



Report

Supporting accountability in fragile settings

A review for the Somalia Implementation and Analysis in Action of Accountability Programme

Hamish Nixon, Anne L. Buffardi, Joseph Wales and Tiina Pasanen

August 2017



Somalia Accountability Programme



Overseas Development Institute

203 Blackfriars Road
London SE1 8NJ

Tel. +44 (0) 20 7922 0300
Fax. +44 (0) 20 7922 0399
E-mail: info@odi.org.uk

www.odi.org
www.odi.org/facebook
www.odi.org/twitter

Readers are encouraged to reproduce material from ODI Reports for their own publications, as long as they are not being sold commercially. As copyright holder, ODI requests due acknowledgement and a copy of the publication. For online use, we ask readers to link to the original resource on the ODI website. The views presented in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of ODI.

© Overseas Development Institute 2017. This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial Licence (CC BY-NC 4.0).

Cover photo: AMISON Photo, Awil Abukar, 2016

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank DFID for funding this review through the IAAAP programme, with particular thanks given to the IAAAP team including Harrie Von Boxmeer, Damir Hadzic (both contracted by Mott MacDonald) and Jarat Chopra. A debt of gratitude is also owed to David Cownie. The authors are grateful to peer reviewers Pilar Domingo, Barry Smith, Emma Haegeman, and Emma Grant. We are also grateful to Helen Dempster and Nikki Lee at ODI for their help in finalising and editing this report. Responsibility for the content of this report, as well as any errors and omissions, remains with the authors.

Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Executive summary	7
1. Introduction	9
1.1. Overview of the Implementation and Analysis in Action of Accountability Programme (IAAAP)	9
1.2. Structure of the report	11
2. Understanding accountability	12
2.1. Dimensions and forms of accountability	13
3. Impact and outcomes of donor-funded accountability programmes	14
4. Challenges to accountability in fragile and conflict-affected contexts	16
4.1. Rights-holders	17
4.2. Duty-bearers	17
4.3. State-society interfaces, interlocutors, and champions	17
4.4. Role of international actors	18
5. Learning from accountability programmes in fragile and conflict-affected contexts	20
5.1. Sequencing institutional reforms in fragile and conflict-affected contexts	20
5.2. Social accountability approaches	21
6. The role of evidence in shaping policy and programmes	24
6.1. Barriers and enablers to evidence influencing policy and programmes	25
6.2. How evidence gets used in fragile and conflict-affected contexts	26
6.3. Strategies to assess and strengthen evidence use	27
7. The role of learning, and flexible and adaptive approaches in development programming	29
8. Conclusion	32
References	33

List of boxes, figures and tables

Boxes

Box 1: IAAAP's Main Hypothesis	9
Box 2: Dimensions of accountability relationships	13
Box 3: Key points and implications for IAAAP	15
Box 4: Key points and implications for IAAAP	19
Box 5: Bridging the state society divide: the SAVI programme in Nigeria	23
Box 6: Key points and implications for IAAAP	23
Box 7: Key points and implications for IAAAP	27
Box 8: Key points and implications for IAAAP	31

Tables

Table 1. Key barriers identified in secondary reviews	24
Table 2: Key enablers identified in secondary reviews	24
Table 3: Political, psychological, cultural and institutions constraining factors on the use of evidence	25

Figures

Figure 1: IAAAP Higher Level Results Framework	10
Figure 2: Potential impacts of improved accountability	12
Figure 3: The knowledge, policy and power (KPP) framework	28

Acronyms

CDD/R	Community-driven development/reconstruction
CMC	Community management committee
CSO	Civil society organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	UK Department for International Development
FCAS	Fragile and conflict-affected states
GESI	Gender Equity and Social Inclusion
IAAAP	Implementation and Analysis in Action of Accountability Programme
KPP	Knowledge, Policy and Power
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PEA	Political Economy Analysis
PET	Public expenditure tracking
PPM	Participatory performance monitoring
SAVI	State Accountability and Voice Initiative
ToC	Theory of Change

Executive summary

Accountability is often credited as playing a crucial role in establishing and maintaining legitimacy between citizens and states, contributing to more responsive allocation of public resources, reducing corruption, and improving the quality of public goods and services. Despite this potential, the evidence on how to effectively promote stronger accountability relationships and improved governance and development outcomes is limited. Moreover, accountability challenges can be particularly acute in fragile and conflict-affected states.

This report provides a problem-focused synthesis of evidence for the DFID-funded Implementation and Analysis in Action of Accountability Programme (IAAAP). It also offers a review of factors that influence the use of evidence to inform development policy and practice, and on flexible and adaptive programming. Assembling evidence and using adaptation to respond to it are two pathways through which IAAAP aims to enhance the ability of citizens in Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland to hold governance institutions to account.

Accountability refers to the ‘processes, norms and structures that require [power-holders] to *answer* for their actions to another actor, and/or suffer some *sanction* if the performance is *judged* to be below the relevant *standard*’ (Grant and MacArthur, 2008: 1). Underlying accountability processes are norms about who can exercise power by what means and who has the right to hold those in power to account. These norms typically refer to relationships between citizens and the state, but can also include non-state and international actors, who may be particularly influential in fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS). Therefore in empirical studies, it is important to specify the actors involved, as well as the direction, formality and nature of accountability claims.

Evidence on donor-funded accountability initiatives has been characterised by reliance on ‘untested normative assumptions and under-specified relationships between mechanisms and outcomes’ (Gaventa and McGee, 2013: 11). Evidence has been particularly weak on the role of accountability programming in the longer trajectory of citizen-state relationships, impact beyond particular interventions, the contribution of non-state actors, and understanding the potential negative effects. There is greater evidence for initiatives prompting short-term behavioural and process changes, some examples of policy change, mixed evidence regarding improvements to the quality and accessibility of services, social capital,

community cohesion and collective action, and very little evidence on broader measures of human wellbeing.

Studies have highlighted the importance of initial conditions and context – particularly basic political and civil rights, and checks and balances on power – in determining which objectives are feasible and desirable, which accountability mechanisms are appropriate, and the extent and types of changes observed (Earle and Scott, 2010; Devarajan et al., 2011; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Grandvoinet et al., 2015). While others have highlighted the importance of **working with both rights-holders and duty-bearers** who have authority over decision-making, operating across state-society divides and linking traditional accountability mechanisms (i.e. inspections, audits) or sanctions with collective action among citizens (McNeil and Malena 2010; Bruns et al., 2011; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012; Joshi, 2013; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Molina et al., 2013; Fox, 2014; Grandvoinet, 2015).

These findings raise particular challenges for accountability initiatives in fragile settings with limited state capacity, institutional instability and corruption, low levels of social cohesion, and the lack of a widely agreed and credible social contract between citizens and the state. These conditions have implications for state and non-state actors’ motivations, the nature and strength of civil society movements, citizen expectations of the state, willingness to question authority, and protection from reprisal. A lack of trust in public institutions and ruling elites, and experience of the state as a source of conflict or oppression may result in citizen disengagement from formal accountability and redress processes, or use of alternative channels such as patron-client ties. Civil society itself may be fragmented into a range of groups and interests, and ‘community’ associations may be captured by local elites who do not represent their members’ needs and, in some cases, use them to exploit vulnerable groups, particularly women.

Social accountability programming in fragile states is often dominated by community-driven development/reconstruction programmes, and accountability for services through community management committees or participatory needs assessment and planning. Participatory budgeting and public hearings or social audit processes have been less commonly applied in FCAS contexts. The limited evidence base on these initiatives suggests that community-driven development can improve infrastructure and service quality, provided there are efforts to build local management capacity and clear mechanisms for downward accountability. However, community-driven development

may also exacerbate group-based grievances if not properly managed to ensure effective participation.

These studies highlight that effective accountability programming in fragile settings often takes place across state-civil society boundaries, at a local level, and in an inclusive and collaborative rather than confrontational way. Programmes also need to consider informal power relations and the role of non-state actors, who often have considerable power and legitimacy in such settings.

Issues of Gender Equity and Social Inclusion (GESI) are frequently not given enough focus, both in accountability interventions or the research surrounding them. This has resulted in a considerable evidence gap. Major barriers to improving accountability to women and marginalised groups include the availability and relevance of evidence to these groups, and the tendency of actors to reinforce existing power relations. Women also face a particular risk of backlash for challenging social norms and seeking to hold men to account.

Overcoming these barriers to inclusion requires collective action, building alliances and working in politically and socially smart ways to engage with whole communities, including men, boys and those in positions of authority. The creation of new platforms for engagement, the use of participatory approaches and working with civil society groups can be useful approaches to engaging marginalised groups. However, there are no guarantees that these will be inclusive spaces and women, in particular, need support to encourage engagement.

In addition to lessons from previous accountability and inclusion initiatives, IAAAP can learn from the growing body of evidence on **individual, interpersonal, organisational, institutional and external factors which facilitate or discourage the use of evidence.** While evidence has the potential to inform practice and policy-making, the ideal of evidence-based policy is more often absent than present. Evidence itself is not neutral, and its

production is itself a political process. As shown in this review, evidence rarely gives a single answer and can often provide conflicting insights, leaving substantial room for other factors to shape conclusions at the research to policy interface. In fragile settings, findings may often be more debatable due to the lack of data and access; while evidence use can be constrained by lack of clear processes or expertise to commission and engage with research by government and societal actors and organisations.

Evidence is more likely to be used when it is clear, available, accessible and relevant to decision-makers, when the process of identifying evidence needs and generating evidence is collaborative, and when there is trust and interaction between those producing and using the evidence. Political, psychological, cultural and institutional factors are particularly influential.

Calls for evidence-based and experiential learning and for flexible and adaptive programming are not new, but these approaches have re-emerged as prominent in development discourse.¹ Adaptive approaches may be particularly relevant when a lack of knowledge may contribute to uncertainty: when the conditions in which a programme is to operate are inadequately understood (contextual complexity); when the pathways by which the objectives desired might be reached are unknown (causal complexity); and when there is a high likelihood that important contextual or causal conditions may change quickly (volatility). Frameworks such as the Knowledge, Policy and Power (KPP) approach can help practitioners identify opportunities to increase the likelihood that evidence will be used and to further embed an adaptive approach in particular settings. Despite increased attention to adaptive programming, there is relatively little evidence linking these approaches to development outcomes. Therefore, documenting IAAAP processes and outcomes will make an important contribution to the field.

1. See for example: www.doingdevelopmentdifferently.com

1. Introduction

Accountability is often credited as playing a crucial role in establishing and maintaining legitimacy between citizens and states, contributing to more effective and responsive allocation of public resources, reducing corruption, and improving the quality of public goods and services. As a result, accountability programming has become increasingly prominent in recent decades. However, the evidence on the impact of these various forms of interventions is mixed (Gaventa and McGee, 2013).

Accountability challenges are particularly acute in the kinds of contexts referred to as fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS). In such settings, the state has weak capacity and influence, and lacks legitimacy; at the same time, society may be fragmented, and lack organisational capabilities to call the state to account. An estimated 1.5 billion people live in these contexts. The challenge of improving institutional quality in these contexts has become such a central concern that some scholars have asked whether the state-building efforts of recent decades represent ‘a new development paradigm’ (Marquette and Beswick, 2011). This emphasis on state fragility has been reflected in aid flows. Official overseas development assistance (ODA) from Development Assistance Committee (DAC) countries to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development’s (OECD) list of fragile states nearly doubled per capita between 2000 and 2015. The 50 countries on the 2015 OECD fragile states list account for more than half of all ODA since 2007 (OECD, 2015: 22).

However, orthodox approaches to state-building and governance in fragile settings tend to focus on ‘institutional reconstruction’ and capacity development over other social foundations (Lemay-Hébert and Mathieu, 2014: 232). Accountability is typically included within the broader rubric of legitimate and inclusive politics in state-building frameworks, which is an approach that tends to emphasise political and horizontal forms of accountability (OECD, 2011; IDPS, 2011). This emphasis on capacity and services functions is reflected in ODA spending in fragile states across the five Peace and Statebuilding Goals of the New Deal: in 2012, of all ODA to 50 fragile states, only 4% was classed as for ‘legitimate politics’, 1.4% for security, and 3.1% for justice, compared with 45.4% for economic foundations and services (OECD, 2015, 68; Hingorani, 2015a).

That said, there are many efforts to promote accountability in fragile settings. In particular, an emphasis on social accountability initiatives has been posited to compensate for the deficiencies of state capacity, or provide

Box 1: IAAAP’s Main Hypothesis

A robust evidence base that effectively informs the public, civil society, Somali administrations and development actors will influence institutions and governance processes, supporting Somali citizens in their efforts to hold government more accountable’ (IAAAP Theory of Change Report, August 2016).

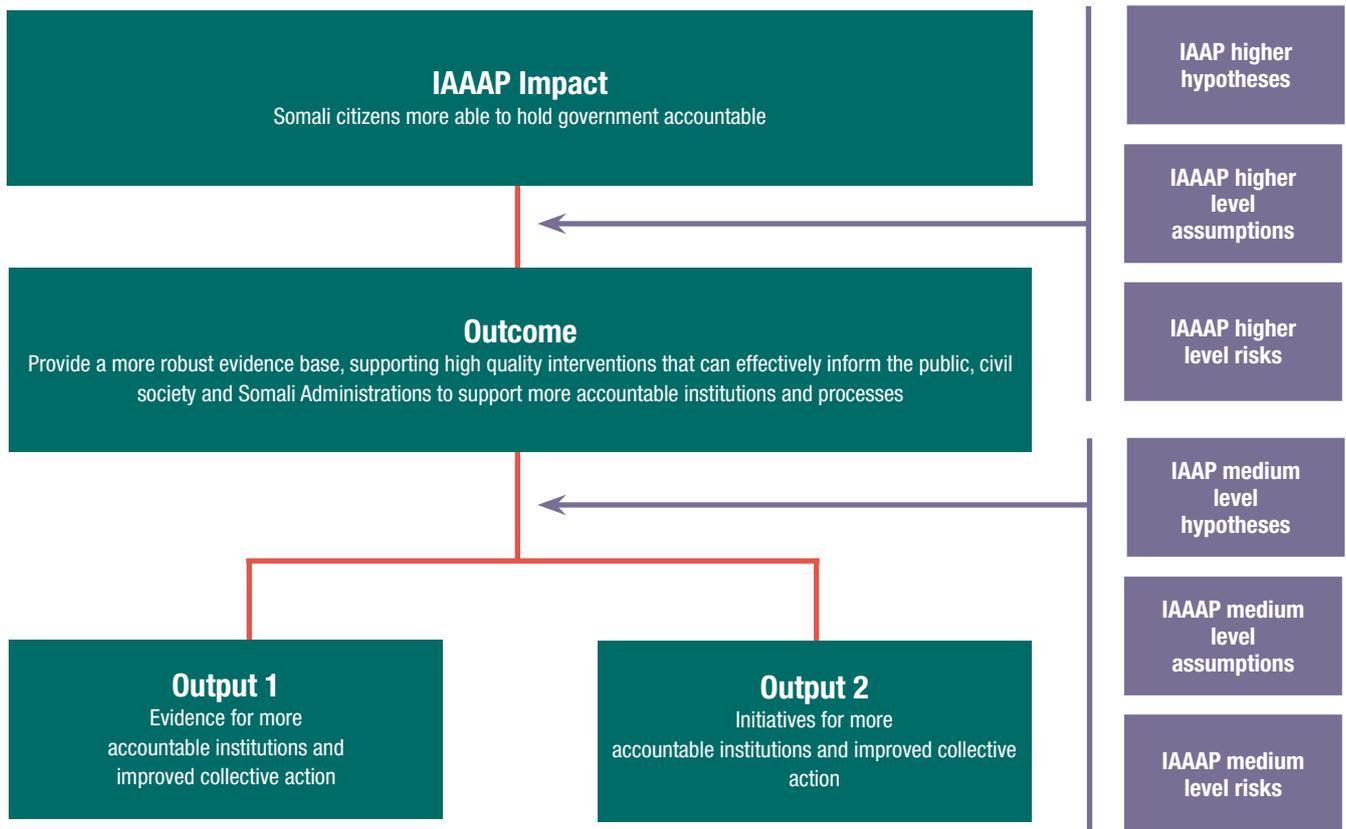
a basis for building them up (Malena et al., 2004). The DFID-funded Implementation and Analysis in Action of Accountability Programme (IAAAP), implemented by Mott MacDonald, aims to enhance the ability of Somali citizens to hold governance institutions to account. Central to the programme design is a ‘learning by doing’ approach that seeks to contribute to and learn from a robust evidence base, and to use evidence in adapting accountability interventions to become more effective (Box 1).

