



USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



University of Pittsburgh

Conceptual Framework, Assessment Tool, & Evaluation Methodologies

Pilot Training Module

3-Piece Training

- Conceptual Framework
 - Setting the Context
 - Defining Political Party Development and justifying assistance
- Assessment Methodology
 - Prepare team for assessing development needs and defining program priorities
- Evaluation Methodologies
 - How to gather information and evaluate the impacts of programs

Conceptual Framework for USAID Assistance Programs

Democracy, Parties, and Party
Systems

Questions to answer in this section:

- Why assist Political Parties?
- What is Party or Party System Development?
 - System-level tradeoffs
 - Party-level development characteristics
 - Programming challenges
- How does Context affect programming priorities?

Party vs Party System

- Party
 - groups of individuals aligned to advance specific goals, above all to gain and maintain elected office.
- Party System
 - The number of parties and their relative characteristics (such as size and ideology), plus the patterns of interactions among them

Thesis

- Party and party system development is
 - Multidimensional & often contradictory
 - & it lacks an evident target
- Programming
 - Development goals ≠ party goals
 - Organizational focus but development goals
 - & system level concerns, but party level programs
 - Context should determine priorities

Why support party building?

- Effective parties are central to vibrant, functioning democracy
 - Organize society & aggregate interests
 - Channel demands to government
 - Development of leadership
 - Long-term view/responsibility

Party Systems

- Party systems vary tremendously!
 - How many parties?
 - On what issues/ideologies do they divide?
 - Which parties are in—and which are out?
- Thesis:
 - Development implies tradeoffs among competing virtues

Inclusiveness



Representative
Democracy



Governability
(decisiveness)

Tradeoffs in Party System Development

USAID and Party Systems

- USAID focuses on parties, with implications for system development
 - Policy: “USAID programs must make a good faith effort to assist all democratic parties with equitable levels of assistance.”
- Result: provide expertise and support for indigenous efforts to consider system change

Party Development

- A) What is party development?
- B) What role can USAID play?
- C) What other factors affect development?

Characteristics of a Developed Democracy

-
- Parties play central roles in affecting:
 - Accountability, Representation, & Participation
 - Governability & Good Governance
 - Stable & Peaceful Contestation
 - Rule of Law, Fair & Honest Elections

Development concern I: Technical Aid but Democratic Development

- Assistance frequently is focused, however, on an *Intermediary Development Characteristic*:
 - Organizational and Technical Capacity
- Key concern: How to aid democratic development while working at the intermediary level?

Aid concern II: Parties' Goals ≠ Development Goals

- While parties are interested in pursuit of **votes**, USAID supports them to build **democracy**
- Thus, USAID's challenge:
 - Fostering conditions that encourage partisan actors to adopt behaviors conducive to democracy

Examples of party assistance activities

- Trainings (female) candidates on public speaking
- Support of conferences (perhaps with NGO input) about electoral laws or party finance
- Working with parties to revise by-laws (to promote more open decision making)
- Promotion of codes-of-conduct to encourage policy-based campaigns
- Polling to teach parties about citizen concerns

Aid and Context

- Which programs should USAID implement?
- It depends on context...which determines priorities
 - Do programs work with or against other incentives and pressures?

Contextual Variables

- Democratic Context
- Socio-political context
- The Institutional Context
- Party Rules, Time, and Informal Institutions

Democratic Context

- Priorities for Egypt
 - formation and organization...
- Priorities for Peru
 - better coordination between national and regional groups
- Programs
 - Which parties to work with?
 - Institutional development/reform?
 - Emphasize which development characteristics?

An example of Institutional Influences

- “Closed List Proportional Representation”
 - Assume US had one PR electoral district to elect 435 members of Congress...
 - Seats assigned based on % of vote
 - Party leaders create ordered list, which determines which members receive the seats
- Effects on representation and accountability:
 - More parties would form
 - Heighten leaders powers
 - Increase orientation towards a common theme
 - But reduce voter input into candidates
- So programming would differ!

