for treatment
- Later, compare outcomes (health, test scores) between the two groups.
- Any differences between the groups can be attributed to the program.

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## Monitoring and Evaluation – What are They and How are they Different?



## **Components of Program Evaluation**

- Needs Assessment
- Program Theory Assessment

• Process Evaluation

Impact Evaluation

Cost Effectiveness

- What is the problem?
- How, in theory, does the program fix the problem?
- Does the program work as planned?
- Were its goals achieved? The magnitude?
- Given magnitude and cost, how does it compare to alternatives?

## Step-1: Needs Assessment

- > 3.2 episodes of diarrhea per child under 5
- 20% child (under 5) deaths from diarrhea
- 43% Kenyans gets drinking water from springs
- Landowners have no incentive to improve the sanitation due to free access
- Water often contaminated by surface rainwater runoff
- Contamination is spread to population
- People reluctant to change habits (hand washing or chlorination), so low uptake for these "point of use" interventions.

## Step-2: Program Theory Assessment

Proposed Program: Encase Spring Source in Concrete

#### BEFORE



#### AFTER





## Step-2: Program Theory Assessment

Proposed Program: Encase Spring Source in Concrete

Contaminated Water is Primary Source of Illness ->

- -> Concrete Encasing Reduces E.Coli contamination ->
- -> There is sufficient water available at this Source ->
- -> People Choose to Collect Water only at this Source ->
- -> There is clean method of extracting water ->
- -> There is no Recontamination of water at home ->
- -> Reduced Diarrhea ->
- -> Improved long-run Health Outcomes.

## Many Benefits of Close Partnership Between Implementer and Evaluator at Design Stage

Impact Evaluations NOT a forensic audit of whether a program worked or not but a partnership to improve program at all stages:

- Proposed evaluations can help secure project funding
- Often Independent funding for evaluation no cost to implementer
- Many rounds of pre-pilots (surveys and program) help identify design improvements and pre-empt problems
- Design multiple interventions to compare variations in program

## Step-3: Process Evaluations Help in Ensuring Output and Outcome are on Track

- Typical Questions:
  - Material Delivered?
  - Encasing constructed
  - People collecting water?
- Baseline and other surveys provide invaluable information
- Qualitative surveys provide objective and continuous feedback
- Course corrections based on midline surveys
- Use endline data to change program before scale up

### Step-4: Impact Assessment

#### • Primary Outcome:

- Did spring protection reduce diarrhea cases?
- Was the duration of diarrhea sickness lesser?

#### • Distributional Questions:

• What was the impact for households with good vs. bad sanitation practices?

#### • Long Term Outcomes (if planned):

- Impact on health children's weight
- Impact on education attendance and learning

### Measuring Impact Requires Comparison with Counterfactual

Randomly sample from area of interest

## **Random Sampling and Random Assignment**

Randomly sample from area of interest

Randomly *assign* to treatment and control

Randomly sample from both treatment and control



## Spring Cleaning Sample



## Impact of the Program Measured by Evaluation

- 66% reduction in source water e coli concentration
- 24% reduction in household E coli concentration
- 25% reduction in incidence of diarrhea

# Step-5: Making Policy From Evidence – Cost Effectiveness and Scale-Ups

Intervention	Impact on Diarrhea
Spring protection (Kenya)	25% reduction in diarrhea incidence for ages 0-3



# Step-5: Making Policy From Evidence – Cost Effectiveness and Scale-Ups

Intervention	Impact on Diarrhea
Spring protection (Kenya)	25% reduction in diarrhea incidence for ages 0-3
Source chlorine dispensers (Kenya)	20-40% reduction in diarrhea
Home chlorine distribution (Kenya)	20-40% reduction in diarrhea
Hand-washing (Pakistan)	53% drop in diarrhea incidence for children under 15 years old
Piped water in (Urban Morocco)	0.27 fewer days of diarrhea per child per week

## Cost Effectiveness Analysis Compares Programs With Similar Goal but from Different Contexts and Times



Figure 1. Diarrhea incidents averted per \$100 spent (Intervals).

A Typical JPAL RCT Involves Significant Engagement at Design, Monitoring and Evaluation Similar to a Full Program Evaluation





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## When to do a Randomized Evaluation?

- When there is an important question you want/need to know the answer to
  - Common program with not much evidence
  - Uncertainty about which alternative strategy to use
  - Key question that underlies a lot of different programs
  - About to roll out a big new program, important design questions





## When to do a Randomized Evaluation?

Timing - not too early and not too late

- Test once basic kinks have been taken out
  - sure this is the state of the program that would be scaled up
  - No point in using rigorous evaluation to find problems in management and logistics
  - No point if a simple process evaluation could uncover the exact same facts
- Before rolled out on a major scale
  - Then it is too late to have a control group
  - If found ineffective, the money will have already been wasted



## When to do a Randomized Evaluation?

- When there is an important question you want/need to know the answer to
- Timing not too early and not too late
- Have Time, Money and Expertise to Do it Right





## When NOT to do a Randomized Evaluation?

- Program is premature and still requires considerable "tinkering" to work well
- Project is on too small a scale to randomize into two "representative groups"
- If a positive impact has been proven using rigorous methodology and resources are sufficient to cover everyone
- After the program has already begun and you are not expanding elsewhere
- If you have weak or no monitoring to ensure that outputs or outcomes are being achieved

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### **Additional Resources**

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Evaluations, Policy Lessons, CEAs, Scale-Up Strategies, Publications...



#### THE PRICE IS WRONG

User fees, access, and sustainability.



edical research has identified many cheap and simple life-saving and life-improving interventions that combat infectious and communicable disease, but even low-cost interventions are often prohibitively expensive for poor families in the developing world. Where families are unable to afford the full cost, governments and NGOs often provide health products and services either for free, or at highly subsidized prices under "user fee" or cost sharing programs. In recent years, there has been substantial debate about whether to charge user fees or to distribute basic products and services for free.

User fees and cost-sharing have been advocated for many years to promote sustainability of health services, to help ensure that goods and services are not wasted, and to provide a source of flexible revenue to those in fromline services to replenish supplies and pay for clinic repairs. More recently, social entrepreneurs have argued that small fees can help fund marketing networks that bring socially important products to the poor in a sustainable way and that people are more likely to use products they pay for. Those arguing against charging for basic services point to the massive increases in the take-up of public Interactive textbook at http://www.worldbank.org/pdt

#### Impact Evaluation in Practice



Paul J. Gertler, Sebastian Martinez, Patrick Premand, Laura B. Rawlings, Christel M. J. Vermeersch

THE WORLD BANK



#### **Evaluations**

Search our database of 272 randomized evaluations conducted by our affiliates in 43 countries using keywords, filters, or the region-theme matrix. Our publication search is here.

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#### Featured Evaluations

Recycling Program Take-up and Participation in Northern Peru



Distribution of plastic bins increases both the frequency and the quantity of recycling for those already participating in a recycling program; however, information campaigns have no impact on enrollment in such programs.

Researchers: Alberto Chong, Dean Karlan, Jeremy Shapiro, Jonathan Zinman



"A marveflourly inlightful book by two metitanding manufacts on the real nature of powerty." AMARTYA SEN



rethinking poverty & the ways to end it