This report contributes to this evidence base. It offers a useable synthesis of evidence from previous studies on accountability and donor-funded accountability initiatives, with a particular focus on fragile states; factors influencing the use of evidence to inform development policy and practice; and flexible and adaptive programming. It is not an exhaustive systematic review; rather, it aims to be problem and programme-focused – guided by the objectives, programme theory and activities of the IAAAP. Therefore, the primary audience are IAAAP partners and stakeholders, who are familiar with governance programming and have a deep understanding of the contexts in which IAAAP is working. The paper aims to also have wider application and interest among the development community engaged in accountability programming, particularly in fragile contexts.

1.1. Overview of the Implementation and Analysis in Action of Accountability Programme (IAAAP)

The overall aim of the IAAAP is to enhance the ability of Somali citizens to hold governance institutions to account. It seeks to achieve this aim by working across five key elements of the accountability context, as described in programme documents:

Figure 1: IAAAP Higher Level Results Framework



Source: IAAAP Theory of Change Report, August 2016

1. Spoiler economy: The identification and initiation of longer-term development trajectories (through actions, processes or institutions) that shift a ‘spoiler’ economy of instability to the benefit of the public interest, as part of a sense and culture of public goods—without which there can be no seriousness of purpose about governance.

2. Rights-holders: The development of means and avenues for Somali citizens to pursue accountability, seek redress, and effect means and avenues for addressing accountability ‘spoilers’.

3. Champions: The identification and empowerment of champions of accountability in Somalia and associated actors to maintain momentum of IAAAP results over the long term.

4. Duty-bearers: The assistance to ‘governance institutions’ in shifting from defensively responding to accountability crises to better managing accountability responsibilities

and to fulfil the obligations of governance towards the Somali public—which can mitigate a perpetual crisis mode.

5. International engagement in accountability: The fostering of international engagement in facilitating greater accountability in Somalia, including the identification of meaningful entry points, mechanisms for delivery, and potentially effective means of leverage; and actions that support mutual accountability between the international community, including aid, and the Somali population.

There are two broad pathways from outcome to impact in the Theory of Change adopted by the IAAAP programme. The first channel is that the availability of quality evidence will influence relevant actors, institutions and practices in Somalia to improve accountability. The second channel is that new evidence or linking existing evidence to programming will result in more effective accountability interventions, and that the learning generated by these will shape ongoing efforts to be more effective. The programme’s results framework reflects these two

pathways in its Theory of Change hypotheses (See Figure 1). In full, the two output statements for IAAAP (2016) are as follows:²

- **Output 1:** ‘robust evidence produced to support effective, replicable and scalable interventions that support more accountable institutions and improved collective action that are gender and vulnerability sensitive’; and
- **Output 2:** ‘informed interventions around voice and accountability are continued, scaled up, or eliminated based on evidence that can support more accountable institutions and improved collective action that are gender and vulnerability sensitive’.

1.2. Structure of the report

The paper addresses IAAAP’s two broad pathways of change by synthesising evidence related to initiatives aimed at supporting accountability in fragile settings, and then turning to evidence about the generation and use of evidence to shape policy and adapt and improve programming. The paper proceeds by introducing the concept of accountability and some of its key underpinnings in Section 2.

It then reviews evidence on donor-funded initiatives to support accountability in general, finding that programme outcomes are heavily mediated by context, and that isolated approaches that do not connect supply and demand (i.e. work with both rights-holders and duty-bearers) are less likely to be effective (Section 3). After that, it examines the particular challenges to accountability in FCAS, where important contextual enablers such as state capacity, legitimacy, social cohesion, organisational capacity and stability are more likely to be absent. The experience of accountability programming in fragile settings reflects these observations. It highlights the importance of considering a wider range of actors involved in accountability relationships and reaching across state-society divides in a constructive, inclusive manner (Sections 4 and 5).

The subsequent sections of the paper (Sections 6 and 7) relate to the second pathway of change. They identify factors found to facilitate and hinder the use of evidence in policy and programming, before reviewing some implications for using evidence to guide programming through the use of flexible and adaptive approaches. In each section of the paper, a series of implications or hypotheses for IAAAP are highlighted, and these are addressed in subsequent studies of evidence arising from IAAAP.

2. These pathways correspond to ‘Main Hypothesis’ 2 and 1 respectively, in the IAAAP Theory of Change Report (August 2016).

2. Understanding accountability

There are many reasons to try to strengthen accountability. Accountability can be a value in itself: it militates against the concentration and abuse of power and can promote civic virtues and substantive or procedural norms such as justice and honesty. In some circumstances, accountability processes can serve as a means of public catharsis, as in truth and reconciliation commissions (Rubenstein, 2007; Bovens, 2007). Accountability is also seen as a means to other desirable outcomes: improving the quality and effectiveness of institutions of governance, which could in turn lead to improved resource allocation and enhanced delivery of public goods and services; while empowerment could also lead to social and political arrangements that better favour the poor (World Bank, 2004; Bovens, 2007; McNeil and Malena, 2010; Malena et al., 2004).

Figure 2 highlights a number of possible benefits of strengthened state-society accountability. It makes a distinction between those that are more immediate or instrumental, and those that purport longer-term changes. As will be seen in Section 3, changes of the former type are relatively more common in the evidence base than the latter (Grandvoinnet et al., 2015).

Fox (2015) argues that thinking on accountability has been shaped by four broad conceptual frameworks: principal-agent models, short and long routes to accountability, supply and demand side accountability, and the distinction between horizontal and vertical accountability. Each of these approaches has its strengths and weaknesses, and highlight different aspects of accountability relationships.

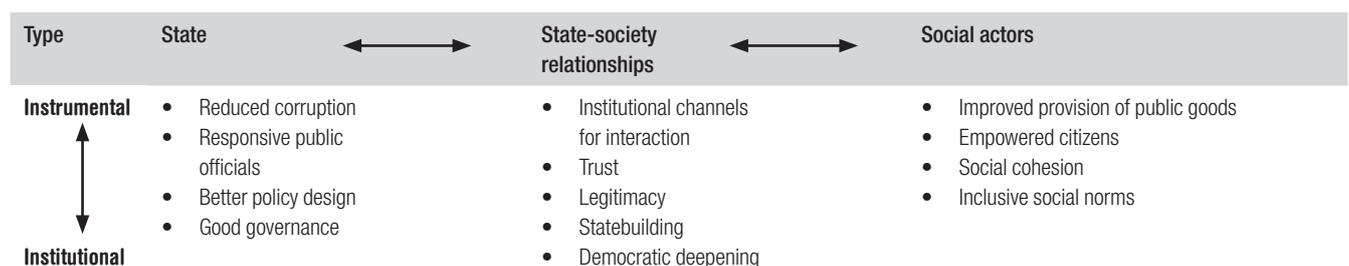
In general, accountability refers to the ‘processes, norms and structures that require [power-holders] to answer for

their actions to another actor, and/or suffer some sanction if the performance is judged to be below the relevant standard’ (Grant and MacArthur, 2008: 1). This particular definition – and most understandings of accountability – incorporate four key elements (Moore and Teskey, 2006; Schedler, 1999 reprinted in Joshi and Houtzager, 2012; Bovens, 2007):

1. **Standards:** which define the behaviour expected of power-holders, and thus the criteria by which they will be judged;
2. **Assessment:** which evaluates the extent to which power-holders have met these standards;
3. **Answerability:** a process by which power-holders are required to explain and justify their activities, outcomes and/or procedures; and
4. **Sanctions:** a process in which power-holders are punished when they fail to meet the standards expected of them.

Underlying accountability processes are norms that establish who can exercise power by what means and who has the right to hold those in power to account (Grant and Keohane, 2005). As such, standard accountability models often refer to relationships between citizens and the state or among state organisations. For example, in representative democracies, citizens hold political leaders to account through periodic elections, and bureaucrats design and deliver public services with oversight by political leaders (vertical accountability). While judiciaries and other organisations such as electoral or human rights commissions support accountability in these processes

Figure 2: Potential impacts of improved accountability



Source: Grandvoinnet, Aslam, and Raha 2015, 58.

(horizontal accountability) (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012). Social accountability captures more direct or short routes of accountability between citizens and the makers of policy and providers of services – for example, via initiatives like budget transparency, or connecting citizens and civil society through participation and feedback mechanisms.

Although much of the focus of the literature is on citizen-state interactions, accountability relationships can, of course, also exist among many different types of actors. This recognition is of particular significance in contexts where state structures are incapable, non-responsive, or even absent – where ‘limited statehood’ or ‘hybrid’ forms of governance prevail (Boege et al., 2008; Risse, 2012). In line with this reality, IAAAP refers to ‘rights-holders’ and ‘duty-bearers’ rather than simply citizen and state. Indeed, the IAAAP programme aims to understand and strengthen accountability relationships between Somalis, including but not limited to those between civil society and state institutions. Its scope also extends to non-state and international actors who hold considerable power and rely on difference sources of legitimacy.

Accountability relationships can be further complicated when development assistance or other forms of external intervention are present. Rubenstein (2007) discusses two types of ‘surrogate’ accountability that incorporate the multi-level relationships in international development. First-order surrogate accountability takes place when a third party sanctions a power-holder on behalf of rights-holders but the rights-holders cannot sanction the third party that is intervening. For example, an NGO sanctioning the World Bank on behalf of displaced communities, or another government sanctioning the Somali government on behalf of Somali citizens. Second-order surrogate accountability adds another layer – when citizens sanction their government for its performance as a surrogate itself; for example, when UK citizens act to sanction their government for its performance promoting accountability in another country, on behalf of the other country’s citizens.

2.1. Dimensions and forms of accountability

Accountability relationships therefore vary and can be characterised across a number of dimensions (Malena et al., 2004; Bovens, 2007; E. Grant and MacArthur, 2008). In general, the different dimensions of an accountability relationship specify the actors involved, the nature of accountability claims, the direction of the accountability, and the aspects of the relationship such as its formality or the sanctions involved (See Box 2). Moreover, accountability can apply at different phases in the policy process. from policy-making (as in participatory budgeting), or monitoring of implementation (as in report cards), and may focus on specific tools or broader processes (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012).

These different dimensions yield a variety of configurations and forms of accountability. This has generated a plethora of terms, which are not always used consistently. For example, hierarchical or supervisory accountability may illuminate top-down bureaucratic means, while market or social accountabilities signal social processes. There are many other terms in use (Grant and Keohane, 2005; Lindberg, 2009; Brinkerhoff, 2001; Edwards and Hulme, 1996; Knutsen and Brower, 2010; Rubenstein, 2007).

Any effort to bring order to a complex universe of relationships is bound to proliferate descriptive categories. The key point is that while there may be common theoretical foundations to effective accountability relationships, the actors and spheres are very diverse. Generic discussions of accountability are of limited value unless accompanied by detailed consideration of the accountability system in its various dimensions. For example, is the accountability between state and citizens, or among non-state actors? Is it managed by informal norms and sanctions, or through laws and courts? Is the arena in which the accountability takes place primarily local, national, or transnational?

In each of these circumstances, the opportunities, challenges, and effective ways to influence a given accountability relationship will vary. By adopting a ‘portfolio’ model of interventions to better understand a range of different accountability relationships, and an adaptive approach to building on these, programmes with a theory of change (ToC) like that of IAAAP can help contextualise and find openings for accountability improvements.

Box 2: Dimensions of accountability relationships

- Who is held to account?
- To whom are they accountable?
- What is the basis of this authority?
- About what is account to be rendered (i.e. finances, procedures, products)?
- What is the direction of the relationship (i.e. vertical vs. horizontal, upward or downward, external or internal)?
- How much control do different actors have?
- How formal is the relationship?
- How conflictual is the relationship?
- At what phase(s) of the policy process are actors held to account? (i.e. policy formulation, implementation, monitoring)
- What are the sanctions involved?

3. Impact and outcomes of donor-funded accountability programmes

Despite the potential of accountability initiatives, the empirical evidence substantiating these ambitious impacts is nascent and quite limited. Recent reviews devote at least as much text to describing the limitations of the evidence as they do to synthesising results (Earle and Scott, 2010; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). Typically, studies are focused on the effectiveness of initiatives at achieving proximate or instrumental transparency and accountability goals rather than further development and governance impacts. This is, partly, due to challenges of attribution.

