Helpdesk Research Report: Theory of Change approaches to post-conflict governance programming

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Query: Identify and review cases where the Theory of Change approach has been applied in the design and/or evaluation of governance sector programmes in post-conflict and fragile developing contexts. Where possible, focus on governance programmes relating to public sector management, accountability and public financial management for improved service delivery. Identify particular challenges in applying the Theory of Change model to governance sector interventions.

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1. Overview

In its simplest form, Theory of Change (ToC) can be defined as, ‘the description of a sequence of events that is expected to lead to a particular desired outcome’ (Davies 2012). It clearly articulates the intended activity, and the expected change it will bring about (Ober 2012). As an approach to the design and evaluation of social programmes, it is increasingly being used in international development (Vogel 2012).

This research report considers the application of ToC to governance programmes in post-conflict and fragile states. It should be noted that, because of what information is available, the examples reviewed below are from post-conflict and least developed (though not necessarily fragile) states. They are mainly (but not all explicitly) governance-focused, and while some have elements of accountability, public sector management and public service delivery, none are about public financial management.
The case studies discussed below show that articulating and reviewing Theories of Change in peacebuilding programmes adds rigour and transparency, clarifies project logic, highlights assumptions that need to be tested, and helps identify appropriate participants and partners.

Yet, for ToC application to be effective, particularly in governance settings, a number of factors need to be taken into consideration, including:

- Conflict analysis is critical for determining the relevance of activities in post-conflict contexts but is rarely done.
- Gathering evidence to validate a Theory of Change is challenging, particularly in conditions of conflict and fragility.
- Theories of Change can encourage an overly linear approach, when the reality of change in conflict contexts is complex and more organic.
- People involved, both staff and programme participants, may require a lot of support to understand the dynamics and effective use of ToC.

2. Case studies


A review of 19 peacebuilding projects in three conflict-affected countries (Nepal, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo), reviewed over 2.5 years found that the process of articulating and reviewing Theories of Change adds rigour and transparency, clarifies project logic, highlights assumptions that need to be tested, and helps identify appropriate participants and partners. The project reviewed 38 Theories of Change: 15 had an element of capacity building, 10 involved dialogue, seven involved work with the media, and five established peace- or conflict-resolution mechanisms. This sub-section focuses on general findings, while the summaries of country-specific reviews are provided below.

A focus on Theories of Change found that:

- Clarifying project logic helps highlight tenuous assumptions.
- Clearly identifying the aims of activities and measures of success strengthens project design.
- Working with the appropriate actors, rather than just those that are easy-to-reach, enables better programme focus.
- More explicit links need to be made between local-level activities and national peace processes for desired changes to occur.

The review also pointed to a number of limitations to using the ToC approach, including:

- **Many Theories of Change are non-explicit, vague or inappropriate**: Correctly articulating the theory can be difficult and time-consuming, requiring significant support. Staff need to be confident about the terminology and usefulness of Theories of Change.
• **Current project planning tools do not help people articulate their Theories of Change:** Practitioners are under considerable pressure to use tools that satisfy donor requirements around design, monitoring and evaluation. Agencies may feel that using Theories of Change is not worth the difficulty of gathering theory-validating evidence.

• **Conflict analysis is essential but rarely done:** Without a conflict analysis to underpin a project, it is hard to critically review Theories of Change within a project. Theories must grow out of an understanding of the conflict context.

• **Gathering evidence is difficult, particularly in conditions of conflict and fragility:** Despite the technical support through this project, the research teams often found it hard to collect evidence to validate their Theories of Change.

• **Critical review of Theories of Change needs to be undertaken in conjunction with other forms of evaluation for maximum value:** Theory-based evaluation looks at how a change occurs, and needs to be supported by an outcome evaluation, which captures the results (the ‘then’ part of the if-then statement).

• **Theories of change can inadvertently encourage an overly linear approach:** While Theories of Change were shown to be helpful in articulating, testing and challenging peacebuilding interventions, there is nevertheless a risk that they become a tool for oversimplifying the contribution of an initiative. There is a need to remain firmly grounded in the organic and non-linear change processes that are taking place on the ground.

**Recommendations:**

1. Donors should revise their logical frameworks guidance to encourage the use of Theories of Change, notably to include them within the ‘assumptions and risks’ column of existing logical frameworks or by adding an additional column.

2. Theories of change need to be as precise, nuanced and contextually specific as possible and be based on broad conflict analysis.