Conclusion: Development and USAID Challenges

- Development implies tradeoffs
 - Yielding unclear goals for development aid
- Party goals conflict w/ development goals
 - Party programs but system goals
- Context affects programming

Assessment Tool

- * Identify development deficits
- * Develop programming priorities based on structured inquiry

Framework for Activity

- Planning and Logistics
- Describe political context
- Assess parties according to development characteristics
- Filter information
- Develop recommendations

Planning and Logistics

- What to study?
- Where to study (regions within a country)?
- What information to collect (pre-departure and in-country)?
 - Quantitative?
 - Qualitative?
- How to divide the team's labor?

Setting the Political Context

- Democracy and the Party System
- Institutions
- Coalitional Context
- Party Attributes

Institutional Pros and Cons Example

| Institution | Positive Effects | Negative Effects |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Constitution</p> <p>Presidential; strong powers over policy and budget.</p> | <p>Government efficiency owed to centralized control</p> | <p>Weak legislature harms partisan representation, disables oversight, & can support populists</p> |
| <p>Unitary (not federal)</p> | <p>Government efficiency Perhaps unification of diverse groups and interests</p> | <p>Weak representation of regional diversity and interests Federal systems, however, can reify regional differences</p> |
| <p>etc</p> | | |

Assessing the parties thru lens of development characteristics

- **Problem:** How do we assess broad concepts?
 - Accountability, Representation, & Participation, etc

Assessment of Parties in Terms of Development Characteristics

- **Answer:**
 - Define
 - What is accountability (etc)?
 - Operationalize
 - How would you measure this?
 - Collect & analyze data
 - Quantitative and qualitative
- Example
 - What is good governance?
 - How would you measure it?

Different Data Sources

- Data sources for assessment development characteristics
 - Surveys
 - Electoral Data
 - Interviews
 - Party records about membership
 - Laws and by-laws
 - Legislative Roll Calls
 - Regional legislatures (ie # female legislators)
 - Etc

Assessing ARP (System Level)

| Attributes of Development Characteristic | Indicators | Data Sources |
|--|---|---|
| Balances of choice & governability | Raw and effective # of parties | Electoral Data |
| Stable voter choices | Trends in elections | Electoral Data |
| Voters trust parties | Surveys | Regional & National surveys; special survey? |
| Voters' ability to choose among a party's candidates | Analysis of electoral system | Interviews with analysts, party/electoral laws |
| Voters have available information | Does legislature provide info? Literature parties disseminate (and size of distribution list). Do NGOs or media provide info? | Analysts; interviews with parties about information they provide. |

Assessing ARP (Party Level)

| Attributes of Development Characteristic | Indicators | Data Sources |
|---|--|--|
| Retrospective or policy-based voting | Voters' knowledge of parties' positions | Regional and specialized surveys; focus groups |
| Parties reach out to voters | Town hall meetings; Regional offices | Interviews Data on constituency service |
| Parties encourage participation of women & minorities | Number of women in leadership positions or as candidates; Female support of parties | Parties' records of leadership positions; Interviews with various party leaders Gender of candidates and legislators |

Assessing each Development Characteristic

| Attributes of Development Characteristic | Indicators | Data Sources |
|--|------------|--------------|
| 1 | | |
| 2 | | |
| etc | | |

Filtering Contextual Information

| Salient Factors | OTC | ARP | GG | SPC | RoL |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| Democracy | | | | | |
| Institutions | | | | | |
| Party System and Coalitions | | | | | |
| Party Attributes | | | | | |

Filtering Party & System Level Constraints

| Salient Factors | OTC | ARP | GG | SPC | RoL |
|---|---|-----|----|-----|-----|
| SYSTEM-LEVEL POLITICAL ASSETS & CONSTRAINTS | | | | | |
| Political Actors | | | | | |
| Civil Society | | | | | |
| Electoral Support Patterns | | | | | |
| PARTY-LEVEL ASSETS & CONSTRAINTS | | | | | |
| Leadership | | | | | |
| Formal and informal rules | | | | | |
| Basis of Electoral Support | | | | | |
| Organizational and Technical Capacity |  | | | | |

Developing Program Activities

- What are the:
 - 1. Development Priorities?
 - 2. Opportunities and Constraints?
 - 3. Programming options?

