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A Research Lab at William & Mary

Listening to Leaders 2018
Is development cooperation
tuned-in or tone-deaf?

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Acknowledgments

Citation:

Acronyms

ADB/AsDB: Asian Development Bank

AFD: French Development Agency

AfDB: African Development Bank

AusAID: Australian Agency for International Development

BADEA: Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa

BMGF: Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation

CDB: Caribbean Development Bank

CPA: Country Programmable Aid

CSOs: Civil society organizations

DAC: Development Assistance Committee

DFID: Department for International Development

EAP: East Asia and the Pacific

EBRD: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

EU: European Union

GAVI: Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization

GEF: Global Environment Facility

GIZ: German Corporation for International Cooperation

IDB: Inter-American Development Bank

IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development

IFC: International Finance Corporation

IMF: International Monetary Fund

ISDB: Islamic Development Bank

JBIC: Japan Bank for International Cooperation

JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency

LAC: Latin America and the Caribbean

LIC: Low-income country

LTLS: Listening to Leaders Survey

MCC: Millennium Challenge Corporation

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MIC: Middle-income country

MIGA: Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency

MWS: MY World Survey

NGOs: Non-governmental organizations

NSO: National statistical office

ODA: Official development assistance

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

OFID: OPEC Fund for International Development

OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

RES: Reform Efforts Survey

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals

UAE: United Arab Emirates

UK: United Kingdom

US: United States

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

USAID: U.S. Agency for International Development

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Introduction: Whose priorities, what progress, which partners?

The global development community is often seen as tone-deaf and slow-moving in the face of a rapidly changing world (Dervis et al., 2011). Bilateral aid agencies and multilateral development banks face a growing chorus of critics who argue that these 'technocracies' are ill-equipped to navigate the messy politics of how decisions are made and reforms are implemented in low- and middle-income countries (Booth & Unsworth, 2014; Ramalingam, 2013; Carothers & de Garmont, 2013).[1]

At the same time, developing world leaders drive decisions about how to finance sustainable development within their own borders. They are increasingly using philanthropic investments, South-South Cooperation, commodity-backed loans, tax revenues, and blended capital[2] to bankroll their country's development with fewer strings attached (OECD, 2015; Stoiljkovic, 2017).

The confluence of these trends raises difficult questions. How must development cooperation evolve to support locally-led change? What is the role of traditional aid providers within this milieu? How can international actors be responsive to what citizens and leaders want to achieve, while realizing their own objectives?

No study can single-handedly answer all of these questions, but this report offers an important piece of the puzzle that is critical to all of them — better intelligence on what leaders and citizens think are most important for their countries to solve, the blockers and enablers to progress they face in galvanizing support for reforms, and how they assess the contributions of the international donors with which they work. Rather than relying on arms-length expert analysis, we go straight to the source: government officials, civil society leaders, and private sector representatives from 126 low- and middle-income countries.[3]

Introducing the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*

Nearly 3,500 leaders working in 22 different areas of development policy shared their views via AidData's *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* (LTLS).[4] Their responses provide invaluable insights into how these leaders enumerate their most pressing development priorities, assess the difficulty or ease of getting traction for reforms in their countries, and rate their experiences working with a range of external partners.[5]

Survey participants first identified their primary policy focus (e.g., economic policy, health, education) and then answered a question about what they felt were the most important development issues for their country to address.[6] They subsequently identified a particular policy initiative on which they worked most closely during the period of 2010-2015.[7] The remaining questions were based on the survey participant's first-hand experience working on that policy initiative, including the degree to which different domestic constituencies were in support of (or in opposition to) what they were trying to do.

Respondents were also able to identify international donors from which they had received advice or assistance from a list of 43 multilateral development banks and bilateral aid agencies.[8] Leaders then rated the influence[9] and helpfulness[10] of those institutions they had worked with on a scale of 1 (not at all influential / helpful) to 4 (very influential / helpful).[11] For those development partners they identified as more (or less) influential and helpful, survey participants also selected reasons why that was the case from a list of options.

Navigating policy change: adjudicating priorities, building reform coalitions, and brokering effective partnerships to accelerate locally-led development

International donors may publicly ascribe to the virtues of "country ownership" but fail to align resources with national priorities. Similarly, leaders may emphasize "localizing the sustainable development goals" and yet be out of step with what citizens view as the most important areas for action in their communities (Steiner, 2017; UNHABITAT, n.d.).[12]

In Chapter 1, we close this evidence gap by triangulating what citizens, national leaders, and international donors view as the top development goals. Specifically, we compare what citizens want their leaders to emphasize, what leaders identify as the top challenges that their countries should tackle, and what international donors appear to prioritize based upon their official development assistance spending. On this basis we are able to identify the degree to which citizens, leaders, and donors converge or diverge in terms of their priorities.

To move from aspiration to action, reform-minded individuals must galvanize a coalition of willing partners to overcome resistance to policy change. In Chapter 2, we look at the extent to which leaders report making progress on specific policy initiatives and the degree of support (or opposition) they encountered along the way from domestic constituencies. We also explore whether leaders' perceptions of progress differ depending upon their area of expertise, organizational affiliation, and the support of different domestic stakeholders. While perceived progress may differ from actual progress, the experiences of these leaders sheds light on the question of whose support and which conditions matter most to advance policy change.

Turning from the domestic context for reform to the interactions that national leaders have with international donors, in Chapter 3 we examine the question of aid effectiveness from the perspectives of public, private, and civil society leaders who donors seek to advise and assist. As leaders make crucial decisions about which problems to prioritize, what policy solutions hold the greatest promise, and how to translate their ideas into reality — who do they listen to? We compare differences in how individual donors and cohorts of similar donors are perceived, as well as the trajectory of their relative performance over time.

In Chapter 4, we conclude with some reflections on what international actors can learn from leaders in low- and middle-income countries as they aim to move from being tone-deaf to tuned-in to what local actors want and need to accelerate development. We assess why leaders give some donors higher (or lower) marks than others and pinpoint a few choices development partners make that are relatively strong predictors of how they are perceived by their counterparts. In the process, we identify some final implications for the future of development assistance that is responsive to local demand in the post-2015 era.

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[1] It should be said that many within traditional aid bureaucracies have embraced mantras of "thinking and working politically" and "politically smart, locally-led development"; however, admittedly this is easier to espouse in principle than to fundamentally change entrenched norms, rules, incentives, and processes that have evolved over several decades (see Booth & Unsworth, 2014).

[2] Blended capital refers to "the strategic use of development finance and philanthropic funds to mobilize private capital flows to emerging and frontier markets" (OECD & World Economic Forum, 2015).

[3] Our research team constructed a sampling frame that includes the global population of policymakers and practitioners who were knowledgeable about, or directly involved in, development policy initiatives in 126 low- and middle-income countries at any point between 2010 and 2015. We then identified the contact information of over 58,000 potential survey participants who fit this inclusion criteria through publicly available resources, such as organizational websites and directories, international conference records, Who's Who International, and public profiles on LinkedIn, Facebook, and Twitter. These individuals represent five different stakeholder groups: (1) host government officials (48%); (2) development partner staff based in the country (25%); (3) civil society leaders (12%); (4) private sector representatives (3%); and (5) independent experts (12%). See Appendix B and C for details on how the sampling frame of the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* is constructed.

[4] The survey was sent out to all individuals in the sampling frame via email and stayed in the field for two months between January and March 2017. Of those sampling frame members, our email invitation to participate in the survey successfully landed in the email boxes of 46,688 individuals. Some email invitations did not reach their intended recipients because their emails were no longer effective or because of their security settings, which block suspected spam emails. A total of 3,468 individuals responded to the survey for a response rate of 7.43 percent.

[5] Individual-level participation rates to email surveys (Sheehan, 2006; Shih & Fan, 2008) and elite surveys (Gabre-Madhin & Haggblade, 2001; Bishin et al., 2006; Jones 7 et al., 2008; Ban & Vandenabeele, 2009; Gray & Slapin, 2012; Ellinas & Suleiman, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2012; Hafner-Burton et al., 2014; and Avey & Desch, 2014) tend to be lower than that of household surveys. AidData mitigates potential bias in our surveys in two ways: (1) developing a robust sampling frame (over 55,000) to ensure a large enough set of final respondents to facilitate this analysis: and (2) using non-response weights when computing aggregate statistics (e.g., arithmetic means) from the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*. See Appendix D for more information.

[6] Respondents selected their area of policy focus from a fixed list of 22 different sectors: (1) agriculture, fishing, and forestry; (2) economic policy; (3) education; (4) energy and mining; (5) environment and natural resource management; (6) finance; (7) health; (8) human development and gender; (9) industry, trade and services; (10) information and communications; (11) labor market policy and programs; (12) nutrition and food security; (13) private sector development; (14) good governance and rule of law; (15) public sector management; (16) rural development; (17) social development and protection; (18) trade; (19) transportation; (20) urban development; (21) water, sewerage and waste management; and (22) foreign policy.

[7] In the questionnaire, a policy initiative was defined as an "organizational action designed to solve a particular problem."

[8] Survey respondents were given a list of multilateral banks and bilateral agencies and asked to select those that provided their government or their team with advice or assistance on certain policy initiatives. The list is included in Appendix E.

[9] Influence here is defined as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. Respondents select among "not at all influential", "only slightly influential", "quite influential", "very influential", "don't know/not sure" and "prefer not to say".

[10] Helpful here is defined as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. Respondents select among "not at all helpful", "only slightly helpful", "quite helpful", "very helpful", "don't know/not sure" and "prefer not to say".

[11] Respondents were asked to reflect on their experience working directly with a single policy initiative attempted by the country's government some time between 2010 and 2015. Subsequently, they answered a suite of questions, starting with listing all the foreign and domestic organizations that provided their government or their team with advice or assistance related to that initiative. Respondents then indicated whether these organizations were influential on the government's or their team's decision to pursue this initiative and helpful in its implementation.

[12] In fact, UNDP, UNHABITAT and others have sponsored a website devoted to providing resources to help leaders "localize" the SDGs: http://www.localizingthesdgs.org/.

Priorities

Do leaders, citizens and donors agree on where to focus their efforts?

Key findings:

Leaders emphasize education, jobs, and strong institutions, but turn a deaf ear to climate change and other environmental goals.

Poorer and less democratic countries are more concerned about ensuring access to basic public services — health, water, food, and energy.

Leaders and citizens diverge most over whether to put their faith in industry or emphasize food security and the health of their cities.

International donors are in step with national leaders on their commitment to strong institutions, but may underinvest in jobs and schools.

1. **Priorities**: Do leaders, citizens, and donors agree on where to focus their efforts?

> *"The 2030 Agenda is...a dream with targets and deadlines. And we are all accountable. The Governments to their people. The UN to the countries and communities we serve. We are here to support nationally-led action." — Amina Mohammed, UN Deputy Secretary General[13]*

In the post-2015 era, we expect leaders in low- and middle-income countries to mobilize resources, enact reforms, and deliver progress to place their societies firmly on a path to achieve an ambitious slate of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030. To succeed, leaders must make tough decisions about which problems to solve first in the face of limited resources, as well as their own national development strategies. In other words, they need to prioritize.

A perfect alignment of priorities across citizens, national leaders, and international donors is elusive. In fact, aid skeptics argue that lack of alignment between these groups hinders efforts to tackle persistent development challenges (Banuri et al., 2017; Booth, 2012). Yet, beyond a general sense of misalignment, there is little evidence to evaluate the extent to which citizen, leader, and donor priorities differ.

In this chapter, we close this evidence gap by triangulating what citizens, national leaders, and international donors view as the top development goals. We use three novel data sources to pinpoint areas of priority alignment (or misalignment) within and between these three stakeholder groups:

- **Leaders' priorities:** Respondents to AidData's *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* (LTLS) identified up to six goals from a fixed list of 16 SDGs (excluding Goal 17 "Partnerships for the Goals") that they believed to be most important for advancing their country's development.[14]

- **Citizens' priorities:** Approximately 10 million people worldwide voted for their six most development issues via the United Nations' *MY World 2015 Survey* (MWS).[15]

- **Donors' (revealed) priorities:** AidData's Financing to the SDGs Dataset[16] estimates the amount of official development assistance (ODA) invested in SDG-like goals between 2000 and 2013, as a rough barometer of donor priorities.

1.1 What do national leaders in low- and middle-income countries prioritize?

In designing the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*, we asked leaders in 126 countries to share their insights on the following question: *"Based upon your experience, what are the most important issues for advancing [your country's] development?"* We took an inclusive view of our population of interest: leaders across the public, private, and civil society sectors who were in positions to shape or make development policy in their countries, as well as the local representatives of international donors with whom they interact.[17]

Using their responses, we can paint a more complete picture of what world leaders deem most important for their country's development prospects. Since leaders are not monolithic, we also break down the responses into sub-cohorts to assess how development priorities vary by where leaders live and work. There are clear commonalities across the board in what leaders view as the top priorities, but also important differences.

1.1.1 Leaders emphasize education, jobs, and strong institutions, but turn a deaf ear to climate change and other environmental goals

Over sixty percent of leaders highlight education (SDG4), jobs (SDG8), and institutions (SDG16) as top priority areas for their countries to tackle (see Figure 1). They were remarkably consistent in both their top and bottom priorities regardless of occupation (see Figure 2) or geographic region (see Figure 3).

Leaders may value education, jobs, and institutions not only as ends in and of themselves, but also as a means to achieve other objectives. For example, strong educational systems not only enhance employment, earnings, and health for individuals, but also foster innovation, social cohesion, and institutional capacity (World Bank, 2018). Similarly, leaders' emphasis on

peace and justice may reflect their belief that stable institutions and a strong judicial system contribute to an enabling environment for business. As expected, leaders from fragile states are somewhat more likely to emphasize the importance of strong institutions.[18]

Comparatively, leaders turn a deaf ear towards climate change and other environmental goals. Despite considerable international attention in recent years, individual environmental issues related to climate action (SDG13), life on land (SDG15), life below water (SDG14), and responsible consumption and production (SDG12) fall to the bottom of most leaders' development priorities. One possible explanation: leaders are loath to tackle issues that require large upfront costs in exchange for uncertain future benefits.[19]

That said, leaders in the East Asia and Pacific (EAP) region are uniquely tuned-in to climate change — ranking it within their top 6 priorities. Strikingly, EAP leaders are ahead of the curve in prioritizing this issue, especially compared with their counterparts in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), which is the most climate vulnerable region of the world according to the 2017 Climate Vulnerability Index from Maplecroft (2016).[20]

The low number of votes cast for each of these issues may reflect a broader challenge for Agenda 2030: dividing environmental protection into four separate goals makes support for any one of them more diffuse. In fact, when we look at environmental goals as a bloc, roughly 40 percent of leaders select at least one of them as a priority.[21]

Also of note, leaders from Latin America and the Caribbean — the world's most unequal region (World Bank, 2013) — and the local representatives of international donors were substantially more likely than their counterparts in other regions or jobs to prioritize addressing inequality (SDG10). Meanwhile, civil society leaders were the sole group to identify gender equality (SDG5) among their top five priorities.[22]

1.1.2 Poor and less democratic countries are more concerned about ensuring access to basic public services — health, water, food, and energy

As shown in Figure 4, leaders in low-income countries emphasize issues related to the most basic needs of their population — health (SDG3), food (SDG2), water (SDG6), and energy (SDG7).[23] Comparatively, their wealthier peers pay attention to higher order issues of inequality (SDG10) and sustainable cities (SDG11).[24]

This divergence on the basis of a country's wealth may point to one of two things: leaders in poor countries may triage their priorities to address basic goods as an essential first building block, or their priorities could reflect pressure from a restive populace. According to a

UNDP (2013) study, leaders are not the only ones to emphasis basic needs first in poor countries — their citizens are more likely to emphasize these issues at a higher frequency than those in middle-income countries who instead prioritize inequality, jobs, and environmental issues.

Leaders in democratic countries place greater weight on issues of inequality[25] and sustainable cities than their counterparts in non-democratic countries (see Figure 5).[26] Similar to what we see with poorer countries, leaders in less democratic countries are primarily concerned with ensuring access to basic services such as food and healthcare.[27] Leaders in non-democracies also place a higher priority on life on land (SDG15) than their democratic peers.

It might be the case that elected leaders assign greater weight to citizen preferences when they set policy and investment priorities (Lake & Baum, 2001). In the face of free and fair elections, citizens are better able to inject their voices into policy discussions and thus incentivize leaders to be responsive to their concerns in order to "win" their votes (World Bank, 2017).

Alternatively, democratic and non-democratic leaders may be incentivized to provide different goods. In order to survive politically, democratic leaders must address the interests of the majority of their citizens through providing public goods (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2002). In contrast, non-democratic leaders gain more from providing private goods to keep powerful allies on side or potential rivals in check. The types of issues that are already taken care of "in equilibrium" may differ across regime types, leaving a different set of priority problems respondents view as left to solve.

In this section, we examined what leaders had to say about the top priorities their countries should tackle. These leaders work in different regions, organizations, and policy domains, but they have something in common — they are policymaking elites in their countries. Recognizing their privileged positions in society, we cannot assume that leaders (regardless of occupation) have the same set of priorities than the average citizen in their countries.

In fact, some scholars and practitioners argue that these global elites have more in common with each other than their fellow citizens that are less well connected politically or financially well-to-do (Hooge, 2003; Freeland, 2011). "Policy professionals" may be more concerned with the technocratic details of weighing various options (e.g., cost-benefit analysis, risk-adjusted reward calculations) than aligning with the popular priorities of individual citizens (Banuri et al., 2017). In Section 1.2 we examine whether citizens and leaders diverge in their top priorities by comparing the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* responses with those provided in the UN's *MY World Survey*.

Figure 1: How frequently does a global goal appear in leaders' top priorities?

Percentage of respondents who identified a goal as one of their top six priorities.

Sustainable Development Goal
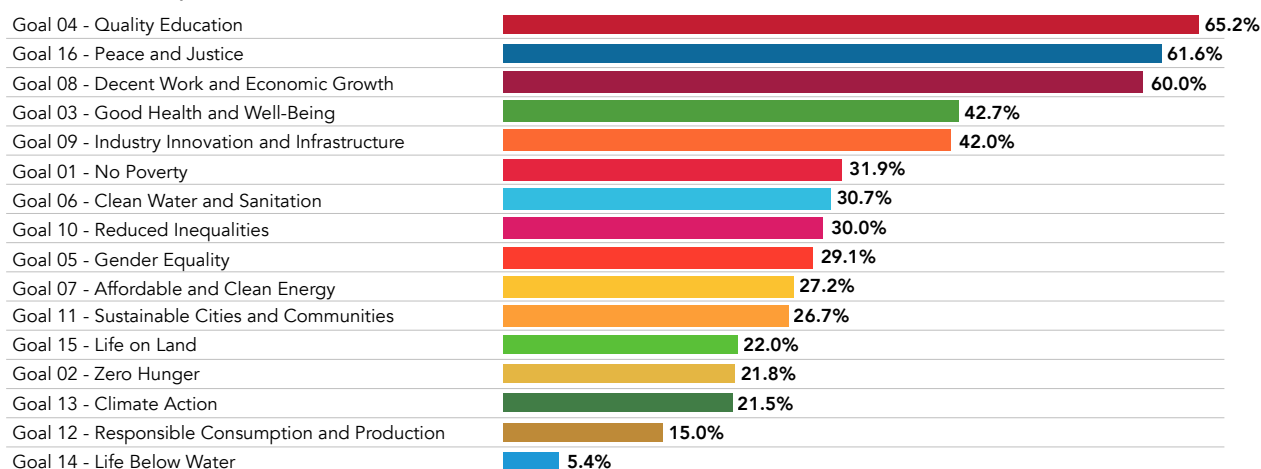
Goal	Percentage
Goal 04 - Quality Education	65.2%
Goal 16 - Peace and Justice	61.6%
Goal 08 - Decent Work and Economic Growth	60.0%
Goal 03 - Good Health and Well-Being	42.7%
Goal 09 - Industry Innovation and Infrastructure	42.0%
Goal 01 - No Poverty	31.9%
Goal 06 - Clean Water and Sanitation	30.7%
Goal 10 - Reduced Inequalities	30.0%
Goal 05 - Gender Equality	29.1%
Goal 07 - Affordable and Clean Energy	27.2%
Goal 11 - Sustainable Cities and Communities	26.7%
Goal 15 - Life on Land	22.0%
Goal 02 - Zero Hunger	21.8%
Goal 13 - Climate Action	21.5%
Goal 12 - Responsible Consumption and Production	15.0%
Goal 14 - Life Below Water	5.4%

Notes: *This figure shows the percentage of respondents who selected a given sustainable development goal (SDG) as one of their top 6 priorities for advancing their country's development [n = 2,435 respondents answered this question].*
Source: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.*

Figure 2: Important issues by occupation

Percentage of respondents who identified a goal as one of their top six priorities.

Government		Development Partner		CSO/NGO		Private Sector	
Goal 04	63.9%	Goal 04	64.7%	Goal 16	67.5%	Goal 04	76.1%
Goal 08	58.4%	Goal 08	64.0%	Goal 04	64.1%	Goal 08	74.5%
Goal 16	58.2%	Goal 16	62.1%	Goal 08	53.9%	Goal 09	73.5%
Goal 09	45.6%	Goal 10	40.3%	Goal 03	42.9%	Goal 16	71.9%
Goal 03	43.9%	Goal 03	38.3%	Goal 05	36.3%	Goal 03	41.8%
Goal 06	32.2%	Goal 09	34.5%	Goal 01	33.8%	Goal 07	36.8%
Goal 01	31.2%	Goal 01	32.7%	Goal 09	31.1%	Goal 05	29.1%
Goal 11	27.7%	Goal 06	32.6%	Goal 10	28.8%	Goal 06	25.2%
Goal 07	27.7%	Goal 05	32.3%	Goal 11	24.3%	Goal 01	24.9%
Goal 10	27.5%	Goal 11	29.0%	Goal 06	24.2%	Goal 10	23.8%
Goal 05	25.4%	Goal 07	25.5%	Goal 07	23.2%	Goal 02	21.1%
Goal 02	22.1%	Goal 15	23.1%	Goal 15	23.0%	Goal 15	19.1%
Goal 13	21.8%	Goal 13	22.2%	Goal 13	22.3%	Goal 11	18.4%
Goal 15	21.2%	Goal 02	19.5%	Goal 02	21.6%	Goal 13	17.1%
Goal 12	16.4%	Goal 12	12.4%	Goal 12	13.8%	Goal 12	16.6%
Goal 14	6.2%	Goal 14	4.5%	Goal 14	4.1%	Goal 14	3.4%

Notes: *This figure shows the percentage of respondents, by occupation, who selected a given sustainable development goal (SDG) as one of their top 6 priorities for advancing their country's development [n = 2,435 respondents answered this question].*
Source: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.*

Figure 3: Priorities by region

Percentage of respondents who identified a goal as one of their top six priorities.

Middle East & North Africa (MENA)

Goal	%
Goal 04	69.6%
Goal 16	67.4%
Goal 08	65.2%
Goal 09	42.0%
Goal 01	40.3%
Goal 03	37.6%
Goal 06	34.3%
Goal 05	31.5%
Goal 11	26.5%
Goal 07	24.9%
Goal 10	21.6%
Goal 12	19.3%
Goal 02	19.3%
Goal 15	13.8%
Goal 13	11.1%
Goal 14	2.8%

Europe & Central Asia (ECA)

Goal	%
Goal 16	69.5%
Goal 08	69.3%
Goal 04	65.4%
Goal 09	47.4%
Goal 03	39.4%
Goal 11	31.8%
Goal 01	23.3%
Goal 07	23.1%
Goal 10	21.2%
Goal 05	20.8%
Goal 06	15.9%
Goal 12	13.6%
Goal 15	13.4%
Goal 13	11.8%
Goal 02	5.4%
Goal 14	1.7%

East Asia & Pacific (EAP)

Goal	%
Goal 04	66.5%
Goal 16	55.1%
Goal 08	53.7%
Goal 03	47.7%
Goal 09	39.5%
Goal 13	35.5%
Goal 15	33.2%
Goal 10	31.5%
Goal 06	31.5%
Goal 05	29.6%
Goal 11	27.8%
Goal 01	25.6%
Goal 07	23.6%
Goal 14	13.6%
Goal 02	13.6%
Goal 12	13.1%

Latin America & Caribbean (LAC)

Goal	%
Goal 04	65.5%
Goal 08	62.1%
Goal 16	59.9%
Goal 10	41.9%
Goal 03	40.7%
Goal 09	33.5%
Goal 01	31.4%
Goal 05	30.8%
Goal 11	29.8%
Goal 06	26.7%
Goal 13	26.1%
Goal 15	23.9%
Goal 02	18.3%
Goal 12	17.4%
Goal 07	17.4%
Goal 14	3.7%

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)

Goal	%
Goal 04	67.5%
Goal 16	63.6%
Goal 08	58.4%
Goal 03	49.5%
Goal 09	43.5%
Goal 01	38.8%
Goal 06	38.6%
Goal 07	34.8%
Goal 02	34.3%
Goal 05	33.0%
Goal 10	30.0%
Goal 15	26.8%
Goal 13	23.6%
Goal 11	20.6%
Goal 12	14.8%
Goal 14	4.7%

South Asia (SA)

Goal	%
Goal 16	61.9%
Goal 04	56.6%
Goal 08	52.2%
Goal 09	43.0%
Goal 03	40.2%
Goal 11	37.0%
Goal 05	36.1%
Goal 01	35.3%
Goal 06	34.5%
Goal 07	30.1%
Goal 10	29.7%
Goal 13	27.3%
Goal 02	22.9%
Goal 15	18.9%
Goal 12	16.9%
Goal 14	4.0%

Regions with Survey Responses
- East Asia & Pacific (EAP)
- Europe & Central Asia (ECA)
- Latin America & Caribbean (LAC)
- Middle East & North Africa (MENA)
- South Asia (SA)
- Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)

Notes: *This figure shows the percentage of respondents, by region, who selected a given sustainable development goal (SDG) as one of their top 6 priorities for advancing their country's development.*
Source: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.*

Figure 4: Differences in leaders' priorities in low- versus middle-income countries