3. Practitioners need to articulate Theories of Change within a hierarchy of results and to review these periodically throughout the implementation of a project, particularly if conflict dynamics change.

4. Donors should encourage funded agencies to review their Theories of Change throughout the project cycle and make resources available for this.

**Uganda**

(See also: CARE International, 2011, ‘Theories of Change in application to Peace building Programming’, CARE International UK /EU)

In Uganda, a research team worked with nine partners to make explicit ToCs for their peacebuilding projects and programmes so they could rework their intervention in order to improve effectiveness. The governance-related programmes included:

• **International Alert’s** three-year project, ‘Aligning the Economy with Peace in Uganda’. The project goal is to achieve *a shift in policy and decision-making among government officials, international development agencies and the private sector to align the economy with peace.* The particular Theory of Change articulated and researched during the project stated: ‘If
there is constructive engagement among key stakeholders on political economy issues, then it will improve information flow and lead to a shift in policy and decision-making’.

- **Kabarole Research Centre’s** two-year project, *Securing Sustainable Development through Pluralistic Local Ownership in Rwenzori Region*. It was a two-year operational project, within the wider EU-NSA and DANIDA supported Human Rights and Good Governance programme, focusing on strengthening the demand side of government to conduct evidence-based monitoring of local government performance and civic education. The research team and the Karabole Research Centre identified the following ToCs in relation to the project:
  - If the communities are sensitised to their roles and provided with the necessary information then this will enable them to effectively demand for improved services from government.
  - If communities are empowered to monitor government programmes in a harmonised approach and framework, then this will lead to improved performance of local government systems.

- **Justice and Peace Commission Project’s** three-year peacebuilding project, *Debating for Peaceful Conflict Transformation* which started in 2009 in secondary schools aimed at ‘Democratisation and Conflict Transformation in Northern Uganda’. The articulated Theories of Change were:
  - If you train students in Karl Popper debating skills, then they will be able to articulate governance issues leading to demand for good governance.
  - If the students learn debating skills, then this will contribute to better understanding on how to deal with disagreements and conflicts in a non-violent way.

A clear conclusion from the Uganda case study is that Theories of Change are more effective when embedded right from the project initiation phase. ToC also needs to be considered within a specific context. Efforts that contribute to a desired change in one context may have a different effect in another (Ober 2012).

The research recommends:

- There is critical need for increased awareness training on the application of Theories of Change in project design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation.
- There is need for proper context analysis to inform project design and development of appropriate ToCs. This will minimise the disadvantages of organisations relying on personal experiences and generalised assumptions which undermine the importance of technical import in peacebuilding project designing.

**Nepal**

This research analyses the effectiveness of the Theories of Change and underlying assumptions of the following peacebuilding initiatives of six organisations:
• Alliance for Peace project: ‘to enhance the capacity of the youth to promote human rights and peace through non-violent means and to encourage the Nepalese youth to become active practitioners of democratic governance.’ The project also seeks to enhance and support active participation of the youth and students in establishing a peaceful and democratic society by their youth in the constitution-drafting and peacebuilding processes.

• CARE Nepal: Women and Youth as Pillars of Sustainable Peace (WYPSP). The overall objective of this project is to develop the capacity of all civil society networks to engage poor, vulnerable and socially excluded women and youth in the process of influencing a democratic constitution in Nepal.

• International Alert: Public Security and Justice in Nepal: Building a Constructive Role for Youth, in Dang, Sunsari and Kathmandu districts. The programme seeks to explore and expand avenues for more constructive youth engagement by supporting the effective and accountable provision of public security.

• Search For Common Ground (SFCG): Youth and Peacebuilding project, aimed at engaging young people, focused on the peace process and working towards building and enhancing relationships with local decision-makers and community elders in order to gain access to decision-making mechanisms.

• Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction: Local peace committees.

The following recommendations are made with regard to ToC:

• TOCs must be identified in the project design phase itself and proper context analysis should be conducted so that they can be monitored, evaluated and adjusted as the programme is implemented, reviewed and evaluated.

• Amplifying the impact of the programme requires integrated or collaborative approaches between different civil society organisations, where cross-monitoring mechanisms are implanted and best practices are shared and transferred.

**The Democratic Republic of Congo**

In the DRC, the partner Caucus de femmes Congolaises du Sud Kivu pour la Paix works to bring together Congolese women in South Kivu Province from civil society, political parties, public institutions, professions, faith traditions and the media to achieve peace and respect for human rights and social well-being through women’s inclusive and effective leadership.