There is greater evidence for initiatives prompting short-term behavioural and process changes. For example, there is evidence of accountability initiatives promoting creation of spaces for citizen engagement, greater access to government information by citizens and empowerment of local voices through enhanced civil society confidence, awareness of rights, capacity, skills and agency (Claasen and Alpin-Lardiés, 2010; McNeil and Malena, 2010; Joshi, 2013; Goodwin and Maru, 2014; Gaventa and McGee, 2013). There are some examples of policy change, such as more pro-poor budgeting and greater state responsiveness to citizens' needs, and mixed evidence regarding quality and accessibility of services, social capital, community cohesion and collective action (Fox and Brown, 1998; Rocha Menocal and Sharma, 2008; McNeil and Malena, 2010; Wong, 2012; Joshi, 2013; Alexander et al., 2013). There is generally little evidence on the broader impact on human wellbeing, such as improvement to indices in the Millennium Development Goals. Though some evidence points to improvements in test scores and health status (Molina, 2013). It will be of great interest to see if these long-term changes are addressed through the adoption of Sustainable Development Goal 16 on inclusive institutions.

A 2013 review of evaluations of transparency and accountability initiatives concluded that much of the available evidence is reliant on 'untested normative

assumptions and under-specified relationships between mechanisms and outcomes' (Gaventa and McGee, 2013: 11). The same review notes that evidence is weakest on the role of accountability programming in the longer trajectory of citizen-state relationships, impact beyond particular interventions, the contribution of non-state actors, and on understanding the potential negative effects of accountability programming. Gaventa and Barrett (2010) document a range of negative outcomes arising from citizen engagement programmes as part of their comparative analysis of case studies, finding that these unintended consequences made up a quarter of the total outcomes.

International actors, networks, processes and standards, including bilateral, multilateral and private donors, transnational advocacy coalitions, trade relations and global standards have been identified as serving facilitating, constraining and harmful roles (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; McNeil and Malena, 2010; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). Although there is evidence that such initiatives have been able to promote some of the necessary conditions for accountability in these areas, there is less evidence of these initiatives supporting the emergence of fully functioning accountability systems.

Across these studies, three findings are particularly salient. **First, initial conditions and context are very important in determining which objectives are feasible and desirable, which accountability mechanisms are appropriate, and the extent and types of changes observed** (Earle and Scott, 2010; Devarajan et al., 2011; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). Studies highlight the importance of strong governance mechanisms in facilitating accountability. This includes a democratic political regime, basic political and civil rights, freedom of association, checks and balances on power, political and elite competition, decentralised power, strong legal frameworks, a low tolerance for corruption, and an

independent, diversified and active media (Brinkerhoff, 2001; Malena et al., 2004; McNeil and Malena, 2010; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Joshi, 2013; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). Given that many of these factors are absent in fragile settings, expectations for many accountability initiatives are unrealistic and rely on the assumed effects of transparency and accountability on both direct and indirect pathways to development outcomes (Rocha Menocal and Sharma, 2008: 55–56).

Second, an emphasis on citizen voice and transparency is typically insufficient to generate lasting change.

Accountability initiatives have been shown to be more successful when they work with both duty-bearers and rights-holders, operate across state-society divides and are able to link vertical accountability with collective action among citizens. Real and sustainable change to accountability systems may require the ability to trigger traditional accountability mechanisms (i.e. inspections, audits) or sanctions, the existence of relationships with duty-bearers who have authority over decision-making, and links to collective action strategies such as litigation, electoral pressure or protest movements (McNeil and Malena, 2010; Bruns et al., 2011; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012; Joshi, 2013; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Molina et al., 2013; Fox, 2014; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). Furthermore, they need to become embedded or institutionalised within existing organisations and systems if they are to be sustained after an externally-funded initiative ends.

Third, and finally, studies find that issues of Gender Equity and Social Inclusion (GESI) are often not given enough focus, both in accountability interventions and the research surrounding them. Many studies lack disaggregated data and gender and social exclusion analysis, resulting in a major evidence gap on understanding the barriers to, and drivers of, improved accountability. For example, the DFID Strengthening Action Against Corruption Ghana (STAAC-Ghana) Business Case noted a lack of empirical research on gender and corruption. In 2009, Denmark’s development cooperation agency undertook a gender analysis of corruption in Uganda, which found a lack of sex-disaggregated data, making it difficult to understanding the potential of gender-sensitive programming (DFID, 2014). Evaluations of international non-governmental organisation empowerment and accountability work have

found a tendency towards ‘power blindness’ in much of this programming, highlighting a clear need for more, and better, social and power analysis (Shutt and McGee, 2013).

This is part of a broader challenge, where political economy analyses that inform programming rarely consider or apply a gender or exclusion lens (Combaz, 2014) and tend to privilege ‘elite-driven incentives, structures and actors’ (Valters et al., 2016). Stakeholder mappings often begin and end by mapping the most significant power holders, and men dominate these positions (GADN, 2015). A further issue is that exclusion and gender can often be conflated with women. For example, in Somalia, reviews stress both that gender issues should not be limited or expressed as involving only women, and that youth and minority or excluded clan groupings form important segments of populations that face marginalisation (The IDL Group, 2013: C8:2-5).

The three overarching findings are discussed in greater detail in Section 4 on accountability programming in FCAS.

Box 3: Key points and implications for IAAAP

Initial conditions and contexts influence which objectives are feasible and the extent of change possible. Increasing citizen voice and transparency alone is typically insufficient to generate lasting change. Gender equity and social inclusion is often overlooked in accountability interventions and research.

Changes are more likely to be evident where contextual factors may be more supportive, such as in Somaliland and Puntland rather than in Somalia; in projects where accountability relationships between duty-bearers and rights-holders exist to be built upon; or where both rights-holders and duty-bearers are part of the intervention.

Across the projects and the three regions, it is important to ask how existing accountability relationships vary, and how these contextual factors are reflected in the interventions. It is also important to understand how interventions may address the roles of both duty-bearers and rights-holders, and particularly potentially excluded groups of rights-holders.

4. Challenges to accountability in fragile and conflict-affected contexts

The three findings presented in Section 3 – the importance of context, need for integrated approaches and neglect of gender and social inclusion – raise particular challenges for accountability initiatives in fragile and conflict-affected settings. These settings represent a wide range of conditions and circumstances, but share characteristics of limited state capacity, low social cohesion, and weak relations between state and society.³ Fragility suggests governance arrangements that are unable – or at risk of failing – to effectively manage conflict and shocks. This implies a weak or absent political settlement, in the sense of stable relations particularly among elites for managing violence and building the state legitimacy connecting those elites to the rest of the population (Booth, 2015b: 1; Mcloughlin, 2011: 10). Indeed, a thorough review on accountability ‘entry points’ in Somalia prepared before the design of IAAAP highlighted that ‘[p]ast and current episodes of violence, the perception of state formation as a zero-sum game and subsequent low levels of trust between groups limits the prospects for an inclusive, sustainable political settlement’ (The IDL Group, 2013: C6:3).

In such settings there are low levels of social cohesion and trust that undermine the foundations on which collective action and organisation around accountability might be built (World Bank, 2011: 8-12). Informal institutions and processes – always important – may dominate formal ones, and state-centred understandings of accountability are therefore likely to miss important or potential accountability relationships. Moreover, high levels of external aid may serve to undermine domestic accountability (Schouten, 2011: 1).

These conditions have implications for state and non-state actors’ motivations, citizen expectations of the state, willingness to question authority, and the nature and strength of civil society movements. In such settings, certain background conditions and capacities that may enable accountability initiatives are more likely to be absent, limiting the ability to work across state-society interfaces and the strength of existing institutions to connect with accountability efforts. Grandvoinnet et al. (2015) highlight the fact that accountability approaches can be particularly controversial in fragile states, as expectations of the role and legitimacy of the state and responsibilities of citizens will differ across social groups, creating tensions at different levels.

In Somalia, the collapse of formal public authority in 1991 and the looting of state assets and clan-related contestation since has prevented the emergence of a shared notion of public assets around which standards of accountability might cohere. Instead, clan-based governance extends to some degree to relations among clans but does not provide strong expectations for behaviour towards a central state or international actors.⁴

Without such contextual information, models and approaches to accountability are more likely to fall victim to unwarranted assumptions about the presence, absence or nature of state-centred accountability relationships.

We now look at the implications of fragile and conflict-affected settings for programming that attempts to address – as does the IAAAP – rights-holders, duty-bearers, and the relationships among them.

3. We acknowledge, but do not enter into the recently revitalised debate over the nature and utility of fragile state definitions (OECD, 2015; Grävingholt et al., 2015). Recent thinking on fragility emphasises that pockets of fragility may be found in most countries, and even fragile countries may feature more robust institutional stability in certain subnational contexts or organisational settings (OECD, 2015).

4. IAAAP Inception Report, July 2015: 3.2.1.1.

4.1. Rights-holders

Mobilisation for collective action depends on both the capacity of citizens and their beliefs over the likely efficacy of their actions. Capacity can encompass a wide range of organisational and technical skills, resources, access to information, and relationships. Citizen willingness to engage can be curtailed if they fear violence and coercion from state, service providers or other powerful actors (Schouten, 2011; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Fox and Brown, 1998; Malena et al., 2004; McNeil and Malena, 2010; Ringold, 2012; Joshi, 2013; Grandvoinet et al., 2015; Claasen and Alpín-Lardiés, 2010; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012). In fact, studies highlight the need for the state to play an active role in protecting citizens who speak out from reprisals – whether from elements within the state or from non-state actors – as being an important precondition for accountability initiatives to be successful (Gaventa and Barrett, 2010; Fox, 2015). Fragile contexts are likely to be deficient in all these respects – capacity, willingness and protection – and so accountability initiatives need to take account of these limitations, for example by emphasising safe spaces for interaction.

Moreover, civil society may be fragmented into a range of groups and interests, undermining the ability of groups and individuals to engage in collective action and creating a strong possibility that spaces for participation will reproduce existing patterns of exclusion. The lack of representativeness of civil society groups, especially those which emerge in response to external inducements, can be a concern in social accountability. ‘Community’ associations may be captured by local elites who do not represent their constituents’ needs or preferences (Mansuri and Rao, 2013; Fox, 2014; Grandvoinet et al., 2015). OECD (2010) notes that a focus on gender equality in fragile situations has only been addressed to a limited extent.

A lack of inclusiveness can affect these groups’ credibility and their own internal accountability (McNeil and Malena, 2010; Claasen and Alpín-Lardiés, 2010). Vervisch et al. (2013) provide a number of striking examples in post-conflict Burundi where elite groups were able to dominate community-based development programmes and, in some cases, used them to exploit vulnerable groups, particularly women. McGee and Kroeschell (2013) argue that there is a need to invest time upfront in understanding the context that marginalised actors operate in, including initial poverty mapping, actor mapping and power mapping. This contextual knowledge needs to be reflected in programmes to better develop the capabilities of the poor and marginalised, and provide elites and power holders with incentives to include poor people’s perspectives in their decision-making.

Many studies highlight the importance of coalitions, partnerships and multi-stakeholder alliances, both among civil society groups as well as across different types of

actors to help overcome these challenges (McNeil and Malena, 2010; Claasen and Alpín-Lardiés, 2010; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012; Gaventa and McGee, 2013). Schouten (2011) emphasises partnerships, including across socio-economic, sector, demographic, public-private and geographic divides. This is particularly crucial in FCAS where within-group ties rather than across-group dominate. Indeed, a key consideration is the ability to identify actors that can transcend identity lines and so build mobilisation across groups, rather than only within them (Grandvoinet et al., 2015). A thorough review of demand-side accountability actors in Somalia echoes these findings, noting that there are many accountability actors across formal and informal, modern and traditional, sectoral and religious divides, and with varying degrees of identity-based focus (The IDL Group, 2013: C6:13-15).

4.2. Duty-bearers

Regarding duty-bearers, accountability depends on the capacity of the state and service providers to respond to demands (Malena et al., 2004; Joshi, 2013). This capacity is related to a set of ‘generic’ state capacities to provide the constituent elements of accountability: standards, assessment, answerability and sanctions.

State capacities in underdeveloped and fragile states are hampered by limited resources, as well as mismanaged civil services, low wages, political patronage, and corruption (Holland, 2009). States may also lack specific institutions of supply side accountability, such as, among others, adequate systems for audit and expenditure tracking, weak judiciaries and the lack of prosecutorial powers, that all create challenges for formal accountability (Schouten, 2011; Grandvoinet et al., 2015; Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015). Where they exist, such mechanisms may be dysfunctional or subverted.

Similar to civil society, neither the state, nor other groups of duty-bearers constitute homogenous entities. Even unwilling states will have pro-reform departments, elements or individuals. Programmes can adopt various strategies to try and build on or strengthen these opportunities, or consider the roles of informal duty-bearers in accountability systems alongside or in place of the formal state. These strategies might also focus on interfaces and interlocutors, discussed next.

4.3. State-society interfaces, interlocutors, and champions

A number of studies emphasise the role that intermediaries or interlocutors like the media and civil society organisations can play in translating and communicating information, and in activating accountability relationships among these actors (Ringold, 2012; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Tembo, 2013; Tembo and Chapman, 2014; Grandvoinet et al., 2015). Related to effective

interlocution and in support of the role of champions and rights-holders in overcoming barriers is evidence emphasising the use of political analysis and timing to mobilise or build coalitions around key moments or entry points (Malena, 2009: 7).

These approaches may positively influence the willingness of political leaders to commit to actions over time (political will) and the presence of allies within the state (champions). However, internal champions can be constrained by institutional pressures themselves (Fox and Brown, 1998; McNeil and Malena, 2010; Claasen and Alpin-Lardiés, 2010; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Grandvoinet et al., 2015). As noted previously, attempts by communities to involve themselves in decision-making and improve accountability are unlikely to be successful without some local political support for their involvement, and the possibilities of sanctions imposed by higher levels of government (Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015).

The ability of women and minority groups to demand accountability is also limited by a range of institutional barriers. Generally, excluded people are required to seek redress through intermediaries that are dominated by those with power. These tend to be men and they also tend to be from non-marginalised groups. Research shows that women in particular face a double hurdle to power, with obstacles to obtaining access to decision-makers and processes, but also in influencing them (O'Neill and Domingo, 2016). The individuals and institutions that hold power also frequently reinforce the existing systems of power relations and are less supportive of empowerment programmes or measures that reduce social discrimination (OECD, 2007).

Accordingly, there is widespread agreement in the literature that understanding power relationships at the local and national level are crucial to working with government officials (Burge, 2010). The importance of collective action, building alliances and working in politically and socially strategic ways (such as framing issues to neutralise opposition and ideas) to overcome barriers is borne out in the evidence. This evidence emphasises working with whole communities including men and boys, and supporting collective action for women and excluded groups (Evans and Nambiar, 2013; O'Neill and Domingo, 2016). However, where the interest of male 'champions' is mainly an instrumental means to other goals such as improving international reputation or marginalising religious or traditional elites, there is a higher risk of rhetorical commitments with no actual change (O'Neill and Domingo, 2016). Where women challenge existing norms they face the danger of backlash and adverse scrutiny, which is a major risk from the brokering role played by some accountability programmes (George, 2003, Domingo et al., 2015; O'Neill and Domingo, 2016).