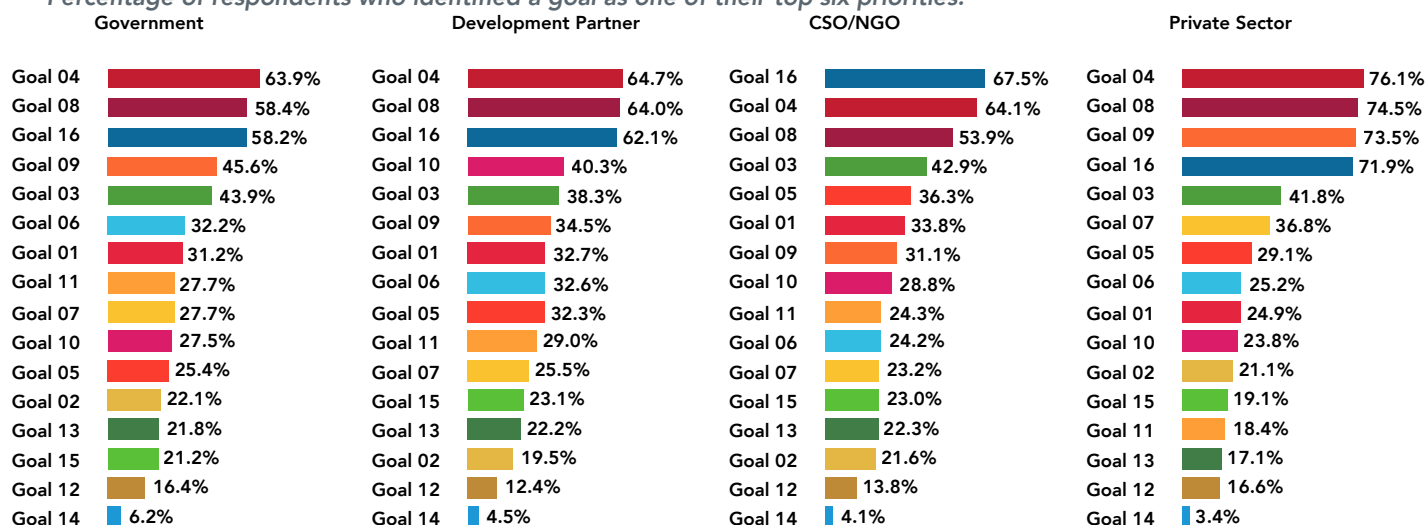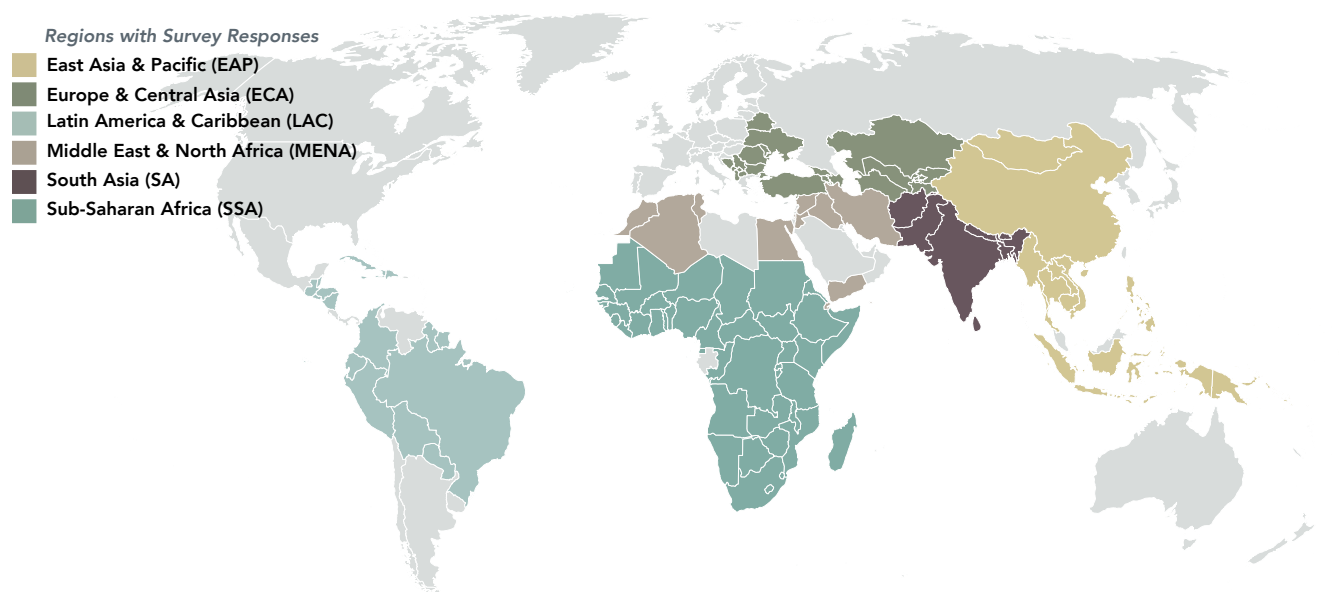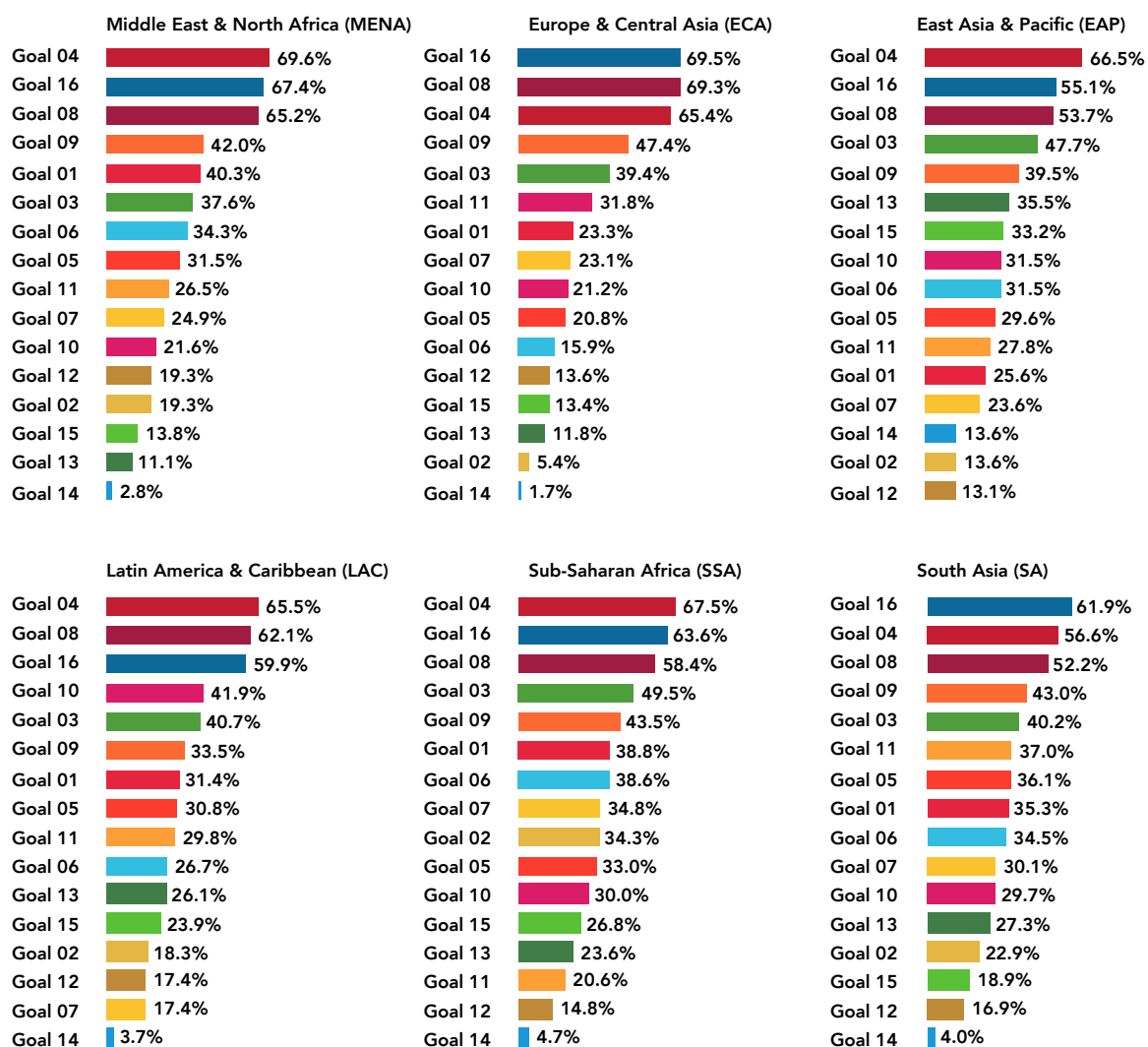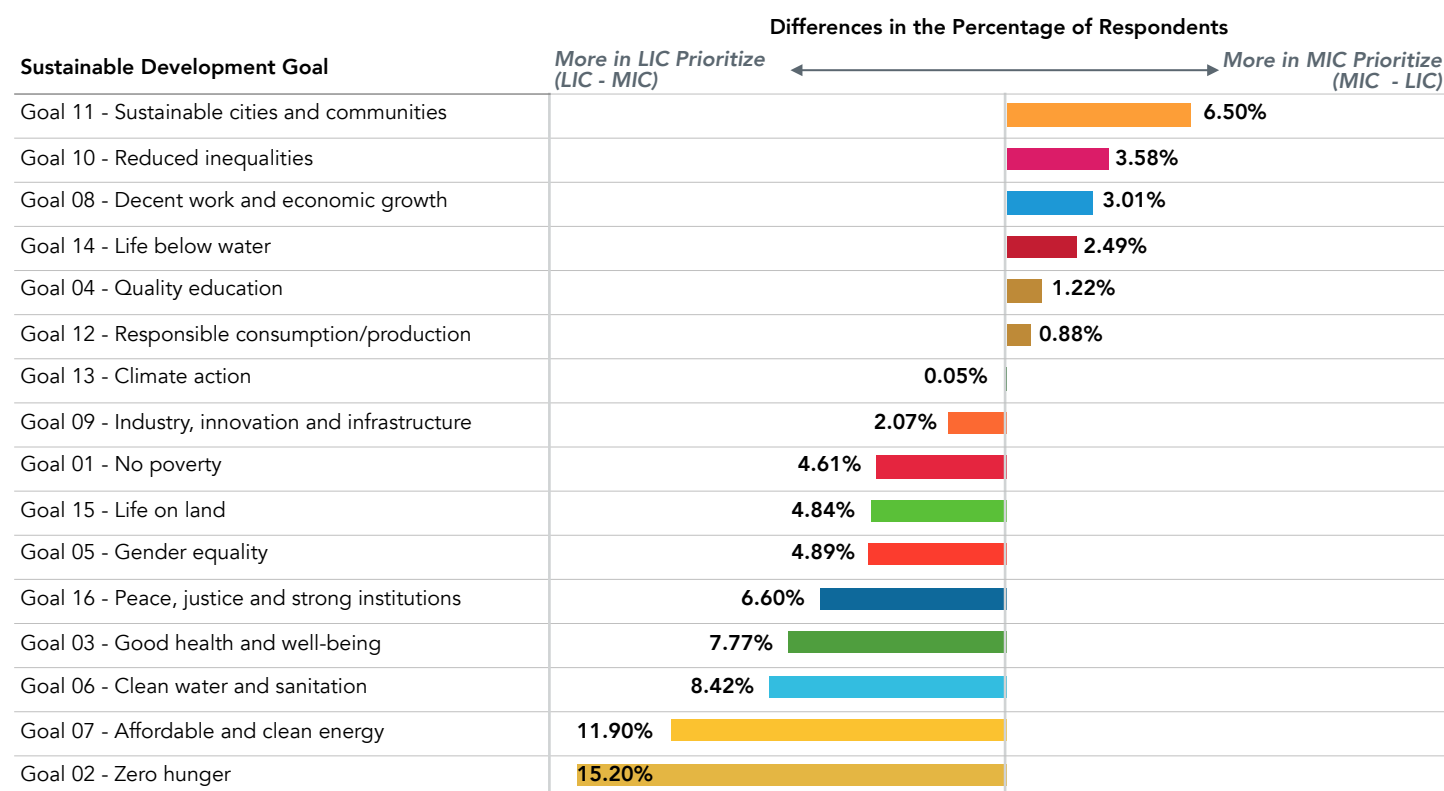*Percentage of respondents in low-income countries (LICs) versus respondents in middle-income countries (MICs) who identified a goal as one of their top six priorities.*

Priorities of Respondents in Low-Income Countries (LICs)	%
Goal 16 - Peace, justice and strong institutions	64.9%
Goal 04 - Quality education	64.4%
Goal 08 - Decent work and economic growth	57.7%
Goal 03 - Good health and well-being	47.8%
Goal 09 - Industry, innovation and infrastructure	42.9%
Goal 06 - Clean water and sanitation	36.1%
Goal 01 - No poverty	35.4%
Goal 07 - Affordable and clean energy	34.9%
Goal 05 - Gender equality	32.2%
Goal 02 - Zero hunger	31.8%
Goal 10 - Reduced inequalities	28.0%
Goal 15 - Life on land	25.3%
Goal 11 - Sustainable cities and communities	22.6%
Goal 13 - Climate action	22.2%
Goal 12 - Responsible consumption/production	14.4%
Goal 14 - Life below water	3.6%

Priorities of Respondents in Middle-Income Countries (MICs)	%
Goal 04 - Quality education	65.6%
Goal 08 - Decent work and economic growth	60.7%
Goal 16 - Peace, justice and strong institutions	58.3%
Goal 09 - Industry, innovation and infrastructure	40.8%
Goal 03 - Good health and well-being	40.0%
Goal 10 - Reduced inequalities	31.6%
Goal 01 - No poverty	30.8%
Goal 11 - Sustainable cities and communities	29.1%
Goal 06 - Clean water and sanitation	27.7%
Goal 05 - Gender equality	27.3%
Goal 07 - Affordable and clean energy	23.0%
Goal 13 - Climate action	22.2%
Goal 15 - Life on land	20.4%
Goal 02 - Zero hunger	16.6%
Goal 12 - Responsible consumption/production	15.3%
Goal 14 - Life below water	6.1%

Differences in the Percentage of Respondents

Sustainable Development Goal	More in LIC Prioritize (LIC - MIC)	More in MIC Prioritize (MIC - LIC)
Goal 11 - Sustainable cities and communities		6.50%
Goal 10 - Reduced inequalities		3.58%
Goal 08 - Decent work and economic growth		3.01%
Goal 14 - Life below water		2.49%
Goal 04 - Quality education		1.22%
Goal 12 - Responsible consumption/production		0.88%
Goal 13 - Climate action	0.05%	
Goal 09 - Industry, innovation and infrastructure	2.07%	
Goal 01 - No poverty	4.61%	
Goal 15 - Life on land	4.84%	
Goal 05 - Gender equality	4.89%	
Goal 16 - Peace, justice and strong institutions	6.60%	
Goal 03 - Good health and well-being	7.77%	
Goal 06 - Clean water and sanitation	8.42%	
Goal 07 - Affordable and clean energy	11.90%	
Goal 02 - Zero hunger	15.20%	

Notes: *The two tables above show the the proportion of respondents in low- and middle-income who selected a given sustainable development goal (SDG) as among their top 6 priorities. The bottom chart shows the difference in percentage of respondents in LICS and MICs. Higher numbers on the right indicate more respondents in MICs than LICs selected that goal as a top 6 priority; higher numbers on the left indicate more respondents in LICs than MICs selected that goal as a top 6 priority. Small differences between the two tables above and the chart below are due to rounding.*
Sources: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, and the World Bank's World Development Indicators.*

Figure 5: Differences in leaders' priorities in non-democracies vs democracies

Percentage of respondents in non-democratic countries (ND) versus respondents in democratic countries (DC) who identified a goal as one of their top six priorities.

Priorities of Respondents in Non-Democratic Countries (ND)	%
Goal 04 - Quality education	63.9%
Goal 16 - Peace, justice and strong institutions	60.8%
Goal 08 - Decent work and economic growth	58.7%
Goal 09 - Industry, innovation and infrastructure	43.6%
Goal 03 - Good health and well-being	43.5%
Goal 01 - No poverty	34.0%
Goal 06 - Clean water and sanitation	30.6%
Goal 05 - Gender equality	27.9%
Goal 07 - Affordable and clean energy	27.2%
Goal 10 - Reduced inequalities	27.1%
Goal 02 - Zero hunger	24.9%
Goal 15 - Life on land	23.8%
Goal 11 - Sustainable cities and communities	23.7%
Goal 13 - Climate action	20.6%
Goal 12 - Responsible consumption/production	15.9%
Goal 14 - Life below water	4.2%

Priorities of Respondents in Democratic Countries (DC)	%
Goal 04 - Quality education	65.7%
Goal 16 - Peace, justice and strong institutions	62.9%
Goal 08 - Decent work and economic growth	61.1%
Goal 03 - Good health and well-being	40.7%
Goal 09 - Industry, innovation and infrastructure	40.1%
Goal 10 - Reduced inequalities	35.4%
Goal 01 - No poverty	32.6%
Goal 06 - Clean water and sanitation	29.6%
Goal 11 - Sustainable cities and communities	29.6%
Goal 05 - Gender equality	29.1%
Goal 07 - Affordable and clean energy	26.2%
Goal 13 - Climate action	21.7%
Goal 02 - Zero hunger	21.0%
Goal 15 - Life on land	19.1%
Goal 12 - Responsible consumption/production	14.1%
Goal 14 - Life below water	4.6%

Differences in the Percentage of Respondents

Sustainable Development Goal	More in ND Prioritize (ND - DC)	More in DC Prioritize (DC - ND)
Goal 10 - Reduced inequalities		8.3%
Goal 11 - Sustainable cities and communities		5.9%
Goal 08 - Decent work and economic growth		2.3%
Goal 16 - Peace, justice and strong institutions		2.1%
Goal 04 - Quality education		1.8%
Goal 05 - Gender equality		1.1%
Goal 13 - Climate action		1.0%
Goal 14 - Life below water		0.4%
Goal 07 - Affordable and clean energy	1.0%	
Goal 06 - Clean water and sanitation	1.1%	
Goal 01 - No poverty	1.3%	
Goal 12 - Responsible consumption/production	1.8%	
Goal 03 - Good health and well-being	2.8%	
Goal 09 - Industry, innovation and infrastructure	3.5%	
Goal 02 - Zero hunger	3.9%	
Goal 15 - Life on land	4.7%	

Notes: *The two tables above show the the proportion of respondents in non-democracies (ND) and democratic countries (DC) who selected a given SDG as among their top 6 priorities. The bottom chart shows the differences in the percentage of respondents in ND versus DC selecting a given goal. Higher numbers on the right indicate more respondents in DC than ND selected that goal as a top six priority; higher numbers on the left indicate more respondents in ND than DC selected that goal as a top six priority. A threshold of 6 in the Polity2 ratings was used to distinguish between democracies and non-democracies. Small differences between the two tables and the chart are due to rounding.*
**Sources:** *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, and Polity IV (Marshall & Jaggers, 2003).*

1.2 To what extent are leader priorities aligned with what citizens deem most important?

The idea that citizen voices should inform how leaders determine their policy priorities is not new, but the proliferation of technology and Internet connectivity makes it easier to collect broad-based feedback on a range of issues, from local schools and municipal budget allocations to global development goals (Buntaine et al., 2017a). Negotiations in the lead up to the adoption of the SDGs are a case in point: citizens participated in "national consultations across 88 countries" as well as various thematic discussions online and offline, to share their views (Clark, 2015).

In theory, citizens can influence the agenda-setting process directly, through lobbying and advocacy, or indirectly through the power of the ballot box and voting for candidates that best embody their views. But the extent to which leaders' priorities align with those of their constituents is where the rubber meets the road. In order to measure the difference between leader and citizen priorities, we compare responses to AidData's *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* and the UN's *MY World Survey*.[28] To facilitate this comparison, we mapped the response options in both surveys into 14 common policy areas (see Appendix A).[29]

Figure 6:   Estimate of policy misalignment between leaders and citizens, by region[30]
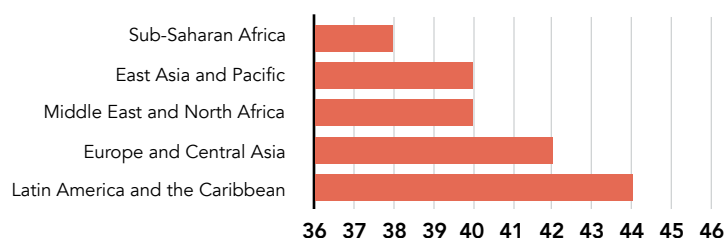
Notes: This figure shows a policy misalignment estimate between leaders and citizens in each region, where a higher value means that there is a greater degree of divergence in development priorities between leaders and citizens. The score is equivalent to the sum of differences in the rankings of policy areas between leaders and citizens in each region.

Sources: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, and the UN's MY World Survey (UNDG, 2013)

1.2.1   Leaders and citizens diverge most over whether to put their faith in industry or emphasize food security and the health of their cities

Leaders and citizens generally agree on the most pressing development issues their countries should tackle — education, institutions, health, and jobs (see Figure 7). Both groups emphasize goals with near-term, tangible benefits for individuals, rather than problems with longer time horizons and more diffuse benefits such as climate change or energy policy.

However, there are important differences. Leaders view industry and environmental concerns as higher priorities than do their citizens, perhaps identifying these issues as consequential to spur growth sustainably. By contrast, citizens are much more concerned with food security — one of their top five priorities — than their leaders who rated this among the least important issues to address. Citizens also prioritize the health of their cities, perhaps reflecting their more intimate exposure to the pressures of urbanization, to a greater degree than their leaders.

As shown in Figure 6, leaders and citizens from sub-Saharan Africa (the poorest region) are most closely aligned in their development priorities. Conversely, in Latin America and the Caribbean (the most unequal region) there is greater divergence between what leaders and citizens consider to be top priorities.

Leaders and citizens diverge in two areas in every region: food security is consistently a concern for the masses, while policy elites have an enduring belief in industry to fuel economic growth. In three of five regions, leaders are more convinced about the importance of addressing environmental issues than their constituents. In particular, the interest of East Asia and Pacific leaders in climate change is noteworthy, as they are quite far ahead of their citizens on this issue.[31]

In this section, we examined what citizens and leaders have to say about the most pressing development issues facing their countries. While academic literature and popular thought alike underscore that leaders often fail to act in the interest of their citizens, we find that these two groups largely agree when it comes to the top development priorities for their countries with some notable exceptions.

Citizen voices are not the only ones that matter to national leaders who are also interested in unlocking access to external capital to finance their development strategies. In Section 1.3 we examine the extent to which international donors and national leaders agree on their priorities. Leaders arguably have ample choice to mobilize money from public and private channels (United Nations, 2014; Prizzon et al., 2016), but official development assistance (ODA) remains important for the world's poorest countries (Development Initiatives, 2015; Martin & Walker, 2015; Sethi et al., 2017).

Figure 7: Comparison of development priorities between leaders and citizens

Ordered rankings based on how frequently a goal appears amongst citizens' top six priorities in the UN's MY World Survey and leaders' top six priorities in AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.

Notes: *In the top chart, development goals are ranked by leaders' priorities (right to left) along the x-axis and by citizens' priorities (top to bottom) along the y-axis. Leader rankings are based on the proportion of respondents who selected a goal as a top six priority in the 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey (LTLS). Citizen rankings are from the UN's MY World Survey (UNDG, 2013). To match these two surveys, AidData performed a crosswalk. For the LTLS, this combined 3 environment-related SDGs – SDG12 (responsible consumption), SDG14 (life below water) and SDG15 (life on land) – into a single priority, Environment. For the MY World Survey, this crosswalk combined three governance-related selections – "Freedom from Discrimination and Persecution," "Honest and Responsive Government," and "Protection Against Crime and Violence" – into a single priority, Peace and Justice. All "votes" for any of the sub-issues included in the Environment and Peace and Justice are counted toward their respective priorities. Once we tallied the votes for each priority, we assigned rankings of 1 through 14 for citizens and leaders based on the number of votes cast for each priority.*
Sources: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, and the 2013 MYS (UNDG, 2013)*

Figure 8: Divergence of priorities between leaders and citizens, by region

Where are leaders running ahead of (or behind) their citizens priorities?

East Asia and Pacific

Priority	Citizen Rank	Leader Rank (Difference)
Poverty		-2
Hunger		-8
Health		-2
Education		1
Gender Equality		-1
Water		-2
Clean Energy		1
Employment		0
Industry		6
Inequality		2
Cities		1
Climate		7
Environment		5
Peace and Justice		-2

Rank 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Europe and Central Asia

Priority	Citizen Rank	Leader Rank (Difference)
Poverty		2
Hunger		-8
Health		-2
Education		-1
Gender Equality		2
Water		-5
Clean Energy		5
Employment		2
Industry		7
Inequality		2
Cities		3
Climate		-1
Environment		-2
Peace and Justice		0

Rank 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
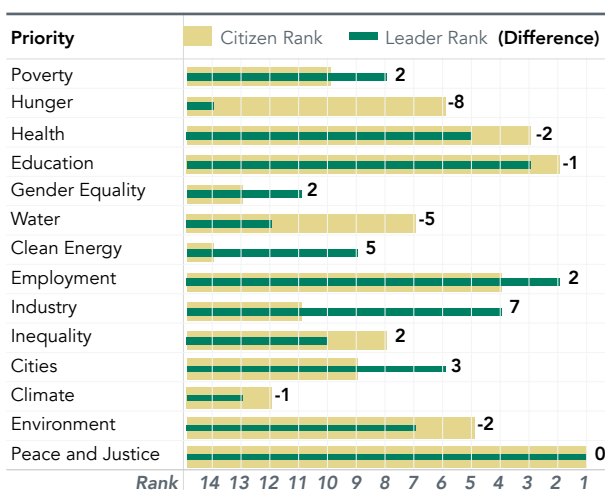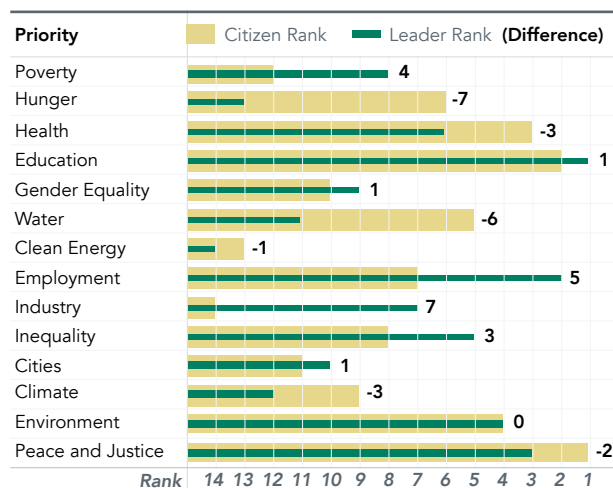
Latin America and the Caribbean

Priority	Citizen Rank	Leader Rank (Difference)
Poverty		4
Hunger		-7
Health		-3
Education		1
Gender Equality		1
Water		-6
Clean Energy		-1
Employment		5
Industry		7
Inequality		3
Cities		1
Climate		-3
Environment		0
Peace and Justice		-2

Rank 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Middle East and North Africa

Priority	Citizen Rank	Leader Rank (Difference)
Poverty		3
Hunger		-8
Health		-2
Education		1
Gender Equality		1
Water		-2
Clean Energy		0
Employment		0
Industry		8
Inequality		3
Cities		3
Climate		-1
Environment		7
Peace and Justice		-1

Rank 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Sub-Saharan Africa

Priority	Citizen Rank	Leader Rank (Difference)
Poverty		2
Hunger		-4
Health		-1
Education		1
Gender Equality		1
Water		-3
Clean Energy		-1
Employment		1
Industry		5
Inequality		-2
Cities		-7
Climate		1
Environment		8
Peace and Justice		-1

Rank 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Notes: Development issues for leaders and citizens are each ranked along an x-axis that moves from lower to higher priority (where 14 indicates the lowest priority, and 1 the highest). The numbers at the end of each bar are the difference in the number of places between the two rankings (citizen rank minus leader rank). A positive number indicates that leaders rank an issue as a higher priority than citizens. A negative number indicates that citizens rank an issue as a higher priority than leaders.

Sources: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, and the UN's MY World Survey (UNDG, 2013).*

1.3 How well aligned are international donor investments with the priorities of leaders and citizens?

The relationship between foreign aid and agenda-setting is often a lightning rod for controversy. Proponents of country ownership[32] argue that international donors go too far in advancing their own interests at the expense of partner country priorities, which undercuts the effectiveness of this assistance (Fleck & Kilby, 2010; Harrigan & Wang, 2011; Dreher et al., 2008).[33] Conversely, others argue that aid can be a catalyst for positive policy change and donors do not go far enough in influencing national priorities.

Hitherto, much of the debate has focused on philosophical arguments of how international donors should interact with national leaders (Booth, 2012; Bexell & Jonsson, 2016) or process measures of the extent to which donor behavior comports with principles of country ownership (OECD, n.d.; Rose et al., 2016; Dunning & McGillem, 2016).[34] By contrast, there has been little focus on how the specific priorities of donors, national leaders, and citizens differ.

In this section we compare the revealed priorities of donors from how they allocate their official development assistance (ODA) spending versus the development priorities identified by leaders and citizens. This analysis does not tell us *how* these priorities were determined, but focuses instead on whether donors, leaders, and citizens are *aligned* in what they say the priorities should be.

1.3.1 International donors are in step with national leaders in their commitment to strong institutions, but may be underinvesting in jobs and schools

Donors have largely channeled their aid dollars in areas that are also prioritized by leaders and citizens. This is particularly evident with regard to goals on strong institutions (SDG16) and good health (SDG3), which are uniformly top priorities for all three groups (see Figure 9). While not highly valued by citizens, international donors share a common interest in promoting industry, (SDG9). Donors and citizens see more eye to eye on the importance of sustainable cities (SDG11).

International donors have two blindspots: they may be underinvesting in jobs (SDG8) and schools (SDG4) relative to demand from both citizens and leaders, who consistently put these at the top of the list. Meanwhile, life below water (SDG14) and responsible consumption and production (SDG12) are dimly viewed by all parties, as neither goal registers in anyone's top priorities.

Donors are most out of step with both leaders (Figure 10) and citizens (Figure 11) in two regions: (1) Latin America and the Caribbean; and (2) East Asia and the Pacific. There is the closest convergence between citizens, leaders, and donors in sub-Saharan Africa.

There are two plausible explanations for these trends. On the one hand, donors may be reticent to back the priorities of national leaders if they believe that they are not fully representing the interests of their citizens. The fact that citizens and leaders diverge most in Latin America and the Caribbean and least in sub-Saharan Africa in their priorities supports that view (see Section 1.2). Alternatively, it could be that international donors attempt to sway national leaders (irrespective of what citizens want) to adopt new norms or values through their ODA spending (Grown et al., 2016).[35]

Figure 9: Relationship between the priorities of donors, as revealed through their ODA spending between 2000-2013, and the priorities of national leaders from the *2017 LTLS*
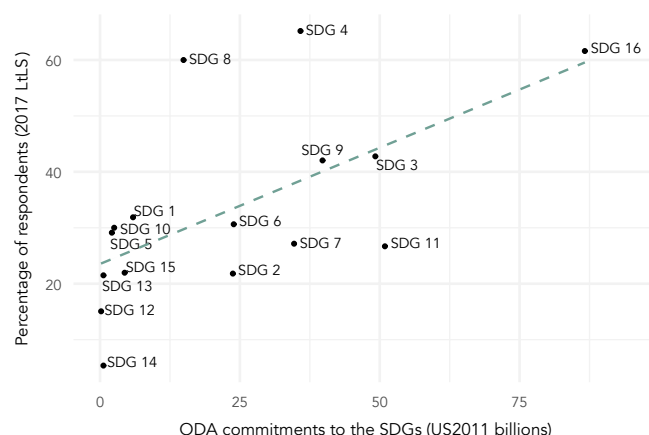
Notes: This figure shows the relationship between the perceived priority of each SDG on the y-axis (as measured by the percentage of respondents who selected a given SDG as one of their top six priorities in the 2017 LTLS), and the total amount of official development assistance (ODA) allocated to a given SDG between 2000 and 2013 on the x-axis.

Sources: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, and AidData's Financing to the SDGs Dataset, Version 1.0 (Sethi et al., 2017).

Figure 10: Estimate of policy misalignment between international donors and leaders, by region
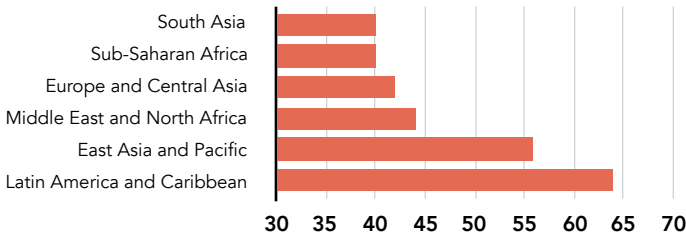
Notes: This figure shows a policy misalignment estimate between donors and leaders in each region, where a higher value means a greater degree of divergence in development priorities. For donors, we first sum the total of their ODA commitments for the period of 2000-2013 by goal. The policy misalignment estimate is equivalent to the sum of differences in the rankings of policy areas between leaders and the donor commitments by goal in each region.

Sources: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, and AidData's Financing to the SDGs Dataset, Version 1.0 (Sethi et al., 2017).

Figure 11: Estimate of policy misalignment between international donors and citizens, by region
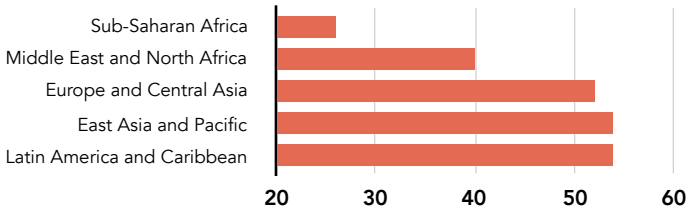

Notes: This figure shows a policy misalignment estimate between donors and citizens in each region, where a higher value means a greater degree of divergence in development priorities. For donors, we first sum the total of their ODA commitments for the period of 2000-2013 by goal. The policy misalignment estimate is equivalent to the sum of differences in the rankings of policy areas between citizens and donor commitments by goal in each region.

Sources: The UN's MY World Survey (UNDG, 2013), and AidData's Financing to the SDGs Dataset, Version 1.0 (Sethi et al., 2017).

1.4   Concluding thoughts

Do citizens, leaders, and donors speak with one voice when prioritizing where to focus their efforts to achieve sustainable development for all? In this chapter, we compared what citizens want their leaders to focus on, what leaders identify as the top challenges for their countries, and what donors prioritize based upon their ODA spending.

It turns out that these three groups have more in common than not regarding their policy priorities. Jobs, education, and strong institutions are top of mind. However, countries are not monolithic. Important differences exist between democracies and non-democracies, as well as wealthier and poorer regions.

Getting a pulse on what citizens, leaders, and donors view as the most important development priorities is revealing, but to move from aspiration to action reform-minded individuals must still galvanize a coalition of willing partners to push through policy change. This is no small feat, as with each proposed change, policy entrepreneurs are likely to encounter resistance from the vested interests that stand to lose (or do not stand to gain) from a reform.