The Theory of Change articulated and researched through the project stated: ‘If women’s capacities are built and they discover and value themselves, then they will overcome fear and confront men in power’.

Evidence gathered on the ‘if’ clause found that capacity was built in female leaders and potential leaders and in campaigning, that women’s self-confidence and readiness to vote increased, and that the number of women electoral candidates and election observers increased. Evidence gathered on the ‘then’ clause found that women were appointed to decision making positions in the province, increased numbers of women were mobilising for their communities’ interests and
women were standing up for their rights. Although this evidence suggests that the approach is working, the research was not sufficiently rigorous to prove or disprove the Theory of Change.

**The Democratic Republic of Congo (2)**


A case study for this paper considers DFID’s use of ToC in the DRC to explore the links between road building and development, as part of the programme’s business case. The team asked itself ‘What else needs to be happening to make the roads programme deliver development outcomes?’

The challenges the team experienced as they developed the ToC included (p.16):

- a daunting realisation of how many other conditions needed to be in place that could not be addressed through the programme alone
- a recognition of negative knock-on effects of the programme if it were successful (e.g. a rise in the [illicit] timber trade)
- gaps in data and evidence, which created uncertainty about strategic choices.

But in identifying and then addressing these challenges the team found that they had created a ‘backbone’ for their thinking that underpinned the whole design of the programme.

A key lesson for the team was that applying ToC thinking right from the start of the process meant that it underpinned their strategic thinking and resulted in stronger programme design.

**Tanzania**


See also:


And


http://www.oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/?p=9861

Accountability Tanzania (AcT) is a DFID-funded governance and accountability programme designed to increase government responsiveness through a strengthened civil society. Its original
proposal was to use outcome mapping but the team realised this did not include mechanisms ‘for thinking through how to achieve transformational change, which required a more nuanced contextual understanding, clear strategic thinking and calculated risk taking’ (Dyer 2012: 1). As a result, the programme decided it was important to focus on making its ToC more explicit.

AcT’s ToC was defined as ‘Supporting civil society partners to implement context-specific strategic interventions will enable them to influence positive change in the attitudes and behaviour of citizens, civil society and government, making government as a whole more responsive and accountable.’ ToC has been considered a much improved approach for reporting partner results and the programme’s progress.

Vogel highlights one of the projects funded by AcT, run by Oxfam, *Chukua Hatua* (Take Action), which is developing a suite of village level accountability experiments, and applies an explicit evolutionary model of change (MoC) to improve impact (described more fully in Duncan Green’s blog – essentially: trying out numerous approaches, dropping the less successful ones, and scaling up and developing the winners).

Key lessons from implementing the programme using ToC included:

- MoCs can help to understand the world: different perspectives can suggest different strategic options.
- Any change event has multiple drivers, so a number of working ‘change hypotheses’ are needed to keep learning about what is happening as the programme unfolds, not a single ‘theory of change’.
- A ‘toolkit’ of ideas can help, which together with people’s own views and experience, can generate ideas for how to improve things.

For more information visit: [http://www.accountability.or.tz/](http://www.accountability.or.tz/)

**Mwananchi Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF) programme**


This Working Paper provides a critical analysis of a series of citizen voice and accountability (CV&A) cases from the Mwananchi Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF) programme in order to develop an analytical framework for developing Theories of Change (ToCs) for CV&A projects. Making Theories of Change explicit right from the start of development projects can help in discovering what will need to happen in order to get from ‘here’ (the prevailing undesired situation) to ‘there’ (the intended development outcome or result), and ToCs will enhance the

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1 The GTF is a one-off funding mechanism created by DFID, focusing on the grassroots end of political governance in working with media, civil society organisations (CSOs), trade unions etc. Small grants were provided to local organisations in Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Zambia.
rigour of evaluations from the beginning of an intervention process and not just at the end of a development programme.

However, when current approaches to articulating and representing ToCs are applied to citizen voice and accountability (CV&A) programmes and projects, programme managers find that realities are more complex and dynamic than can be captured with the tools they have at hand.

The ToC put forward for the Mwana nchi GTF was: ‘supporting interlocutors (game changers) in leveraging citizen engagement in various arenas of citizen–state interactions will effectively strengthen citizen demand for good governance, including holding governments to account.’ Arising from this, three theory-based outcomes were proposed: better-defined and enhanced institutional roles of interlocutors in relation to the roles of the state; synergy among interlocutors based on their comparative advantages; and better use of research-based evidence to influence policies and engage citizens.