Review and Conclusion

- Goal is to identifying deficiencies, opportunities, and constraints, in order to develop programming recommendations
- To do so, need systematic method for collecting and synthesizing of data about role of parties within democracy
 - ⌘ Keep **focus** on how parties affect **larger development characteristics**, not just their limited organizational and technical capacity
 - ⌘ Work on **explaining why parties are deficient** to avoid programming recommendations that will run counter to other incentives or pressures

Evaluation Methodologies

Adding rigor to evaluation of political party
assistance programs

Challenges and Limitations

- Many Limitations, Many Challenges
- ...but multiple options for evaluations

Goal 1: Improve Planning & Data

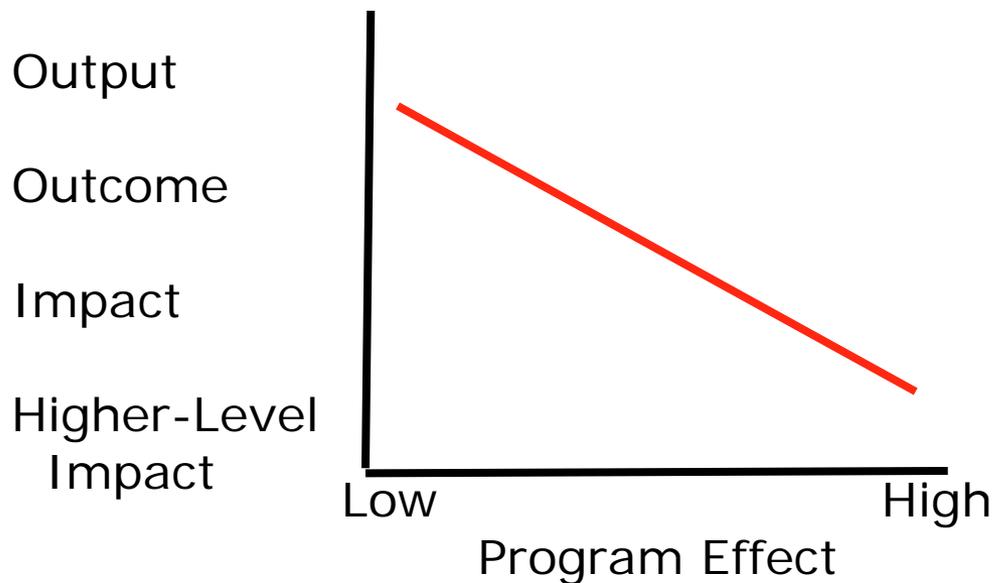
- ⌘ Comparative or baseline data is necessary to test causality
 - Not always possible or feasible
- But, many aspects of party assistance programs do lend themselves to evaluation
 - Evaluations, therefore require
 - Careful and creative planning
 - ▶ from the beginning of the program
 - Consideration of “tool kit” of options

2nd Goal: Moving past Evaluation of Outputs

- Traditional studies focus on “outputs”
 - (numbers of trainees or conferences)
- We promote move towards “outcomes”
 - (learning),
- “impacts”
 - (behavioral change of trainees),
- and “higher-level impacts”
 - (effect of behavioral change)

Caution: Higher level impacts and attribution of cause

- While we are interested in impacts and higher-level impacts, attribution is best at output level



Evaluation Methodologies

- Impact Evaluation
 - based on comparison of data on non/treatment groups
 - Planning starts with implementation of program
- Programmatic
 - lacks a pre-defined comparison group
 - Planning only by evaluation team, after the programming is completed

Impact Evaluation

- Definition is based on comparison of treated (ie trained) and untreated groups
- Randomized assignment
 - For individuals or regions—but not parties
 - Over-subscribed training
 - Choice among regions
- Non-randomized
 - Longitudinal
 - Cross-regional

Randomization Example

- Training sample of female candidates
 - (over-subscription)
 - Do they change tactics? (Impact)
 - Do they have more success? (Higher-level impact)
- Support for field offices in sample regions
 - Is there more voter contact?
 - Do voters display more support or trust?