Rather than engage in speculation from afar, in Chapter 2 we analyze responses to the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* to learn what leaders have to say about whose support and what conditions are needed to get traction for reforms related to specific initiatives on which they worked between 2010 to 2015. We also examine whether leaders' perceptions of progress differ depending upon their area of expertise, organizational affiliation, and the support of different domestic stakeholders.

[13] The Deputy Secretary-General's remarks at the United Nations General Assembly Side Event, "The SDGs In Action: Country-owned, Country Led" [as prepared for delivery]. September 21, 2017. Available from: https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/dsg/statement/2017-09-21/deputy-secretary-generals-remarks-general-assembly-side-event-%E2%80%9C

[14] See Question 8 in the 2017 LTLS questionnaire presented in the Appendix.

[15] The MWS was first launched in 2012 as part of the the MY World 2015 project. The number of survey participants (as of Oct. 25, 2017) was 9,736,484. The data collected through the MWS are updated daily, but for the sake of our study, we use the MWS dataset from 2013 which was used in UNDP's report *A Million Voices: The World We Want*.

[16] AidData's Tracking Financing for Sustainable Development methodology is based on an analysis of ODA project descriptions and involves two critical steps: (1) creating a mapping between AidData's activity coding scheme and the 169 SDG targets; and (2) splitting the dollar value of an aid project across the associated SDG targets. These steps allow us to estimate the total financing at both the goal and target level for the SDGs. To create the dataset, AidData cross-walked over 1.2 million ODA projects that are committed between 2000 and 2013 to the 17 SDGs. Details on the methodology are available in Sethi et al. (2017). The dataset on SDG finance can be downloaded from the following link: *http://aiddata.org/data/financing-to-the-sdgs-dataset*.

[17] For the purpose of analyzing leader priorities, we only include responses from four of the five stakeholder groups who participated in the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*, dropping the responses of independent experts.

[18] Running a bivariate regression, we find a weakly significant relationship between a country's score on the Fragile State Index in 2010 and a leader's propensity to select goal 16 as a top priority. Please see the Appendix A for further discussion.

[19] Government leaders may adopt a short-term mindset in selecting development priorities that maximize near term benefits for their constituencies in the face of elections or other political cycles (see Block et al., 2003; Price, 1997). Similarly, civil society and development partner leaders are often under pressure to demonstrate visible progress in 3-5 year planning or funding cycles.

[20] According to the 2017 Climate Vulnerability Assessment, where higher scores indicate greater vulnerability, Asia (5.5/10) and the Pacific (4.93/10) are towards the middle of the pack in terms of relative vulnerability to climate change. Sub-Saharan Africa is at greatest risk of any region to climate change (2.89/10). See: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/verisk%20index.pdf

[21] The relatively low proportion of survey respondents who worked in the environment sector (approximately 10 percent) may also be a contributing factor (and source of bias) here (see Inglehart, 1995).

[22] It is plausible that some respondents perceived a *particular* type of inequality to be their priority, though they might not have seen the broad goal of reducing inequality to be an issue of salience.

[23] Leaders were on average less likely to cite "zero hunger," "clean water and sanitation," and "affordable and clean energy" as priority issues when they were from countries with a higher level of average GDP per capita. We confirmed that these relationships were statistically significant in a multivariate logistic regression, even after accounting for the underlying respondent- (e.g., place of occupation, policy area of expertise) and country- (e.g., status of democracy and region) characteristics.

[24] There is a statistically significant, positive relationship between a respondent's propensity to select "sustainable cities" as a priority and GDP per capita. This relationship holds even after controlling for baseline respondent-level and country-level characteristics. It is worth noting that our finding is consistent with an earlier hypothesis by Inglehart (1995) that wealthier individuals and societies attach greater value to "post-materialist values".

[25] Our finding here is consistent with that of Blaydes and Kayser (2011) in "Counting Calories: Democracy and Distribution," which find that democracies and hybrid regimes are better at increasing per capita calorie (food) availability as a measure of economic redistribution to address inequality.

[26] Since democracy and income are closely linked (e.g., Acemoglu et al., 2008), it is plausible that these differences in respondents' propensity to view "zero hunger" as a priority may be driven or compounded by varying levels of income between these two different types of political regime, which may affect respondents' perspectives on development priorities. Indeed, we find no statistically significant difference in respondents' likelihood of prioritizing "zero hunger" between democracies and non-democracies after controlling for income (e.g., GDP per capita) although we find that respondents are statistically more likely to cite "life on land" as a priority even after taking into account the level of income.

[27] We find a statistically significant, positive relationship between the level of democracy (as measured by Polity IV ratings) and respondents' propensity to select "reduced inequality," "decent work and economic growth," and "peace, justice, and strong institutions" as their priorities. This relationship holds after controlling for baseline respondent- and country-level characteristics.

[28] Due to sample size constraints we are unable to perform this analysis at the country level.

[29] See Appendix A for the cross-walk mapping of MWS and 2017 LTLS response options.

[30] We exclude South Asia from the region-disaggregated analysis due to the small sample size (n is less than 30).

[31] Leaders may be more informed of the risk of climate change as an existential threat than ordinary citizens whose primary concern lies in meeting their immediate needs (e.g., school, health). For instance, Lee et al. (2015) suggest that the public awareness of climate change and its risk is limited at best. In fact, "majorities in developing countries from Africa to the Middle East and Asia [reportedly] had never heard of climate change" (p. 1014).

[32] Dunning and McGillem (2016) define country ownership as a "set of principles and approaches by which local actors - governments, civil society, and the private sector - have a greater voice and hand in development activities. They delineate three pillars of country ownership including: priorities (what development activities take place), implementation (who is accountable for a set of results), and resources (how development activities are funded)".

[33] See also Masaki (2016).

[34] Rose et al. (2016) outline several examples of "previous efforts to measure the extent to which donors adopt practices that promote country ownership" such as: the OECD Development Assistance Committee's peer review process, the OECD's evaluation of the implementation of the Paris declaration commitment, and the Center for Global Development's Quality of of Official Development Assistance (QuODA).

Progress

Whose support, and what conditions, make leaders more or less optimistic about the progress of their reforms?

Key findings of this chapter:

- *Leaders are generally favorable about reform prospects in their countries, regardless of their sector focus.*

- *Government officials wear "rose-colored glasses" and are more optimistic than other domestic stakeholders regarding their reform progress.*

- *Leaders report making more progress when both central and local government actors support their reform efforts.*

- *Leader perceptions of progress coincide with how their country performs on objective metrics of government effectiveness and control of corruption.*

- *Leaders from countries that receive more aid are relatively optimistic about their reform progress, except fragile states that work closely with France.*

2. **Progress:** Whose support and what conditions make leaders more or less optimistic about the progress of their reforms?

"Making progress is about making politics work. Politics determines the choices we make... what kind of society we wish to live in and...will help to make poverty history".

—The Rt. Hon. Hilary Benn, February 2, 2006. (as quoted in Leftwich, 2006)

In setting priorities, leaders create winners and losers as they adjudicate between competing preferences (Schaffer, 1984; Court and Cotterrell, 2006). Far from a rational, centralized, and linear process, agenda-setting involves getting "problems" on the radar of policymakers, the "politics" of contestation over which issues attract attention, and the weighing of various "policy" solutions (Kingdon, 1984).[36] It is politically fraught as reformers challenge "established interests," entrenched "power structures," and the very "rules of the game" (Leftwich, 2006).[37]

Getting traction for one's priorities hinges not only upon the salience of the problem or the merits of a possible solution, but also the ability of leaders to convince, co-opt or neutralize "veto players" in pushing for policy change (Tsebelis, 1995; Buchanan and Tullock, 1962; Munger, 2002).[38] In this chapter, we turn from what leaders see as the most important policy problems to solve, to understanding how they perceive the political challenges to galvanize support, navigate resistance, and make progress on reforms.[39]

Using responses to the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*, we analyze the enabling environment for reform as reported by leaders from 126 countries. These leaders answered questions about the amount of progress they had made in advancing a particular policy initiative on which they had worked, as well as the degree of support (or opposition) they encountered along the way.[40]

First, we consider whether a leader's area of policy focus or organizational affiliation affects how they perceive progress. Second, we probe how (perceived) support from domestic groups correlates with assessments of progress. Third, we explore whether there is a relationship between how leaders perceive progress and objective measures of a government's willingness and ability to enact reforms. Finally, we assess whether external money and evidence from donors affects leaders' perceptions of progress.

2.1 Do some leaders view reform progress more favorably than their peers?

In designing the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey (LTLS)*, we asked leaders in 126 countries to share their insights on the following question: *"On the whole, how much progress did [the primary policy initiative on which you worked] make towards solving the most important problem you identified?"* Respondents could evaluate the progress that had been made on a scale of 1 ("no progress at all") through 4 ("a great deal of progress").[41] We then asked them subsequent questions about the degree to which various domestic constituencies were supportive of, or in opposition to, their initiative.

Perceptions are admittedly a noisy signal. Leaders' assessments of progress are vulnerable to imperfect information or subconscious biases (Martinez-Moyano et al., 2007). For example, some leaders may be predisposed by virtue of their position, culture, or sectoral focus to view reform progress more (or less) favorably than their peers. However, it is also entirely possible that the perceptions of these leaders are valid and informed by contextual clues that only they see.

Using the *2017 LTLS* responses, we put these questions to the test by assessing whether a leader's sector of expertise or the stakeholder group they belong to affects their perceptions of reform progress.[42]

2.1.1 Leaders are generally favorable about reform prospects in their countries, regardless of their sector focus

Leaders were remarkably consistent in their perceptions, reporting that they had made at least a "fair amount of progress" in advancing reforms in all but one sector.[43] Respondents working in urban development were slightly more pessimistic than their

peers, saying their reforms had achieved only "a little" progress. Transportation also stands out as a positive outlier: respondents reported particularly high levels of progress in this policy area.

Overall, it does not appear to be the case that a leader's policy area or sector affects their perceptions of reform progress.[44] Notably, this finding contradicts the conventional wisdom that reforms encounter greater resistance where vested interests can more easily extract rents (e.g., governance, infrastructure, economic policy).[45]

2.1.2   Government officials wear "rose-colored glasses" and are more optimistic than other domestic stakeholders about their reform progress

Public, private, and civil society leaders and their development partners could conceivably differ in how they assess reform progress due to asymmetric information or differing vantage points. Nonetheless, government officials, CSO and NGO representatives, private sector leaders, and development partners most frequently report that they had made "a fair amount" of progress on policy initiatives in which they were involved (see Figure 12).[46]

There is one noticeable difference: government officials are relatively more optimistic than their counterparts in other organizations. The number of officials reporting a "great deal" of progress on their reforms outweighs those reporting only "a little." Controlling for other respondent-level factors such as sex and education that may influence their views,[47] we find that government stakeholders consistently have rosier perceptions of progress than those who work outside of the public sector (see Figure 13).[48]

It is possible that government stakeholders really are seeing more progress, either through privileged access to key decision-makers whose support is essential for reforms or reliable intelligence on whether a policy is gaining traction with these actors. In this respect, there may be a substantial "time lag" in the perceptions of non-governmental stakeholders regarding the progress that has been made (Martinez-Moyano et al., 2007). A less sanguine view is that government officials have intrinsic and extrinsic incentives to inflate progress.

Regardless of the rationale, it is clear that government stakeholders are somewhat unique when compared to other leaders.[49] While development partner and private sector respondents tend to lean in the same direction as government respondents, neither group is statistically more likely to report favorable impressions of policy reform. Even among slightly more pessimistic civil society stakeholders, the difference with other groups is not statistically or substantively significant.

In this section, we investigated whether a leader's organizational affiliation or area of policy expertise influences their perceptions of reform progress. Recognizing that these leaders also operate in quite distinct domestic contexts, in Section 2.2 we look at whether the support of certain domestic constituencies for a given policy initiative is a likely predictor of the extent to which leaders perceive reform progress.

Figure 12:   Perceptions of policy reform progress by stakeholder type

Notes: For a given policy initiative they worked on, respondents could appraise the level of progress made as: "none," "a little," "a fair amount," or "a great deal." The modal response for survey participants from all stakeholder groups is that a "fair amount" of progress was made on the respondent's policy initiative. We exclude missing responses.

Source: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.

Figure 13: Perceptions of policy reform progress for government stakeholders
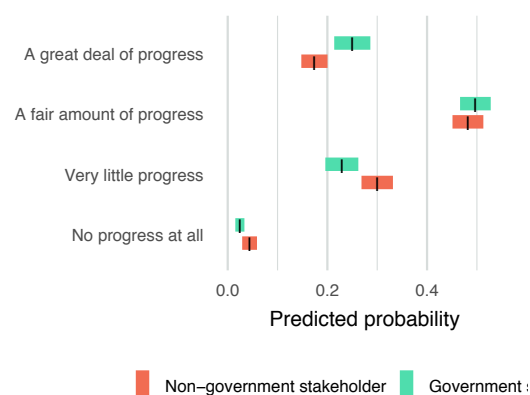
Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports making a fair amount or a great deal of progress on their policy initiative, conditional on whether they work inside or outside of government. Predictions are

2.2 How does the support of domestic constituencies coincide with how a leader perceives reform progress?

Reforms are inherently political, as they require changes in behaviors and institutions that are inherently "sticky" or difficult to redirect (Cerna, 2013). Therefore, leaders must win over critical domestic constituencies to support (or at least not stand in opposition to) their reforms to get traction.

As Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2002) argue, every leader is answerable to the group of people that helps them maintain their power — their "winning coalition." By extension, a leader's perceptions of their reform progress is likely swayed by the extent to which they are able to convince supporters of the benefits of proposed reforms.[50] While this concept typically refers to the incentives of public sector leaders, arguably there are some similar dynamics in play for leaders in other organization types.

However, the support of some domestic actors may be of greater consequence than others, if those actors are "veto players"with the power to change or perpetuate the status quo (Tsebelis, 1995; Buchanan and Tullock, 1962; Munger, 2002). In this section, we examine whether breadth of support or merely the support of certain politically influential groups matters to how leaders view the prospects for reform.

Leaders participating in the *2017 LTLS* not only reported their perceptions of reform progress, but also the levels of support (or opposition) their policy initiatives encountered from various domestic constituencies. Using their responses, we can systematically predict the probability[51] of whether the support (or opposition) of a particular constituency group affects (perceived) reform progress (see Figure 14).[52] The resulting findings, while not statistically significant, still give useful insights into the domestic reform contexts that leaders must navigate.

2.2.1 Leaders report making more progress when both central and local government actors support their reform efforts

Leaders whose policy initiatives enjoy the support of the executive and legislative branches at central and local levels (government ministries, head of state, parliament, local government) were more likely to report reform progress than those that did not (see Figure 14). The support of other government institutions like the judiciary and military seem to matter less to progress. That said, the predicted

probability of a leader reporting "a great deal of progress" increases with each additional constituency group that tips into the pro-reform camp.[53]

Insofar as perceptions correlate with actual progress, these findings shed light on the conditions under which policy reform is possible and likely. Breadth of support for reform, as well as the endorsement of certain government groups, is not only important to those who seek to influence the substance of those reforms, but also to the likelihood that those efforts will succeed.[54]

Figure 14: Probability of reporting policy reform progress conditional on support from domestic groups
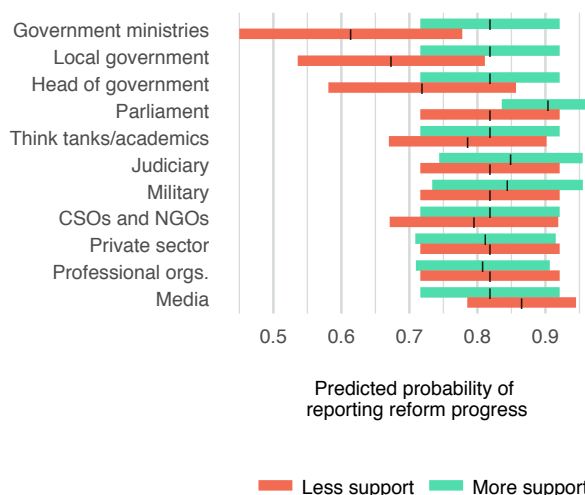
Predicted probability of reporting reform progress

Less support   More support

Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports making a fair amount or a great deal of progress on her policy initiative conditional on receiving less support (little or none) or more support (some or a great deal) from various domestic actors. Predictions are generated using probit models. All models include controls for GDP per capita (logged), regime type, stakeholder type, region, policy cluster, and other domestic support dummy variables.

Source: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.

In this section, we have seen that political factors, including support from domestic groups, strongly affect perceptions of reform success. However, there are likely institutional factors that may make reform prospects more or less rosy beyond political support. In Section 2.3, we assess how several objective measures of a country's institutional quality relate with perceptions of reform progress.[55]

2.3 How does the quality of a country's institutional environment affect perceptions of reform progress?

Scholars and practitioners have long argued that "institutions matter" in creating an enabling environment for leaders to enact reforms, implement programs, and make progress against a range of development objectives (North, 1991; Collier, 2007). By extension, one might expect to see a relationship between objective measures of a country's institutional environment and subjective perceptions of reform progress (or lack thereof).

For example, political (and economic) openness may correlate with greater receptiveness or attention to reform efforts.[56] Meanwhile, countries at very low levels of development might find that it is more difficult to make reform progress than richer countries, which enjoy easier access to non-aid revenues, improving their outside options and potentially boosting a country's leverage with development partners (Buntaine et al., 2017b).

In this section, we analyze whether various barometers of institutional quality are predictive of how leaders perceive reform progress.[57] We examine several facets of institutional quality or "good governance" that fall broadly in three groups: technocratic competence (e.g., government effectiveness, control of corruption, rule-based governance, budget transparency), political legitimacy (e.g., accountability, regime type), and economic development (e.g., GDP per capita).[58]

2.3.1 Leaders perceptions coincide with how their country performs on objective metrics of government effectiveness and control of corruption

Leaders who live in countries that rate higher on measures of government effectiveness and control of corruption are more likely to report at least some reform progress than their peers (see Figure 15). Once these two factors are taken into account,[59] the same cannot be said for other measures of institutional quality we tested.[60] We should cautiously interpret these results, as many governance measures are likely correlated with one another, which may make it difficult to discern their individual effects.

Nevertheless, this finding makes good intuitive sense. Countries that promote high levels of professionalism among its civil servants and employ checks and balances to constrain their abilities to extract rents remove common impediments to reforms arising from incompetence (i.e., lack of capacity) or vested interests (i.e., lack of political will). Proponents of good governance should take heart that a country's level of development need not be deterministic in creating an

environment conducive to policy reforms if leaders are strengthening efforts to control corruption and build the capacity of their civil servants.

Figure 15: Government effectiveness and control of corruption remain important determinants of perceived progress

Change in predicted probability
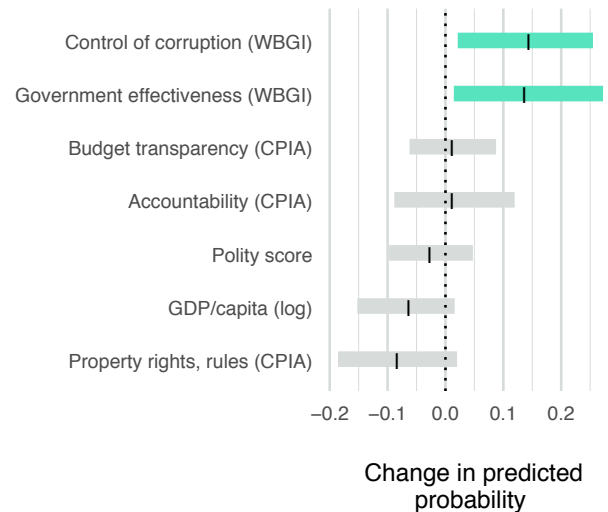
Notes: This figure shows the average change in the predicted probability of a leader reporting at least a fair amount of reform progress in light of a change in a country's performance on a single good governance measure, from one standard deviation below its mean to one standard deviation above its mean, holding all other variables at their means. The lines span 95% confidence intervals for the estimated changes in probabilities, calculated from 2.5% and 97.5% quantiles of 1000 sets of bootstrapped coefficients from probit models (including all covariates).

Sources: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey. The World Bank's Governance Indicators (WBGI) and Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA), Polity IV project.

2.4 How do external money and advice correlate with leaders' perceptions of reform progress?

In addition to their domestic constituencies and institutions, leaders in low- and middle-income countries interact extensively with international donors who are also in a position to influence or inform how leaders' assess reform progress. In this section we assess: (1) whether the amount of overall official development assistance (ODA) a country receives is correlated with how leaders perceive reform progress (or lack thereof); and (2) whether leaders perceive progress differently depending upon who they are receiving advice and assistance from.

Figure 16: Perceived progress and providers of advice/assistance

Predicted probability of reporting reform progress

Dashed line indicates probability conditional on
receiving no advice from any of these donors.
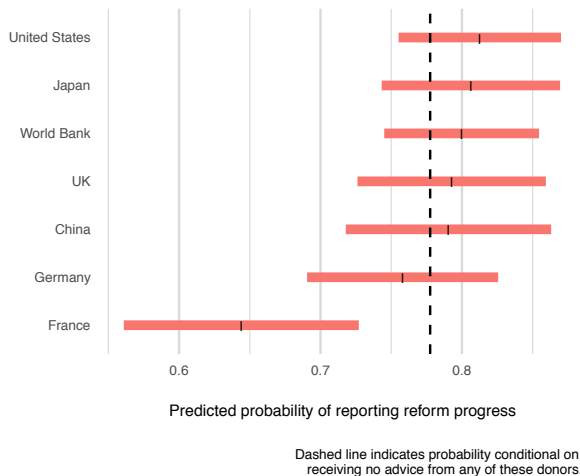
Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports either making some or a great deal of progress on her policy initiative conditional on having received advice or assistance from a given donor ("advice"/"no advice"). Predictions are generated using probit models. All models include controls for GDP per capita (logged), regime type, stakeholder type, region, policy cluster, and dummy variables to control for having worked with each donor listed. While estimating the effect of having worked with the United States, for example, we account for whether or not the respondent also received advice or assistance from Japan (and so on). See Appendix A for more information.

Source: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.

2.4.1 Leaders from countries that receive more aid are relatively optimistic about their reform progress, except fragile states that work most closely with France

Leaders from countries that receive a greater volume of ODA were more likely to report that their policy initiatives made some or a great deal of progress as compared to their counterparts.[61] However, it should be noted that while this relationship is positive, it is not statistically significant, which means that this finding should be interpreted with caution.

There are two possible explanations that might shed light on this relationship between the volume of ODA and perceptions of progress. If international donors make their assistance contingent upon countries achieving a minimum standard of good governance,[62] leaders in these well governed countries not only have access to greater resources, but also healthier institutional environments that are more conducive to reforms. Alternatively, domestic actors may rally together around particular reforms in response to the prospect of accessing external financing (Andrews, 2011; Blum, 2014; Parks & Davis, 2018).

Leaders' perceptions of progress are fairly consistent regardless of which specific international donors they work with. On average, survey respondents who received advice and assistance from the United States reported making progress on policy reform initiatives most often. However, these results are not statistically distinguishable from most major donors, including Japan, the World Bank, the United Kingdom, China, and Germany.

There is one exception: respondents who reported receiving advice or assistance from France were significantly less likely to report having made policy reform progress during the time frame under study. This finding may reflect France's particular official development assistance strategy: the French government made an explicit commitment to prioritize at least 50 percent of its ODA to benefit 19 priority countries, all of which are deemed highly fragile according to the Fund for Peace Fragile States Index (Fund for Peace, 2017; diplomatie.gouv.fr, 2018).[63] Since fragile states are more likely to have weaker institutions, it is understandable that leaders from these countries would have less favorable views on the prospects for their reform efforts.

2.5 Concluding thoughts

To achieve sustainable development for all, national leaders must effectively mobilize domestic support and counter resistance in order to push forward critical policy reforms.While leaders from one policy area are no less likely to assess their country's reform progress favorably than another area, we see that government officials are relatively more optimistic than their peers. Overall, we find that leaders are most confident about their reform efforts when they have secured the support of central and local government actors. The objective quality of a country's institutions is an important predictor of whether leaders report reform progress; however, some measures of good governance matter more than others.

In Chapter 3, we turn from the domestic context for reform to the interactions that national leaders have with international donors. Armed with insights from the *2017 LTLS*, we will look at aid effectiveness and donor performance from the perspective of the in-country leaders they purport to serve and support. Specifically, we examine examine the extent to which leaders view international donors as influential in determining which priorities to focus on and helpful in designing and implementing reforms.

[36] Court and Cotterrell (2006) define agenda setting as: "awareness of and priority given to an issue or problem."

[37] In fact, Schaffer (1984) refers to policy as a "political craft...that necessarily involves conflict."

[38] Tsebelis (1995) defines "veto players" as the individual or collective actors whose agreement is needed to change the status quo (i.e., to achieve policy change). He further differentiates between two categories of veto players: institutional actors which exist in presidential systems and partisan veto players in parliamentary systems. Buchanan and Tullock (1962), as described by Munger (2002), equate the number of veto players in a system with the likelihood of "political stability" — the more actors that have veto power, the more difficult it will be for a reformer to break the inertia of the status quo.

[39] For the purposes of this discussion, we adopt the view of Fullan (2000) that a reform is an "intentional intervention through policy that may or may not generate change" (see Cerna, 2013).

[40] Throughout the chapter we rely on estimates from probit and ordered probit regression models to explore various respondent- and country-specific characteristics that influence perceptions of reform progress.

[41] The complete scale was as follows: 1= "no progress at all," 2= "very little progress," 3 = "a fair amount of progress," and 4 = "a great deal of progress."

[42] We weight all of our estimates according to respondent-level characteristics taken from our sampling frame: institutional type (e.g., ministry of finance, health), gender, country, and stakeholder groups.

[43] For a given policy initiative they worked on, the respondents could appraise the level of progress that had been made to address a problem they selected as: "none," "a little," "a fair amount," or "a great deal." The modal response for survey participants from all but one sector is that a "fair amount" of progress was made on the respondent's policy initiative. We exclude missing responses, and responses where respondents manually entered an area of specialization. The latter group comprises 366 responses out of a total of 2,781, or about 13.16% of our sample.

[44] If we collapse these sectors into seven policy clusters — economic, social, rural development, infrastructure, environment, governance, and other — the responses are quite similar with every group reporting relatively favorable progress (see Appendix A-2).

[45] This view is particularly prevalent in the anti-corruption literature. For example, Klitgaard (1988) argues that corruption is most likely to happen where the government has monopoly control mediated by public officials who have high discretion over specific transactions (and the ensuing rents) and there is limited accountability. In other words: Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion - Accountability. UNDP (n.d.) modifies this formula to add in ingredients such as the absence of integrity and transparency.

[46] For this analysis, we only used four of the five stakeholder groups included in the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* — government, development partner, non-governmental organization/civil society organization, and private sector. While we collected information on the perceptions of independent experts, they were excluded from this analysis.

[47] We grouped the stakeholders into government and non-government groups to estimate the predicted probability that respondents reported each possible answer for the policy initiative progress question. In other words, all other things being equal, is there something about working in the public sector that makes a respondent more likely to view reform progress favorably than those working outside of government? Estimates were generated using ordered probit regression models. Since we were simply interested in comparing government to non-government stakeholders, we included respondents who answered that they did not work for any of the organizations listed in the group of non-government stakeholders.

[48] Government officials are systematically less likely to report "no" or "very little" progress than other leaders and more likely to report "a great deal" of progress. While there is no significant difference between the groups when considering responses of "a fair amount of progress," the direction of the difference in average predicted probabilities is consistent with the rest of the findings — government stakeholders have rosier perceptions of progress.

[49] We replicated this test for other stakeholder groups relative to the rest, and find no systematic evidence of bias comparable to that of government stakeholders. We conduct this analysis by creating membership variables that record whether or not a respondent is part of each possible type of stakeholder group (development partner, NGO/CSO, and private sector). We report these results in Appendix A. In all cases, the predicted probability of each response category does not vary across development partner, NGO/CSO, or private sector stakeholder groups.

[50] According to Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2002), members of smaller coalitions may require a greater proportion of private goods, while leaders may begin to shift to public goods to reward larger coalitions.

[51] For our model, we generated dichotomous versions of the support perception variables ("no support at all" and "very little support" coded as 0; "a fair amount of support" and "a great deal of support" coded as 1) to include as predictors in regression models where the outcome variable is, again, the perceived level of policy initiative success.

[52] All models include controls for GDP per capita (logged), a dichotomous indicator for whether or not the respondent's country scores at least a 6 on the Polity IV composite regime type Polity2 indicator, dummies for stakeholder type, region, and policy cluster, as well as all the other domestic support dummy variables. That is, all domestic group perception variables are included in all models in Figure 15, so that we are holding constant perceptions of other domestic groups in considering the effects of an individual group.

[53] For all groups except one (professional organizations), the direction of the change from less to more support in the predicted probability of reporting "a great deal of progress" for policy initiatives indicates that support from other domestic actors tend to be associated with increased policy success.

[54] We also examined this problem in a slightly different way, focusing on perceived opposition to (rather than support for) policy initiatives from a variety of domestic groups. Again, the key independent variable is whether or not the survey respondent perceived opposition to the policy initiative on which they worked between 2010-2015. While the relationships are generally in the direction expected — more opposition tends to be associated with lower average estimates of perceived policy success — the differences are not statistically significant. One explanation for this is that strong opposition to policy reform initiatives may be relatively infrequent. Indeed, the relatively tight confidence intervals around the estimates for "less opposition" suggest that most respondents perceived little opposition from many domestic groups. See Appendix A for more details.

[55] This allows us to test whether respondent perceptions of reform progress could be systematically correlated with perceptions of support from domestic groups, and are therefore measuring the same thing.

[56] For example, some scholars argue that democratic leaders in countries that place a greater emphasis on economic interdependence should generally share policy preferences with development partner counterparts (Kersting & Kilby, 2014; Simmons & Elkins, 2004; Gassebner et al., 2008).

[57] Specifically, we constructed a probit model using various variables to calculate the predicted probability that a respondent reports at least some progress on his or her policy initiative given a change from one standard deviation below to one standard deviation above the mean of each objective indicator of governance. The estimates are generated from a bivariate probit models regressing a dichotomous indicator of progress on each measure individually. The substantive relationship is unchanged when using all four categories of the outcome variable and estimating an ordered probit model. This illustrates the difference in the propensity to report progress across a meaningful range of variation in the measures of domestic institutional contexts.

[58] We include a variety of indicators of domestic context from the World Bank's Governance Indicators (WBGI) and Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) data sources. These include the WBGI measures of Control of corruption and Government effectiveness, as well as the CPIA's measures of Accountability, Property rights, rule-based governance, and Budget transparency. Our measure of democracy is from the Polity IV project.