The researchers suggest that to effectively support interventions that can achieve the best results with the resources at hand, CV&A programme teams need to engage in an ongoing and iterative ‘action-analysis-learning’ cycle to move from such broadly stated ToC into the deeper understanding of how change happens in dynamic contextual realities.

They suggest five areas or interlinking layers of analysis for understanding the contextual dynamics in which governance interventions are located, which would inform the evolution of issue-specific ToCs:

1. Analysis of the relevant wider country- or regional-level governance dynamics.
2. Understanding existing narratives of change based on experiences of everyday governance.
3. Identifying interlocutors associated with a specific CV&A change project.
4. Exploring engagement dynamics at the interface between interlocutors or citizens and state actors.
5. Exploring institutional patterns and decision logics associated with particular changes and actors.

**Thematic case study: budgeting**


And
Since 2001 UNIFEM supported Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB) in over 35 countries. The note (first reference) sought to contribute to building clarity on UNIFEM’s Theory of Change of GRB work and identifying the implications for this ToC in relation to programme design, implementation and results monitoring.

The Theory of Change for GRB broadly states: ‘To achieve the goal of implementation of gender equality commitments by governments, we need to ensure that sector and local plans, programmes and budgets increasingly reflect intentional efforts to address gender gaps’. This would be made possible by generating political will; an enabling environment; adequate capacity and funds; and accountability and monitoring mechanisms. Following from this, assumptions and key strategies were made explicit; specific measures highlighted, and specific indicators identified for monitoring progress in the medium and long term.

Based on studies in Ecuador, Morocco, Mozambique and Senegal, the evaluation (second reference) specifically aimed to analyse the Theory of Change that underpins UNIFEM’s GRB work, programmatic strategies and management of the programmes.

The ToC approach focused on two key aspects:

- setting out the steps that constitute the main elements of the explicitly stated causal chain in the form of a logic model, linking inputs, activities, partners and short-term outputs to the expected outcomes of the programme in the medium-term and ultimately long-term impacts
- seeking to understand the logic underpinning the programme, looking at the stated assumptions and particularly focusing, through the evaluation process, on the implicit assumptions that affect the different stages of programme development.

The evaluation found that the programme’s ToC informed the capacity-building approach, which largely evolved in the second phase of the project in line with the Theory of Change, building on phase one. It also found that successful and strategic engagement with a wide range of key partners was critical to effect change.

The two main limitations associated with this type of evaluation included the lack of organised programme information held by country offices and the lack of systematic monitoring data for the programme.

3. Further challenges

Challenges associated with conflict settings
A DFID practice paper (2010) argues that monitoring and evaluation (M&E) is often neglected in situations of conflict and fragility, and provides practical guidance on particular M&E challenges in fragile contexts, including Theory of Change.

Interventions aimed at conflict reduction, state-building or peace-building should articulate a clear Theory of Change that can be tested through evaluation (Chapter 2 of Church and Rogers (2006) provides a useful survey of different Theories of Change for conflict-reduction interventions: http://www.sfcg.org/Documents/dmechapter2.pdf). The paper points out that in complex environments, a set of parallel initiatives aiming for different types of change may have the best prospect of success. Further, conflict analysis can provide assistance in identifying which types of change, or sequence of interventions, is most likely to work in the context. It is also important to remember that people’s perceptions of change often matter as much as what empirical data can demonstrate.

The paper also points out, however:

- In practice, Theories of Change are often not made explicit in programme designs. It is important to unpack broad objectives and translate these into clear, logical theories about how such objectives can be achieved. This informs the programme logic, which will later be examined by evaluators to see how well it stands up to scrutiny.
- When testing Theories of Change, untangling the chains of cause and effect can be very difficult. When attributing change to the programme is problematic, a broader evaluation approach can be used. An analytical narrative describing the events and processes, based on the accounts of stakeholders and informed observers, may be more useful than a strict social science method.
- Theories of change, baselines and indicators should be made clear at the outset. Where these are not available, the evaluator should aim to reconstruct them in dialogue with partners.

Allen Nan (2010) identifies some further challenges to using Theories of Change to focus evaluations of conflict programming, which could be applicable to governance programming. Her findings are based on key content and background information from a workshop attended by donors, international NGOs and universities presenting on their experience on applying ToC to conflict programming.