In more extreme circumstances, where the state is predatory, state actors respond to incentives that run counter to support for accountability. Citizens' experience of the state as a source of conflict, predation or oppression mean that they lack trust in existing institutions and are unwilling to engage with them, even if there are attempts to involve them in improving accountability. These basic issues of trust can be a major barrier to improve accountability (Gigler et al., 2014; Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015). For example, a study of accountability programmes in the Middle East and North Africa highlight that citizens' lack of trust in public institutions and ruling elites leaves them feeling powerless and that formal institutions are incapable of reforms or tangible improvements (Brixi et al., 2015). Their response is to disengage from formal accountability and redress processes, or use alternative channels such as patron-client ties or direct action. These strategies may allow individuals or groups faster access to redress or resources than would be the case through formal channels. However, these avenues also have a corrosive effect by undermining formal mechanisms for accountability and could even worsen state-citizen relationships.

McGee and Kroessschell (2013) take this further, arguing that a lack of state legitimacy – arguably a principal defining feature of a fragile state – is a major challenge to building accountability. However, accountability processes are dynamic and so repeated interactions may lead to learning on both sides, and foster improvements in state-society relations that will have a positive impact on future accountability attempts (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015; Gaventa and Barrett, 2010). Gaventa and McGee (2013) also note the potential for progressive incremental effects from accountability programmes across a policy cycle, with citizens who were engaged in formulating policies being more likely to engage in monitoring them. These findings suggest the possibilities for accountability initiatives that are contextually informed, gradual, and iterative.

4.4. Role of international actors

Some scholars question altogether the assumption that the development of inclusionary politics and accountability can be easily or positively influenced by external actors, as they are largely endogenous processes. Eubank (2012) draws parallels between state formation in early modern Europe and in Somaliland. He argues that accountable states emerge from negotiations between autocratic governments – who need to gather tax revenues – and citizens, who are willing to consent to taxation only in exchange for greater accountability. Somaliland's ineligibility for foreign assistance has meant that it depends heavily on tax revenues and so citizens outside government have a degree of leverage that allows them to push for greater accountability. However, since much of this tax base is trade-related, any positive effects may

still be attenuated. A related but distinct line of argument around the endogeneity of accountability processes claims that because Somaliland was not pressured into accepting externally promoted political institutions, it was able to develop arrangements that suited its circumstances through bargaining among economic and political elites, increasing the functionality of the institutions that emerged (Phillips, 2013).

International organisations can be an important ally for women and excluded groups. However, in some countries, women need to distance themselves from foreign agencies or risk their agenda being discredited or criticised for being driven by external influences (O'Neill and Domingo, 2016). Moreover, while donors may be aware that informal institutions and power relations matter, they are often not well placed to engage with them (Sharma, 2009).

Aid agencies working in fragile states face a particular challenge in how to build systems that are appropriate, sustainable and legitimate. DFID (2010) notes that a failure to align with country policies and systems can undermine attempts at state-building or result in a situation where partner countries are more focused on accountability to donors than they are to their own citizens. However, the document notes that in practice, alignment with country policy and systems is often more nominal than real – even where governments have articulated their goals and objectives. While alignment with national policies and systems should be priority, governments are not always able to provide a clear lead, particularly in conflict-affected states. Therefore, aligning with local priorities using a different range of approaches may be necessary and appropriate. A related point is highlighted by McGee and Kroeschell (2013) and U4 (2011), in that there are considerable political sensitivities surrounding attempts to promote accountability in sovereign states – particularly when national or local actors may be hostile to external actors.

These observations are reflected in the experience of the New Deal for Fragile States, an initiative of the G7+ group of fragile states together with the International Dialogue

Box 4: Key points and implications for IAAAP

Fragility presents particular challenges for the capacity and role of duty-bearers, rights-holders, and the relationships between them. The state and other duty-bearers can lack capacities to provide the underpinnings of accountability such as sanctions and standards, while rights-holders and civil society may be fragmented or operating in an exclusionary landscape. The accountability of international actors towards citizens in fragile states is, therefore, very difficult to develop.

In such contexts, initiatives that use interlocutors, create safe spaces for interaction, and respond to potential champions or other opportunities may be more effective. Building on these efforts in contextually informed, gradual and iterative ways, may also be conducive to positive change.

on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding agreed at Busan in 2011. The New Deal proposes various mechanisms to promote mutual accountability between donors and fragile states. In practice, while the New Deal has led to important advances in donor coordination (for example, through the use of pooled funds) and visibility for support to fragile states, there has been less impact on aligning assistance with peace and state-building priorities and country ownership. Indeed, participatory identification of priorities has been hampered by the very fragility the New Deal seeks to address (Hingorani 2015b). Assessments of the Somalia Compact, which is the framework for New Deal implementation, observe that it remains to be seen if the increased visibility and donor rhetoric around coordination and national ownership generated by the Compact can overcome significant tensions. These tensions include those between conflicting Somali and donor priorities, linear vs. non-linear political processes and time horizons, and the lack of a durable political settlement over, for example, the federal nature of Somalia (Hearn and Zimmerman, 2014).

5. Learning from accountability programmes in fragile and conflict-affected contexts

The challenges outlined in Section 4 have engendered two broad responses in programming to promote accountability in fragile settings.⁵ On the one hand, emphasis can be placed on more integrated and strategic interventions that move away from supply or demand side initiatives (Fox, 2014); on the other, emphasis is given to rebuilding trust through social accountability in specific public service provision or limited to supporting the enabling environment for information (Devarajan and Khemani, 2016; World Bank, 2011).⁶ These approaches are not mutually exclusive, and programming with both emphases may be found in fragile settings.

5.1. Sequencing institutional reforms in fragile and conflict-affected contexts

The approaches echo differences in underlying perspectives on when, whether and how to support institutional reforms in FCAS (Herbert, 2014). One line of argument suggests that political liberalisation can create the conditions for peace by reducing grievances and allowing groups a chance to share power. However, the counterargument is that these processes can create flashpoints and can even increase the likelihood of violence. An evidence review by DFID (2011) observes that some researchers view democratic institutions and citizen engagement in FCAS as a secondary consideration that should not distract from the establishment of a political settlement and a durable central state. While challenging the general validity of ‘democratic sequentialism’, Carothers (2007) admits that a state needs minimal functional capacity and a monopoly

of force before being able to pursue pluralistic political development. In reality, these conditions are unusual in many fragile settings and, at least in South Central Somalia, are absent (The IDL Group, 2013).

On the other hand, the DFID review also cites evidence that agreements by elites at a national level may be fragile unless they are reflected at the local level and include a wide range of groups. Accountability mechanisms may therefore contribute to state-building under some circumstances – for example, in reducing the pool of excluded actors that alternative elites can mobilise to work against the settlement.

There may, therefore, be trade-offs between stability and drives to create greater accountability. Schouten (2011) similarly notes the tensions between a short-term need to maintain stability and the long-term investment required for building accountability and trust. In addition, there are potentially destabilising effects of aid and foreign involvement that can drive conflict by becoming the object of competition or perceived exclusion.

This discourse, implicitly or explicitly, may have shaped international action on accountability in Somalia. While there has been considerable discussion of corruption issues among the international community, particularly since 2010, this attention has not been accompanied by sustained and integrated accountability programming. The IAAAP Inception Report argues ‘the DFID accountability programme represents the greatest investment to date in advancing an accountability agenda’.⁷

Donors and development agencies must therefore assess the trade-offs around whether citizen engagement is the

5. The authors acknowledge unpublished work by Duncan Green on Theories of Change in accountability programming.

6. It is notable that both these perspectives are represented here by work from individuals or initiatives out of the World Bank. This illustrates the diversity of positions on this type of programming even within organisations.

7. IAAAP Inception Report, July 2015: 3.2.1.2.

best mechanism through which to improve service delivery or increase trust in the state. One review of accountability programmes suggests using an opportunistic and iterative approach, responding to windows of opportunity when they arise and operating on a small scale, proceeding gradually and adapting as programme staff learn from their interaction with the environment (Grandvoinet et al., 2015).

5.2. Social accountability approaches

A range of social accountability approaches have been implemented in FCAS, but as in studies of more stable contexts, the evidence on their efficacy varies considerably (Gaventa and Barrett, 2010; Gaventa and McGee, 2013; Mansuri and Rao, 2013). Social accountability programming in fragile states is dominated by community-driven development/reconstruction (CDD/R) programmes, accountability for services through community management committees (CMCs), and participatory needs assessment and planning. There are case studies of participatory performance monitoring (PPM) and public expenditure tracking (PET) projects, but less prevalence of more upstream formal participatory budgeting and public hearings, or downstream social audit processes being applied in FCAS contexts.

Evidence that social accountability improves the quality and accessibility of basic services in fragile contexts exists but is limited. It is particularly weak in terms of improvements for women and marginalised groups (Lynch et al., 2013; Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability [DRCCPA], 2011). Citizen engagement through CDD programmes or community management organisations can improve infrastructure and service quality, *provided* there are efforts to build community-level management organisation and processes, and clear mechanisms for downward accountability to the wider community. Improvements in service provision have been found from the GoBifo programme in Sierra Leone (Casey et al., 2013), the *Faisons Ensemble* (Working Together) project in Guinea (Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg, 2015); mutual coordination committees in Yemen (Oxfam, 2013) and community-driven reconstruction (CDR) mechanisms in Liberia (Fearon et al., 2011). However, more mixed results were found from the National Solidarity Programmes in Afghanistan (Beath et al., 2013) and no impact on services was found for the Tuungane programme in the DRC (Humphreys et al., 2012). Other studies suggest poor or other marginalised groups may find it even harder to access services in conflict-affected areas (Devarajan et al., 2011).

On the other hand, if not properly managed to ensure widespread participation, CDD/CDR projects may also contribute to group-based grievances (Brinkerhoff et al., 2012; Gordon, 2011). While CDD/CDR projects may have localised impacts on cohesion, this may not necessarily

affect the levels where conflict takes place (Fearon et al., 2011). Evidence that improvements in social cohesion endure beyond the programme cycle, if they are achieved at all, is also ambiguous (Fearon, 2009, 2011, Casey et al., 2011).

Vervisch examines three CDD interventions in post-conflict Burundi, categorising the local projects as private, club, common pool or public goods, and as strategic or non-strategic. Private goods are understood as ‘Rival and excludable ... Public goods are non-rival and non-excludable; for example, individual use of a rural road does not diminish its availability to others and it is difficult to deny access. In between we find common pool (rival but non-excludable, e.g. irrigation water) and club goods (non-rival but excludable, e.g. mill facilities)’ (Vervisch, 2013: 163). Strategic assets support individuals to cope with short-term needs, stress and shock situations, while non-strategic assets provide opportunities for long-term livelihoods. Projects that were private and strategic (e.g. cash for work, seed credits) had a negative impact on community relationships. Projects that were public and non-strategic (e.g. building and improving rural roads) had a positive impact on community relations. While projects that were private, but non-strategic (e.g. vegetable seeds) appear to have had no impacts. Brinkerhoff and Wetterberg (2015) find the *Faisons Ensemble* (Working Together) project in Guinea not only established some formal transparency mechanisms (e.g. posted budget and service fees, council meetings opened to the public) but also improved commune level governance (e.g. internal audits and formal procurement processes) and improved tax collection and contributions to health centres and school committees.

Wild et al. (2014) examined CARE’s community score card programme in four contexts with varying state capacity and coherence. Where states had lower capacity and were more fragmented, impacts were generally focused on problem solving at the local level, particularly community involvement in construction and maintenance. However, they did not alter working practices or institutionalise solutions as observed in the high-capacity states, and little evidence was found of changes in power relations as a result of the programmes.

Social accountability approaches may have beneficial outcomes on social cohesion and inclusion in post-conflict scenarios through more participatory project design, better targeting of benefits, and empowerment (Gordon, 2011; Avdeenko and Gilligan, 2014). There is a growing body of evidence covering countries such as Sierra Leone, Burundi and Nepal that communities exposed to violence and civil war may value social cohesion and community action, potentially making CDD/CDR a useful approach (Larizza and Glynn, 2011; Voors et al., 2010; Gilligan et al., 2011). While in some cases these programmes have resulted in improvements in attitudes toward women and their social worth, there is a lack of evidence as to their long-term

impact on women's empowerment and there exists a strong caveat that improvements in one sphere may not result in empowerment in others (DFID, 2011).

Looking across 24 programme case studies from what were classified as 'Tier Three democracies', some of which are also fragile states⁸, Gaventa and Barrett (2010) found evidence of both positive and negative outcomes, even within the same cases. There were some positive development outcomes – such as those linked to health, water, sanitation and education – and more accountable institutions. Negative outcomes included a range of political, economic or social reprisals, whether from the state or other actors.

The proportion of positive outcomes was highest in the most democratic and least democratic tiers (at around 85% compared to the overall average of 75%). This suggests that accountability programmes in fragile states do not necessarily have less impact than in other contexts. However, the strategies used vary significantly across the tiers. Programmes in the least democratic category were more likely to use engagement through local associations – such as grassroots community organisations or neighbourhood groups (66% compared to the average of 29%) – than to engage with social movements and campaigns or formal participatory spaces. The analysis also found that the local association approach was more effective in producing positive outcomes than other forms of engagement in fragile settings, and generally more effective in these settings than in less fragile contexts.

This evidence echoes Schouten's (2011: 1) conclusion that the importance of non-state actors in fragile settings can present opportunities as well as challenges. For example, the review of accountability entry points in Somalia performed in 2013 identified clan structures as potentially playing 'both a positive and negative role in relation to accountability' (The IDL Group, 2013: C6:5).

Within and Without the State is an Oxfam programme funded by DFID from 2011-2014. The programme piloted approaches to working with civil society that emphasised enabling constructive engagement with duty-bearers through encouraging mutual responsibilities in South Sudan, Afghanistan, Yemen and the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel (Oxfam, 2013). It generated a range of positive proximate outcomes, including increased funding for particular services, successful lobbying of central government on NGO bills, improved engagement and mobilisation between community and authorities; peace hearings; and promised actions on Violence Against Women.