[59] In our first bivariate model, all of the WBGI and CPIA were positively associated with more positive perceptions of progress, while the Polity2 score (level of democracy) and the log of GDP/capita (level of economic development) do not attain statistical significance at conventional levels. This may indicate that Polity2 scores and measures of GDP are relatively crude proxies for institutional environment.

[60] We report on the actual probability estimates for each group, rather than the differences between the groups in Appendix A.

[61] We find a positive, though not statistically significant, association between the net official development assistance (ODA) a country received from 2005-2010 and the propensity of leaders to report favorably on the progress their policy initiatives made. We use the logged value of net ODA received by the country between 2005-2010.

[62] An example of this would be the Millennium Challenge Corporation's requirement that countries must "exhibit strong performance on a number of measures of development" and "score in the top half of its income group on control of corruption" to be considered eligible to access compact funds (Dunning et al., 2014).

[63] The 19 countries, with their associated level of fragility, in 2017 are: Benin (elevated warning), Burkina Faso (high warning), Burundi (alert), Central African Republic (very high alert), Chad (high alert), Comoros (high warning), Democratic Republic of the Congo (high alert), Djibouti (high alert), Ethiopia (high alert), Gambia (high warning), Guinea (high alert), Haiti (high alert), Liberia (alert), Madagascar (high warning), Mali (alert), Mauritania (alert), Niger (alert), Senegal (high warning). See: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/951171705-Fragile-States-Index-Annual-Report-2017.pdf

Partners

Which international donors do leaders see as their preferred development partners?

Key findings of this chapter:

- *Donors get a familiarity boost: multilaterals and large DAC bilaterals that work with more people corner the market in influence and helpfulness.*

- *Donors get the highest marks from the private sector on average, but civil society groups are more skeptical.*

- *The World Bank and the United States perform consistently well across regions, but other donors garner high praise in their focus regions.*

- *Donors that lag behind on average can still carve out pockets of comparative advantage in their focus sectors.*

- *China and India are gaining ground over time in influence vis-a-vis their more established peers.*

- *GAVI, the Global Fund, the IMF, the IDB, UNICEF, and UNDP punch above their weight, earning high marks despite relatively modest budgets.*

3. **Partners**: Which international donors do leaders see as their preferred development partners?

> *"Sixty-five percent of the world's poor live in middle-income countries...And what they need is not necessarily aid in the sense of charity, but things like knowledge-sharing, investment, and trade. We have to reflect these changes and incorporate them into this global compact for development, recognizing that different actors and different organizations have different roles."*
>
> *—Wonhyuk Lim, Director of Policy Research, Korean Development Institute (as quoted in Dervis et al., 2011)*

International donors engage with national leaders in various ways. They provide financial and technical assistance to help decision-makers design and implement reforms. They offer data, analysis, and advice to equip leaders with information to diagnose policy problems, identify solutions, and hold governments accountable for results.

Yet, the extent to which bilateral aid agencies and multilateral development banks are effective in discharging these functions is the subject of ongoing debate. There is a vast literature on the effectiveness of official development assistance (ODA) or "aid." The majority of these assessments focus on questions of targeting efficiency and measurable impact in dollars per unit of development progress achieved (e.g., lives saved).

While quantitatively satisfying, these measures unhelpfully reduce the role of international donors to that of arms-length financiers of discrete development projects. They obscure our ability to evaluate other contributions in the messy politics of how policy decisions are made and reforms are implemented.

In this chapter, we examine aid effectiveness from the perspectives of the national leaders who donors seek to advise and assist. Using responses to AidData's *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*, we construct two perception-based measures of development partner performance: (1) their agenda-setting *influence*[64] in shaping how leaders prioritize which problems to solve; and (2) their *helpfulness*[65] in implementing policy changes (i.e., reforms) in practice. Respondents identified which donors they worked with from a list of 43 multilateral development banks and bilateral aid agencies.[66] They then rated the influence and helpfulness of the institutions they had worked with on a scale of 1 (not at all influential / not at all helpful) to 4 (very influential / very helpful).[67] In this analysis, we only include a development partner if they were rated by at least 30 respondents.[68]

3.1 How do leaders assess development partner performance?

Bilateral aid agencies and multilateral development banks largely get to choose the countries, sectors, and stakeholder groups with which they work, albeit with some exceptions.[69] In making these decisions, international donors weigh supply-side considerations, such as: organizational mandates, global development priorities, historical alliances or commitments, as well as more contemporary national interests.

In this section, we look at the question of performance from an often overlooked viewpoint — how in-country leaders assess the contributions of international donors in supporting their efforts. We focus on two demand-side measures of development partner performance: *influence* in shaping policy priorities, and *helpfulness* in implementing policy initiatives or reforms.

3.1.1 Donors get a familiarity boost: multilaterals and large DAC bilaterals that work with more people corner the market in influence and helpfulness

Large multilaterals (e.g., the EU, the World Bank, UNICEF, and the IMF) and Development Assistance Committee (DAC) bilaterals (e.g., the US and the UK) cast a wide net in terms of who they work with, but this breadth of focus does not appear to diminish their

perceived influence and helpfulness (Figure 17).[70] In fact, we find a positive correlation between the supply-side number of respondents that report working with a given donor and demand-side perceptions of its influence and helpfulness among leaders. Notably, most of the donors in this category are also big spenders,[71] which we find is positively associated with performance.[72]

But the size of an international donor's partner base is not necessarily deterministic of whether national leaders rate their contributions favorably. In Figure 18, we visualize different categories of donors based upon the interplay of their supply-side choices (size of their partner base)[73] and the product[74] of their demand-side performance ratings (influence and helpfulness).

Strikingly, the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) has a much smaller footprint with its exclusive focus on health, but attracts high praise from those with whom they work on both influence and helpfulness metrics. In fact, such specialization may be an advantage: the more narrowly a donor defines its target constituencies, the easier it may be for it to cultivate deep relationships with fewer leaders and customize its offerings to leaders' needs (see also Parks et al., 2015; Masaki et al., 2017). This hypothesis is put to the test later in this chapter.

Several South-South development cooperation providers — Brazil, Kuwait, the OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID), and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) — also work with a smaller group of countries, but are not viewed as favorably. Although they are not necessarily new to the business of aid, they have relatively younger development cooperation programs. One bright spot is that leaders view BADEA as relatively helpful (ranked 13 of 35) in reform implementation.

These non-DAC donors often espouse a principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of their partner countries. The fact that non-DAC actors are not seen as particularly influential in the domestic decision-making processes of other countries is consistent with their stated mandate. However, this explanation does not neatly explain the relative poor performance of many non-DAC donors on helpfulness. This may have more to do with how they manage development assistance programs. For example, Gulf bilaterals are known to engage mostly with top political leaders, and rarely outside of the government.[75] Arab multilaterals and Gulf bilaterals typically delegate more authority to design and implement projects as they see fit.[76]

As a DAC bilateral, Spain is a notable outlier; its relatively modest partner base and performance scores may be related to a steep decline in Spain's aid program since 2010 (OECD, 2018). Other donors fall largely within the middle of the pack: they have relatively broader reach than GAVI, or the cluster of lagging South-South Cooperation providers, but garner lower scores than the top performers.

That said, leaders are not monolithic, and may have different experiences interacting with international donors depending upon where they work, live, and focus their energies. These diverse vantage points may change the way in which leaders evaluate their development partners. Using the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* responses, we examine whether the aggregate picture of donor performance holds true across leaders from diverse stakeholder groups, regions, and sectors.

3.1.2 Donors get the highest marks on average from the private sector, but civil society groups are skeptical

Private sector actors may be under-emphasized relative to their receptivity to international donors. Government officials were more likely to report receiving advice or assistance from international donors,[77] but the private sector gives donors the highest marks on perceived influence and helpfulness of any stakeholder group.[78]

A much smaller share of CSOs report receiving advice or assistance from international donors, and they are less likely to find them influential or helpful when they do. This sobering finding underscores that while many development partners have an explicit mandate to build the capacity of civil society groups, they have further to go before they break through with these leaders.

Nonetheless, some donors are better positioned to capture the attention of civil society leaders than others. The EU and the US do particularly well with civil society leaders on both performance measures. Meanwhile, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, the UK, and Sweden are more influential with CSOs than they are with other stakeholders — a fact that is obscured in their overall rankings. UNICEF has the opposite problem: it receives lower marks from civil society than other stakeholder groups, which likely depresses its overall performance score.

Government officials generally give higher marks to multilaterals and large DAC bilaterals. However, there are a few other trends worth highlighting. The UK's overall rankings on influence and helpfulness are negatively impacted by relatively lower ratings from host government officials. By contrast, GAVI has noticeably more influence with government officials than it does with other groups, and the African Development Bank's (AfDB's) strong performance in helpfulness among government counterparts is overshadowed by a poor finish with local representatives of development partners.

Figures 19 and 20 break down how individual donors rank on influence and helpfulness, respectively, in the

eyes of government and civil society leaders, as well as the local representatives of development partners. For both tables, we apply a minimum threshold of 30 responses from a stakeholder group, region, or sector to include disaggregated information on an individual donor. Due to sample size constraints, we do not include a disaggregated breakdown of donor rankings by private sector leaders. [79]

3.1.3 The World Bank and United States perform consistently well across regions, but other donors garner high praise in specific focus regions

Leaders from sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) — the most aid-dependent region — are most optimistic about the contributions of international donors on both measures of influence and helpfulness. [80] The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is an intriguing case, where leaders view international donors as quite influential but comparatively less helpful. South Asian leaders were fairly consistent in their views, with fewer respondents from this region rating development partners as influential or helpful.

The stature of the World Bank and the United States is particularly consistent — they are among the top donors regardless of region. Meanwhile, more specialized multilaterals emerge as respected regional players, converting large reach in one or more regions into high performance scores among their core constituencies. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) is a case in point: it not only has a wide reach in South Asia, but also ranks among the top five partners in the region on both influence and helpfulness. [81] The IDB performs well in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), where it is a leading source of development finance. Surprisingly, the AfDB fares less well in its backyard of sub-Saharan Africa than it does elsewhere.

Bilateral players also have spheres of regional comparative advantage, perhaps driven by a combination of organizational strategy, linguistic ties, historical relationships, and modern-day economic or security alliances. This dynamic is most certainly in play for the UK in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, where

leaders rated its performance favorably on both measures. Spain and Australia lag behind other donors globally, but leaders from their regional constituencies give them relatively high marks in Latin America and the Caribbean and East Asia and the Pacific, respectively. Australia places in the top 10 in South Asia on both measures, but does less well when straying farther afield — leaders in sub-Saharan Africa ranked its performance towards the bottom of the pack.

When we combine responses for the two regions in China's backyard — South Asia and East Asia and the Pacific — we see that a higher proportion of leaders rate it as influential there (71 percent) than in sub-Saharan Africa (59 percent). Due to sample size constraints, this should be interpreted cautiously, but the idea that China would be more influential with its neighbors is consistent with the conventional wisdom. [82]

3.1.4 Donors that lag behind on average can still carve out pockets of comparative advantage in their focus sectors[83]

In several instances, donors that lag behind their peers on influence and helpfulness jump ahead with leaders working in specific sectors. France and Sweden get much higher marks on influence with policymakers working on governance issues. Japan is viewed as uniquely helpful to leaders in the environment sector. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) gets a boost from its core constituency of leaders in the rural development sector who view it as among the more influential and helpful donors.

Of course, even leading donors have pockets of relative weakness. The performance of the US in the economic sector and UNICEF in the governance sector lags behind their high marks in other areas.

Figure 17: Ranking development partners' perceived helpfulness and influence

Rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner which rated that partner as "quite helpful" or "very helpful" (x-axis) and "quite influential" or "very influential" (y-axis).
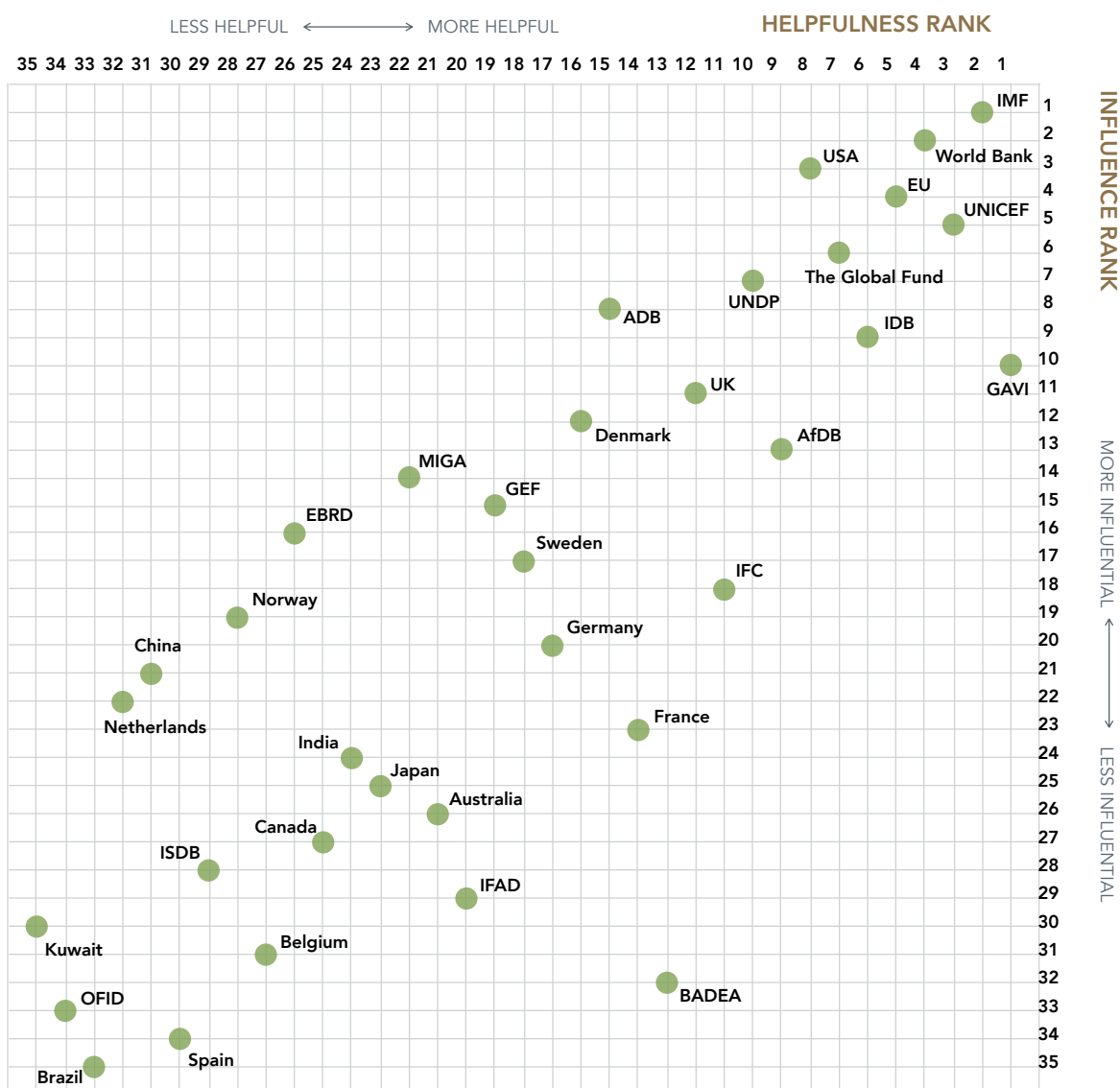
Most Helpful Partners	%
1. Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI)	85.4%
2. International Monetary Fund (IMF)	85.1%
3. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	83.9%
4. World Bank	83.7%
5. European Union	82.9%
6. Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	82.8%
7. Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria	82.5%
8. United States	81.1%
9. African Development Bank (AfDB)	78.6%
10. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	77.7%

Most Influential Partners	%
1. International Monetary Fund (IMF)	85.8%
2. World Bank	81.5%
3. United States	80.4%
4. European Union	80.2%
5. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	75.3%
6. Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria	74.6%
7. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	73.4%
8. Asian Development Bank (ADB)	72.8%
9. Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	72.6%
10. Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI)	72.5%

Notes: *Development partners are ranked (right to left) from more to less helpful along the x-axis and from more to less influential (top to bottom) along the y-axis. Helpfulness rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner which rated that partner as "quite helpful" or "very helpful" on the implementation of a given initiative. Influence rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner which rated that partner as "quite influential" or "very influential" on the government or their team's decision to pursue a given initiative. Only partners which received at least 30 evaluations for helpfulness and 30 evaluations for influence are listed. The total number of observations for donors listed is 7,336 for helpfulness and 7,771 for influence.*
Source: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.*

Figure 18: Donor reach versus perceived performance

Agenda-setting influence x helpfulness (y-axis)

IMF
United States
World Bank
EU
UNICEF
GAVI
Global Fund
IDB
United Kingdom
UNDP
Denmark
AsDB
AfDB
IFC
GEF
Germany
MIGA
Sweden
France
EBRD
Australia
Japan
India
China
Norway
Netherlands
Canada
Belgium
IFAD
BADEA
IsDB
Spain
Kuwait
OFID
Brazil

0.6
0.4
0.2

0%   10%   20%   30%   40%   50%

Percentage of respondents who reported working with donor

Notes: *The dashed lines represent the top and bottom quartiles for reach (x-axis) and a composite performance metric of the product of agenda-setting influence and helpfulness (y-axis). Donors that were evaluated by at least 30 respondents in helpfulness and 30 respondents in influence are presented here.*
Source: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.*

Figure 19: Influence rankings by stakeholder group, region, and sector

Rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner which rated that partner as "quite influential" or "very influential." Partners must have received 30 or more responses in the cohort for a rank in the cohort to be displayed. Shading represents the quintile within the respective cohort.

Partner	Overall Ranking	Rank by Stakeholder			Rank within Region						Rank by Sector					
		GOV	DP	CSO	SSA	SA	EAP	ECA	LAC	MENA	Econ.	Env.	Gov.	Other	Rural	Soc.
IMF	1	1	1	…	2	…	1	1	…	…	1	…	1	1	…	9
World Bank	2	2	6	4	1	1	4	4	4	2	2	1	4	5	1	1
United States	3	3	4	2	3	2	5	3	1	4	7	3	2	2	3	2
European Union	4	4	2	3	6	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	2	7
UNICEF	5	6	5	14	5	…	8	6	…	…	6	…	10	6	…	5
Global Fund	6	7	…	1	10	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	4
UNDP	7	8	7	8	8	6	7	7	5	3	4	4	8	7	7	8
ADB	8	9	3	…	…	4	3	…	…	…	5	…	…	8	…	14
IDB	9	10	…	…	…	…	…	…	2	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
GAVI Alliance	10	5	…	…	7	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	3
United Kingdom	11	11	6	5	4	5	9	10	…	…	12	…	5	4	…	6
Denmark	12	12	10	6	9	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	9	…	…	…
AfDB	13	14	13	…	12	…	…	…	…	…	9	…	…	12	…	15
MIGA	14	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
GEF	15	17	…	9	11	…	6	…	…	…	…	5	…	…	…	…
EBRD	16	13	…	…	…	…	…	9	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Sweden	17	21	9	7	15	…	13	12	…	…	18	…	7	13	…	13
IFC	18	22	15	…	13	…	15	5	…	…	8	…	…	…	…	…
Norway	19	16	18	11	17	…	…	11	…	…	11	…	12	15	…	19
Germany	20	18	11	13	16	8	12	8	7	5	15	6	13	10	6	10
China	21	26	…	…	21	…	…	…	…	…	10	…	…	…	…	…
Netherlands	22	15	19	12	14	…	…	13	…	…	13	…	11	11	…	16
France	23	19	14	16	20	…	…	…	…	…	16	…	6	14	…	18
India	24	25	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Japan	25	24	16	10	19	7	10	14	9	…	14	7	16	17	5	11
Australia	26	23	12	15	26	9	11	…	…	…	17	…	15	9	…	12
Canada	27	28	17	17	24	…	14	…	6	…	19	…	14	16	…	17
ISDB	28	27	…	…	18	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
IFAD	29	30	…	…	23	…	…	…	…	…	20	…	…	…	4	…
Kuwait	30	29	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Belgium	31	20	…	…	22	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
BADEA	32	31	…	…	25	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
OFID	33	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Spain	34	32	…	…	…	…	…	…	8	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Brazil	35	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Cohort Total	/35	/32	/19	/17	/26	/9	/15	/14	/9	/05	/20	/7	/16	/17	/7	/19

Legend:

Cohort Quintile

… n<30

Stakeholders:
GOV — Government Official
DP — Development Partner
CSO — Civil Society

Regions:
SSA — Sub-Saharan Africa
SA — South Asia
EAP — East Asia & Pacific
ECA — Europe & Central Asia
LAC — Latin America & Caribbean
MENA — Middle East & North Africa

Sectors:
Econ. — Economy
Env. — Environment
Gov. — Governance
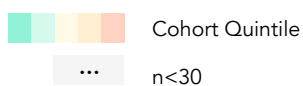Rural — Rural Development
Soc. — Social

Source: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.

Figure 20: Helpfulness rankings by stakeholder group, region, and sector

Rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner which rated that partner as "quite helpful" or "very helpful." Partners must have received 30 or more responses in the cohort for a rank in the cohort to be displayed. Shading represents the quintile within the respective cohort.

Partner	Overall Ranking	Rank by Stakeholder			Rank within Region						Rank by Policy Cluster					
		GOV	DP	CSO	SSA	SA	EAP	ECA	LAC	MENA	Econ.	Env.	Gov.	Other	Rural	Soc.
GAVI Alliance	1	1	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
IMF	2	3	2	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	6	...	5	1	...	...
UNICEF	3	6	1	4	2	...	8	4	...	...	1	...	10	7	...	3
World Bank	4	4	4	6	3	1	3	5	4	2	3	4	7	5	1	5
European Union	5	7	3	2	4	7	2	3	5	1	2	1	3	6	6	6
IDB	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Global Fund	7	9	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
United States	8	8	6	3	5	4	1	1	3	4	10	3	4	4	2	4
AfDB	9	5	18	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	2	...	...	16
UNDP	10	10	10	7	9	5	11	6	8	3	4	5	6	12	5	7
IFC	11	13	11	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...
United Kingdom	12	16	8	1	8	2	5	9	...	...	13	...	2	6	...	9
BADEA	13	...	...	...	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
France	14	11	15	9	11	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	14	9	...	11
ADB	15	12	5	...	...	3	6	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	18
Denmark	16	15	12	11	20	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	8	...	...	...
Germany	17	18	14	5	21	6	9	11	7	...	12	7	15	10	3	10
Sweden	18	22	7	8	18	...	14	10	...	...	18	...	1	13	...	8
GEF	19	14	...	12	16	...	10	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...
IFAD	20	19	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	4	...
Australia	21	23	9	13	26	9	4	...	...	...	20	...	13	8	...	12
MIGA	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Japan	23	21	13	14	17	8	7	8	9	...	17	2	16	15	7	13
India	24	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Canada	25	24	16	10	23	...	13	...	6	...	19	...	12	11	...	15
EBRD	26	29	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belgium	27	17	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Norway	28	20	17	16	22	...	...	13	...	...	16	...	11	14	...	17
ISDB	29	25	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Spain	30	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
China	31	26	...	...	25	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...
Netherlands	32	28	19	15	24	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	9	16	...	14
Brazil	33	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
OFID	34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kuwait	35	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cohort Total	/35	/31	/19	/16	/26	/9	/14	/13	/9	/4	/20	/7	/16	/16	/7	/18

Legend:
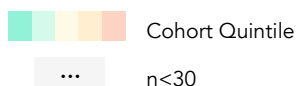
Cohort Quintile

... n<30

Stakeholders:
GOV Government Official
DP Development Partner
CSO Civil Society

Regions:
SSA Sub-Saharan Africa
SA South Asia
EAP East Asia & Pacific
ECA Europe & Central Asia
LAC Latin America & Caribbean
MENA Middle East & North Africa

Sectors:
Econ. Economy
Env. Environment
Gov. Governance
Rural Rural Development
Soc. Social

Source: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey.

3.2 Do leader perceptions of relative donor performance change over time?

Up to this point, we have examined a snapshot of donor performance during one time period (2010-2015) via the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*. But the relationship between leaders and development partners is arguably dynamic, not static. As donor strategies, priorities, and key personnel change, so too can leader perceptions of a donor's performance vis-a-vis its peers.

Fortunately, AidData conducted an earlier survey of leaders that we can use as a point of comparison (see Parks et al., 2015; Custer et al., 2015). Respondents to the *2014 Reform Efforts Survey (RES)* answered similar questions about the influence and helpfulness of development partners with which they worked during the period of 2004-2013.

Before comparing the two surveys, there are three important caveats readers should keep in mind: (1) the exact language of the questions is slightly different in the two years;[84] (2) some respondents participated in both survey waves, but most did not;[85] and (3) this analysis most reliably captures changes in the ranking for a particular donor *relative to others*, not whether the donor performed better versus itself in past years.[86]

3.2.1. China and India are gaining ground over time in influence vis-a-vis more established peers

If we look at the relative performance of development partners at two static points in time, 2014 and 2017, non-DAC bilaterals like China and India fall toward the bottom of the rankings on our two perception-based measures of influence and helpfulness (see Section 3.1.1 and Custer et al., 2015).

However, these relatively new(er) donors may just be getting started. The Chinese government's March 2018 announcement of a new international development cooperation agency to coordinate its foreign aid is illustrative of this growing confidence and intentionality (Reuters, 2018). We can put this to an empirical test by comparing the change in a donor's performance relative to its peers between the two survey waves to quantify its trajectory over time. In Figures 21 and 22, we visualize the changes in influence and helpfulness rankings among development partners that were assessed in both survey rounds and that received at least 30 evaluations on both influence and helpfulness in 2017.[87]

Non-DAC bilaterals, such as China and India, are clearly gaining stature in the eyes of those with whom they work with in low- and middle-income countries. Between 2014 and 2017, China leap-frogged 8 of its peers in overall influence, moving from 29th place (out of 33) in 2014 to 21st (out of 35) in 2017. This rise in influence catapults China into the middle quintile of donors — the only non-Western country to accomplish this feat. In doing so, China nudged out both Japan (ranked 23rd) and India (ranked 24th). Yet, India's influence is also ascendant, jumping seven spots from 2014, and it outperforms China in helpfulness.

Money may not buy love, but we have previously found that it does give donors a seat at the table (Custer et al., 2015). China offers an interesting case study in this regard. Between 2000 and 2014, China made big bets in the infrastructure sector — the destination for the lion's share of its overseas official finance investments (Dreher et al., 2017). It subsequently signaled its intention to become a leader in the infrastructure development space through its "One Belt, One Road" Initiative and the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (Dollar, 2015).[88]
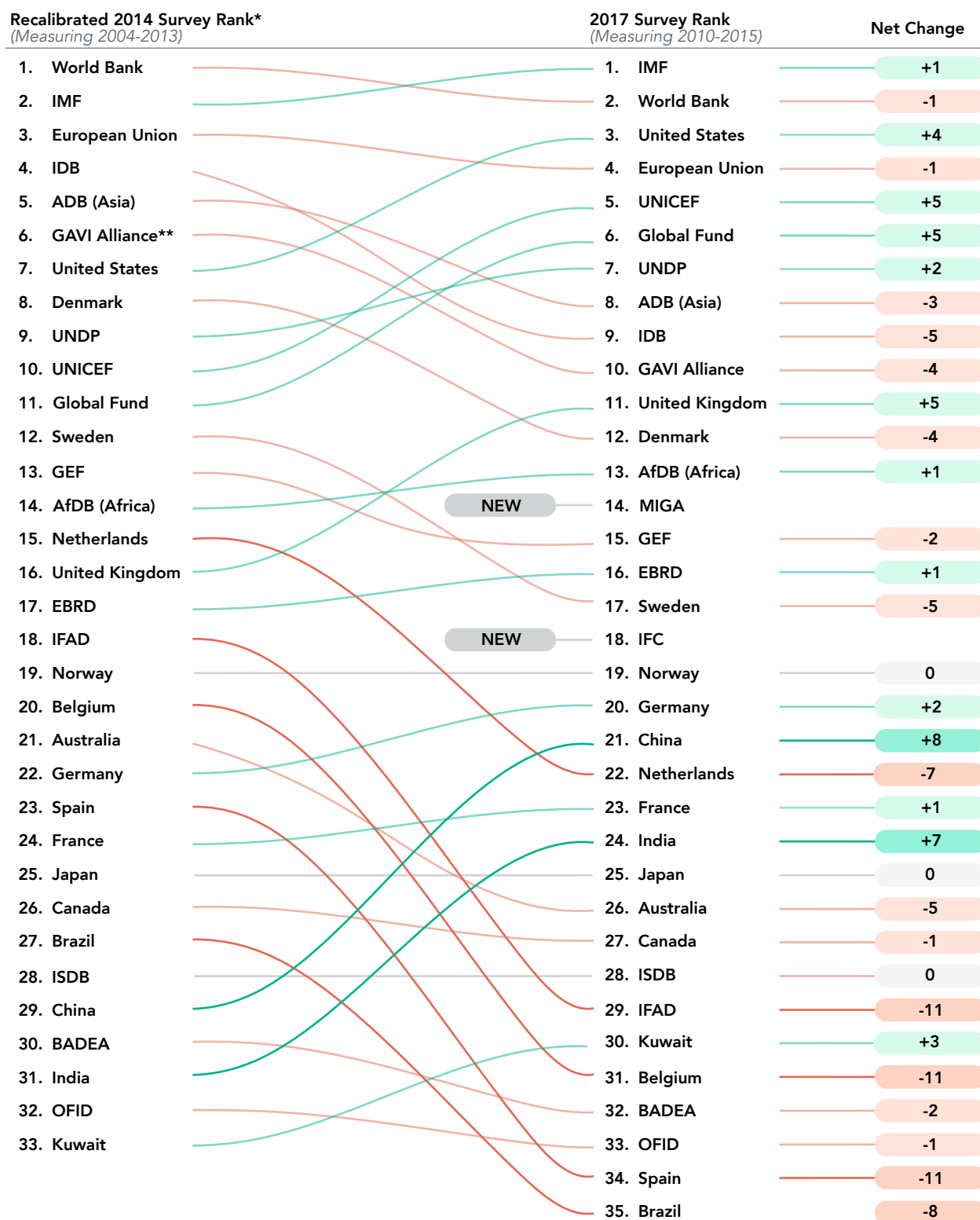
It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that leaders rate China's influence more strongly in infrastructure, economic, and governance policy, than in other areas. While the number of respondents is quite small, it is worth noting that China surpassed US influence in the infrastructure sector for the first time in 2017. By all accounts, this effort to become a preferred source of infrastructure assistance is yielding increased influence with sector leaders in other countries.