Programmatic Evaluations

- When there is no pre-evaluation plan....
 - Two Pronged Approach:
 - Evaluation of activities
 - Evaluation of progress toward development goals
 - Still need comparative groups where possible

By Activity Example

| Activity | Output | Outcome | Impact | Higher Level Impacts |
|--|--------------------------|--|--|--|
| Governability and Good Governance | | | | |
| Training for legislators and parties on budget and bill analysis | Number of people trained | Parties dedicate personnel and resources to budget and bill analysis | Parties propose bills & substantive amendments | Legislative bills and amendments pass with more frequency Increased policy focus of parties |

By Activity Worksheet

| Activity | Output | Outcome | Impact | Higher Level Impacts |
|---|--------|---------|--------|----------------------|
| Organizational And Technical Capacity | | | | |
| 1 2 etc. | | | | |
| Accountability Representation and Participation | | | | |
| 1 2 etc. | | | | |
| Governability and Good Governance | | | | |
| 1 2 etc. | | | | |

Example: By Dev. Characteristic

| Development Characteristic | Goal Id'ed in Work Plan? | Level of Priority/ Effort | Activities designed to address | Data Needs for evaluation | Control Group |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|

Rule of Law and Free and Fair Elections

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| Internal party elections are run fairly | | | meetings, support; work with electoral authority | surveys media reports focus groups | Internal elections of other parties |
|---|--|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|

Stable and Peaceful Contestation

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|---------------------------|---|---|
| Parties run aggressive but responsible campaigns | | | Promoting code of conduct | Code; media reports of election; analyst interviews | Previous elections; parties that fail to sign code of conduct |
|--|--|--|---------------------------|---|---|

Caution: Confounding factors!

- Programs can be valuable—even if evaluation shows limited effect
 - Perhaps **confounding factors** eliminate effect
 - Without programs, however, perhaps effect would have been worse
 - “counterfactuals”
- Programmatic evaluations, therefore, must carefully analyze context and confounding factors

Better Programmatic Evaluations require:

- Emphasis on **systematic** data collection
 - By **development characteristic** & by **activity**
- Data from **non-treated** individuals or regions
- Consideration of **confounding** factors

Summary Recommendations

- Plan evaluation from initiation of programming
 - Creative planning to consider
 - Evaluation approaches
 - Development hypotheses
 - Corresponding indicators
 - Beyond outputs, to outcomes and impacts
- Non-random evaluations must consider confounding factors & counterfactuals

Appendix

- Extra slides and black and white handouts

Programming examples for OTC

- Conferences and trainings to support:
 - Strategic planning
 - Fundraising and resource development
 - Campaign organization
 - Poll-watcher recruitment and training
 - Voter registration verification
 - Legislative drafting
 - Research capacity
 - Public speaking
 - Message development
 - Platform development
 - Candidate and leadership skills
 - Message development

Examples for Programs for ARP Programming Aimed at Partisan Actors

- Conferences and training to build or encourage:
 - campaigns that focus on policy issues and strategies
 - development of legislative agendas
 - concern for responding to local-level concerns
 - communication with voters
 - development of media/communication strategy
 - participation of members in party decision making
 - better organization of party congress or other events
 - candidate training for women, youth, & others
 - public debates among parties