Across the literature on accountability programming in fragile settings, two key lessons emerge for these types of contexts. First, as discussed in Section 3, civic mobilisation and pressure may be insufficient to bring about change

where there are systemic political and institutional factors that mean the state cannot respond to the demands of their citizens. Therefore, **accountability programmes must engage with government actors interested in promoting change and must work across state-civil society boundaries.**

McGee and Kroeschell (2012) focus particularly on the need to facilitate collaboration between rights-holders and duty-bearers, rather than adopting a confrontational approach – particularly where there is a past history of violence and confrontation. They argue for the establishment of socially inclusive spaces that can allow government-citizen interaction to discuss the performance of service providers, but also that of the community and community leaders. Supportive actions include promoting an information ecosystem that allows credible, accurate and neutral information to be accessed by all actors (e.g. through information sharing in public hearings, local governance assessments); civic education to improve public understanding of the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders; and joint state-society initiatives aimed at building skills, monitoring and policy-building (Schouten, 2011; McGee and Kroeschell, 2012; Grandvoinet et al., 2015). Improving civil society capacity should, therefore, focus not only on the ability of civil society to mobilise and advocate, but also its capacity to engage effectively and constructively with the state, as exemplified in the well-regarded State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI) in Nigeria (See Box 5, p23).

Opportunities for reforms focused on improving inclusive accountability can include creating platforms, adopting participatory approaches, or building awareness of rights. However, these approaches do not automatically translate to more inclusion or in women automatically engaging in accountability processes (George, 2003). There is broad agreement in the grey literature that opening up spaces to women and marginalised groups will not by default lead to participation, and that strategies need to be developed to better support these groups: 'Encouraging participation in the absence of empowerment will not lead to effective voice for the most marginalised' (Cornwall cited in O'Neill et al., 2007).

The second key lesson is the **need to consider informal power relations and power holders**, where the formal state is weak and non-state actors have considerable power and legitimacy. This involves understanding the context and world view of a range of actors, taking a flexible approach to engagement, and working to gain their trust and 'buy-in'. Non-state power holders, such as traditional and religious leaders, may also be vital to making accountability processes credible. An important implication of this lesson is that in fragile settings, as in others, important relationships often take place at a local level.

8. The 24 case studies came from eight countries: Angola, Bangladesh, the Gambia, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, Turkey and Zimbabwe.

There are challenges to working with non-state actors. There is a need to clearly understand who they are, their interests, the nature and depth of their popular support, and the extent to which engaging with them may entrench existing structures for discrimination or exclusion. Looking at security and justice programming, Domingo and Denney (2012) argue that there is need for clarity of purpose as to what the programme is trying to achieve: is it seeking to reform the attitudes of non-state actors; to tap into non-state mechanisms that are more effective; or to circumvent state institutions that are ineffective or illegitimate?

These challenges and trade-offs are particularly pertinent in relation to gender and social inclusion. A review of evaluations of accountability programmes found that working with groups such as social movements, trade unions and religious organisations tended to lead to better outcomes in engaging and empowering marginalised groups. Moreover, if these groups were not explicitly targeted then initiatives did not result in positive changes for the most marginalised (Rocha Menocal and Sharma, 2009). The literature also suggests that working with civil

Box 5: Bridging the state society divide: the SAVI programme in Nigeria

The DFID State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI) programme in Nigeria provides an example of how to improve accountability by working with existing systems and actors across the ‘supply-demand’ divide. The programme itself provides low-profile support to state-level organisations and partnerships, building their capacity to engage constructively with government.

SAVI drew key lessons from earlier experiences in attempting to improve accountability in Nigeria. SAVI moved away from providing civil society organisations with grants to focus on particular issues, which became a strategy that locked them into fixed and adversarial positions. Instead, the programme focused on creating networks and providing targeted mentoring across state and non-state bodies to promote action on locally salient, but politically tractable issues e.g. education, health and state budgeting. ‘Taking the money off the table’ helped to draw out existing organisations and actors with a genuine interest in resolving issues and helped to create a less adversarial approach that broke down mistrust and lowered the risks of engagement for politicians.

SAVI’s success is also partly rooted in the fact that its state-level staff were all Nigerian and deeply embedded in their state context. While the approach to evaluation and reporting taken by DFID allowed them considerable leverage in adapting their approaches and strategy over time.

Source: Booth and Chambers, 2014

society organisations (CSOs) does not necessarily imply a more gender sensitive and inclusive approach, with women also being systematically underrepresented in most CSOs (Jones and Pellini, 2009).

In the case of GESI, there is an additional tension regarding whether to work with existing institutions (whether state or non-state, formal or informal) or to create new ones. For example, the Afghanistan National Solidarity Programme introduced new institutions meant to support community participation and, specifically, women’s empowerment. It took the risk of directly challenging traditional cultural norms and local power-holders, and faced criticism for not working with customary village-level organisations (Unsworth, 2010). The outcomes of this approach were varied in their impact on participation of women, and recent research suggests they tended to depend on the pre-existing patterns and quality of village governance (Pain and Sturge, 2015).

International and local NGOs may also be active non-state actors in fragile and conflict-affected settings. In the past, NGO scholars have critiqued (I)NGOs for their orientation towards upward and external accountability to donors, relative to internal and downward/outward accountability to their members and the communities they aim to benefit (Edwards and Hulme, 1996; Najam, 1996; Ebrahim, 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Kilby, 2006; O’Dwyer and Unerman, 2007; Knutsen and Brower, 2010; Brunt and McCourt, 2012). In Somalia, there is strong evidence that international actors are particularly viewed as responding to their own or home countries’ interests over those of communities in Somalia (The IDL Group, 2013: C11:1-2).

Box 6: Key points and implications for IAAAP

In fragile and conflict affected settings, accountability initiatives may be more feasible and effective when they are targeted at the local level, where they use collaborative rather than confrontational approaches, where they deal with public goods rather than private goods and strategic assets that generate rents, and where they help people address short term needs. Initiatives must also consider informal power relations and the role of non-state actors.

Changes are more likely to be evident for projects working at the local level, that involve non-state duty-bearers – particularly in Somalia – and when dealing with public rather than private goods. It is important to understand if projects are aiming to change attitudes and behaviours of formal or informal duty-bearers, or identify non-state alternatives as a substitution for ineffective or illegitimate state institutions to measure progress. Are there linkages between formal and informal duty-bearers that are changing, or between local and national governance? Are informal duty-bearers engaged in ways that may reduce social exclusion?

6. The role of evidence in shaping policy and programmes

Emerging approaches to development, governance, and accountability programming give an important place to the role of evidence in influencing both policy and shaping programming. The IAAAP aims to support the generation and use of such evidence. It is therefore important to examine what is known about the ways evidence could and

does operate, particularly under fragile conditions. We use here a broad definition of evidence, encompassing research, process and practice knowledge (i.e. knowledge that is from experience of practice in a particular field), and citizen knowledge (i.e. evidence derived from people, both

Table 1. Key barriers identified in secondary reviews

Barriers
Limited channels exist for policy makers and researchers to interact; there is a ‘gulf’ between researchers and decision makers (Orton et al. 2011); there are problems with engagement, collaboration or communication between stakeholders or there is inadequate dissemination (Clar et al. 2011)
Research is not relevant for decision making, clear, presented in an appropriate format, or reliable. (Oliver, Innvar, et al. 2014; Orton et al. 2011)
Research is not available or accessible to decision makers. (Oliver, Innvar, et al. 2014)
Organisational systems and support structures do not encourage use of research evidence in decision making (Newman 2014; Oliver, Innvar, et al. 2014)
Lack of time and opportunity to use research (this is also an organisational factor). (Oliver, Innvar, et al. 2014; Newman 2014)
Low capacity to understand and use research evidence. Evidence suggests that although capacity gaps may be more extreme in low-income contexts they exist in high income contexts too. (Newman 2014; Orton et al. 2011; Oliver, Innvar, et al. 2014)
Lack of resources , funding and investment in EIPM processes (Clar et al. 2011)
High staff turnover undermines systematic use of evidence (Clar et al. 2011; Liverani et al. 2013)
Institutional barriers to use of research evidence, e.g. relating to the nature of political systems and the political nature of specific issues (Newman 2014; Liverani et al. 2013)

Source: Punton, 2016, p38-39

Table 2: Key enablers identified in secondary reviews

Barriers
Trust, interaction and collaboration between researchers and policy-makers. (Clar et al., 2011; Oliver et al., 2014; Orton et al., 2011). Research is presented clearly and presented through tailored dissemination efforts (Newman, 2014). Interactive approaches and partnerships, knowledge brokering and exchange (Liverani et al., 2013).
Research is clear, relevant for decision-making and reliable (Oliver, Innvar, et al., 2014; Wallace et al., 2012)
Research is available and accessible to decision-makers. (Oliver, Innvar, et al., 2014)
Organisational processes and systems encourage or enforce decision-makers to consider and apply evidence. (Newman, 2014; Orton et al., 2011)
Charismatic leadership , high-level or local champions, commitment and support (Clar et al., 2011)

Source: Punton, 2016, p38-39

as individuals and in collective form) (Broadbent, 2012; Jones, 2009 and 2011).

While evidence has the potential to inform practice and policy-making, the ideal of evidence-based policy is more often absent than present. Evidence is one of many influences on policy-making (Jones, 2009; Langer et al., 2016; Young, 2005). Moreover, evidence itself is not neutral. Producing evidence is a political process from start to finish, and the political context significantly shapes the form that policy linked to research will take (Young, 2005; Jones et al., 2013). As is clear from the previous sections, evidence rarely gives a single answer, particularly when analysing context-dependent and complex interactions. In such cases, evidence may exist in large volumes and even if it does not, there are often conflicting insights, leaving substantial room for other factors to shape conclusions at the research to policy interface (du Toit, 2012). In developing countries, it has been observed that the relationship between evidence, policy and practice is particularly shaped by: highly political contexts, problems of research supply, external interference, and the strengths or weaknesses of civil society as a key player (Young, 2005).

6.1. Barriers and enablers to evidence influencing policy and programmes

A large body of literature seeks to identify factors that discourage or support the use of evidence. Some of the most important factors that were found in reviews of a large number of studies are listed in Table 1 and 2.

There is also a growing awareness in the development field of the role of politics and other contextual factors, non-rational cognitive processes and mental models such as categories, concepts, identities, prototypes, stereotypes, causal narratives, and worldviews (World Bank, 2015: 62). All these different factors can play a role in influencing how evidence is interpreted and used.

Court and Young (2003) analysed 50 case studies (including 10 from sub-Saharan Africa) on when, why and how research feeds into development policy. They concluded that while evidence quality and links between researchers and policy-makers were clearly important, they were not the most important factors. In fact, issues of political context such as the extent of demand by policy-makers and the degree of political contestation and openness played a more dominant part in shaping the role of research and evidence in the policy process (Court and Young, 2003). In a similar vein, a study looking at barriers to uptake of research findings on governance and public services in sub-Saharan Africa emphasised the role that

Table 3: Political, psychological, cultural and institutions constraining factors on the use of evidence

Level	Key findings
Individual	Evidence may be ignored or side-lined if it counters past experience – particularly if an issue is hotly debated. Beliefs about what counts as ‘good’ evidence can mean that useful knowledge is ignored or discounted. Where evidence is valued, this can encourage its use to confer legitimacy on a decision. Certain evidence findings may be viewed as ‘unacceptable’ in particular contexts and so ignored.
Interpersonal	Evidence use is influenced by the type and nature of relationships between researchers and policy-makers. Evidence use can be influenced by the nature of relationships within government organisations.
Organisational	If evidence is promoted or valued within an organisation, this can increase individual motivation to use evidence. Lack of time to access and appraise research partly reflects an organisation’s ‘culture’ of evidence use. Hierarchical management of information, organisational silos and poor organisational memory can limit access to research and evidence use.
Institutional	International donors may both promote and constrain the effective use of evidence in decision-making. Private sector actors can exert pressure which ‘blocks’ evidence-informed decisions. The media (and the general public) may act against the use of evidence. Civil society may play a number of different roles, including putting pressure on government to use evidence, building momentum behind ideas, and bringing together different forms of knowledge. CSOs can put pressure on government actors to acknowledge or release evidence. CSOs can help build momentum behind ideas CSOs can play a role in bringing together the different forms of knowledge, including citizen views. Trust appears to be an important consideration for CSO influence. The influence of CSOs on evidence use depends on their position and role in society
Political environment and external events	Change in the institutional environment – such as crises, regime changes, democratisation and external events – can create new opportunities for or new barriers to evidence being used. Levels of organisational and political decentralisation can affect use of evidence in decision-making. Levels of democracy and the role and power of national actors outside central government can affect the use of evidence.

Source: Adapted from Punton, 2016: 41-52.

incentives, ideologies and vested interests play in the policy process, constraining and preventing the use of research findings (Booth, 2011).

There are challenges in turning evidence on accountability and related issues into action in practice for women and marginalised groups. Studies have found, for example, that a developed academic research community geared to supporting evidence based policy can contribute to raising awareness and creating evidence-based activism to advance women's rights (Domingo and McCullough, 2016). These links, however, depend on the ability and capacity of marginalised groups, including women, to access evidence and demand accountability.

The general lack of availability and low relevance of evidence on marginalised groups are contributing factors here. Data collection that includes these groups is challenging, and few accountability studies are validated or communicated in an accessible way to affected communities due to language issues, challenges of reaching remote areas, and dominance of other groups in research. Reaching marginalised groups and then tailoring evidence to enable engagement with excluded groups is therefore crucial to strengthening their ability to influence the agenda (O'Neil and Domingo, 2016).

There are a number of case studies that suggest better evidence of how differential empowerment and development outcomes can inform programmes to be more sensitive to gender and social inclusion. Applying a gender lens to political economy analysis (PEA) has a number of benefits, given that obstacles to reform are sometimes gendered, and that the informal politics of programming can also be highly gendered (Fritz et al., 2008, cited in Combaz, 2014). For example, the Gender and Social Exclusion Audit conducted in 2006 in Nepal found significant disparities across the country, and these findings informed the design of the Local Governance and Community Development Programme (Dom, 2012). The approach taken was to apply minimum conditions to local governance on social inclusion and the recruitment of 'social mobilisers' to engage the most marginalised groups, while also applying an inclusion lens to planning, budgeting and monitoring.

Similarly, a DFID-funded Christian Aid civil society programme fully integrated a social exclusion analysis, which led to a number of adaptations in programme design, including flexible assessment of exclusion issues (Christian Aid, 2016). Examples of gender-sensitive political economy analysis include an assessment of the mining sector in Malawi. Here, it was found that initiatives without explicit gender inclusion criteria had reinforced gender norms and compensation for relocation distributed to men. Moreover, an assessment of Family Support Units in Sierra Leone observed the direct and opportunity costs associated with accessing initiatives, which meant that women were reluctant to use them (Combaz, 2014).