Non-DAC bilaterals are not the only ones that are gaining ground versus their peers. The US and UK leveraged strong starting positions in 2014 to catapult farther ahead of the pack in 2017 on both influence and helpfulness. In the case of the US, these gains should not be attributed to a change in administration, as the survey was fielded in early 2017, just shortly after the US presidential election and likely too early to influence a substantial change in leader perceptions. France (+12) and the AfDB (+7) impressively jumped ahead on helpfulness, while UNICEF (+5) and the Global Fund (+5) made inroads in influence.

International donors are by no means cookie-cutter in terms of who they work with and how national leaders view their performance. In the next section, we assess the extent to which a donor's aid spending has any bearing on their perceived performance in the eyes of national leaders. In other words, do the donors with the deepest pockets always come out on top?

Figure 21: Change in perceived influence of development partners

Partners are ranked below from more to less influential, according to their scores in AidData surveys in 2014 and 2017. Only partners with at least 30 responses each for both helpfulness and influence in 2017 are listed.

Recalibrated 2014 Survey Rank* *(Measuring 2004-2013)*	2017 Survey Rank *(Measuring 2010-2015)*	Net Change
1. World Bank	1. IMF	+1
2. IMF	2. World Bank	-1
3. European Union	3. United States	+4
4. IDB	4. European Union	-1
5. ADB (Asia)	5. UNICEF	+5
6. GAVI Alliance**	6. Global Fund	+5
7. United States	7. UNDP	+2
8. Denmark	8. ADB (Asia)	-3
9. UNDP	9. IDB	-5
10. UNICEF	10. GAVI Alliance	-4
11. Global Fund	11. United Kingdom	+5
12. Sweden	12. Denmark	-4
13. GEF	13. AfDB (Africa)	+1
14. AfDB (Africa)	14. MIGA (NEW)	
15. Netherlands	15. GEF	-2
16. United Kingdom	16. EBRD	+1
17. EBRD	17. Sweden	-5
18. IFAD	18. IFC (NEW)	
19. Norway	19. Norway	0
20. Belgium	20. Germany	+2
21. Australia	21. China	+8
22. Germany	22. Netherlands	-7
23. Spain	23. France	+1
24. France	24. India	+7
25. Japan	25. Japan	0
26. Canada	26. Australia	-5
27. Brazil	27. Canada	-1
28. ISDB	28. ISDB	0
29. China	29. IFAD	-11
30. BADEA	30. Kuwait	+3
31. India	31. Belgium	-11
32. OFID	32. BADEA	-2
33. Kuwait	33. OFID	-1
	34. Spain	-11
	35. Brazil	-8

Figure 22: Change in perceived helpfulness of development partners

Partners are ranked below from more to less helpful, according to their scores in AidData surveys in 2014 and 2017. Only partners with at least 30 responses each for both helpfulness and influence in 2017 are listed.

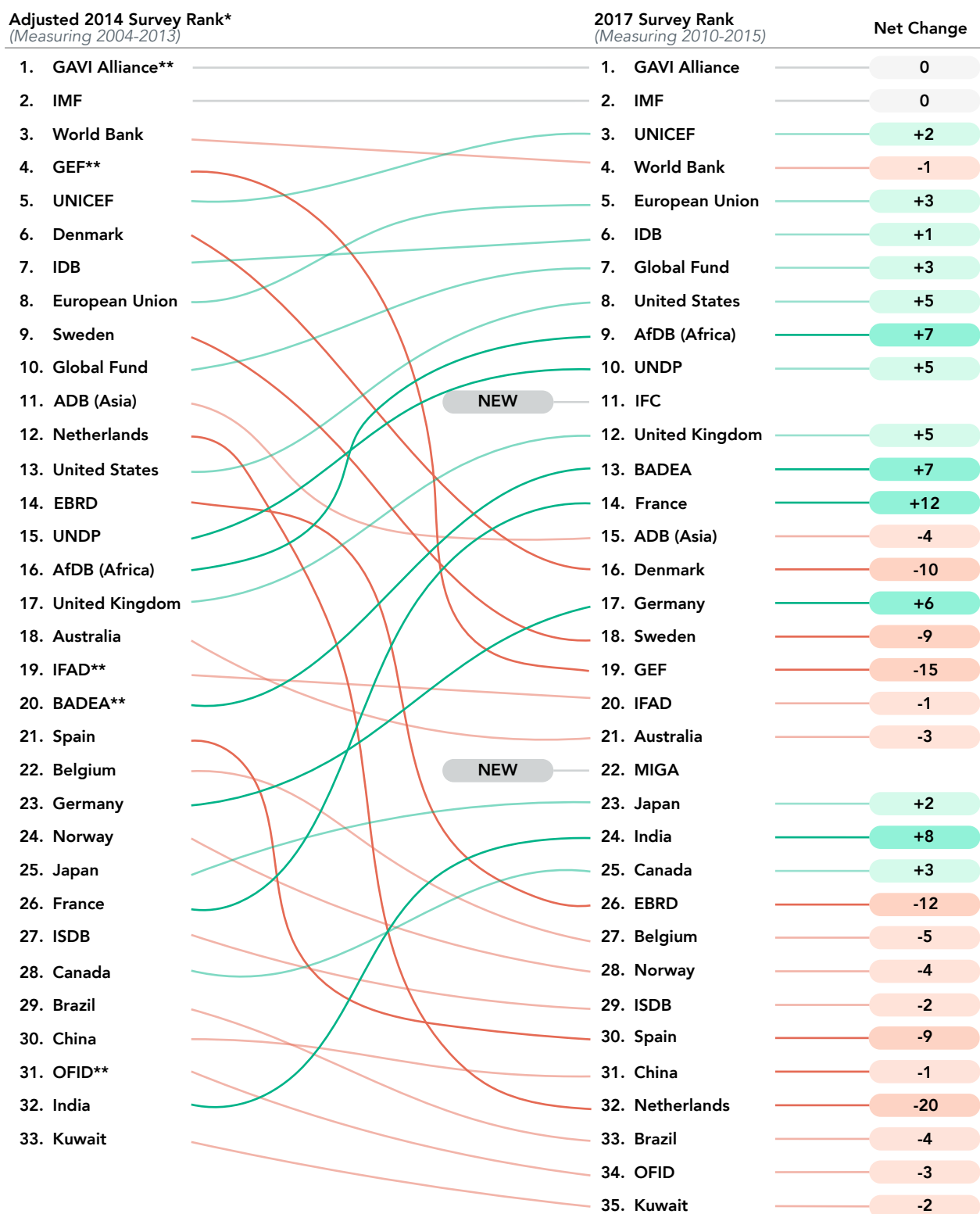| Adjusted 2014 Survey Rank* (Measuring 2004-2013)	2017 Survey Rank (Measuring 2010-2015)	Net Change
1. GAVI Alliance**	1. GAVI Alliance	0
2. IMF	2. IMF	0
3. World Bank	3. UNICEF	+2
4. GEF**	4. World Bank	-1
5. UNICEF	5. European Union	+3
6. Denmark	6. IDB	+1
7. IDB	7. Global Fund	+3
8. European Union	8. United States	+5
9. Sweden	9. AfDB (Africa)	+7
10. Global Fund	10. UNDP	+5
11. ADB (Asia)	11. IFC	NEW
12. Netherlands	12. United Kingdom	+5
13. United States	13. BADEA	+7
14. EBRD	14. France	+12
15. UNDP	15. ADB (Asia)	-4
16. AfDB (Africa)	16. Denmark	-10
17. United Kingdom	17. Germany	+6
18. Australia	18. Sweden	-9
19. IFAD**	19. GEF	-15
20. BADEA**	20. IFAD	-1
21. Spain	21. Australia	-3
22. Belgium	22. MIGA	NEW
23. Germany	23. Japan	+2
24. Norway	24. India	+8
25. Japan	25. Canada	+3
26. France	26. EBRD	-12
27. ISDB	27. Belgium	-5
28. Canada	28. Norway	-4
29. Brazil	29. ISDB	-2
30. China	30. Spain	-9
31. OFID**	31. China	-1
32. India	32. Netherlands	-20
33. Kuwait	33. Brazil	-4
	34. OFID	-3
	35. Kuwait	-2

Notes:
* * 2017 rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner which rated that partner as "quite helpful" or "very helpful." In the 2014 Reform Efforts Survey, respondents were asked to score a development partner's influence from 0-5, where 0 meant "not at all helpful" and 5 meant "extremely helpful." To harmonize scales for comparison across years, 2014 rankings were re-calibrated by rescaling the average score for each partner to range between 0 and 1 and by removing country weights.*
* ** n<30. In 2014, the minimum threshold of responses was 10. Partners are listed here if in 2017, the number of responses rating them for helpfulness and influence is at least 30 each.*

Sources: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, AidData's 2014 Reform Efforts Survey.*

3.3 Who punches above and below their financial weight?

Money can be a powerful tool to capture the attention of busy policymakers. Large donors, on average, do get more favorable reviews from their in-country counterparts (see Custer et al., 2015). In fact, we find a significant positive correlation between our two perception-based measures of performance (influence and helpfulness) and the ODA spending of a given development partner.[89]

But the financial size of a donor is not necessarily deterministic of its perceived influence or helpfulness. In fact, some donors with relatively modest budgets get high marks relative to their financial weight. In this section, we use the responses to the *2017 LTLS* to look at who punches above and below their weight in agenda-setting influence and helpfulness in the implementation of programmatic initiatives.

3.3.1 GAVI, the Global Fund, the IMF, IDB, UNICEF, and UNDP punch above their weight, earning high marks despite relatively modest budgets

Larger donors like the World Bank, United States, and the European Union indeed top the list of influencers (see Figure 23).[90] Yet, strikingly, there is a group of development partners that are doing more with less. Donors such as UNICEF, UNDP, GAVI, the Global Fund, IDB, and the IMF are particularly adept in converting relatively modest means (each gave less than US$15 billion in ODA to those countries included in the survey) into outsized influence with leaders in low- and middle-income countries.[91] The relative success of

GAVI, the Global Fund, and IDB, might partly be attributed to their specialized focus in particular sectors and/or countries. However, that explanation does not seem as plausible for large UN agencies like UNICEF and UNDP.

An alternative explanation could be that respondents view multilaterals as a more influential group, regardless of their resources, due to other intrinsic factors such as their perceived reputation for objectivity, technical acumen, and stability. In this respect, UNDP and UNICEF get a similar influence dividend to that of other multilaterals such as the World Bank and the EU without the same means.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, there is another group of donors that lag behind in perceived influence, in spite of fairly sizable financial contributions. Japan, Germany, and France stand out in this regard -- each gave more than US$52 billion in assistance and yet each falls towards the middle of the pack in terms of reported agenda-setting influence with their counterparts in low- and middle-income countries.

When it comes to helpfulness in implementation (see Figure 24), we see a similar picture. Once again, larger donors like the World Bank, EU, and the US generally have high scores on this performance measure. Yet, leaders are clearly taking more into account than money when they rate their development partners. GAVI, the IMF, and UNICEF are a case in point: they outperformed donors with deeper pockets and capture the highest helpfulness scores despite very modest financial contributions. The Global Fund, IDB, and UNDP also appear to get good value for their money in securing favorable reviews from in-country counterparts for their helpfulness. Comparatively, Japan still lags behind the other large donors and many smaller ones.

Figure 23: Donor influence versus historical development assistance

Rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner that rated that partner as "quite" or "very" influential in 2017. Development assistance is that given by a partner to survey respondents' countries from 2005-2013.

Influence Ranking	Percentage of Responses	Development Assistance Committed* (Billions of USD)
1. International Monetary Fund (IMF)	85.8%	$6.07
2. World Bank	81.5%	$120.95
3. United States	80.4%	$189.72
4. European Union	80.2%	$109.11
5. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	75.3%	$6.11
6. Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria	74.6%	$13.86
7. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	73.4%	$4.17
8. Asian Development Bank (ADB)	72.8%	$9.58
9. Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	72.6%	$4.19
10. Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI Alliance)	72.5%	$2.57
11. United Kingdom	72.4%	$36.08
12. Denmark	71.7%	$10.22
13. African Development Bank (AfDB)	68.9%	$0.81
14. Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)	68.6%	***
15. Global Environment Facility (GEF)	67.8%	$2.82
16. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)	67.6%	***
17. Sweden	67.1%	$13.24
18. International Finance Corporation (IFC)	64.9%	***
19. Norway	64.1%	$14.42
20. Germany	64.0%	$72.52
21. China	63.5%	$43.83**
22. Netherlands	61.8%	$17.23
23. France	61.7%	$52.16
24. India	60.8%	***
25. Japan	60.4%	$132.39
26. Australia	59.6%	$23.11
27. Canada	53.1%	$17.95
28. Islamic Development Bank (ISDB)	53.1%	$0.68
29. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	52.3%	$2.31
30. Kuwait	51.3%	$2.97
31. Belgium	51.1%	$8.35
32. Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA)	47.6%	$0.67
33. OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID)	44.4%	$0.84
34. Spain	41.6%	$10.97
35. Brazil	37.4%	***

Notes:

*　*Taken from AidData's Core Research Release, Version 3.1, development assistance is defined as the total amount of official development assistance (ODA) committed by each donor for the period 2005-2013 to those countries included within the survey and that had at least 1 respondent reporting that they had received advice or assistance from that donor. ODA is given in billions of 2011 USD.*

**　*China does not report development assistance to the OECD. China's development assistance classified as "ODA-like" is tracked in AidData's Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset, Version 1.0, and deflated to 2014 USD. Additionally, China provided $96.6 billion in "Other Official Flows" and $27.6 billion in "Vague Official Finance" which are not counted.*

***　*Insufficient data on official development assistance. EBRD, IFC, and MIGA provide other types of financing, which are not included. Brazil and India do not report development assistance to the OECD.*

Sources: *AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, AidData's Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset, Version 1.0, AidData's Core Research Release, Version 3.1.*

Figure 24: Donor helpfulness versus historical development assistance

Rankings are based on the percentage of responses evaluating a given partner that rated that partner as "quite" or "very" helpful in 2017. Development assistance is that given by a partner to survey respondents' countries from 2005-2013.

Helpfulness Ranking	Percentage of Responses	Development Assistance Committed* (Billions of USD)
1. Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI Alliance)	85.4%	$2.57
2. International Monetary Fund (IMF)	85.1%	$6.07
3. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	83.9%	$6.11
4. World Bank	83.7%	$120.95
5. European Union	82.9%	$109.11
6. Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	82.8%	$4.19
7. Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria	82.5%	$13.86
8. United States	81.1%	$189.72
9. African Development Bank (AfDB)	78.6%	$0.81
10. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	77.7%	$4.17
11. International Finance Corporation (IFC)	77.7%	***
12. United Kingdom	76.7%	$36.08
13. Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA)	75.7%	$0.67
14. France	74.8%	$52.16
15. Asian Development Bank (ADB)	74.6%	$9.58
16. Denmark	74.0%	$10.22
17. Germany	73.1%	$72.52
18. Sweden	73.1%	$13.24
19. Global Environment Facility (GEF)	71.7%	$2.82
20. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	71.1%	$2.31
21. Australia	69.8%	$23.11
22. Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)	68.4%	***
23. Japan	68.1%	$132.39
24. India	67.6%	***
25. Canada	66.9%	$17.95
26. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)	66.1%	***
27. Belgium	65.5%	$8.35
28. Norway	65.2%	$14.42
29. Islamic Development Bank (ISDB)	64.8%	$0.68
30. Spain	64.1%	$10.97
31. China	63.0%	$43.83**
32. Netherlands	62.8%	$17.23
33. Brazil	58.1%	***
34. OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID)	50.3%	$0.84
35. Kuwait	48.7%	$2.97

Notes:

* Taken from AidData's Core Research Release, Version 3.1, development assistance is defined as the total amount of official development assistance (ODA) committed by each donor for the period 2005-2013 to those countries included within the survey and that had at least 1 respondent reporting that they had received advice or assistance from that donor. ODA is given in billions of 2011 USD.

** China does not report development assistance to the OECD. China's development assistance classified as "ODA-like" is tracked in AidData's Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset, Version 1.0, and deflated to 2014 USD. Additionally, China provided $96.6 billion in "Other Official Flows" and $27.6 billion in "Vague Official Finance" which are not counted.

*** Insufficient data on official development assistance. EBRD, IFC, and MIGA provide other types of financing, which are not included. Brazil and India do not report development assistance to the OECD.

Sources: AidData's 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, AidData's Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset, Version 1.0, AidData's Core Research Release, Version 3.1.

3.4 Concluding thoughts

International donors vary greatly in who they engage with and how they are perceived by their partners on the ground. We find that multilaterals and large DAC bilaterals continue to dominate the development finance market as their high scores on influence and helpfulness cut across regions, sectors, and time. Nonetheless, non-DAC donors like China and India are quickly gaining ground over time versus their more established peers as they continue to expand and professionalize their development cooperation efforts.

Our analysis shows that donors with greater reach and larger resources have a head start in garnering favorable views from leaders in low- and middle-income countries. However, there are some important exceptions to this general rule, as some donors punch above (or below) what we would expect to see if money alone determines how leaders perceive a development partner's performance. Even small, focused donors can have loyal and enthusiastic partner bases.

If the power of purse is an insufficient explanation for why some donors are perceived more favorably than others, is there another 'x factor' that might be a compelling explanation? In Chapter 4, we conclude by exploring various reasons why some donors appear to be more effective than others in translating their engagement with partner countries into perceived influence and helpfulness.

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64 Influence here is defined as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. Respondents select among "not at all influential," "only slightly influential," "quite influential," "very influential," "don't know/not sure," and "prefer not to say." For simplicity, we combine the first two response options to imply no influence and the third and fourth options to imply influence.

65 Helpful here is defined as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. Respondents select among "not at all helpful," "only slightly helpful," "quite helpful," "very helpful," "don't know/not sure," and "prefer not to say," For simplicity, we combine the first two response options to imply not helpful and the third and fourth options to imply helpfulness.

66 Survey respondents were given a list of multilateral banks and bilateral agencies, and asked to select those that provided their government or their team with advice or assistance on certain policy initiatives.

67 Respondents were asked to reflect on their experience working directly on a single policy initiative attempted some time between 2010 and 2015. Subsequently, they answered a suite of questions, starting with listing all the foreign and domestic organizations that provided their government or their team with advice or assistance related to that initiative. Respondents then indicated whether these organizations were influential on the government's or their team's decision to pursue this initiative and helpful in its implementation.

68 The effect of this decision is that we are not taking into consideration the performance of many of the smaller DAC bilaterals that were rated by less than 30 respondents. By comparison, the previous threshold in the 2015 *Listening to Leaders* report was 10.

69 For example, a government or organization in a low- or middle-income country may turn away assistance from external actors for political reasons, domestic pressures, or the availability of more appealing financial alternatives. Alternatively, individual agencies within a donor country may have their choices largely determined by their government's historical alliances, legislation, etc.

70 Over forty percent of leaders report receiving advice or assistance from multilaterals such as the EU, the World Bank, and UNDP. Other major players in terms of their reported partner base include the US, Germany, and Japan — large bilaterals from the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) club of advanced economies. See Appendix A for a breakdown for all donors.

71 In terms of overall volume of their official development assistance dollars, not as a percentage of their country's GNI.

72 Specifically, we find that the size of the official development assistance (ODA) disbursed by a given donor between 2010 and 2015 is positively associated with its performance (see Appendix A).

73 In Figure 18, we use the percentage of respondents that reported receiving advice or assistance from a donor as our measure of reach, as this allows us to capture how many people a donor works with across countries, sectors, and stakeholder groups. See Appendix A.

74 We choose to use the product of the two scores, in recognition that a development partner's influence score has the potential to amplify its helpfulness score exponentially (rather than linearly).

75 While most traditional donors work with a range of government and non-government stakeholders, Gulf donors are known to primarily engage mostly with the heads of state of countries. Since there is little attempt to go beyond this level of engagement, we would expect that influence and helpfulness as measured by responses from senior and mid-level officials across various stakeholder groups would be low.

76 Consistent with their operating philosophy, even larger Arab multilaterals have relatively less staff and typically do not have a strong in-country presence through mission offices.

77 See Appendix A.

78 Custer et al. (2016) and Masaki et al. (2016) observed a similar finding in past research in the governance sector, whereby the private sector is seldom identified as a priority target audience for international organizations producing governance data; yet, this group places the greatest premium on this information among all stakeholder groups.

[79] We are unable to examine the organization-level rankings of development partners with the private sector due to the relatively small number of respondents that worked with each DP.

[80] See Appendix A.

[81] The ADB has operations in 39 Asian countries, including all countries in South Asia.

[82] We do not rank China's relative influence in regions other than sub-Saharan Africa in Figures 19 and 20 as the number of respondents rating China in those other areas did not meet our required threshold of 30 respondents for inclusion. For the purposes of this comparison, we collapsed two categories South Asia and East Asia and the Pacific (n=25) and compared it against Chinese influence in sub-Saharan Africa (n=63), we also do not calculate ranks, but merely report on the proportion of respondents in sub-Saharan Africa versus the combined East and South Asia and Pacific region.

[83] Survey respondents selected the sector in which they worked from a list of 22 policy domains, which we then further collapsed for analysis into six broader policy clusters: economic, rural development, governance, social, environment, and infrastructure.

[84] In the *2014 RES*, the question asked was: "How much influence did each of the development partners have on the design of the government's [issue area reform efforts], where "issue area" refers to their policy domain?" In the *2017 LTLS*, the question asked was: "How influential were [selected development partners] on the government's or your team's decision to pursue [this initiative]?" Influence is defined as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. The key difference is that while all respondents to the *2014 RES* answered the question in reference to their governments reform efforts, non-government respondents in the *2017 LTLS* answered this in reference to their own team's policy initiatives. Similarly, with regard to the question on helpfulness, respondents to the *2014 RES* answered this in reference to implementing the government's reform efforts, while non-government respondents answered this in reference to the policy initiatives they identified having worked directly on.

[85] Since there was a short period of overlap in the time-period covered by the two surveys (2010-2013), some respondents would have answered both rounds of the survey; however, the majority are likely to be different.

[86] This is a subtle, but important, distinction. For example, we can use the two survey waves to answer whether China has become more influential relative to other donors over time, but cannot say whether China has become in absolute terms more influential in 2017 than it was in 2014.

[87] Using their rankings in the 2014 and 2017 survey rounds, we re-ranked these development partners from 1 to 28, and then took the difference in ranks for each donor.

[88] https://www.aiib.org/en/about-aiib/index.html

[89] This relationship is positive and significant at the 5% level. See regression results in Appendix A.

[90] This includes the ODA spending committed by a donor for the period of 2005 through 2013 in those countries where at least 1 respondent indicated having received advice or assistance from a particular donor. The source for the financial data is from AidData's Core Research Release, Version 3.1, available at aiddata.org.

[91] This may not be a donor's total spending, as the *2017 LTLS* excludes some middle-income countries, and spending is only included for those countries in which a donor had at least 1 respondent reporting having received advice or assistance from them.

Conclusion

How can development cooperation be tuned-in rather than tone-deaf?

Key findings of this chapter:

- *Development partners are valued not only for the resources they bring to the table, but for how actively they engage with counterparts and align with national strategies.*

- *Countries that have more say over how foreign aid is deployed within their borders generally give their development partners higher marks in agenda-setting influence.*

- *Donors are less influential and helpful when they are misaligned with what national leaders say are the most important problems to solve.*

- *Donors face a trade-off: in adhering to best practices to untie aid, they may inadvertently cede ground in perceived influence and helpfulness.*

- *Specialization has a drawback: in an age where many development problems are multifaceted, donors that focus narrowly on a few sectors have less influence.*

4. **Conclusion:** How can development cooperation be tuned-in rather than tone-deaf?

"To meet the myriad challenges in today's rapidly shifting global landscape, policymakers and practitioners need a framework that encompasses all the elements of change. This means moving the focus from the limited function of supplying aid to the far-reaching mutual enterprise of enabling true development cooperation."

— Dervis et al. (2011)

How can international actors be more responsive to what citizens and leaders are trying to achieve, while still realizing their own objectives? In this concluding chapter, we decode what it is that makes a development partner "fit-for-purpose" (Menocal, 2014) in the eyes of the leaders they endeavor to support.

We answer this question in two ways. First, we analyze what leaders have to say about those partners they found most (and least) influential and helpful in the context of a specific policy initiative (or reform) they attempted to advance between 2010 and 2015. Second, we examine patterns in the data and pinpoint the attributes of donors and countries that serve as the most reliable predictors of a donor's performance.

Reflecting on these findings, along with those from the previous chapters on priorities and progress, we conclude with two final implications for the future of development assistance that is responsive to local demand in the post-2015 era.

4.1 Why do leaders rate some development partners more favorably than others?

There many potential reasons why a leader might view a given international donor more or less favorably, but it is hard to know which factors are most consequential in shaping their attitudes towards development partners. To address this information gap, we asked leaders to explain for themselves why they had identified a given organization as influential or helpful.[92] Survey respondents could identify up to three reasons from a set of response options that each reflects a popular theory for why a given international donor might be influential or helpful.

4.1.1 Development partners are valued not only for the resources they bring to the table, but for how actively they engage with their counterparts and align with national strategies

When asked why they perceived certain donors to be influential or helpful, access to resources was clearly top of mind for survey respondents. While financial and material contributions topped the list, leaders also attributed influence to donors who enable them to tap into international expertise.
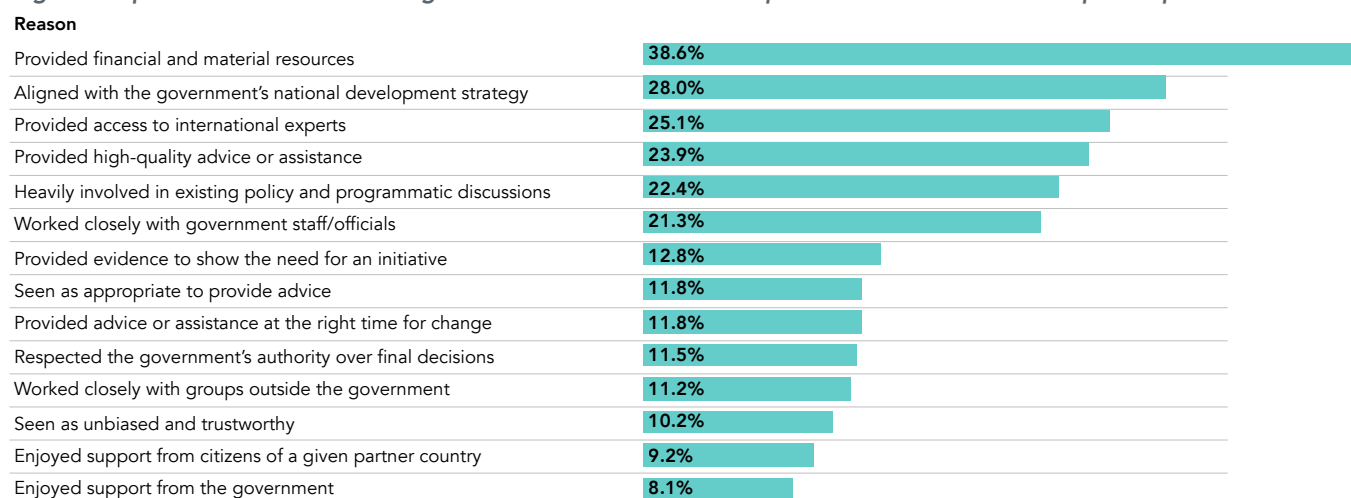
Notably, leaders want development partners to align their efforts and resources with their country's national development strategy. They also give high marks to donors who put "skin in the game" through the hard work of providing high-quality advice or assistance, working closely with government counterparts, and heavily participating in existing policy or programmatic discussions.

The reasons why leaders find donors helpful follow a similar theme of providing access to resources, whether human capital — through international experts, information, and practical advice — or financial and material assistance. Nonetheless, leaders put the greatest weight on whether a development partner is seen as working closely with government counterparts.

These findings are reinforced when we analyze open-ended responses to a subsequent question that asked respondents to state what would make development partners more helpful. A large share of respondents indicated that donors would have been more helpful if they provided (more) financial support. Many also expressed the need for donors to invest more in advocacy, communication and coordinate better with other stakeholders in the country.[93]

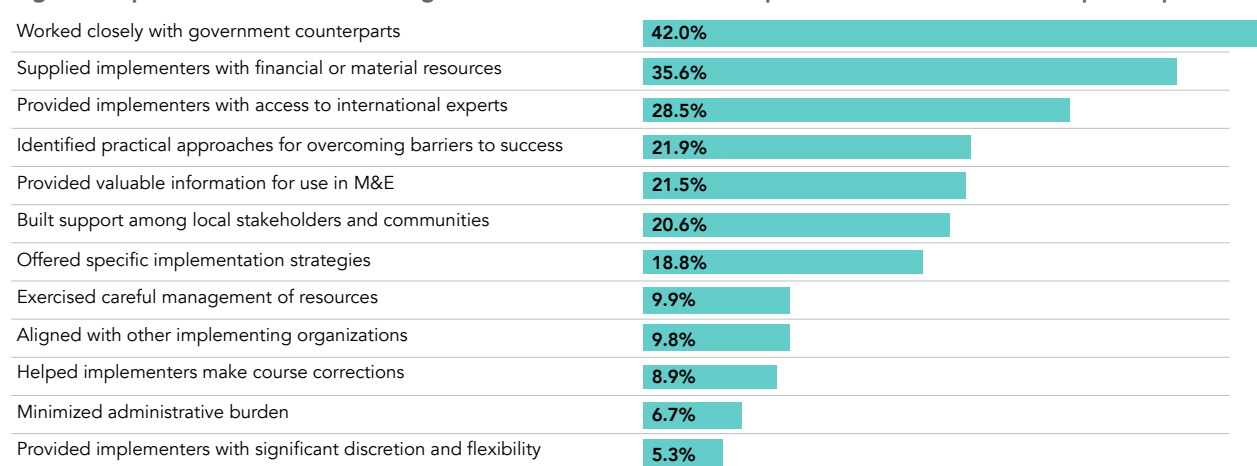# Figure 25: Respondent reasons why some development partners are more influential

Percentage of respondents who selected a given reason as one of their top three reasons for a development partner's influence.