- The conflict field draws from many disciplines, each of which bring their own fundamental theories, so identifying one Theory of Change may be challenging. For example, economists working in conflict areas are likely to focus on economic changes, sociologists on social changes, political scientists on political changes, and anthropologists on cultural changes. Some individuals working on a programme may emphasise one of the relevant Theories of Change more than others.
- Evaluation of conflict resolution programming has been hampered by difficulties in developing appropriate indicators. Often the desired changes in conflict management programs are more abstract and intangible, such as seeking to improve relationships or increase trust or understanding among belligerents.


The selection of indicators to focus monitoring and evaluation during conflict management interventions can be challenging. There is a temptation to replace objectives with indicators, for example by counting mediation agreements as the measure of success when the actual outcome expectancy goes beyond mediation agreements.

There is often the temptation to utilise universal indicators throughout many field contexts, although local realities and cultures make universal indicators problematic. This is often the case in working with social phenomena such as conflicts, in contrast to more objectively measurable physical phenomena such as infant mortality.

Allen Nan also draws attention to the fact that there are also some drawbacks to theory-based evaluation. ‘When theories are incomplete or wrong, theory-based evaluation may miss significant changes. Changes may occur that were not expected, but a highly theory-focused evaluation would only look for those changes expected by the theory. Other evaluation approaches can complement theory-based evaluations to allow for exploration of unexpected outcomes and impacts’ (Allen Nan 2010: 6). She suggests rather than seeking universally applicable indicators transferable immediately from one social context to another, conflict management experts may strive to develop a toolbox of indicators that can be flexibly adapted, interpreted, modified, or discarded according to local contexts. Such a toolbox could provide a flexible structure supportive of programme design, implementation, and evaluation both informed by experience elsewhere and simultaneously sensitive to the local conflict context.

Flexibility

Vogel’s (2012) survey for DFID emphasises that ToC is a process, not a product, and needs to be used as a flexible approach rather than a prescribed methodology. Additionally, she highlights the following challenges as key to overcome if its application is to be successful:

- The time and resource needed to work effectively with Theory of Change needs to be taken seriously.
- The quality of a Theory of Change process rests on ‘making assumptions explicit’ and making strategic thinking realistic and transparent.
- Theory of change is still primarily looked at as a planning methodology but it should be recognised that its real potential lies in supporting context-based innovation.
- ToC is not about trying to introduce a detailed process from the top down, but to work with the opportunities as they arise.
- ToC thinking is a habit not a product and a lot can be gained from simply starting to think more broadly about change and the context. It should be allowed to evolve, and it does not need to be developed all at once.

Further, the people involved in the process should be able to discuss and exchange their personal, organisational and analytical assumptions with an open, learning approach, with new possibilities explored through critical thinking and discussion with others.

‘Evaluability’

Rick Davies (2012) considers the challenge of articulating ‘good’ Theories of Change, which can be evaluated. Among the factors that need to be considered are whether the ToC is:
• Understandable
• Verifiable
• Testable
• Explained
• Complete
• Inclusive
• Justifiable
• Plausible
• Owned
• Embedded.

The relative importance of the above criteria may depend on the purpose for which the ToC was created, e.g. to set direction, to make a prediction, to provide a summation.

4. Sources

References
Allen Nan, S. with Mulvihill, M., 2010, 'Theories of Change and Indicator Development in Conflict Management and Mitigation', United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, Office for Conflict Management and Mitigation

Church, C. and Rogers, M., 2006, Designing for Results: Integrating monitoring and evaluation in conflict transformation programs, Search for Common Ground.
http://www.sfcg.org/programmes/ilt/ilt_manualpage.html


Key websites
Learning Portal for Design, Monitoring and Evaluation (DM&E) for Peacebuilding: Theory of Change
http://dmeforpeace.org/learn/subject/design/theory-change

Research to Action ‘Theories of Change’ Resource List
http://www.researchtoaction.org/2011/05/theory-of-change-useful-resources/

Experts consulted
Kate Dyer, Accountability Tanzania
Heidi Ober, CARE International
Isabel Vogel, Independent Consultant

About helpdesk research reports: Helpdesk reports are usually based on two days of desk-based research. They are designed to provide a brief overview of the key issues; and a summary of some of the best literature available. Experts are contacted during the course of the research, and those able to provide input within the short time-frame are acknowledged.