The role of political and other aspects of context is echoed in other analyses. Broadbent (2012) analysed research use in policy debates in four African countries and concluded the following:

- that research was used in piecemeal ways and is often subject to political motivations, interests and incentives but that the 'cherry picking' of evidence is not limited only to government actors;
- international actors can have an influential role in funding, producing and making available relevant research;
- narrow 'western' research-based evidence doesn't take into sufficient account the other types of knowledge which often had a role in policy debate; and
- each of the studied policy debates had elements of resistance to 'foreign' influence, promoting the 'ownership' of policy issues.

There is growing primary and secondary evidence and conceptual studies on political, psychological, cultural and institutional factors that support or constrain the use of research. Synthesising this evidence, Punton (2016) describes factors that constrain the use of evidence at five levels: individual; interpersonal; organisational; institutional, and within the political environment and external events. The key findings are synthesised in Table 3.

6.2. How evidence gets used in fragile and conflict-affected contexts

There are a very limited number of studies that focus on how research is used in fragile and conflict-affected settings. However, it is clear that many of the common challenges, barriers and facilitating factors mentioned above may occur or be accentuated in fragile or post-conflict situations. Some of these will include the relative inability of state organisations to support robust policy processes or state-society interfaces; the importance of informal institutions and actors; and the relative weakness of civil society, a key domain in evidence to policy systems. In fragile environments, decision-makers are also required to respond to fast pace events and make decisions that are politically sensitive (Waldman, 2014).

Moreover, the lack of baseline data and access means that findings may be less robust than those available in more stable settings (Waldman, 2014). A study looking at evidence-informed policy in Nepal, Peru and Serbia concluded that specific barriers to consider included: a lack of baseline data and technical evidence; the highly emotional nature of governance issues related to human rights; and the role of economic interests in blocking reform processes particularly around corruption issues (Jones and Pellini, 2009). Bush and Duggan (2016) point out that even if data is available in violently divided societies, and not destroyed or controlled, deep contextual

differences make the comparisons between cases, within cases and across time and space challenging.

Research utilisation can be constrained by lack of clear processes or expertise to commission, approve and engage with research by government and social institutions (Kelly, 2016), but there is also a potentially high demand for research. A study of UK officials' perceptions on the use of state-building research in three fragile contexts concluded that research studies that 'provide answers to something that is dysfunctional' had the potential to be highly influential in a fragile context. Though it should be noted that research was often sought and used in a selective way and fitted afterwards to pre-existing programmes (Waldman, 2014).

The same study also found out that informal and formal networks between policy-makers and researchers is one of the essential facilitators of research use. In addition, utilising local research capacity could improve the legitimacy of research and enhance its use by national institutions (Waldman, 2014).

6.3. Strategies to assess and strengthen evidence use

These findings suggest that international support to the generation of evidence – as is central to the IAAAP – could play an important role in filling in the gaps in the evidence system in fragile contexts, such as Somalia. At the same time, the barriers to getting that evidence into use are significant, with many of the constraining factors identified at various levels being particularly prominent in fragile contexts.

IAAAP and other programmes seeking to encourage the role of evidence in policy decision-making will therefore need to examine closely the potential connections between evidence and policy for Somalia. Systematically analysing the evidence and policy interface can identify practical suggestions for promoting policy and practice change in a particular context (Jones et al., 2013). The Knowledge, Policy and Power (KPP) Framework (see Figure 3, p28) offers a way to characterise these relationships in a particular context (Jones et al., 2013).

Central to this framework is the understanding that in order to support the use of evidence in policy-making, strengthening the processes of policy-making is as important as improving the content of specific policy issues. Power relations mediate these processes and influence how policies are designed and implemented.

After analysing the processes and power relations in a particular context such as Somalia, programmes like IAAAP can identify which evidence-use and capacity-building strategies are best placed to promote the desired change. These strategies exist in large quantities and variations, and can be categorised in multiple ways. Langer, Tripney and Gough (2016) identify six ways in which interventions sought to enhance the use of evidence:

1. Awareness: Building awareness and positive attitudes towards evidence use.
2. Agree: Building mutual understanding and agreement on policy-relevant questions and the kind of evidence needed to answer them.
3. Access and Communication: Providing communication of, and access to, evidence.
4. Interact: Facilitating interactions between decision-makers and researchers.
5. Skills: Supporting decision-makers to develop skills accessing and making sense of evidence.
6. Structure and Process: Influencing decision-making structures and processes.

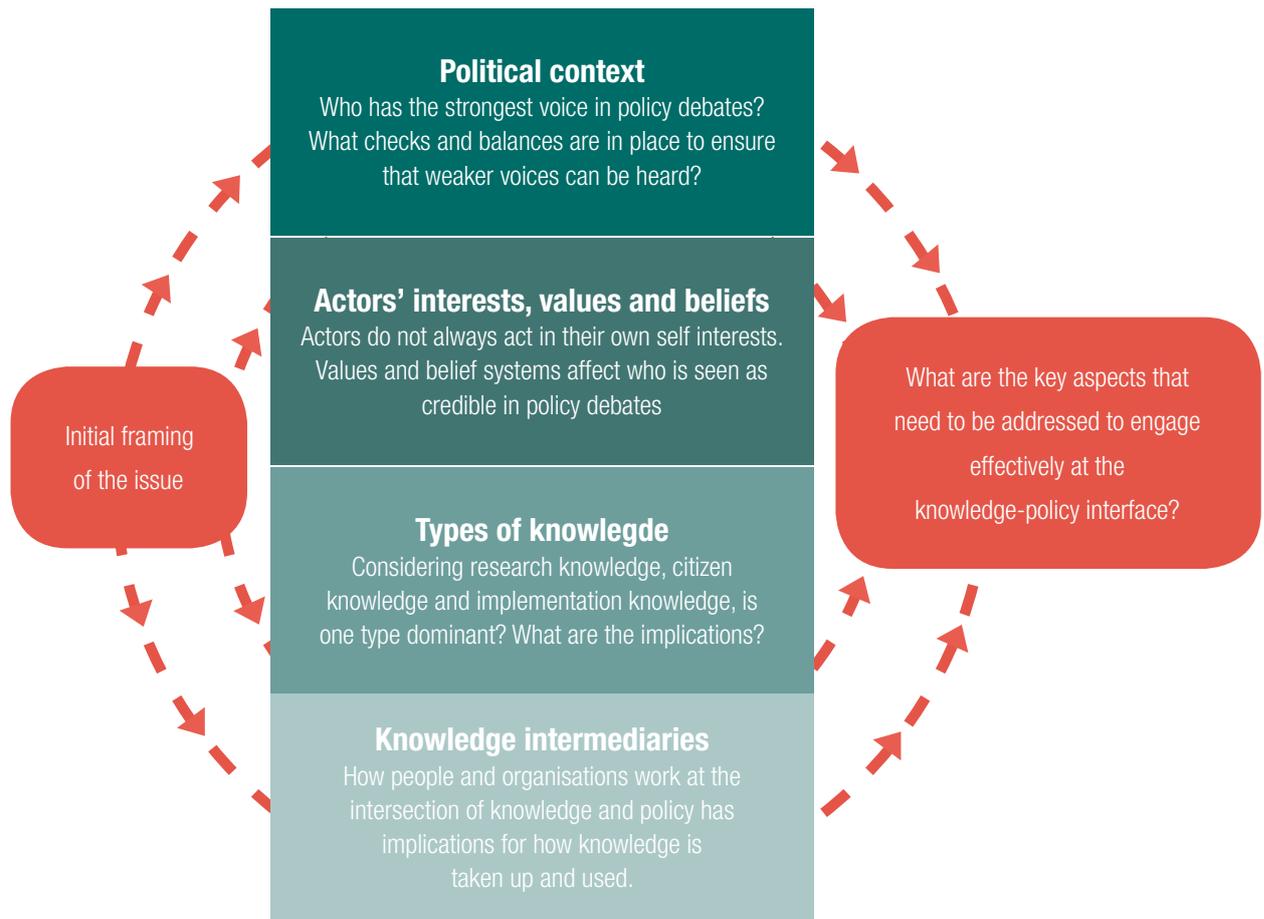
In practice, many programmes use a combination of these mechanisms (Breckon and Dodson, 2016), which helps to address the issues in a more comprehensive way.

Box 7: Key points and implications for IAAAP

The production and use of evidence are political processes. Findings may be more debatable in fragile settings due to a lack of data, access and interaction between evidence researchers and decision-makers. Evidence is more likely to be used when there is trust and collaboration between producers and users, when it is clear, relevant, accessible and supported by organisational systems that encourage use. Tailoring evidence to enable engagement of marginalised groups can help facilitate their inclusion.

Across the programme and within individual projects, it may be helpful to identify what individual, interpersonal, organisational, institutional and contextual factors facilitate and constrain the use of evidence. In the face of these factors, projects can use a variety of strategies to support the use of evidence: building awareness, agreement, expanding access and communication, facilitating interaction, developing skills, and/or shaping structures and processes.

Figure 3: The knowledge, policy and power (KPP) framework



Source: Jones et al, 2013

7. The role of learning, and flexible and adaptive approaches in development programming

The second – and it might be argued a principal – pathway to change specified in the IAAAP Theory of Change is that the evidence gained from analysis and programme activities is able to shape accountability interventions for success. The identification of information and evidence is not enough for this to take place – it must be accompanied by learning; knowledge needs to be used to change practice.

Calls for this kind of learning-based flexible and adaptive programming are not new; but, attention to these approaches has become increasingly widespread in recent years. For example, the Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation model, the thinking and working politically community of practice, and practitioners of ‘politically-savvy and locally-led’ initiatives (Pritchett et al., 2012; Andrews, 2013; Booth, 2015a; Booth and Unsworth, 2014). The IAAAP has been designed to reflect these ambitions, with its recognition of volatility, its emphasis on political economy analysis, its reliance on bottom-up sourcing of initiatives, and its intention of ‘continuously updating’ its ToC.⁹

Despite this enthusiasm, turning the ambition to work in this way into a reality presents a range of challenges. At the outset, it is important for programmes to recognise the variety of learning that needs to take place. For example, one may consider different ways in which a lack of knowledge may contribute to uncertainty and need to be addressed through learning. The first is contextual complexity, in which the conditions a programme is to operate are inadequately understood. The second is causal complexity, in which the pathways that the objectives desired might be reached are unknown. Finally, there is simple volatility, the likelihood that important contextual or causal conditions may change quickly. In response to these forms of uncertainty, one can distinguish between

flexibility (the ability to adjust to volatility – that is, unexpected changes in the situation) and adaptability (the ability to gather and respond to new information about the contextual or causal reality in which one is operating) (Booth, 2016; Valters et al., 2016: 7). Supporting accountability in Somalia is an activity that exhibits all of these forms of uncertainty.

In this respect, a programme such as IAAAP must operate in a way that enables multiple forms of learning and flexibility and/or adaptation. A recent discussion paper of learning in accountability programmes makes clear that distinct processes may be needed to ensure ‘contextual learning’ that is focused on the place and time. This works alongside ‘operational learning’, that informs understanding of the problem to be addressed and what may or may not work as well as ‘evaluative’ and ‘experiential learning’, that helps understand progress and can be used to refine programme theories of change and action (Brock et al., 2016).

Enabling such diverse forms of learning requires programmes to reflect learning objectives throughout actions, design, management and culture. Synthesising recent experience on trying to ‘put learning at the centre’ of programmes, an ODI report offers four levels – i) Analytical foundations; ii) Design for learning; iii) Adaptive management; and iv) Monitoring, evaluation and learning systems – across which programmes should consider learning (Valters et al., 2016). These areas can be used as a diagnostic guide to help identify how programmes can embed such an approach.

Analytical foundations include the problem-identification process that drives a programme, the way political economy analysis is implemented and used, the role played by the ToC, and the place of research in a programme. One element of these approaches is to try and build interventions and action around issues and problems that have local salience among key actors – finding areas

9. IAAAP Inception Report, July 2015: 4.1.

of work with potential ‘traction’. In fragile settings, such a process may be further complicated by the diversity of actors involved, and questions around ‘who’ or ‘how’ to determine areas of action that are ‘locally-led’ (Denney and Domingo, 2015: 9-10).

A second aspect underpinning projects – more or less universally – is some form of political economy analysis. In reviewing roughly seven years of experience in providing political economy analysis support and training, practitioners have raised some key lessons and concerns. These include addressing the ‘problem of uptake’ by which political economy analysis focused on context, is often difficult to tie to programming options and thus, may not enable the adaptability required for programmes to later respond to complexity. Such issues may be, in part, overcome by ensuring political economy analyses work is iterated, problem-focused, and integrated with both programme activities and structured use of theories of change as a learning tool (Booth et al., 2016).

In turn, this implies that theories of change, themselves need to be oriented towards learning, rather than static statements of assumptions. The strength of theories of change is that they make explicit important understandings and assumptions underpinning programmes. However, they can suffer from being driven from the top-down by programme leadership, remaining overly static, and leading programmes to seek evidence to validate the theory rather than ‘searching’ more broadly (Valters, 2015). In response, it is important to promote inclusive and dynamic uses of theories of change, including through regular reflection processes such as the ‘strategy testing’ described by the Asia Foundation in relation to some of its adaptive programmes (Ladner, 2015). Such processes may vary in their procedures, participants, and periodicity, but it is important that they happen regularly and in a manner that encourages open and critical reflection that typically can be lost during regular reporting processes.

Beyond these programmatic processes, there is a wider role for research to fill in the gaps in evidence. These should include action research that draws out the learning arising from ongoing programme activities. In this way, research is a key contributor to ‘double-loop’ learning that focuses on questioning deeper assumptions about why and what the programme intends to do (Valters et al., 2016: 8). Research activities may also be particularly important in programmes structured around multiple projects, where increasing knowledge, learning and impact may require attention and funding for knowledge production above and beyond individual projects (Buffardi and Hearn, 2015: 14).

Design for learning involves structuring programme activities consciously in order to elicit new evidence and knowledge, and then capturing that. This design level is related to ensuring that the different forms of uncertainty described in this report can be tackled. Broadly speaking, learning by doing happens in two ways.

One approach, which might be called parallel learning involves trying multiple approaches to tackle a problem and then documenting the different processes and outcomes. This process can be highly formalised so as to highlight different possible assumptions through conscious design, as in a model called ‘structured experiential learning’ by Pritchett and others (Pritchett et al., 2013). It can also involve looser portfolio type approaches through making a group of so-called ‘small bets’. Such an approach within a broader programme framework can be well suited to answer “what works for who under what conditions”.

By contrast, sequential learning can be understood as designing programmes to ensure a single process is documented, lessons captured, and adjustments made along the way. This kind of process is closely related to the previous discussion of the use of theories of change and action in dynamic and learning oriented ways – in the words of one recent report, using them as ‘compass not map’ (Valters, 2015: 11-12).