Reason

Reason	Percentage
Provided financial and material resources	38.6%
Aligned with the government's national development strategy	28.0%
Provided access to international experts	25.1%
Provided high-quality advice or assistance	23.9%
Heavily involved in existing policy and programmatic discussions	22.4%
Worked closely with government staff/officials	21.3%
Provided evidence to show the need for an initiative	12.8%
Seen as appropriate to provide advice	11.8%
Provided advice or assistance at the right time for change	11.8%
Respected the government's authority over final decisions	11.5%
Worked closely with groups outside the government	11.2%
Seen as unbiased and trustworthy	10.2%
Enjoyed support from citizens of a given partner country	9.2%
Enjoyed support from the government	8.1%

Notes: This figure is based upon responses to question 23 in the 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, where respondents answered the following question for those organizations they identified as influential: "In your opinion, what made the organization influential? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. You may select up to three statements."
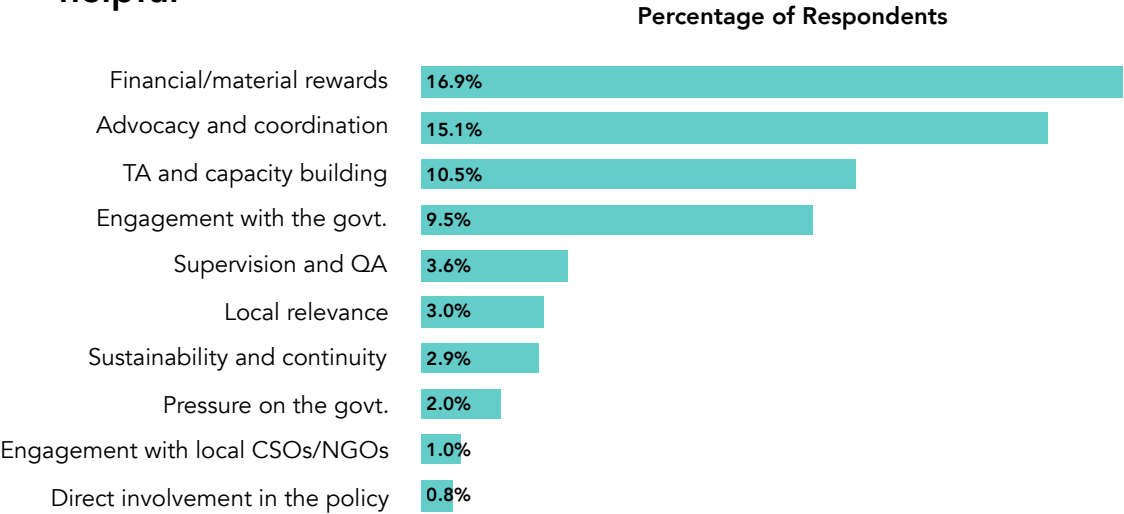
Figure 26: Respondent reasons why some development partners are more helpful

Percentage of respondents who selected a given reason as one of their top three reasons for a development partner's helpfulness.

Reason

Reason	Percentage
Worked closely with government counterparts	42.0%
Supplied implementers with financial or material resources	35.6%
Provided implementers with access to international experts	28.5%
Identified practical approaches for overcoming barriers to success	21.9%
Provided valuable information for use in M&E	21.5%
Built support among local stakeholders and communities	20.6%
Offered specific implementation strategies	18.8%
Exercised careful management of resources	9.9%
Aligned with other implementing organizations	9.8%
Helped implementers make course corrections	8.9%
Minimized administrative burden	6.7%
Provided implementers with significant discretion and flexibility	5.3%

Notes: This figure is based upon responses to question 25 in the 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, where respondents answered the following question for those organizations they identified as helpful: "In your opinion, what made the organization helpful? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. You may select up to three statements."

Figure 27: Respondent answers for how development partners could be more helpful

Percentage of Respondents

Category	Percentage
Financial/material rewards	16.9%
Advocacy and coordination	15.1%
TA and capacity building	10.5%
Engagement with the govt.	9.5%
Supervision and QA	3.6%
Local relevance	3.0%
Sustainability and continuity	2.9%
Pressure on the govt.	2.0%
Engagement with local CSOs/NGOs	1.0%
Direct involvement in the policy	0.8%

Notes: *This figure is based upon responses to question 26 in the 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey, where respondents answered the following question with an open-ended answer for those organizations they identified as not very helpful: "What, if anything, could [insert organization] have done to be more helpful during implementation? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes."*

4.2 What does the evidence say about what leaders want from their development partners?

Scholars and practitioners have an abundance of theories regarding what makes a donor more or less effective in the eyes of in-country counterparts. Some explanations have to do with the donor themselves — how much money they provide, through which channels, to whom, and with what terms — while others focus on differences in the enabling environment within which development partners operate.

In this section, we put several of these plausible explanations to an empirical test. Using multivariate regression models, we pinpoint which donor-specific and country-specific factors are the best predictors for how leaders assess development partner performance.

4.2.1 Countries that have more say over how foreign aid is deployed within their borders generally give their development partners higher marks in influence

There is an important distinction between the total aid (ODA) countries receive and the subset of money over which national leaders have significant say to direct how these resources are used.[94] The former includes money that donors may channel via multilateral or non-governmental organizations, that which is earmarked for particular purposes (e.g., debt relief, humanitarian assistance), and the funding that covers the administrative costs of the donor itself. The latter is known as country programmable aid (CPA), in that low- and middle-income countries can allocate or 'program' this assistance to implement agreed upon policies and programs during normal multi-year planning processes (Kharas, 2007 & 2014; OECD, 2018).

It turns out that this distinction matters. Survey respondents from countries which have more programmable aid as a percentage of their overall ODA envelope viewed their development partners as more influential, on average.[95] In other words, countries that can program more of their assistance dollars for themselves, rather than having these decisions made for them by the donor, actually hold development partners in higher regard, not less.

This finding should give additional ammunition to donors seeking to justify the importance of preserving the flexibility for countries receiving assistance to determine how they will use it to further their goals, rather than dictating terms. It is likely that back-sliding on commitments to increase the share of country programmable aid could ultimately hurt, rather than

help, donors on influence in the eyes of their in-country counterparts.

4.2.2 Donors are more influential and helpful when their priorities are aligned with the specific problems national leaders say are most important for their country to solve

Leaders consistently point to alignment with national priorities as one of the most important factors shaping their perceptions of development partner performance.[96] This emphasis on country ownership is consistent with the conventional wisdom amongst donors themselves, as articulated in the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the 2008 Accra Agenda for Action, that their top priority should be to support "developing countries...to achieve their own economic, social and environmental goals" (OECD, 2008).

But who must donors align with, and in what ways — and does this really matter in how their performance is perceived by in-country counterparts? In Chapter 1, we looked at the degree to which citizens, leaders, and donors converge or diverge in terms of the priority problems they felt low- and middle-income countries should solve. In this chapter, we determine whether donors derive a performance dividend from aligning their aid allocations with what citizens[97] and leaders[98] say that they want.

Leaders penalize development partners who are tone-deaf to their most pressing priorities. Specifically, we find that the extent to which a donor's aid allocations diverge from what leaders identified as the problems that were most important for their country to solve was negatively associated with a donor's perceived influence and helpfulness. The extent to which donors are on the same page with a country's leaders is not only a good idea in principle, but also a boon to their perceived performance in practice. Comparatively, we do not see the same relationship between performance scores and alignment with citizen priorities.

4.2.3 Donors face a trade-off: in adhering to conventional best practices to untie aid, they may inadvertently cede ground in perceived influence and helpfulness

Tied aid — the practice by which a donor requires the recipients of its aid to use those dollars to procure goods or services from itself — flies in the face of the well-established best practice of strengthening the ability of countries to direct their own development.[99] Moreover, tied aid is inefficient, as the OECD (2018) estimates that it can "increase the costs of a development project by as much as 15 to 30 percent."

That said, tied aid remains a reality of official development assistance. Bilateral donors often view

aid as one of several instruments in their national security toolkit to advance their country's security and economic interests, alongside more altruistic development outcomes (Nye, 2011; Stevenson, 2013). It is much easier for policymakers to argue for foreign aid budgets when they can say that some of this supports jobs at home and other goals abroad.

In this study, we are less interested in debating the merits (or lack thereof) of tied aid, as we are in understanding the ramifications of a donor's decision to increase or decrease the share of their assistance that is untied.[100] To what extent are leaders in low- and middle-income countries predisposed to think favorably or ill of their development partners on the basis of the strings donors attach to their assistance?

In fact, we find that donors with a greater share of untied aid as percentage of their overall ODA spending are viewed as less influential and helpful than those with lower shares of untied aid.[101] At first blush, this finding seems counterintuitive. The tying of aid by donors decreases the flexibility of countries receiving that assistance to procure goods and services most efficiently. Therefore, one might argue that this would negatively impact performance scores; however, we find the opposite to be true.

This finding could say something about the mechanism of tied aid itself — that by imposing a form of conditionality, donors may have more of a chance to assert themselves in policy discussions and, by extension, increase their influence over key decisions. Alternatively, this could say something about a category of donors that are more willing to assert their influence in policy discussions and use tied aid as one of many means to achieve that end.

This finding presents donors with something of a dilemma. On the one hand, there are principled reasons of efficiency, effectiveness, and country ownership to untie aid. But in doing so, development partners may actually lose, rather than gain, stature with their counterparts in low- and middle-income countries.

4.2.4 Specialization has a drawback: in an age where many development problems are multifaceted, donors that focus narrowly on a few sectors have less influence

Sector-focused development partners such as the Global Fund and GAVI routinely do quite well in our policymaker surveys, garnering higher marks from leaders on both influence and helpfulness relative to what we would expect given their modest budgets. A prevailing theory we have often drawn upon to explain this trend is that these more focused donors may have the luxury of cultivating deeper relationships with a narrow set of leaders and customizing their offerings to that very specific target audience.

Nonetheless, when we put this hypothesis to the test in our multivariate regression, the result was surprising. Using data on the share of a development partner's ODA that is concentrated in certain sectors, we find that more specialized donors have less influence, on average, than those that have broader interests that cross multiple sectors.[102] In other words, sectorally specialized donors, by virtue of their unwavering focus, may be at a disadvantage, all other things being equal.

One possible explanation for this counterintuitive finding is that leaders view the most intractable problems left to solve in their countries as multidimensional in nature. If the root causes of inequality, poor governance, and poverty, for example, are seen as cutting across traditional sectoral boundaries, survey respondents may put a premium on the ability of donors to support them with integrated solutions that are similarly cross-disciplinary.

4.3 How can development cooperation evolve to support locally-led action?

The responses to the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* give international donors much food for thought in how they are performing from the perspectives of the people who are most critical to achieving development goals and pushing forward policy reforms on the ground. In this last section, we reflect on two final implications for the future of development cooperation that arise from the analysis of leaders' priorities, progress, and perceptions of international donors.

First, capitalize on convergence: international actors should be opportunistic in doubling down on financial and technical assistance in the sweet spots where citizen, leader, and donor priorities converge, as they are the most promising areas to get traction for reform.

Leaders are quite adamant that donors should be aligned with the priority problems that they themselves feel are most important for their countries to solve, and view the contributions of these development partners more favorably when they do. However, we also find that leaders are more likely to see progress in advancing reforms when there is a broad coalition of supporters across different segments of society (Custer et al., 2015) and, in particular, a deep base of support among central and local government officials (see Chapter 2).

International actors should be opportunistic in finding points of convergence where citizens, leaders, and donors are on the same page in wanting to solve a particular development problem (see Chapter 1). These sweet spots represent issues that are of high salience to a broad cross-section of people and create a groundswell of support that — with the right mix of

political, technical, and financial resources — policymakers can harness to push forward necessary reforms.

But what about equally important, but more divisive issues that have yet to achieve similar cross-cutting support? In areas where there is more divergence between citizens and leaders or leaders and donors, international actors may still have a role to play in facilitating dialogue, raising awareness, and engaging in advocacy to change norms. However, these environments may require international donors to employ different tools than is typical to mainstream development programs such as community organizing, public diplomacy, and norm diffusion.

Second, embrace the politics of reform: leaders want their development partners to have the political savvy to actively engage in domestic policy discussions, work closely with government counterparts, and help them mobilize broader support for reform.

The idea that international actors need to pay less attention to "technical fixes" and spend a disproportionate amount of effort on understanding and navigating the local politics of how change happens has been a long-standing critique of the aid and development enterprise. Yet, as Menocal (2014) rightly points out, while we know that "institutions matter, and that behind institutions lie politics...making

this operational [within international aid bureaucracies] has proven much more difficult" in practice.

Yet, if international actors eschew politics, it is highly likely that their in-country counterparts will find them to be less effective. Survey respondents reportedly want donors more, not less, engaged in the messy business of existing policy or programmatic discussions where priorities are adjudicated and decisions made. Moreover, leaders want their development partners working more closely with host government officials, as well as helping to build support for reform across the public, private, and civil society sectors.

Admittedly, this admonition to embrace, and actively engage in, the politics of reform will push many established international donors out of their comfort zone. Carothers and de Gramont (2013) point to a range of issues — from the "technocratic preferences" of individual staff, to the system-wide challenges of inflexible aid delivery mechanisms, and organizational mandates that emphasize socio-economic change absent a clear grounding in political development.

If international donors are to effectively meet the revealed demand for them to invest more in engaging politically with government leaders and help build coalitions for reform, then they may have to make fundamental changes to the ways in which they recruit new staff, reward existing staff, and assess their own performance in order to recalibrate incentives towards acquiring and cultivating this political acumen.

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[92] Survey respondents answered two questions one for influence and one for helpfulness. Respondents could pick three out of 15 response options for the question on influence and three out of 12 response options for helpfulness. See Appendix E to see the questionnaire. Figures 25 and 26 also list out the available response options.

[93] Coordination challenges among donors and the undue burden that lack of coordination creates on host country governments have been frequently cited in academic literature. For example, Fuchs et al. (2015) find that competition for export markets and political support are major impediments for donors to closely coordinate their aid activities. Along a similar vein, Barthel et al. (2014) also find evidence that competition for export markets drives donor aid allocation decisions; however, this is less apparent with more 'altruistic' donors and in the social sector (as opposed to the infrastructure or economic sectors). Meanwhile, Annen and Moers (2016) argue that donors have to justify their aid budgets in terms of relative impact or effectiveness versus others, which creates incentives for a given donor to stand out from, rather than coordinate with, their peers. Finally, Custer and Sethi (2017) offer an additional perspective on the challenges of coordination in one area: data collection. As multiple donors collect similar types of information and implement similar programs in the same geographical areas, they do so in a duplicative and isolated way, which is not only inefficient but also places a burden on the households and local stakeholders that are part of these programs.

[94] See OECD (2018) for a more fulsome definition and explanation of how CPA is calculated: http://www.oecd.org/dac/aid-architecture/countryprogrammableaidcpafrequentlyaskedquestions.html

[95] This relationship between development partner performance scores and a country's share of CPA as a percentage of overall ODA is both positive and significant at the 1% level. See Appendix A-3 as well as Parks et al. (2016).

[96] AidData has seen this response option come at or near the top of the list of reasons given by survey respondents to explain variation in development partner performance across two surveys — the *2014 Reform Efforts Survey* and the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey*.

[97] For our measure of citizen-donor alignment, we use data from the Center for Global Developments's (CGD) QuODA dataset on ODA quality, and Palagashvili and Williamson (2015). QuODA is an initiative undertaken by the CGD to measure progress on the degree to which major aid agencies have adopted "best practices" of aid effectiveness, including the extent to which donors allocate ODA to partner countries' top development priorities as articulated via citizen surveys like Gallup polls and regional surveys (e.g., Afro-barometer, Asian-barometer, Euro-barometer, and Latino-barometer). For each donor-recipient pair, QuODA determines the share of aid devoted to one of the top five identified priority areas. The citizen-donor alignment measure (ALIGNMENT) uses z-scores, or the number of standard deviations that each country or agency is from the mean value.

[98] For our measure of leader-donor alignment, we use data from two sources: AidData's *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* for leader priorities and AidData's Financing to the SDGs Dataset, Version 1.0, available via aiddata.org/sdg. The Financing to the SDGs Dataset includes project-level data on estimated Official Development Assistance (ODA) commitments to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) from 2000 to 2013, tracking more than $1.5 trillion in financing cross-walked to the SDGs from 1.2 million ODA projects in AidData's Core Research Release, Version 3.1 dataset. For each country, we created a measure of policy alignment to capture the extent to which a given donor's aid allocations in a country converge (or diverge) with the top priorities identified by leaders from that country via our survey.

[99] For example, according to the OECD (2018), member countries of the Development Assistance Committee agreed to "the objective of untying their bilateral ODA to the least developed and heavily indebted poor countries" (LDCs and HIPCs).

[100] We use the share of untied aid from from Palagashvili and Williamson's (2015) dataset.

[101] This relationship between development partner performance scores and a donor's share of untied aid as a percentage of overall ODA is both negative and significant at the 1% level. See Appendix A.

[102] This relationship is negative and significant at the 1% level for influence. There is also a negative relationship between sectoral specialization and helpfulness, but this is only significant at the 10% level. See Appendix A.

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Appendix

Appendix A. Supplemental Findings and Regression Table Output

A-1. Chapter 1: Supplemental Material on Priorities

A-1.1 The relationship between fragility and prioritizing 'peace and justice' (SDG16)
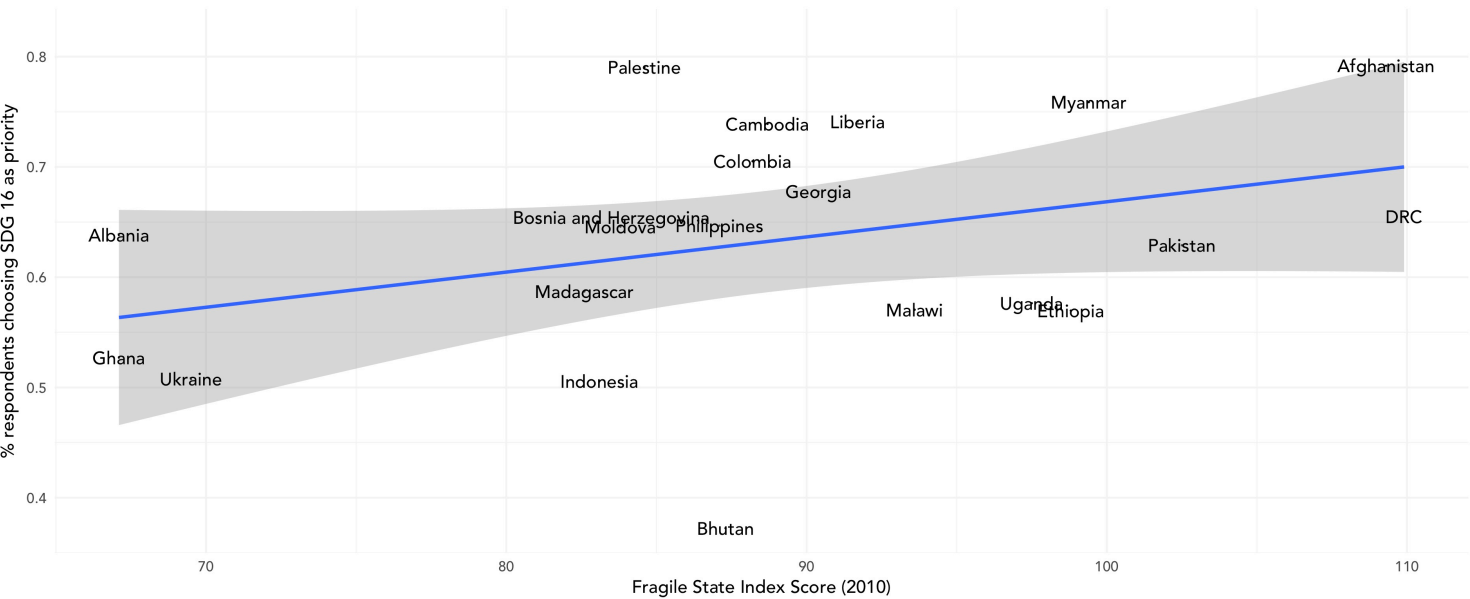
Note: only countries with at least 30 respondents included.

This figure shows the relationship between a 2017 LTLS respondent's propensity to select peace and justice (SDG16) within their top 6 priorities and that country's Fragile State Index Score (2010) for countries with >= 30 respondents. Running a bivariate regression, we see a weakly significant (90% confidence level) relationship when including all recipient countries (that is, dropping the >= 30 requirement).

A-1.2 Crosswalk of AidData's 2017 LTLS and the UN's MyWorld2015 Suvery

2017 LTLS	Cross-Walked Priorities	MyWorld2015
Goal 01 - No poverty	Poverty	Support for people who can't work
Goal 02 - Zero hunger	Hunger	Affordable and nutritious food
Goal 03 - Good health and well-being	Health	Better healthcare
Goal 04 - Quality education	Education	A good education
Goal 05 - Gender equality	Gender Equality	Equality between men and women
Goal 06 - Clean water and sanitation	Water	Access to clean water and sanitation
Goal 07 - Affordable and clean energy	Clean Energy	Reliable energy at home
Goal 08 - Decent work and economic growth	Employment	Better job opportunities
Goal 09 - Industry, innovation and infrastructure	Industry	Phone and internet access
Goal 10 - Reduced inequalities	Inequality	Freedom from discrimination and persecution
Goal 11 - Sustainable cities and communities	Cities	Better transport and roads
Goal 13 - Climate action	Climate	Action taken on climate change
A vote for *each* counts as a vote for the crosswalked priority Goal 12 - Responsible consumption/production Goal 14 - Life below water Goal 15 - Life on land	Environment	Protecting forests, rivers and oceans
Goal 16 - Peace, justice and strong institutions	Peace and Justice	**A vote for *each* counts as a vote for the crosswalked priority** An honest and responsive government Political freedoms Protection against crime and violence

A-2. Chapter 2: Supplemental Material on Progress

Figure A-2.1 Perceptions of policy reform progress for DP stakeholders
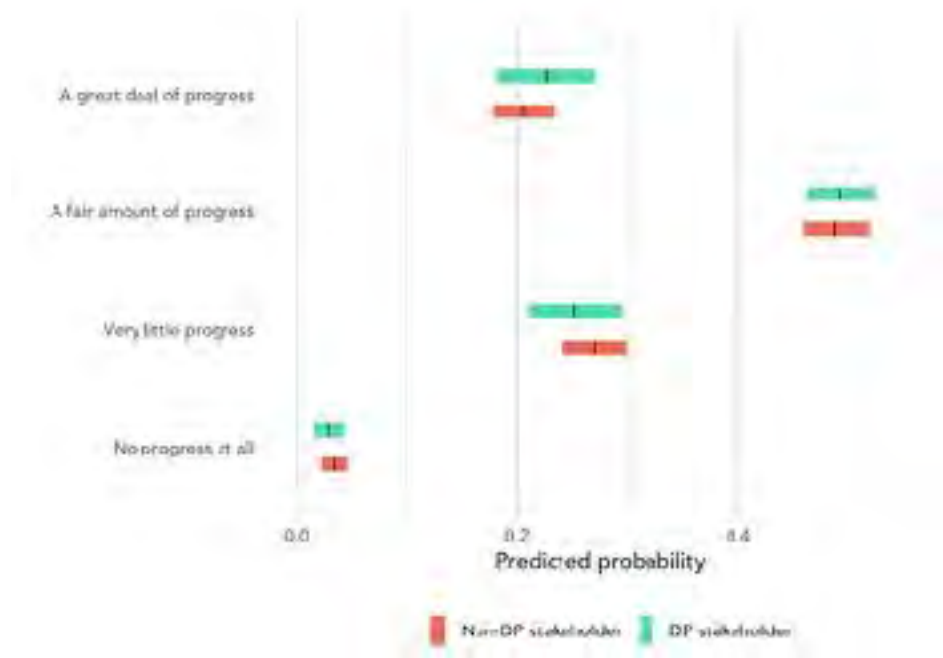
Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports making some or a great deal of progress on her policy initiative conditional on whether they work inside or outside of development partner organizations. Predictions are generated using probit models.

Figure A-2.2 Perceptions of policy reform progress by policy cluster
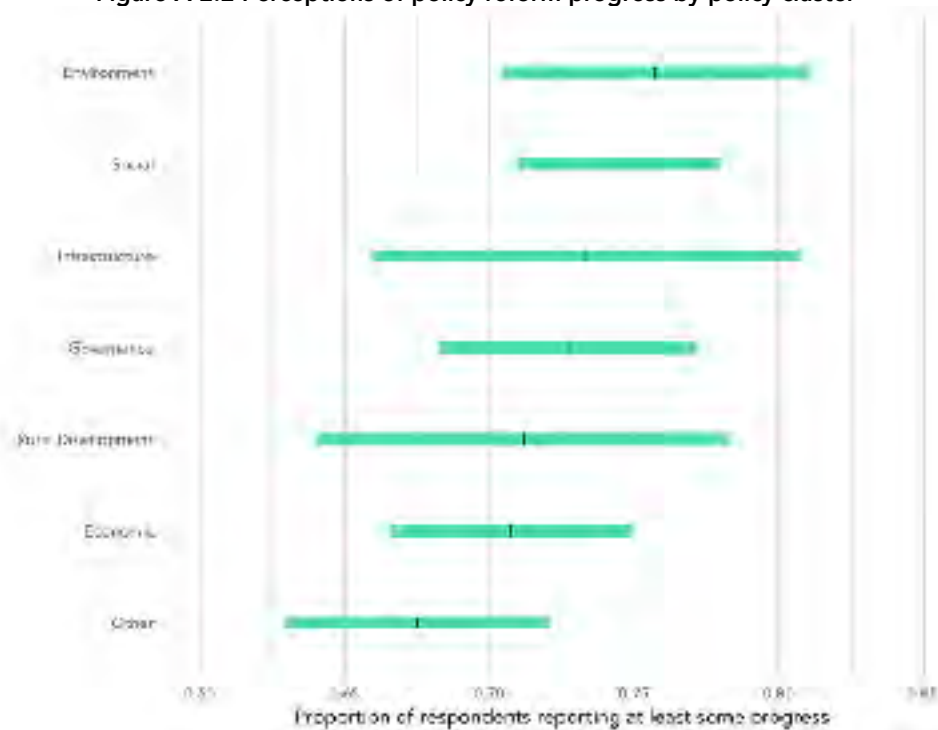
Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports making some or a great deal of progress on her policy initiative conditional on which policy cluster (or sector) in which they worked. Predictions are generated using probit models.

Figure A-2.3 Perceptions of policy reform progress for NGO stakeholders
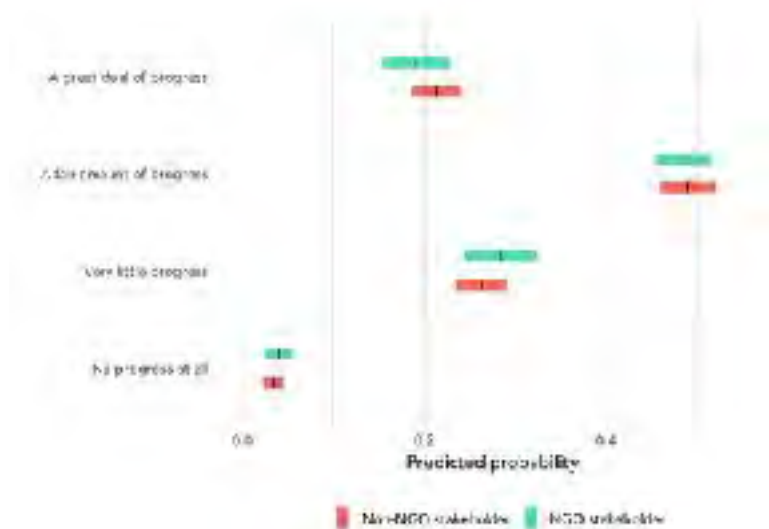

Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports making some or a great deal of progress on her policy initiative conditional on whether they work inside or outside of non-governmental organizations. Predictions are generated using probit models.

Figure A-2.4 Perceptions of policy reform progress for private sector stakeholders

Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports making some or a great deal of progress on her policy initiative conditional on whether they work inside or outside of the private sector. Predictions are generated using probit models.

Figure A-2.5 Probability of reporting 'A great deal of progress' conditional on opposition from domestic groups
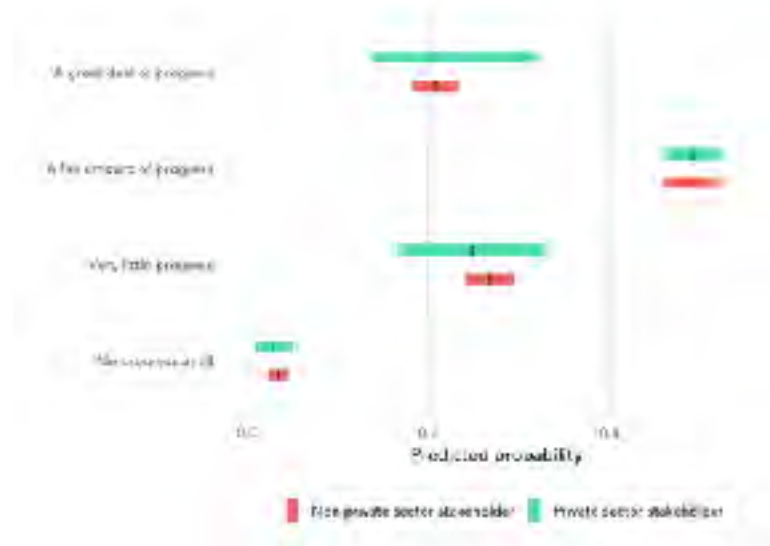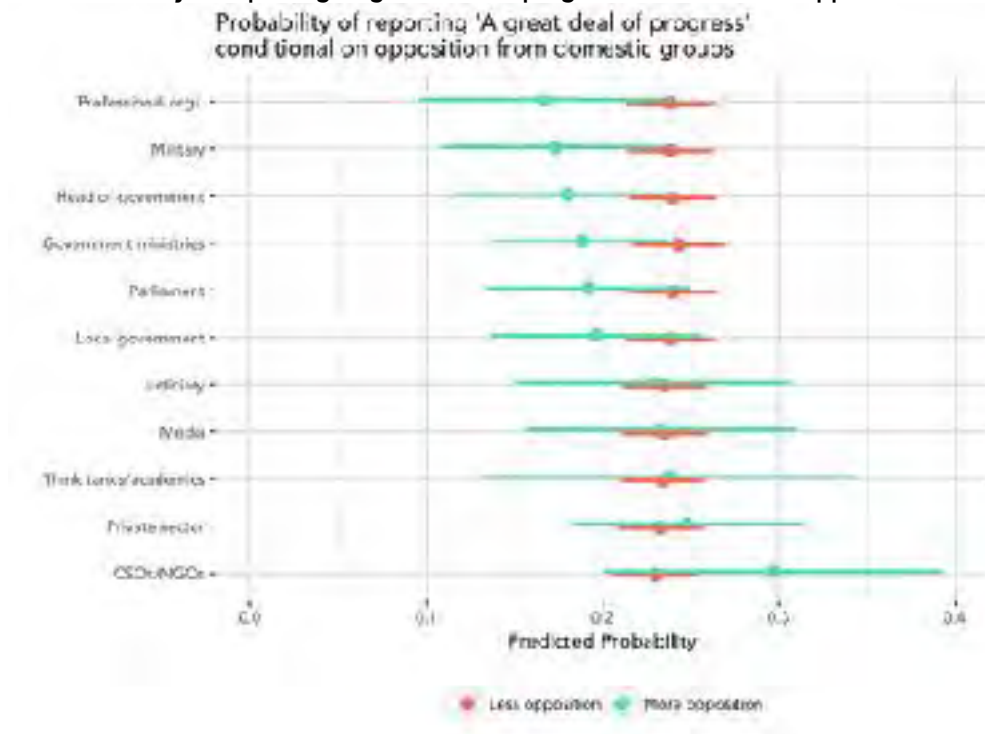

Notes: The figure displays the predicted probability that a respondent reports making some or a great deal of progress on her policy initiative conditional on receiving less opposition (little or none) or more opposition (some or a great deal) from various domestic actors. Predictions are generated using probit models. All models include controls for GDP per capita (logged), regime type, stakeholder type, region, policy cluster, and other domestic support dummy variables.