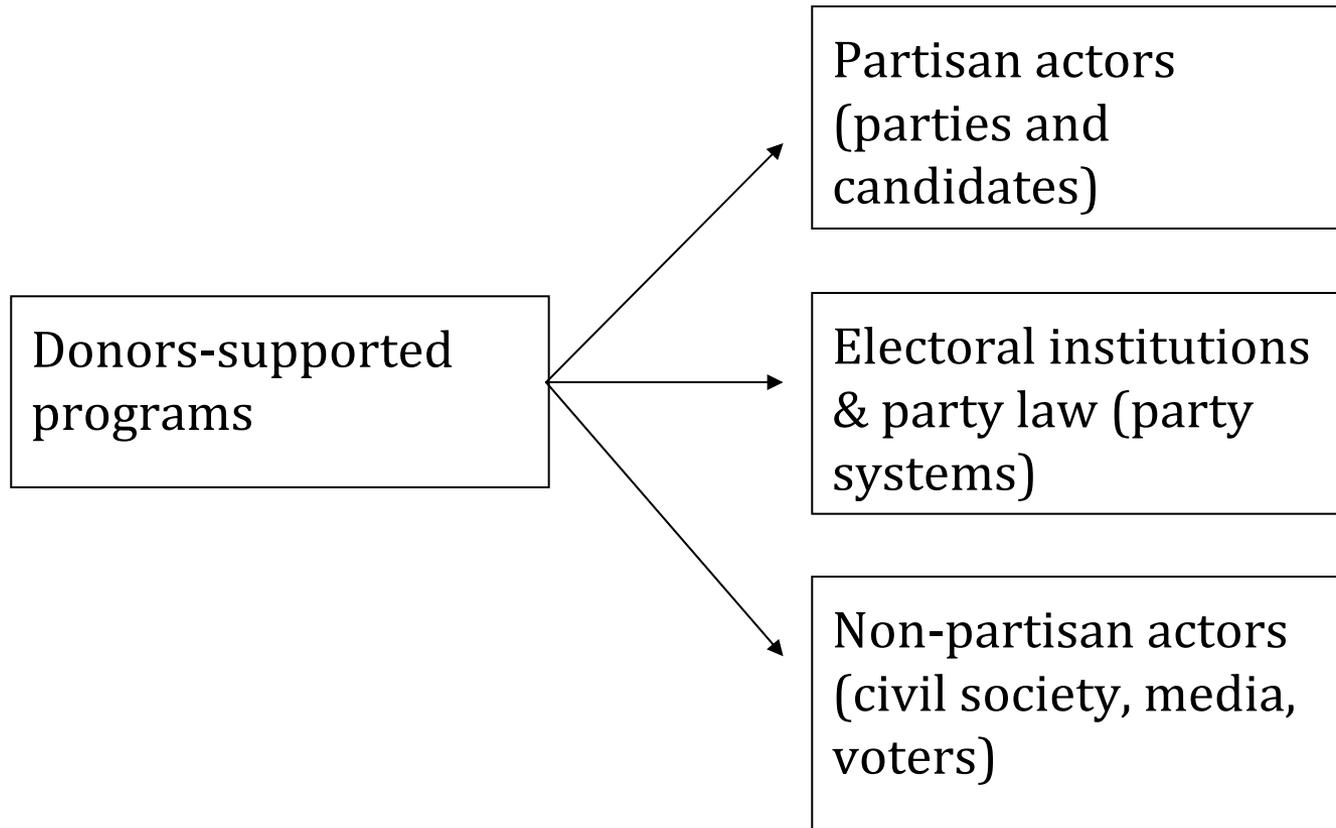
ARP examples of Programming Aimed at Institutions and Institutional Reform

- Conferences to discuss effect of electoral systems, party finance, primaries, executive-legislative relations, etc. on
 - ties between voters, parties, and legislators
 - diversity of choices among parties
 - the number of parties and the balances between representation & governability
 - how the range of parties balances regional or ascriptive identification with nationally-oriented catch-all parties

ARP Examples of Programming Aimed at Non-Partisan Actors

- Programs to enhance voter information and education about party and government activities
- Publication of information for citizens and societal groups about parties, their positions, and the political process
- Promotion of NGO sponsored inter-party debates to highlight policy stances

Targets of Support



Assessing Development Characteristics

| Attributes of Development Characteristic | Indicators | Data Sources |
|--|------------|--------------|
| 1 | | |
| 2 | | |
| 3 | | |

By Activity Worksheet

| Activity | Output | Outcome | Impact | Higher Level Impacts |
|---|--------|---------|--------|----------------------|
| Organizational And Technical Capacity | | | | |
| 1 | | | | |
| 2 | | | | |
| Accountability Representation and Participation | | | | |
| 1 | | | | |
| 2 | | | | |
| Governability and Good Governance | | | | |
| 1 | | | | |
| 2 | | | | |