Adaptive management means that the programme and the workings of its key organisations are structured in a way that enables changes to happen in response to new information. Particular attention is needed on how contracting and decision-making are structured and managed to allow for – and more importantly, incentivise – learning and adaptation. Learning cannot be an add-on – it needs to be integrated through organisations. In reflecting on its experience, Mercy Corps expresses these needs across several domains. They point to organisational factors such as leadership and culture, the kinds of skills emphasised in recruitment processes, tools and processes for making decisions, and broader enabling factors such as the authorising environment (MercyCorps, n.d.).

In general, what is needed are means to allow for effective management while opening up space for much more process-based approaches through ‘structured flexibility’ (Brinkerhoff and Ingle 1989). In this view, planning and analytic tools and processes can be used, but should be oriented towards recognising uncertainty and responding to feedback.

Monitoring, evaluation and learning systems are powerful sources of incentives within programmes, and need to incentivise learning and adaptation. Due to their role in promoting internal accountability, results frameworks can often drag attempts at adaptive programming back to a focus on pre-determined inputs or outputs, if they are not carefully focused on outcomes while reflecting the mechanisms for learning described above. However, there need not be ‘incompatibility’ in these functions if accountability is oriented towards ‘strategic accountability’ that emphasises clarity over higher level objectives, and flexibility in the means to achieve them (Guijt, 2010). In addition, results frameworks can incorporate elements of accountability for learning itself by specifying learning objectives in place or alongside more traditional elements of results.

Box 8: Key points and implications for IAAAP

Programmes that involve multiple interventions require a clear elaboration of the underlying analytical foundations: how they relate to locally salient issues and integrate problem-focused political economy analyses with programme activities and theories of change. Sequential and/or parallel learning and adaptive management do not imply a lack of structure; rather, they require processes and incentives for documenting lessons and changing practices.

IAAAP can facilitate adaptation within and across projects by establishing processes and incentives for documenting new knowledge, linking it to accountability problems the initiative is trying to address and using it to update the PEAs and theory of change; and if management structures allow for adjustments to take place. IAAAP can advance their own and others' understanding about adaptive programming by asking and documenting: what has happened differently than expected? What has changed in the theory of change at project and programme levels? How does this information shape programme and project decision-making?

8. Conclusion

IAAAP aims to strengthen the evidence base to effectively inform the public, civil society, Somali administrations and development actors. In turn, this aims to influence institutions and governance processes in supporting Somali citizens in their efforts to hold government more accountable. By sharing experiences across and beyond the programme, IAAAP has the potential to make substantial contributions to the limited literature in fragile settings on what factors facilitate and constrain the use of evidence, and the establishment of more accountable relationships between rights-holders and formal and informal duty-bearers. Documenting learning and subsequent programme adaptations can help refine the understanding of the problems limiting accountability between Somali governance institutions and citizens, and identify and test new potential pathways of change. The variation in the programme across different geographic and political areas, groups of rights-holders and duty-bearers, types of evidence, and types of interventions offers a unique opportunity for various forms of learning.

This synthesis of existing research highlights the mixed record of donor-funded accountability initiatives, with particular challenges in fragile and conflict affected settings. These studies suggest that IAAAP is more likely to see change in more conducive contexts that uphold basic political and civil rights (i.e. more likely in Somaliland and Puntland than in Somalia, and in particular jurisdictions within these regions more than others); where accountability relationships between duty-bearers and rights-holders are already established (i.e. elected officials and citizens); when projects include

substantial involvement of duty-bearers (both informal and formal) and not simply rights-holders; when interlocutors or intermediation are used effectively; at a more local level; when they use collaborative rather than confrontational approaches; and when dealing with public goods rather than private goods and strategic assets.

Existing research on the use of evidence to inform policy suggests that IAAAP is more likely to see change when: there is trust and interaction between knowledge producers and users; evidence is clear, relevant, accessible and supported by organisational systems that encourage use; and when it is tailored to and conducted with marginalised groups. Finally, adaptive programming is more feasible when: there are processes and incentives for documenting new knowledge, linking it to core accountability problems the initiative is trying to address and using it to update PEA and the IAAAP ToC; and if management structures allow for adjustments to take place.

These factors identify processes and indicators that accountability programmes like IAAAP can incorporate into its management and monitoring and evaluation systems. They can also help to temper expectations about the extent and types of changes that can be reasonably expected in different settings. That said, given the substantial variability of previous experiences, and the hypothesis-driven, experimental nature of IAAAP, these factors represent propositions to be further tested during the programme. These results can in turn help to shape adaptation of programmes like IAAAP, and more broadly contribute to the limited literature on evidence and accountability in fragile settings.

References

- Alexander, L., Alm, N., Kim, S., Lara, S., Rebegea, C. and Rojas, I. (2013) 'Literature Review of Rule of Law and Governance Interventions'. Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
- Andrews, M. (2013) *The Limits of Institutional Reform in Development – Changing Rules for Realistic Solutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Asian Development Bank (2007) *Supporting Community-Driven Development in Developing Member Countries*. Technical Assistance Report.
- Avdeenko, A. and Gilligan, M. J. (2014) 'International Interventions to Build Social Capital: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Sudan'. Policy Research Working Paper 6772. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Available: http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/28918/Gilligan_Paper.pdf.
- Beath, A., Christia, F. and Enikolopov, R. (2013) 'Afghanistan's National Solidarity Programme'. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Available: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2013/09/19/000356161_20130919142509/Rendered/PDF/811070WP0P11600Box0379828B00PUBLIC0.pdf.
- Blair, H. (2011). 'Gaining State Support for Social Accountability' in Odugbemi, S. and Lee, T. (eds.) *Accountability through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Boege, V., Brown, A., Clements, K. and Nolan, A. (2008) 'On Hybrid Political Orders and Emerging States: State Formation in the Context of "Fragility"'. Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management.
- Booth, David (2015a) 'Thinking and Working Politically'. Professional Development Reading Pack. Birmingham: GSDRC.
- . (2015b) 'What next for Political Settlements Theory and African Development?' Conference Paper for Comment, African Studies Association 19-21 Nov 2015, San Diego, CA
- . (2016) *Politically Smart Support to Economic Development - DFID Experiences*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Booth, D. and Chambers, V. (2014) 'The SAVI Programme in Nigeria'. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9201.pdf>.
- Booth, D. and Unsworth, S. (2014) *Politically Smart, Locally Led Development*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Booth, D., Harris, D. and Wild, L. (2016) *From Political Economy Analysis to Doing Development Differently: A Learning Experience*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10205.pdf>.
- Bovens, M. (2007) 'Analysing and Assessing Accountability: A Conceptual framework1'. *European Law Journal* 13 (4): 447–468.
- Breckon, J. and Dodson, J. (2016) 'Using evidence: What works? A discussion paper'. London: Alliance for Useful Evidence.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2001) 'Taking Account of Accountability: A Conceptual Overview and Strategic Options'. Draft Report, US Agency for International Development, Center for Democracy and Governance. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Derrick_Brinkerhoff2/publication/255626993_Taking_Account_of_Accountability_A_Conceptual_Overview_and_Strategic_Options/links/540dff3d0cf2df04e756c6d6.pdf.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W., Wetterberge, A. and Stephen, D. (2012) 'Service delivery and legitimacy in fragile and conflict affected states: evidence from water services in Iraq'. *Public Management Review* 14 (2): 274-295.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W. and Wetterberg, A. (2015) 'Gauging the Effects of Social Accountability on Services, Governance, and Citizen Empowerment'. *Public Administration Review* 76 (2): 274–86.
- Brixi, H., Lust, E. and Woolcock, M. (2015) *Trust, Voice, and Incentives: Learning from Local Success Stories in Service Delivery in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Available: <https://www.openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/21607>.
- Broadbent, E. (2012) *Politics of research-based evidence in African policy debates: four case studies*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <https://www.odi.org/publications/8757-research-evidence-policy-africa-ebpdn-broadbent>
- Brock, K., Shutt, C. and Ashlin, A. (2016) 'Learning for Change in Accountable Governance Programming'. Brighton: Institute for Development Studies. Available: <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/12196>.

-
- Bruns, B., Filmer, D. and Patrinos, H. (2011) *Making Schools Work: New Evidence on Accountability Reforms*. Washington, D.C: World Bank.
- Brunt, C. and McCourt, W. (2012) 'Do International Non-Governmental Organizations Walk the Talk? Reconciling the "Two Participations" in International Development'. *Journal of International Development* 24: 585–601.
- Buffardi, A. and Hearn, S. (2015) 'Multi-Project Programmes: Functions, Forms and Implications for Evaluation and Learning'. London: Overseas Development Institute/Methods Lab. Available: <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10144.pdf>.
- Burge (2010) *Learning from DFID's Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF): Tools, methods and approaches*. London: Department for International Development.
- Carothers, T. (2007) 'The "sequencing" fallacy.' *Journal of Democracy* 18 (1): 12–27.
- Casey, K., Glennerster, R. and Miguel, E. (2013) *The GoBifo Project Evaluation Report*. International Initiative for Impact Evaluation. Available: https://www.povertyactionlab.org/sites/default/files/publications/45_64%20GoBifo%20Final%20Report%20Oct2013.pdf.
- Christian Aid (2016) 'Partnership, power and adaptive programming: learning from Christian Aid's governance service contracts'. Available: <http://programme.christianaid.org.uk/programme-policy-practice/sites/default/files/2016-05/J5439%20Governance%20programme%20meta%20evaluation%20%20Summary%20AW2%20%282%29.pdf>
- Claasen, M. and Alpín-Lardiés, C. (eds.) (2010) *Social Accountability in Africa [Electronic Resource]: Practioners' Experiences and Lessons*. Cape Town: Idasa. Available: <http://www.ebrary.com/landing/site/bodleian/index-bodleian.jsp?Docid=10396009>.
- Clar, C. et al., (2011) *Systematic Review: What are the effects of interventions to improve the uptake of evidence from health research into policy in low and middle-income countries?* London: Department for International Development. Available: http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/SystematicReviews/S_R_EvidenceIntoPolicy_Graham_May2011_MinorEditsJuly2011.pdf.
- Combaz, E. (2014) 'Practical guidance to integrate gender into public financial management'. Birmingham: GSDRC. Available: <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/hdq1095.pdf>
- Davies, F. and Hingorani, Y. (2014) *New Deal Monitoring Report 2014*. International Dialogue for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding.
- Denney, L. and Domingo, P. (2015) 'Future Directions of Security and Justice'. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10191.pdf>.
- Devarajan, S. and Khemani, S. (2016) 'If Politics Is the Problem, How Can External Actors Be Part of the Solution?' Policy Research Working Paper. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Available: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2814395.
- Devarajan, S., Khemani, S. and Walton, M. (2011) 'Civil Society, Public Action and Accountability in Africa'. Working Paper Series 5733. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Available: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1895224.
- Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability (DRCCPA) (2011) 'Blurring the Boundaries: Citizen Action across States and Societies'. Brighton, UK: Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability. Available: <http://www.drc-citizenship.org/system/assets/1052734700/original/1052734700-cdrc.2011-blurring.pdf>.
- Department for International Development (DFID) (2010) 'Working Effectively in Conflict-affected and Fragile Situations: Briefing Paper E: Aligning with Local Priorities'. Briefing Paper. London: Department for International Development.
- DFID (2011) 'Preliminary Evidence Mapping for Empowerment and Accountability'. London: Department for International Development.
- DFID (2014) 'DFID Strengthening Action Against Corruption Ghana (STAAC-Ghana) Business Case. London: Department for International Development.
- Dom, C. (2012). 'Empowerment through local citizenship'. Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. <https://www.oecd.org/dac/povertyreduction/50157563.pdf>
- Domingo, P., and Denney, L. (2012) *The Politics of Practice: Security and Justice Programming in FCAS*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <http://issat.dcaf.ch/sqi/content/download/15631/182888/file/Politics%20of%20Practice.pdf>.
- Domingo, P., Holmes, R., O'Neil, T., Jones, N., Bird, K., Larson, A., Presler-Marshall, E. and Valters, C. (2015) *Women's voice and leadership in decision-making Assessing the evidence*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9627.pdf>

- Domingo, P. and McCullough, A. with Simbiri, F. and Wanjala, B. (2016) *Women and power: shaping the development of Kenya's 2010 constitution*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <https://www.odi.org/publications/10301-women-power-kenya-constitution-reform-equality>
- du Toit, A. (2012) 'Working Paper 21: Making Sense of 'Evidence' - Notes on the Discursive Politics of Research and Pro-Poor Policy Making'. *Plaas.org.za*. Available: <http://www.plaas.org.za/plaas-publication/wp21dutoit>.
- Earle, L., and Scott, Z. (2010) 'Assessing the Evidence of the Impact of Governance on Development Outcomes and Poverty Reduction'. Birmingham: GSDRC/University of Birmingham. Available: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1517/>.
- Ebrahim, A. (2003) 'Accountability In Practice: Mechanisms for NGOs'. *World Development* 31 (5): 813–29.
- Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. (1996) 'Too Close For Comfort? The Impact of Official Aid on Nongovernmental Organizations'. *World Development* 24: 961–73.
- Eubank, N. (2012) 'Taxation, Political Accountability and Foreign Aid: Lessons from Somaliland'. *Journal of Development Studies* 48 (4): 465–80.
- Fearon, J. D., Humphreys, M. and Weinstein, J. M. (2011) 'Democratic Institutions and Collective Action Capacity: Results from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia' in APSA 2011 Annual Meeting Paper. Available: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1902218.
- Ferreira, I. and Roque, S. (2010) 'The Nucleo-Representativo das Associacoes (NRA) do Dombe Grande: Building Democracy and Citizenship at the Local Level' in Schattan Coelho, V. and von Lieres, B. (eds.) *Mobilising for Democracy: Citizen Action and the Politics of Public Participation*. London: Zed Books.
- Fox, J. (2014) 'Social Accountability: What Does the Evidence Really Say?' GPSA Working Paper. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Fox, J. A. (2015). 'Social Accountability: What Does the Evidence Really Say?' *World Development* 72: 346–61.
- Fox, J. and Brown, L. D. (1998) *The Struggle for Accountability: NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*. Boston, MA: MIT Press/World Bank.
- Fritz, V., Katayama, R., and Simler, K. (2008) 'Breaking out of inequality traps: political economy considerations'. Prepared for World Bank.
- Gaventa, J. and Barrett, G. (2010) *So What Difference Does It Make? Mapping the Outcomes of Citizen Engagement*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Gaventa, J. and McGee, R. (2013) 'The Impact of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives'. *Development Policy Review* 31: s3–28.
- George, A. (2003) 'Using Accountability to Improve Reproductive Health Care'. *Reproductive Health Matters* 11 (21): 161–170.
- Gigler, B. S., Bailur, S. and Anand, N. (2014) 'The Loch Ness Model: Can ICT bridge the 'accountability gap?' Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Gisselquist, R. M. (2014) 'Aid and Institution-Building in Fragile States: What Do We Know? What Can Comparative Analysis Add?' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 656 (1): 6–21.
- Goodwin, L., and Maru, V. (2014) 'What Do We Know about Legal Empowerment? Mapping the Evidence'. Washington, D.C.: Namati.
- Gordon, S. (2011) *Winning Hearts and Minds? Examining the Relationship between Aid and Security in Afghanistan's Helmand Province*. Feinstein International Center. Available: http://biblio3.url.edu.gt/Libros/2011/win_hear.pdf.
- Grandvoinet, H., Aslam, G. and Raha, S. (2015) *Opening the Black Box: The Contextual Drivers of Social Accountability*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Grant, E. and MacArthur, T. (2008) 'Accountability Briefing Note'. Practice Paper. London: Department for International Development.
- Grant, R. W. and Keohane, R. O. (2005) 'Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics'. *American Political Science Review* 99 (1): 29–43.
- Grävingsholt, J., Ziaja, S. and Kreibaum, M. (2015) 'Disaggregating State Fragility: A Method to Establish a Multidimensional Empirical Typology'. *Third World Quarterly* 36 (7): 1281–98.
- Guijt, I. (2010) 'Exploding the Myth of Incompatibility between Accountability and Learning' in Ubels, J., Acquaye-Baddoo, N-A. and Fowler, A. (eds.) *Capacity Development in Practice*. London: Earthscan.
- Hearn, S. and Zimmerman, T. (2014) 'A New Deal for Somalia? The Somali Compact and Its Implications for Peacebuilding'. New York University. Available: http://cic.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/new_deal_for_somalia_implications_for_peacbuilding.pdf.
- Herbert, S. (2014) 'Sequencing Reforms in Fragile States: Topic Guide'. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.
- Hingorani, Y. (2015) 'The New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States: Where Are We Now?' *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 10 (2): 87–93.

- Holland, J. (2009) 'Measuring Change and Results in Voice and Accountability Work'. Working Paper 34. London: Department for International Development.
- Humphreys, M., de la Sierra, R. S. and van der Windt, P. (2012) *Social and Economic Impacts of Tuungane: Final Report on the Effects of a Community Driven Reconstruction Program in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo*. New York: Colombia University.
- Independent Evaluation Group (2013) *World Bank Group Assistance to Low-Income Fragile and Conflict Affected States: An independent evaluation*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Independent Evaluation Group.
- Institute for Development Studies (2014) *Making All Voices Count: Research and Evidence Strategy*. Available: http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/11581/MAVC_Research_and_Evidence_Strategy.pdf?sequence=1
- International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (2011) 'The New Deal for Fragile States'.
- Jones, H. (2009) Policy-making as discourse: A review of recent research-to-policy literature. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <https://www.odi.org/publications/2431-policy-as-discourse>
- Jones, H., Jones, N., Shaxson, L. and Walker, D. (2013) *Knowledge, policy and power in international development: a practical framework for improving policy*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <https://www.odi.org/publications/7214-knowledge-policy-power-international-development-practical-framework-improving-policy>
- Joshi, A. (2013) 'Do They Work? Assessing the Impact of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives in Service Delivery'. *Development Policy Review* 31 (s1): s29–s48.
- Joshi, A. and Houtzager, P. P. (2012) 'Widgets or Watchdogs?: Conceptual Explorations in Social Accountability'. *Public Management Review* 14 (2): 145–62.
- Kelly, K. (2016) 'Evaluation of the Influence of Research on Policy and Practice in a Post-conflict Society: HIV/AIDS Research in South Africa' in *Evaluation in the Extreme Research, Impact and Politics in Violently Divided Societies*. Sage. Available: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/54839/1/IDL-54839.pdf>
- Kilby, P. (2006) 'Accountability for Empowerment: Dilemmas Facing Non-Governmental Organizations'. *World Development* 34 (6): 951–63.
- Knutsen, W. L., and Brower, R. S. (2010) 'Managing Expressive and Instrumental Accountabilities in Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations: A Qualitative Investigation'. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 39 (4): 588–610.
- Ladner, D. (2015) 'Strategy Testing: An Innovative Approach to Monitoring Highly Flexible Aid Programs'. San Francisco, CA: The Asia Foundation.
- Langer, L., Tripney, J. and Gough, D. (2016) *The Science of Using Science: Research the Use of Research Evidence in Decision-Making*. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, University College London Institute of Education. Available: <http://www.alliance4usefulevidence.org/assets/Science-of-Using-Science-Final-Report-2016.pdf>.
- Lemay-Hébert, N., and Mathieu, X. (2014) 'The OECD's Discourse on Fragile States: Expertise and the Normalisation of Knowledge Production'. *Third World Quarterly* 35 (2): 232–51.
- Lindberg, S. I. (2009) 'Accountability: The Core Concept and Its Subtypes'. London: Africa Power and Politics Programme. Available: <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/APPP/APPP-WP1.pdf>.
- Liverani, M., Hawkins, B. and Parkhurst, J.O. (2013) *Political and institutional influences on the use of evidence in public health policy. A systematic review*. PLoS one, 8(10).
- Lynch, U., McGrellis, S., Dutschke, M., Anderson, M., Arnsberger, P. and MacDonald, G. (2013) 'What Is the Evidence That the Establishment or Use of Community Accountability Mechanisms and Processes Improves Inclusive Service Delivery by Governments, Donors, and NGOs to Communities?' London: EPPI Centre/University of London.
- Malena, C. (2009) *From Political Won't to Political Will: Building Support for Participatory Governance*. Kumarian Press.
- Malena, C., Forster, R. and Singh, J. (2004) 'Social Accountability: An Introduction to the Concept and Emerging Practice'. Social Development Papers 76. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Mansuri, G. and Rao, V. (2013) *Localizing Development: Does Participation Work?* Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Marquette, H. and Beswick, D. (2011) 'State Building, Security and Development: state building as a new development paradigm?' *Third World Quarterly*, 32(10), pp.1703-1714.
- McGee, R. and Kroeschell, C. (2012) 'Local Accountabilities in Fragile Contexts Experiences from Nepal, Bangladesh and Mozambique'. Working Paper 422. Brighton: Institute for Development Studies/Helvetas. Available: <http://www.ids.ac.uk/publication/local-accountabilities-in-fragile-contexts-experiences-from-nepal-bangladesh-and-mozambique>.
- Mcloughlin, C. (2011) 'Fragile States'. Topic Guide. Birmingham: GSDRC/University of Birmingham.
- McNeil, M., and Malena, C. (eds.) (2010) *Demanding Good Governance: Lessons from Social Accountability Initiatives in Africa*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. Available: <http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/book/10.1596/978-0-8213-8380-3>.
- Mercy Corps (n.d.) 'Managing Complexity: Adaptive Management at MercyCorps'.

- Molina, E., Pacheco, A., Gasparini, L., Cruces, G. and Rius, A. (2013) 'Community Monitoring Interventions to Curb Corruption and Increase Access to Quality in Service Delivery in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: A Systematic Review'. Oslo: Campbell Collaboration.
- Moore, M. and Teskey, G. (2006) 'The CAR Framework: Capability, Accountability, Responsiveness. What Do These Terms Mean, Individually and Collectively?' Discussion Note. London: Department for International Development.
- Najam, A. (1996) 'NGO Accountability: A Conceptual Framework'. *Development Policy Review* 14: 339–53.
- Newman, K. (2014) What is the evidence on the impact of research on international development? London: Department for International Development. Available: http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/Misc_EcoDev/impactof-research-on-international-development.pdf.
- O'Dwyer, B. and Unerman, J. (2007) 'From Function to Social Accountability: Transforming the Accountability Relationship between Funders and Non-Governmental Development Organizations'. *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal* 20 (3): 446–71.
- O'Neill, T., Foresti, M. and Hudson, A. (2007) *Evaluation of citizens' voice and accountability: review of the literature and donor approaches*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/237.pdf>
- O'Neill, T. and Domingo, P. (2016) *Women and Power: Overcoming Barriers to Leadership and Influence*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- OECD-DAC (2010) *Aid in Support of Gender Equality in Fragile and Conflict-affected States*. Paris: OECD.
- . (2011) *Supporting Statebuilding in Situations of Conflict and Fragility*. DAC Guidelines and Reference Series. Paris: OECD Publishing. Available: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/supporting-statebuilding-in-situations-of-conflict-and-fragility_9789264074989-en.
- . (2015). *States of Fragility 2015*. Paris: OECD Publishing. Available: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/states-of-fragility-2015_9789264227699-en.
- Oliver, K., Innvar, S. et al. (2014) *A systematic review of barriers to and facilitators of the use of evidence by policymakers*. BMC health services research, 14(1), p.2.
- Oliver, K., Lorenc, T. and Innvæ, S. (2014) 'New directions in evidence-based policy research: a critical analysis of the literature'. *Health research policy and systems*/BioMed Central, 12, p.34.
- Orton, L. et al. (2011) 'The use of research evidence in public health decision making processes: systematic review'. PLoS one, 6(7), p.e21704.
- Oxfam (2013) 'Governance and Fragility: What We Know about Effective Governance Programming in Fragile Contexts'. Oxfam/Within and Without the State.
- Pain, A., and Sturge, G. (2015) 'Taking Village Context into Account in Afghanistan'. Briefing Paper 17. Kabul: Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium/Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit.
- Phillips, S. (2013) *Political Settlements and State Formation: The Case of Somaliland*. Research Paper 23. Developmental Leadership Programme. Available: <http://www.somalilandpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/232629210-Political-Settlements-and-State-Formation-The-Case-of-Somaliland.pdf>.
- Pritchett, L., Andrews, M. and Woolcock, M. (2012) 'Escaping Capability Traps through Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA)'. Center for Global Development Working Paper no. 299. Available: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2102794.
- Pritchett, L., Samji, S. and Hammer, J. S. (2013) 'It's All about MeE: Using Structured Experiential Learning ("e") to Crawl the Design Space'. Center for Global Development Working Paper no. 322. Available: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2248785.
- Punton, M. (2016) *BCURE Literature Review - How can capacity development promote evidence-informed policy making?* Brighton: ITAD. Available: <http://www.itad.com/knowledge-products/bcure-literature-review/>
- Ringold, D. (2012) 'Citizens and Service Delivery: Assessing the Use of Social Accountability Approaches in the Human Development Sectors'. *Directions in Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Risse, T. (2012) 'Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood' in Levi-Faur, D. (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rocha Menocal, A. and Sharma, B. (2008) *Joint Evaluation of Citizen's Voice and Accountability*. Synthesis Report. London: Department for International Development.
- Rocha Menocal, A. and Sharma, B. (2009) *Citizens' Voice and Accountability: Understanding what works and doesn't work in donor approaches briefing paper*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Rubenstein, J. (2007) 'Accountability in an Unequal World'. *The Journal of Politics* 69 (3): 616–32.
- Schouten, C. (2011) 'Social Accountability in Situations of Fragility and Conflict'. U4 Brief 19. Bergen: U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre.

-
- Sharma, B. (2009) *Voice, Accountability and Civic Engagement: A Conceptual Overview*. Oslo, Norway: UNDP Governance Centre. Available: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/3349.pdf>
- Shutt, C. and McGee, R. (2016) *Improving the Evaluability of INGO Empowerment and Accountability Programmes*. CDI Practice Paper 1. Brighton: IDS. Available: <http://bigpushforward.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/CDIPracticePaper01finalR.pdf>
- Tembo, F. (2013) *Rethinking Social Accountability in Africa: Lessons from the Mwananchi Programme*. Mwananchi Programme/Overseas Development Institute.
- Tembo, F. and Chapman, C. (2014) *In Search of the Game Changers: Rethinking Social Accountability*. London: Overseas Development Institute/Mwananchi.
- The IDL Group (2013) *Identifying Entry Points for Accountability Interventions in Somalia - Demand Side*. Coffey International Development/the IDL group.
- U4 (2011) 'Social accountability in situations of conflict and fragility'. U4 Brief 19. Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute – U4.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2010) *Corruption, Accountability and Gender: Understanding the Connections*. New York: UNDP. Available: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/aplaws/publication/en/publications/womens-empowerment/corruption-accountability-and-gender-understanding-the-connection/Corruption-accountability-and-gender.pdf>
- Unsworth, S. (2010) *An upside down view of governance*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Valters, C., Cummings, C. and Nixon, H. (2016) 'Putting Learning at the Centre: Adaptive Development in Practice'. Working Paper. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Valters, C. (2015) *Theories of Change: Time for a Radical Approach to Learning in Development*. London: Overseas Development Institute/The Asia Foundation.
- Vervisch, T., Titeca, K., Vlassenroot, K. and Braeckman, J. (2013) 'Social Capital and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Burundi: The Limits of Community-Based Reconstruction'. *Development and Change* 44 (1): 147–74.
- Waldman, T. (2014) 'The Use of Statebuilding Research in Fragile Contexts: Evidence from British Policymaking in Afghanistan, Nepal and Sierra Leone'. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 8, 149–172.
- Walter, I., Nutley, S. and Davies, H. (2005) 'What works to promote evidence-based practice? A cross-sector review'. *Evidence & Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice*, 1(3), 335–364.
- Wong, S. (2012) 'What Have Been the Impacts of World Bank CDD Programs? CDD Impact Evaluation Review and Operational and Research Implications'. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank (2004) *World Development Report: Making Services Work for Poor People*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- (2011) *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- (2015) *World Development Report 2015: Mind, Society, and Behavior*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Available: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2015>
- Young, J. (2005) 'Research, policy and practice: why developing countries are different. *Journal of International Development*'. Special Issue, *Bridging Research and Policy in International Development* Volume 17, Issue 6, 727-734.



ODI is the UK's leading independent think tank on international development and humanitarian issues.

Readers are encouraged to reproduce material from ODI Reports for their own publications, as long as they are not being sold commercially. As copyright holder, ODI requests due acknowledgement and a copy of the publication. For online use, we ask readers to link to the original resource on the ODI website. The views presented in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of ODI.

© Overseas Development Institute 2017. This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial Licence (CC BY-NC 4.0).

All ODI Reports are available from www.odi.org

Cover photo: AMISON Photo, Awil Abukar, 2016

Overseas Development Institute
203 Blackfriars Road
London SE1 8NJ
Tel +44 (0) 20 7922 0300
Fax +44 (0) 20 7922 0399

odi.org



This material has been funded by UK aid from the UK Government, however the views expressed do not necessarily reflect the UK Government's official policies.