A-3. Chapter 3: Supplemental Material on Partner Performance

Table A-3.1 Number and percentage of respondents who reported receiving advice or assistance from a given DP

Table A-3.1
Percentage of respondents who reported receiving advice or assistance from a given development partner [n=1720]

European Union	44.9%	Canada	15.0%	Belgium	7.6%	OFID	2.5%
World Bank	43.4%	Sweden	12.7%	IDB	7.1%	Saudi Arabia	2.4%
UNDP	44.2%	Norway	12.4%	China	7.1%	BADEA	2.3%
United States	33.4%	Australia	12.4%	IsDB	4.7%	UAE	2.1%
Germany	28.5%	Netherlands	11.2%	Spain	4.4%	Qatar	1.4%
Japan	24.8%	GEF	10.4%	EBRD	3.9%	Russia	1.3%
UNICEF	19.7%	AsDB	10.1%	India	3.9%	CAF	1.0%
United Kingdom	18.6%	Denmark	9.9%	GAVI	3.7%	AMF	0.9%
IMF	17.7%	IFC	9.8%	Brazil	2.7%	CDB	0.6%
France	15.9%	Global Fund	9.8%	Kuwait	2.7%	CABEI	0.5%
AfDB	15.3%	IFAD	8.5%	MIGA	2.5%		

Notes: The figure shows how frequently survey respondents cited a given development partner to have provided their team or government with advice or assistance (N=1720).

Table A-3.3
Comparison of adjusted 2014 and 2017 rankings and number of observations for influence and helpfulness

Donor Full	2014 influence n	2014 helpfulness n	2017 influence n	2017 helpfulness n	2014 Influence Rank (Adjusted)	2014 Helpfulness Rank (Adjusted)	2017 Influence Rank	2017 Helpfulness Rank	2017 influence %	2017 helpfulness %	ODA
African Development Bank (AfDB)	657	450	218	205	14	16	13	9	68.9%	78.6%	$805,389,124
Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA)	85	23	35	31	30	20	32	13	47.6%	75.7%	$666,593,960
Asian Development Bank (ADB)	548	399	171	159	5	11	8	15	72.8%	74.6%	$9,579,758,699
Australia	772	383	277	263	21	18	26	21	59.6%	69.8%	$23,107,398,04
Belgium	262	125	127	121	20	22	31	27	51.1%	65.5%	$8,353,120,599
Brazil	295	86	49	46	27	29	35	33	37.4%	58.1%	
Canada	1,184	490	302	290	26	28	27	25	53.1%	66.9%	$17,947,896,28
China	601	166	139	129	29	30	21	31	63.5%	63.0%	$43,832,841,13
Denmark	158	121	190	184	8	6	12	16	71.7%	74.0%	$10,224,171,87
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)	227	124	70	61	17	14	16	26	67.6%	66.1%	$0
European Union	1,982	1,519	744	716	3	8	4	5	80.2%	82.9%	$109,108,329,4
France	1,324	571	270	252	24	26	23	14	61.7%	74.8%	$52,162,285,13
Germany	2,097	1,075	685	647	22	23	20	17	64.0%	73.1%	$72,519,363,02
Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI Alliance)	16	16	62	57	6	1	10	1	72.5%	85.4%	$2,572,225,904
Global Environment Facility (GEF)	85	42	170	151	13	4	15	19	67.8%	71.7%	$2,815,262,120
Global Fund to Fight AIDS Tuberculosis and Malaria	114	70	153	142	11	10	6	7	74.6%	82.5%	$13,855,655,91
India	258	58	64	55	31	32	24	24	60.8%	67.6%	$0
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	321	244	102	100	4	7	9	6	72.6%	82.8%	$4,185,483,322
International Finance Corporation (IFC)			154	138	n/a	n/a	18	11	64.9%	77.7%	$0
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	50	32	126	121	18	19	29	20	52.3%	71.1%	$2,310,227,759
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	999	707	268	250	2	2	1	2	85.8%	85.1%	$6,068,060,220
Islamic Development Bank (ISDB)	212	80	71	66	28	27	28	29	53.1%	64.8%	$676,890,572
Japan	1,717	740	516	473	25	25	25	23	60.4%	68.1%	$132,394,664,2
Kuwait	161	34	40	35	34	33	30	35	51.3%	48.7%	$2,967,164,433
Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)			34	30	n/a	n/a	14	22	68.6%	68.4%	$0

Table A-3.3

Comparison of adjusted 2014 and 2017 rankings and number of observations for influence and helpfulness

Donor Full	2014 influence n	2014 helpfulness n	2017 influence n	2017 helpfulness n	2014 Influence Rank (Adjusted)	2014 Helpfulness Rank (Adjusted)	2017 Influence Rank	2017 Helpfulness Rank	2017 influence %	2017 helpfulness %	ODA
Netherlands	234	166	184	176	15	12	22	32	61.8%	62.8%	$17,231,155,40
Norway	248	145	238	232	19	24	19	28	64.1%	65.2%	$14,423,608,94
OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID)	134	21	38	35	33	31	33	34	44.4%	50.3%	$838,490,537
Spain	457	207	86	81	23	21	34	30	41.6%	64.1%	$10,966,193,77
Sweden	340	222	256	239	12	9	17	18	67.1%	73.1%	$13,239,247,99
United Kingdom	1,673	931	376	352	16	17	11	12	72.4%	76.7%	$36,082,070,39
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	1,041	624	326	309	10	5	5	3	75.3%	83.9%	$6,110,837,233
United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	1,892	1,315	663	632	9	15	7	10	73.4%	77.7%	$4,167,174,058
United States	3,417	2,169	847	799	7	13	3	8	80.4%	81.1%	$189,723,463,5
World Bank	2,174	1,911	709	677	1	3	2	4	81.5%	83.7%	$120,951,476,7

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Figure A-3.3 Relationship between the size of official development assistance disbursed by a given donor and performance
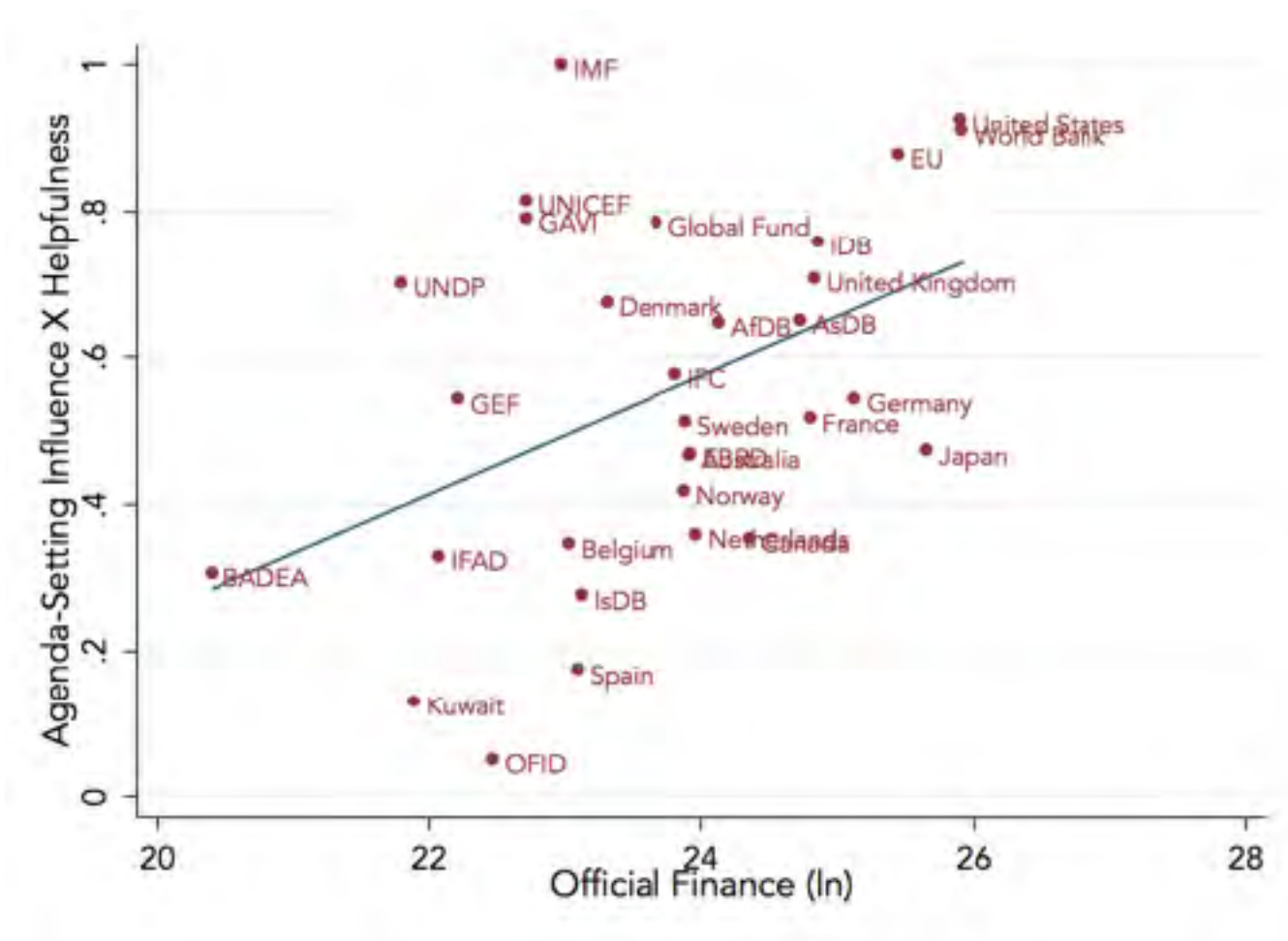
Notes: This figure shows a relationship between the composite indicator of donor performance (which is calculated by the score of agenda-setting influence multiplied by the helpfulness score normalized on a scale of 0 to 1) and the size of official aid disbursed by a given donor between 2010 and 2015 (log-transformed). All donors for which we had fewer than 30 observations to compute agenda-setting influence and helpfulness scores are dropped.

The Determinants of the Perceived Level of Helpfulness and Influence

Ani Harutyunyan

May 30, 2018

This part of the Appendix presents results of regressions analyzing the relationship between indexes of helpfulness and influence with various country and DP specific factors. All the regressions are logistic regressions. The variables have been normalized by subtracting their mean and dividing by their standard deviation, so that the coefficients are comparable within columns, showing the effect of one standard deviation in the independent variable on the dependent variable. All the regressions control for regional and development partner (DP) type fixed effects to remove all region- and DP-specific time invariant factors that may affect both helpfulness/influence and the covariates.

Table 1 shows the partial correlation between the perceived level of Helpfulness and various country covariates. As it can be seen, none of the country specific factors considered in the regression analysis has significant effect on perceived level of helpfulness. The picture is different when DP-specific variables are considered in Table 2, where "share of untied aid" and "donor misalignment score" show significant negative relations with the perceived level of helpfulness. The variable "Specialization by sector" also becomes significant when the other DP-specific variables are controlled for. Additional regression analyses, available upon request, show that the difference is not due to the differences in number of observations across column (3) and (6), but the interaction between the other variables. Column (7) includes both the country and DP covariates in the model. The country specific variables remain insignificant, while "share of untied aid" and "donor misalignment score" from DP-specific variables continue to show significant negative relationship with the perceived level of helpfulness.

Table 3 shows the partial correlation between the perceived level of Influence and various country covariates. Unlike the regressions on index of helpfulness, here some of the country specific factors do show significant effect on index of influence, in particular, "Control of Corruption" and "Oil rents" variables. The CPA as percentage of ODA variable shows significant positive effect at 1% level, when all the variables are pulled together in column (9).

Table 4 considers the effect of DP-specific variables on perceived level of Influence. All the variables, except "Specialization by country", showed some level of significance. When all the covariates are considered together, the variables "Specialization by sector", "Share of untied aid", and "Donor misalignment" show significant negative effect on perceived level of influence at 1% level. Note that the variable "Alignment" cease to be significant, once the other variables are taken into account, and the additional analysis shows that it is not due to the differences in observation across columns, but the interaction between those variables. The CPA as percentage of ODA continues to remain significant in column (7) regression, confirming its robust positive effect on perceived level of Influence.

The Determinants of the Perceived Level of Helpfulness.

Table 1: The correlation of Helpfulnesses index with Country specific covariates.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Government effectiveness	0.07								-0.13
	(0.16)								(0.46)
Control of Corruption		0.10							0.15
		(0.15)							(0.46)
Oil rents (% of GDP)			-0.00						-0.27
			(0.14)						(0.28)
ODA (% of GNI)				-0.09					0.11
				(0.10)					(0.22)
Fragmentation					-0.02				-0.14
					(0.13)				(0.19)
CPA (% of ODA)						-0.04			-0.32
						(0.15)			(0.26)
Support of Government							0.07		0.27
							(0.13)		(0.20)
Support (other)							-0.18		-0.06
							(0.19)		(0.29)
Log GDP per capita								-0.01	-0.10
								(0.33)	(0.46)
Political Openness								-0.17	0.15
								(0.18)	(0.24)
Exports (% of GDP)								0.24	0.65
								(0.18)	(0.46)
Imports (% of GDP)								-0.14	-0.56
								(0.15)	(0.43)
Regional Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
DP type Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	10839	10839	7210	10562	11182	10933	11350	9243	5915

Notes: Logistic regressions. The coefficients show the partial correlation between the perceived Level of Helpfulness and various country covariates. All the variables have been normalized by subtracting their mean and dividing by their standard deviation, so that all coefficients can be compared within the columns, showing the effect of a one standard deviation in the independent variable on the dependent variable. The heteroscedasticity robust standard errors are clustered at country level. *** denotes statistical significance at the 1% level, ** at the 5% level, and * at the 10% level, all for two-sided hypothesis tests.

Table 2: The correlation of Helpfulness index with DP specific covariates.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Alignment	0.05					-0.15	-0.00
	(0.10)					(0.13)	(0.19)
Specialization (by country)		-0.05				-0.07	-0.15
		(0.07)				(0.10)	(0.15)
Specialization (by sector)			-0.07			-0.32**	-0.29*
			(0.09)			(0.13)	(0.17)
Share of untied aid				-0.27***		-0.42***	-0.46***
				(0.10)		(0.11)	(0.16)
Donor misalignment					-0.24***	-0.35***	-0.34**
					(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.14)
Government effectiveness							0.20
							(0.48)
Control of Corruption							-0.16
							(0.51)
ODA (% of GNI)							0.21
							(0.24)
Oil rents (% of GDP)							0.00
							(0.32)
Fragmentation							-0.11
							(0.23)
CPA (% of ODA)							-0.42
							(0.30)
Support of Government							0.28
							(0.24)
Support (other)							0.10
							(0.34)
Log GDP per capita							0.04
							(0.48)
Political Openness							0.32
							(0.29)
Exports (% of GDP)							0.88
							(0.57)
Imports (% of GDP)							-0.66
							(0.51)
Regional Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
DP type Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7052	7052	7052	7052	8344	6848	3521

Notes: Logistic regressions. The coefficients show the partial correlation between the perceived Level of Helpfulness and various DP covariates. All the variables have been normalized by subtracting their mean and dividing by their standard deviation, so that all coefficients can be compared within the columns, showing the effect of a one standard deviation in the independent variable on the dependent variable. The heteroscedasticity robust standard errors are clustered at country level. *** denotes statistical significance at the 1% level, ** at the 5% level, and * at the 10% level, all for two-sided hypothesis tests.

The Determinants of the Perceived Level of Influence.

Table 3: The correlation of Influence index with Country specific covariates.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Government effectiveness	0.23								0.10
	(0.14)								(0.33)
Control of Corruption		0.29**							0.15
		(0.14)							(0.31)
Oil rents (% of GDP)			-0.36**						-0.19
			(0.18)						(0.23)
ODA (% of GNI)				0.27*					0.24
				(0.16)					(0.19)
Fragmentation					0.04				-0.09
					(0.14)				(0.15)
CPA (% of ODA)						0.35*			0.43***
						(0.19)			(0.15)
Support of Government							0.01		0.02
							(0.12)		(0.16)
Support (other)							0.27		0.34
							(0.21)		(0.25)
Log GDP per capita								0.09	-0.24
								(0.26)	(0.37)
Political Openness								0.12	-0.06
								(0.17)	(0.19)
Exports (% of GDP)								0.16	0.66*
								(0.20)	(0.36)
Imports (% of GDP)								0.38*	-0.52
								(0.19)	(0.38)
Regional Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
DP type Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	11654	11654	7825	11370	12036	11769	12201	9870	6360

Notes: Logistic regressions. The coefficients show the partial correlation between the perceived Level of Influence and various DP covariates. All the variables have been normalized by subtracting their mean and dividing by their standard deviation, so that all coefficients can be compared within the columns, showing the effect of a one standard deviation in the independent variable on the dependent variable. The heteroscedasticity robust standard errors are clustered at country level. *** denotes statistical significance at the 1% level, ** at the 5% level, and * at the 10% level, all for two-sided hypothesis tests.

Table 4: The correlation of Influence index with DP specific covariates.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Alignment	0.19**					0.04	-0.02
	(0.08)					(0.10)	(0.15)
Specialization (by country)		0.04				0.03	-0.04
		(0.07)				(0.10)	(0.16)
Specialization (by sector)			-0.19**			-0.40***	-0.46***
			(0.08)			(0.11)	(0.17)
Share of untied aid				-0.32***		-0.55***	-0.67***
				(0.09)		(0.10)	(0.13)
Donor misalignment					-0.20***	-0.32***	-0.29**
					(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.14)
Government effectiveness							0.32
							(0.35)
Control of Corruption							-0.01
							(0.32)
ODA (% of GNI)							0.35*
							(0.20)
Oil rents (% of GDP)							-0.31
							(0.23)
Fragmentation							-0.02
							(0.17)
CPA (% of ODA)							0.45***
							(0.14)
Support of Government							0.10
							(0.16)
Support (other)							0.24
							(0.26)
Log GDP per capita							-0.35
							(0.37)
Political Openness							-0.06
							(0.20)
Exports (% of GDP)							0.93**
							(0.43)
Imports (% of GDP)							-0.65
							(0.41)
Regional Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
DP type Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7496	7496	7496	7496	8876	7277	3756

Notes: Logistic regressions. The coefficients show the partial correlation between the perceived Level of Helpfulness and various country covariates. All the variables have been normalized by subtracting their mean and dividing by their standard deviation, so that all coefficients can be compared within the columns, showing the effect of a one standard deviation in the independent variable on the dependent variable. The heteroscedasticity robust standard errors are clustered at country level. *** denotes statistical significance at the 1% level, ** at the 5% level, and * at the 10% level, all for two-sided hypothesis tests.

The patters behind the fixed effects: The dummies for Sub-Saharan Africa are significant and positive across all the regressions, while all the other regional controls do not show any significance. This implies that characteristics specific to Sub-Saharan Africa (whether observable or unobservable) tend to increase the perceived level of Helpfulness and Influence. Such consistent patterns are observed for the case of DP specific type fixed effects, too. In particular bilateral DP-s show negative correlations with the perceived level of Helpfulness, as well as Influence.

Appendix B: Details on the Implementation of the 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey

Prior to fielding the 2017 *Listening to Leaders Survey*, our research team spent nearly two years preparing a sampling frame of approximately 58,000 host government and development partner officials, civil society leaders, private sector representatives, and independent experts from 126 low- and lower-middle income countries and semi-autonomous territories. In this appendix, we provide an overview of our methodology and describe key attributes of our sampling frame construction, questionnaire design, survey implementation, and data aggregation processes.

Defining the Population of Interest

While the *true* global population of development policymakers and practitioners is for all intents and purposes unobservable, we took painstaking efforts to identify a well-defined and observable population of interest. We define this population of interest as including those individuals who are knowledgeable about the formulation and implementation of government policies and programs in low- and lower-middle income countries at any point between 2010 and 2015. For more information on sampling frame inclusion criteria, see Appendix C.

In recognition of the need for cross-country comparability and the fact that every government consists of a unique set of institutions and leadership positions, we identified our population of interest by first mapping country-specific public sector institutions (and leadership positions within those institutions) back to an ideal-typical developing country government. This ideal-typical government consisted of 33 institution types, such as a Ministry of Finance, a Supreme Audit Institution, and a National Statistical Office (see Appendix C). We then identified functionally equivalent leadership positions within these institutions, and the specific individuals who held these positions between 2010 and 2015. For the four additional stakeholder groups that we included in our sampling frame (in-country development partners, domestic civil society and non-governmental organizations, private sector associations, and independent experts), we undertook a similar process of first mapping country-specific institutions and positions, and then identifying the individuals who held those positions between 2010 and 2015.

Identifying functional equivalents at the institution- and leadership position-level resulted in a sampling frame that enables comparison across countries. In addition, by clearly defining a population of interest and constructing a master sampling frame that is stratified by country, stakeholder group, and institution type, we managed to overcome one of the most vexing challenges associated with expert panels and opinion leader surveys: the absence of detailed demographic data and the inability to assess the representativeness of findings at various levels. The stratification of our master sampling frame by country, stakeholder group, and institution type makes it possible to generate extremely granular elite survey data that can be published at varying levels of disaggregation without compromising participant confidentiality. It also enables analysis of the factors that influence participation rates as well as the underlying sources of response bias. A more detailed description of the master sampling frame can be found in Appendix C.

Creating the Sampling Frame

Our ability to select individuals from the population of interest for inclusion in our final sampling frame was constrained by the availability of individual contact information. We identified the contact information of potential survey participants using publicly available resources, such as organizational websites and directories, international conference records, Who's Who International, and public profiles on LinkedIn, Facebook, and Twitter. While we identified approximately 58,000 individuals who met our inclusion criteria in the sampling frame, we were able to identify and successfully sent a survey invitation to roughly 47,000 of those individuals (about 80 percent).

Survey Implementation

We administered the *2017 Listening to Leaders Survey* between early January and late March 2017. Survey implementation was again guided by the Weisberg total survey error approach and the Dillman tailored design method. Survey recipients were sent a tailored email invitation to participate in the survey that included a unique link to the online questionnaire. During the course of the survey administration period, survey recipients received up to three different automated electronic reminders, as well as some additional tailored reminders. Survey participants were able to take the survey in one of six different languages: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, and Arabic. Of 47,000 individuals who received our email invitation, about 3,500 indeed participated (with a response rate of 7.4%) and 1,441 survey respondents (41 percent) completed the survey. See Tables B-1 and B-2 which show the breakdown of members in the sampling frame, survey recipients (or those individuals to whom we successfully emailed our survey invitation), and survey respondents.

Table B-1: Members of the Sampling Frame and Sample of Respondents, by Stakeholder Group

Stakeholder Group	Members of the Sampling Frame	Survey Recipients	Sample of Respondents
Host Government	27,990 (47.9%)	21,615 (46.3%)	1,473 (44.6%)
Development Partner	14,502 (24.8%)	12,210 (26.2%)	516 (15.6%)
Civil Society	7,063 (12.1%)	5,915 (12.7%)	701 (21.2%)
Private Sector	1,949 (3.3%)	1,666 (3.6%)	179 (5.4%)
Country Experts	6,881 (11.8%)	5,280 (11.3%)	345 (10.4%)
Others	N/A	N/A	89 (2.7%)
Total	**58,385**	**46,686**	**3,303**

Table B-2: Members of the Sampling Frame and Sample of Respondents, by Region

World Bank Region Classification	Members of the Sampling Frame	Survey Recipients	Sample of Respondents
East Asia and Pacific	8,713 (14.9%)	6,805 (14.6%)	498 (14.8%)
Europe and Central Asia	10,247 (17.6%)	8,127 (17.4%)	777 (21.0%)
Latin America and the Caribbean	8,010 (13.7%)	6,140 (13.2%)	454 (13.2%)
Middle East and North Africa	5,767 (9.9%)	5,001 (10.7%)	270 (7.8%)
South Asia	5,427 (9.3%)	4,572 (9.8%)	357 (10.6%)
Sub-Saharan Africa	20,221 (34.6%)	16,041 (34.4%)	1,112 (32.7%)
Total	**58,385**	**46,686**	**3,468**

Appendix C: Sampling Frame Inclusion Criteria for the 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey

Table C-1: Inclusion Criteria for Representatives of Host Government Officials

Institution	Inclusion Criteria	Sources
Overall		
Ministry of Finance/Economy	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Chief of Staff, Special Assistant to the Minister, Senior Advisor, Chief Economist, Accountant General, Deputy Accountant General, Head of Department (e.g. Tax, Customs, Budget, Debt Management, Public Procurement, Internal Audit, Public Investment, External Finance, Research and Policy Analysis, Public Enterprise Reform)	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Government, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Register of participants World Bank/IMF, ADB, AFDB, and IADB Board of Governor meetings; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; The International Association of Treasury Services (AIST) Conference Records; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Planning/National Planning Commission	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Director General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Chief Economist, Head of Department (e.g. External Finance and International Cooperation, Monitoring and Evaluation, Policy and Research)	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; various Ministry and National Planning Commission websites
Ministry of Foreign Affairs/International Cooperation	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Chief of Staff, Special Assistant to the Minister, Senior Advisor, Head of Department (e.g. North America, Europe, IFIs, United Nations, International Organizations, External Finance, Research and Policy Analysis)	UN General Assembly Conference Records; U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Health	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Chief Public Health Officer, Head of Department (e.g. Primary Health Care, Health Systems Reform, Epidemiology and Immunization, Research and Policy Analysis, Monitoring and Evaluation, HIV/AIDS, Malaria); Focal Point for National Health Accounts	Global Fund Country Coordinating Mechanism (CCM) "Key Contacts"; WHO Ministerial Conference Records; U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Education	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department (e.g. Early Childhood Education, Primary Education, Secondary Education, Tertiary Education), EFA National Coordinator, UNESCO Representative	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; UNESCO Directory of National "Education for All" (EFA) Directors; Participants in High Level Group Meetings on Education For All (HLG5); Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Members of IADB Regional Policy Dialogue; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites

Ministry of Industry/Trade/Commerce/Competitiveness	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, WTO Accession Focal Point; Head of Department (e.g. Customs, Business Environment Reform Unit); Director of Commerce, Director of Industry	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; WTO National Focal Points, various editions; Participants in Ministerial Conferences on Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation; Participants in World Export Development Forum; Participants in International Workshop on Public Private Dialogue; Members of IADB Regional Policy Dialogue; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Public Service/Public Administration	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Membership lists from the United Nations Online Network in Public Administration (UNPAN); the African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development (CAFRAD); African Management Development Institutes' Network (AMDIN); the African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM); Regional School of Public Administration (RESPA); Support for Improvement in Governance and Management (SIGMA) initiative; UN Program for Innovation in the Euro-Mediterranean Region (INNOVMED); the Arab Administrative Development Organization (ARADO); Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration (EROPA); Caribbean Centre for Development Administration (CARICAD); Centro Latinoamericano de Administración para el Desarrollo (CLAD); The Instituto Centroamericano de Administración Pública (ICAP); Red de Líderes de Gobierno Electrónico de América Latina y El Caribe (Red GEALC); various ministry websites
Ministry of Labor/Social Security/Social Welfare/Social Protection	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Natural Resources/Environment	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department (e.g. Monitoring and Evaluation, Research and Policy Analysis), UNFCCC Designated National Authority, CBD National Contact, GEF Political Focal Point, GEF Operational Focal Point	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; GEF Political Focal Points and Operational Focal Points; Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) National Contacts; United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Designated National Authorities); Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Members of IADB Regional Policy Dialogue; various ministry websites

Ministry of Energy/Oil/Mineral Resources	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department, National EITI Focal Point; Member of EITI Steering Committee	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments,; Participants in IAEA annual meetings, various editions; EITI online register of National EITI Focal Points and Steering Committee Members; GEF Political Focal Points and Operational Focal Points; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Lands/Property Registrar	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department, Property Registrar, Deputy Property Registrar	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes," various editions; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Doing Business Online Database of Local Partners; UN-HABITAT annual conference registration records; various Ministry and Property Registrar websites
Ministry of Justice/ Office of the Attorney General	Minister, Deputy Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisors, Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, Prosecutor General/Chief Prosecutor, Solicitor General	Membership directory of The International Association of Prosecutors (IAP); Participants in various Third World Summits of Prosecutor Generals, Attorney Generals, and Chief Prosecutors; Ibero-American Association of Prosecutor's Offices; Participants in the Intergovernmental Expert Working Group on Review of the Implementation of the United Nations Convention against Corruption; List of participants in International Anti-Corruption Conferences (IACC); Members of the Ibero-American Legal Assistance Network (IberRed); various Ministry of Justice and Attorney General websites
Ministry of Family/Gender	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Agriculture/Rural Development/Land Reform/Food Security	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
Ministry of Public Works/Transport	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites

Ministry of Interior	Minister, Deputy Minister, Secretary General, Special Assistant to the Minister, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor, Head of Department (e.g. Economic and Financial Crimes, Criminal Investigations, Anti-Human Trafficking)	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Asian Development Bank's PPMS (Project Performance Management System) Database of Developing Member Country Officials; Africa Confidential's "Who's Who" Database; AfDevInfo database; various ministry websites
National Statistical Office	Director General, Deputy Director General, Senior Advisor	International Statistical Institute's (ISI) Directory of Official Statistical Agencies & Societies; National Statistical Office information from the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) website; Managing for Development Results (MFDR) network of experts; statistical experts associated with the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA); the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP); United Nations Statistical Institute for Asia and the Pacific (SIAP); the Partnership in Statistics for Development in the 21st Century (PARIS21); The Statistical, Economic and Social Research and Training Centre for Islamic Countries (SESRIC); Economic Commission for Latin America and the Carribbean (ECLAC); and Observatoire économique et statistique d'Afrique Subsaharienne (AFRISTAT); various Statistical Office websites
Investment Promotion Agency	Head of the Agency, Deputy Head of the Agency, Senior Advisor	Membership records from World Association of Investment Promotion Agencies (WAIPA); Participants in the Investment Committee For South East Europe Working Group on Investment Promotion; Participants in various World Export Development Forum meetings; various national investment promotion agency websites
Independent Human Rights Commission/Office of the Ombudsman	Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Senior Advisor, Ombudsman, Deputy Ombudsman, Head of Department	Membership Directory of International Ombudsman Association; Membership records from Network of National Human Rights Institutions, including the Asia Pacific Forum (APF) of National Human Rights Institutions, the Ibero American Federation of the Ombudsman (FIO); OmbudsNet (Sistema Integrado de Información y Comunicación para las oficinas de Ombudsman en América Latina y el Caribe), La Red de Instituciones Nacionales para la Promoción y Protección de los Derechos Humanos del Continente Americano (Rindhca), and the European Coordinating Committee of National Human Rights Institutions; List of Participants in OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meetings; various Human Rights Commission and Ombudsman websites
Independent Electoral Institution	Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Senior Advisor, Director of Elections, Deputy Director of Elections	Members of ACE Electoral Knowledge Network; various election commission websites
Central Bank	Governor, Vice Governor, Head of Operations, Head of Department (e.g. Operations, Research and Policy Analysis) Department, Senior Advisors	Register of participants from World Bank/IMF, ADB, AFDB, and IADB Board of Governor meetings; Members of the Central Bank Governance Forum; Conference records from annual meetings of the Association of African Central Banks (AACB); Members of Latin American Network of Central Banks and Finance Ministries; various central bank websites (from the Bank for International Settlements' "Central Bank Hub")

Supreme Audit Institution	Auditor/Inspector General, Deputy Auditor/ Inspector General, Comptroller, Head of the Court of Account, Deputy Head of the Court of Account, Member of the Public Accounts Committee, Senior Advisor	Membership list from the International Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (INTOSAI), the African Organization of English-Speaking Supreme Audit Institutions (AFROSAI-E), The Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Supreme Audit Institutions (OLACEFS), European Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (EUROSAI), South Pacific Association of Supreme Audit Institutions (SPASAI), Pacific Association of Supreme Audit Institutions (PASAI), The Asian Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (ASOSAI), and The Arab Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (ARABOSAI); various Supreme Audit Institution websites
Public Procurement Agency	Head of Agency; Deputy Head of Agency, Senior Advisor	The European Public Procurement Network (PPN); Commonwealth Public Procurement Network (CPPN); Asia Pacific Procurement Forum; National Partners of the United Nations Procurement Capacity Development Centre; various public procurement agency websites
Anti-Corruption Agency/Ministry/Commission/ Council/Task Force	Minister, Deputy Minister, Executive Director, Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Senior Adviser, Head of Department (e.g. Investigations, Corruption Prevention and Education, Income and Asset Verification, Financial Intelligence and Anti-Money Laundering)	Membership registry of International Association of Anti-Corruption Agencies (IAACA); List of participants in various International Anti-Corruption Conferences (IACC); Participants in Global Forum V on Fighting Corruption and Safeguarding Integrity; UNCAC Conference Records; Intergovernmental Expert Working Group on Review of the Implementation of the United Nations Convention against Corruption; Participants in ADB/OECD Anti-Corruption Initiative for Asia and the Pacific; International Center for Asset Recovery Country Profiles; Eastern and Southern African Anti-Money Laundering Group (ESAAM) National Contact Points; Members of the East African Association of Anti Corruption Authorities (EAAACA); National Focal Points for Council of Europe Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO); Members of Research Network of Anti-Corruption Agencies (ANCORAGE-NET); Members of OECD Anti-Corruption Network for Transition Economies; various anti-corruption institution websites
Civil Service Agency/Commission	Head of Agency; Deputy Head of Agency, Department Head, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Membership lists from the United Nations Online Network in Public Administration (UNPAN); the African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development (CAFRAD); African Management Development Institutes' Network (AMDIN); the African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM); Regional School of Public Administration (RESPA); Support for Improvement in Governance and Management (SIGMA) initiative; UN Program for Innovation in the Euro-Mediterranean Region (INNOVMED); the Arab Administrative Development Organization (ARADO); Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration (EROPA); Caribbean Centre for Development Administration (CARICAD); Centro Latinoamericano de Administración para el Desarrollo (CLAD); The Instituto Centroamericano de Administración Pública (ICAP); various government agency websites

Poverty Reduction Units/Directorates	Head of Unit/Directorate; Senior Advisors	Participants in the OECD Aid Effectiveness Working Group, various years; List of Accra High-Level Conference Participants; Forum on National Plans as Poverty Reduction Strategies in East Asia; Members of African Community of Practice (AfCoP) and the Asian Pacific Community of Practice (CoP-MfDR Asia Pacific) on Managing for Development Results (MfDR); various ministry websites
Aid Effectiveness and Coordination Units/ Directorates	Head of Unit/Directorate; Senior Advisors	Participants in the OECD Aid Effectiveness Working Group, various years; Participants in OECD Surveys on Monitoring the Paris Declaration, various years; List of Accra High-Level Conference Participants; Members of African Community of Practice (AfCoP) and the Asian Pacific Community of Practice (CoP-MfDR Asia Pacific) on Managing for Development Results (MfDR); various ministry websites
Office of President/Prime Minister	President, Prime Minister, Cabinet Secretary, Secretary General of Government, Minister without Portfolio, Charge de Mission, Chef de Service, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments; List of Delegations to the annual UN General Assembly, various editions; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Office of the Presidency National Websites; Office of the Prime Minister National Websites
Office of the Vice President/Deputy Prime Minister	Vice President, Secretary General, Minister without Portfolio, Charge de Mission, Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; CIA Directory of Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments; List of Delegations to the annual UN General Assembly; International Who's Who Publication, various editions; Office of the Vice Presidency National Websites
Embassy officials stationed in the United States	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, First Secretary/Counselor, Second Secretary/Counselor, Third Secretary/Counselor, Senior Advisor	Various Editions of the "Diplomatic List" from the U.S. State Department's Office of the Chief of Protocol
Embassy officials stationed at the United Nations in New York or Geneva	Ambassador and Permanent Representative, Deputy Permanent Representative, First Secretary/ Counselor, Second Secretary/Counselor, Third Secretary/Counselor, Senior Advisors	United Nations Office of Protocol "List of Permanent Representatives and Observers to the United Nations in New York"; Permanent Mission websites at www.un.org
Business Registration Office	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	State Department Investment Climate Statements; U.S. Country Commercial Guide; Doing Business Online Database of Local Partners; Participants in International Workshops on Public Private Dialogue; Business registry websites
Local Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) Implementation Units and Eligibility Task Forces	CEO, Deputy CEO, Project Director, Government Board Member, Head of MCC Eligibility Task Forces	MCC website; MCA country websites

Table C-2: Inclusion Criteria for Representatives of In-Country Development Partner Staff

Institution	Inclusion Criteria	Sources
Overall		
U.S. Embassy Staff	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, Political/Econ Chief, Political Officer, Economic Officer	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes,"; Council of American Ambassadors Membership Records; US Embassy websites
USAID	Mission Director, Deputy Mission Director, Office Director, Senior Advisor, Program Officer	U.S. State Department "Country Background Notes"; Federal Executive Yellow Book; USAID Mission websites
MCC	Resident Country Director, Deputy Resident Country Director, Program Officer	Federal Executive Yellow Book; MCC website
State Department Headquarters/ National Security Council Staff	Assistant Secretary, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office Director, Desk Officer	Federal Executive Yellow Book; State Department website; various conference proceedings
World Bank	Country Director, Country Manager, Lead Economist, Sector Specialist, Desk Economist	United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Country Team Database; World Bank website
IMF	Resident Representative, Lead Economist, Special Advisor to the Government, Desk Economist	United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Country Team Database; IMF website
ADB	Country Director, Lead Economist, Sector Specialist	United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Country Team Database; ADB website
AFDB	Country Director, Lead Economist, Sector Specialist	AFDB website
IADB	Country Representative, Lead Economist, Sector Specialist, Desk Economist	IADB website
European Commission	Head of the EC Delegation, Project Director, Adviser	EC Website
UNDP/United Nations Missions	Country Director, Resident Representative, Deputy Resident Representative, Project Manager, Lead Economist, Adviser, Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary General; Deputy Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary General	United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Country Team Database
WHO/PAHO	Country Representative, Adviser	United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Country Team Database
UNESCO	Country Representative, Adviser	United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Country Team Database
JICA/JBIC/Japanese Embassy	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, Country Representative, Deputy Country Representative, Project/Program Director, Adviser, Country Economist	Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) website and
EBRD	Country Director, Economist	EBRD website
Australian Embassy/AUSAID/DFAT	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, Country Director, Deputy Country Director, Project/Program Director, Adviser, Country Economist	AUSAID, Embassy/DFAT websites
UK Embassy/DFID	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, Country Director, Economist, Adviser	UK Online Directory of Overseas Missions; various DFID websites

Institution		Sources
German Embassy/GIZ/GTZ/KFW	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, Country Director, Deputy Country Director, Project/Program Director, Adviser, Country Economist	GTZ, BMZ, and KFW websites
French Embassy/AFD	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, Country Director, Deputy Country Director, Project/Program Director, Adviser, Country Economist	Various French Embassy and AFD websites
Other Foreign Embassies, International Organizations, and Development Finance Institutions with an In-country Presence	Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Mission, Country Director, Deputy Country Director, Project/Program Director, Adviser, Country Economist	Various Development Partner websites

Table C-3: Inclusion Criteria for Representatives of Civil Society / Non-Governmental Organizations

Institution	Inclusion Criteria	Sources
Overall		
Anti-Corruption and Transparency NGOs	Executive Director, Country Director, Program Manager, and Country Expert	Transparency International Annual Reports; national Transparency International chapter websites; Open Budget Partnership's Country Researchers; Publish What You Fund National Contacts; Open Society Institute (OSI) Directory of Experts; Soros Foundation Directory of Experts; Asia Foundation Directory of Experts
Democracy and Human Rights NGOs (e.g. health, education)	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Project Director	The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance's (IDEA) NGO Directory; Membership records from Network of National Human Rights Institutions; Membership records of national consortium/association of NGOs
Social Sector NGOs (e.g. health, education)	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Project Director	Global Fund CCM Country websites; Membership records of national consortium/ association of NGOs
Environmental NGOs	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Project Director	Environment Encyclopedia and Directory (multiple editions); Caucasus Environmental NGO Network (CENN); GEF and World Bank conference proceedings
Independent Journalist Associations	Executive Director, Secretary General	Country-specific press unions (e.g. Union Des Journalistes Privés Nigériens, Gambia Press Union); CIA Factbook list of "political pressure groups and leaders"; State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices

| National Coalition/Consortium/ Association of NGOs | Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor | CIA Factbook list of "political pressure groups and leaders"; World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations; International Forum of National NGO Platforms; Local Newspapers; country-specific online sources |

Table C-4: Inclusion Criteria for Representatives of Private Sector Organizations

Institution	Inclusion Criteria	Sources
Overall		
U.S. Chamber of Commerce	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	U.S. Commercial Service "Country Commercial Guide for U.S. Companies"; Local U.S. Chamber of Commerce chapter websites
Western European Chamber of Commerce	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	World Bank Directory of Private Sector Liaison Officers; various websites
International Chamber of Commerce	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	International Chamber of Commerce websites
Other International Private Sector Organizations	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Various websites
National Chambers of Commerce	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	World Bank Directory of Private Sector Liaison Officers; Participants in International Workshops on Public Private Dialogue
Export-Import Associations	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Country-Specific Export-Import Association Websites
Sectoral Business Associations/ Institutions	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Country-Specific Sectoral Business (e.g. textiles, agriculture, manufacturing) Association Websites
Finance and Banking Associations/ Institutions	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Country-Specific Finance and Banking Association Websites
Small-/Medium-Sized and Young Entrepreneurs Business Associations	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Country-Specific Websites for Small-/Medium-Sized and Young Entrepreneurs Business Associations
Women's Business Associations	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Country-Specific Websites for Women's Business Associations
Labor Unions and Workers Associations	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Country-Specific Websites for Labor Unions and Workers Associations
Other Domestic Private Sector Organizations	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Senior Advisor	Various websites

Table C-5: Inclusion Criteria for Representatives of Country Experts/Analysts

Institution	Inclusion Criteria	Sources
Overall		
In-Country Think Tanks, Policy Institutes, and Universities	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Professor, Research Fellow, Analyst	Freedom House Directory of Think Tanks in Central and Eastern Europe; Think Tank Initiative Directory; NIRA's World Directory of Think Tanks (NWDTT), Harvard Library's Think Tank Search, Various University Websites
International Think Tanks, Policy Institutes, Risk Rating Agencies and Universities	Executive Director, Deputy Director, Professor, Research Fellow, Senior Analyst, Analyst	Country researchers and policy analysts from the Bertelsmann Foundation; Eurasia Group, Inter-American Dialogue, Council on Foreign Relations, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Congressional Research Service, Economist Intelligence Unit, International Crisis Group, Global Insight, Freedom House, Global Integrity; Human Rights Watch, the Atlantic Council, Middle East Policy Council; Royal Institute of International Affairs; Chatham House; Various University Websites

Appendix D: Weighting Scheme for Aggregate Statistics — Inverse Probability Weights

The response rate to the *2017 Listening to Leaders* Survey was 7.4%. In light of this relatively low response rate and imperfect information about the representativeness of our sample vis-à-vis the sampling frame (i.e. the population of interest), we use a weighting scheme to mitigate the potential for bias in our results. In the 2018 Listening to Leaders publication, we employ non-response weights to account for unit non-response (or survey non-response) and to redress potential bias deriving from it.

To generate non-response weights, we take the following steps. First, we estimate the probability of survey response by using a logistic regression. For all members of our sampling frame, we have information on their gender, country, institution types (e.g., finance ministry, anti-corruption agency, supreme audit institution) and stakeholder group (e.g., host government officials, development partners. We use all these predictors to estimate the probability of survey response for each member of the sampling frame (as each of them turns out to be significant in predicting survey response). Second, we take the inverse of the

estimated probability to arrive at the final non-response weights used for our analysis.

We should note that this weighting scheme is different than what we previously used in the 2015 Listening to Leaders publication where we used weighting based upon country and sector. A fair critique of the previous country/sector weighting scheme is that giving equal weight to each sector and country could potentially bias our results by *putting less weight on those countries and sectors where many respondents participated in the survey and more weight on those countries and sectors where fewer respondents participated*. Consultations with scholars across several agencies and organizations led us to revisit our weighting scheme and test how sensitive the above weights are to different types of weights. For this reason we now use inverse probability non-response rates in the 2018 Listening to Leaders report. For any comparisons of performance scores between the two waves of the survey, we also use the non-response weights.

Appendix E: 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey Questionnaire

The 2017 *Listening to Leaders* Survey

Q1 [SG1-4][103]: You've been selected to participate in this survey based on our records, which indicate that you worked [[in.country]] at some point between 2010 and 2015. In the drop-down menu below, please select the country you worked in for the longest period from 2010 to 2015.

- <<List of 126 low-income and middle-income countries and semi-autonomous territories>>

- I did not work in one of these countries at any point between 2010 and 2015.

Q1 [SG5]: Which country have you most closely monitored issues related to policy formulation and implementation in between 2010 and 2015?

- <<The same list of countries provided for SG1-4>>

- I did not monitor issues related to policy formulation and implementation in any of these countries between 2010 and 2015.

Q2 [SG1-4]: Please select the type of organization within [[Q1: Country]] with which you worked for the longest period of time between 2010 and 2015.

- Government (1)

- Development Partner (2)

- Non-Governmental Organization or Civil Society Organization (3)

- Private Sector (4)

- I did not work for one of these types of organizations between 2010 and 2015. (5)

Q2 [SG5]: Over your entire career, for approximately how many years have you monitored issues related to policy formulation and implementation in [[Q1: country]]?

- 0-4 years (1)

- 5-9 years (2)

- 10-14 years (3)

- 15-19 years (4)

- More than 20 years (5)

Q3 [SG1-4]: Please write the name of the organization within [[Q1: Country]] with which you worked for the longest period of time between 2010 and 2015.(Almost all of the questions in this survey will ask about your time at this organization.)

Q3 [SG5]: We want to best capture your perspective on policy-making in [[Q1: Country]]. Starting as early as 2010, with which one of the following administrations are you most familiar?

<<List of all administrations relevant for [[Q1: Country]] between 2010 and 2015: not shown here to save space>>

Q4 [SG1-4]: The following questions refer to your time at [[Q3: Organization]]. Please identify the position that you held for the longest period of time between 2010 and

2015. What was the name of this position? (example: Director)

Q5 [SG1-4]: In which of the following years did you hold this position?

- 2010 (1)

- 2011 (2)

- 2012 (3)

- 2013 (4)

- 2014 (5)

- 2015 (6)

Q6 [SG1-4]: The following question asks about your area of focus while holding the position of [[Q4: Position]]. What was your primary area of focus? (Please select one.)

Q6 [SG5]: Thinking of [[Q3: Administration]], with which area of policy-making are you most familiar? (Please select one.)

- Agriculture, Fishing and Forestry (1)

- Economic Policy (2)

- Education (3)

- Energy and Mining (4)

- Environment and Natural Resource Management (5)

- Finance (6)

- Health (7)

- Human Development and Gender (8)

- Industry, Trade and Services (9)

- Information and Communications Technologies (10)

- Labor Market Policy and Programs (11)

- Nutrition and Food Security (12)

- Private Sector Development (13)

- Good Governance and Rule of Law (14)

- Public Sector Management (15)

- Rural Development (16)

- Social Development and Protection (17)

- Trade (18)

- Transportation (19)

- Urban Development (20)

- Water, Sewerage and Waste Management (21)

- Foreign Policy (22)

- Other (Please indicate): (23) _____

Q7 [SG1-4]: The following question asks about your area of focus while holding the position of [[Q4: Position]]. On which of the following [[Q6: Policy Area]] issues did you work? (Please select any and all that apply.)

Q7 [SG5]: Thinking of [[Q3: Administration]], with which sub-sectors of [[Q6: Policy Area]] are you most familiar? (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<If Agriculture, Fishing and Forestry (1) is selected in Q6>>

- Crops (1)

- Livestock (2)

- Irrigation and Drainage (3)

- Agricultural Extension, Research, and Other Support Activities (4)

- Forestry (5)

- Fisheries (6)

- Agriculture management and institutions (7)

- Other (Please indicate): (8) _____

<<If Economic Policy (2) is selected in Q6>>

- Fiscal sustainability (1)

- Public Expenditure Policy (2)

- Debt Policy (3)

- Tax policy (4)

- Subnational Fiscal Policies (5)

- External Finance (6)

- Monetary and Credit Policies (7)

- Income and Wage Policies (8)

- Macroeconomic Resilience (9)

- Inclusive Growth (10)

- Structural Transformation and Economic Diversification (11)

- Green Growth (12)

- Spatial Growth (13)

- Other (Please indicate): (14) _____

<<If Education (3) is selected in Q6>>

- Early Childhood Education (1)

- Primary Education (2)

- Secondary Education (3)

- Tertiary Education (4)

- Workforce Development/Skills (5)

- Adult, Basic and Continuing Education (6)

- Other Education (7)

- Access to Education (8)

- Education Facilities (9)

- Private Sector Delivery of Education (10)

- Other (Please indicate): (11) _____

<<If Energy and Mining (4) is selected in Q6>>

- Mining (1)

- Oil and Gas (2)

- Renewable Energy Hydro (3)

- Renewable Energy Solar (4)

- Renewable Energy Wind (5)

- Renewable Energy Biomass (6)

- Non-Renewable Energy Generation (7)

- Energy Transmission and Distribution (8)

- Energy Efficiency (9)

- Energy Policies & Reform (10)

- Access to Energy (11)

- Other (Please indicate): (12) _____

<<If Environment and Natural Resource Management (5) is selected in Q6>>

- Climate Change Mitigation (1)

- Climate Change Adaptation (2)

- Air quality management (3)

- Water Pollution (4)

- Soil Pollution (5)

- Forests Management and institutions (6)

- Fisheries management and institutions (7)

- Oceans (8)

- Biodiversity (9)

- Landscape Management (10)

- Coastal Zone Management (11)

- Watershed Management (12)

- Environmental policies and institutions (13)

- Water Resource Management (14)

- Emergency response (15)

- Agriculture management and institutions (16)

- Other (Please indicate): (17) _____

<<If Finance (6) is selected in Q6>>

- Financial Sector oversight and policy (1)

- Financial Sector Integrity (2)

- Insurance and pensions (3)

- Credit Infrastructure (4)

- Payment & markets infrastructure (5)

- MSME Finance (6)

- Financial inclusion (7)

- Disaster Risk Finance (8)

- Agriculture Finance (9)

- Infrastructure Finance (10)

- Housing Finance (11)

- Banking Institutions, including banking regulation & restructuring (12)

- Capital Markets (13)

- Other (Please indicate): (14) _____

<<If Health (7) is selected in Q6>>

- Disease Control: HIV/AIDS (1)

- Disease Control: Malaria (2)

- Disease Control: Tuberculosis (3)

- Disease Control: Neglected tropical diseases (4)

- Disease Control: Non-communicable diseases (5)

- Disease Control: Enteric and diarrheal diseases (6)

- Disease Control: Polio (7)

- Disease Control: Pneumonia (8)

- Health Systems and Policies: Health System Strengthening (9)

- Health Systems and Policies: Health Service Delivery (10)

- Health Systems and Policies: Health Finance (11)

- Health Systems and Policies: Private Sector Delivery in Health (12)

- Health Systems and Policies: Reproductive and Maternal Health (13)

- Health Systems and Policies: Adolescent Health (14)

- Health Systems and Policies: Child Health (15)

- Health Systems and Policies: Regulation and Competition (16)

- Health Systems and Policies: Innovation and Technology (17)

- Emergency Response (18)

- Other (Please indicate): (19) _____

<<If Human Development and Gender (8) is selected in Q6>>

- Gender (1)

- Demographics and Aging (2)

- Cultural Heritage (3)

- Road Safety (4)

- Disaster Risk Management (5)

- Other (Please indicate): (6) _____

<<If Industry, Trade and Services (9) is selected in Q6>>

- Agricultural markets, commercialization and agri-business (1)

- Trade (2)

- Services (3)

- Manufacturing (4)

- Tourism (5)

- Other (Please indicate): (6) _____

<<If Information and Communications Technologies (10) is selected in Q6>>

- ICT Infrastructure (1)

- ICT Services (2)

- Other (Please indicate): (3) _____

<<If Labor Market Policy and Programs (11) is selected in Q6>>

- Skills Development (1)

- Labor Market Institutions (2)

- Active Labor Market Programs (3)

- Other (Please indicate): (4) _____

<<If Nutrition and Food Security (12) is selected in Q6>>

- Nutrition (1)

- Food Security (2)

- Other (Please indicate): (3) _____

<<If Private Sector Development (13) is selected in Q6>>

- Investment and Business Climate (1)

- Regulation and Competition Policy (2)

- Innovation and Technology Policy (3)

- Job Creation (4)

- Job Quality (5)

- Youth Employment (6)

- Public Private Partnerships (7)

- Entrepreneurship (8)

- Global value chains (9)

- MSME Development (10)

- Regional Integration (11)

- ICT Solutions (12)

- ICT Policies (13)

- Other (Please indicate): (14) _____

<<If Good Governance and Rule of Law (14) is selected in Q6>>

- Democracy (1)

- Anti-Corruption (2)

- Transparency, Accountability and Good Governance (3)

- Other (Please indicate): (4) _____

<<If Public Sector Management (15) is selected in Q6>>

- Public Expenditure Management (1)

- Domestic Revenue Administration (2)

- Debt Management (3)

- Judicial and other Dispute Resolution Mechanisms (4)

- Legal Institutions for a Market Economy (5)

- Personal and Property Rights (6)

- Administrative and Civil Service Reform (7)

- Transparency, Accountability and Good Governance (8)

- E-Government, incl. e-services (9)

- Civil Registration and Identification (10)

- Public Assets and Investment Management (11)

- State-owned Enterprise Reform and Privatization (12)

- Municipal Institution Building (13)

- Decentralization (14)

- Central Government (15)

- Sub-National Government (16)

- Data production, accessibility and use (17)

- Institutional strengthening and capacity building (18)

- Other (Please indicate): (19) _____

<<If Rural Development (16) is selected in Q6>>

- Rural Markets (1)

- Rural Non-farm Income Generation (2)

- Rural Infrastructure and service delivery (3)

- Agricultural Productivity and Farm Income (4)

- Rural Water and Sanitation (5)

- Land Administration and Management (6)

- Geospatial Services (7)

- Land Policy and Tenure (8)

- Other (Please indicate): (9) _____

<<If Social Development and Protection (17) is selected in Q6>>

- Indigenous People (1)

- Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (2)

- Other Vulnerable Populations (3)

- Participation and Civic Engagement (4)

- Social Safety Nets (5)

- Social Insurance and Pensions (6)

- Social protection delivery systems (7)

- Disability (8)

- Conflict Prevention (9)

- Post-conflict reconstruction (10)

- Other (Please indicate): (11) _____

<<If Trade (18) is selected in Q6>>

- Trade Facilitation (1)

- Trade Logistics (2)

- Trade Policy (3)

- Other (Please indicate): (4) _____

<<If Transportation (19) is selected in Q6>>

- Rural and Inter-Urban Roads (1)

- Railways (2)

- Aviation (3)

- Ports/Waterways (4)

- Urban Transport (5)

- Other (Please indicate): (6) _____

<<If Urban Development (20) is selected in Q6>>

- Urban Infrastructure and Service Delivery (1)

- Services and Housing for the Poor (2)

- Public Transport (3)

- Urban Planning (4)

- Municipal Finance (5)

- Urban Water and Sanitation (6)

- Other (Please indicate): (7) _____

<<If Water, Sewerage and Waste Management (21) is selected in Q6>>

- Waste Management (1)

- Water Supply (2)

- Sewerage (3)

- Other (Please indicate): (4) _____

Q8 [SG1-4]: Based upon your experience, what are the most important issues for advancing [[Q1: Country]]'s development? (You may select up to six issues.)

- No poverty: end poverty in all its forms everywhere (1)

- Zero hunger: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture (2)

- Good health and well-being: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages (3)

- Quality education: ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all (4)

- Gender equality: achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls (5)

- Clean water and sanitation: ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all (6)

- Affordable and clean energy: ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all (7)

- Decent work and economic growth: promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full productive employment, and decent work for all (8)

- Industry, innovation, and infrastructure: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation (9)

- Reduced inequalities: reduce inequality within and among countries (10)

- Sustainable cities and communities: make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable (11)

- Responsible consumption and production: ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns (12)

- Climate action: take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts (13)

- Life below water: conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development (14)

- Life on land: protect, restore, and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and biodiversity loss (15)

- Peace, justice, and strong institutions: promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions for all (16)

- Don't know / Not sure (17)

- None of these (18)

- Prefer not to say (19)

Q8 [SG5]: Based upon your experience monitoring policy formulation and implementation in [[Q1: Country]], what are the most important issues for advancing [[Q1: Country]] development? (You may select up to six issues.)

- No poverty: end poverty in all its forms everywhere (1)

- Zero hunger: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture (2)

- Good health and well-being: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages (3)

- Quality education: ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all (4)

- Gender equality: achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls (5)

- Clean water and sanitation: ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all (6)

- Affordable and clean energy: ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all (7)

- Decent work and economic growth: promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full productive employment, and decent work for all (8)

- Industry, innovation, and infrastructure: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation (9)

- Reduced inequalities: reduce inequality within and among countries (10)

- Sustainable cities and communities: make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable (11)

- Responsible consumption and production: ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns (12)

- Climate action: take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts (13)

- Life below water: conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development (14)

- Life on land: protect, restore, and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and biodiversity loss (15)

- Peace, justice, and strong institutions: promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions for all (16)

- Don't know / Not sure (17)

- None of these (18)

- Prefer not to say (19)

Q9 [SG1]: We are now going to ask a series of questions about your experience with a single [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiative attempted by the Government of [[Q1: Country]] between [[Q5: Start Year]] and [[Q5: End Year]].

Q9 [SG2-4]: We are now going to ask a series of questions about your experience with a single [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiative attempted by your team between between [[Q5: Start Year]] and [[Q5: End Year]].

Q9 [SG5]: We are now going to ask a series of questions about your experience monitoring a single [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiative attempted by the Government of Government of [[Q1: Country]] during [[Q3: Administration]].

Q9 [SG1-4]: Please take a moment to think about some of the [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiatives that you worked on as [[Q4: Position]]. On which [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiative did you work most directly? For the purposes of this survey, we define a policy initiative as organizational action designed to solve a particular problem. (Nearly all of the remaining questions in this survey will ask about this initiative.)

9 [SG5]: Please take a moment to think about some of the [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiatives that you have monitored. Which [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiative did you monitor most closely? For the purposes of this survey, we define a policy initiative as organizational action designed to solve a particular problem. (Nearly all of the remaining questions in this survey will ask about this initiative.)

Q10 [SG1-4]: In which of the following ways did you contribute to this initiative? (You may select up to three statements.)

- I conducted research and analysis. (1)

- I served in an advocacy role. (2)

- I helped set the policy agenda. (3)

- I provided advice on design and implementation. (4)

- I helped mobilize resources. (5)

- I provided official authorization. (6)

- I conducted monitoring and evaluation. (7)

- I oversaw implementation activities. (8)

- I communicated the results of the initiative. (9)

- I coordinated with stakeholders inside of the government. (10)

- I coordinated with stakeholders outside of the government. (11)

- I performed some other function. (Please describe): (12)
  _____

Q11: What problems was this initiative designed to help [[Q1: Country]] overcome? (Please select any and all that apply.)

- Inefficient or overly burdensome bureaucracy (1)

- Disengagement of local stakeholders (2)

- Failure of communication or coordination (3)

- Fraud, corruption, or political interference (4)

- Poorly written or non-existent regulations or laws (5)

- Insufficient financial resources (6)

- Inadequate human resources (i.e., staff, training) (7)

- Poor enforcement of existing regulations and laws (8)

- Behavior of citizens and private individuals (e.g., hand washing) (9)

- Behavior of businesses, firms, and companies (e.g., tax evasion) (10)

- Disconnect between formal policies and informal practices (11)

- Inadequate data collection or information systems (12)

- Shortage of equipment or facilities (13)

- Lack of leadership or political will (14)

- Insecurity, instability, or violence (15)

- Poor delivery of public services (16)

- Another problem (Please describe): (17)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (18)

- None of these (19)

- Prefer not to say (20)

Q12: In your own words, please describe the most important problem that this initiative was trying to solve.

Q13: Why was this problem important to solve? (You may select up to three statements.)

- It was a key part of a long-term development challenge in [[Q1: Country]]. (1)

- An external shock created an urgent need to solve this problem. (2)

- The government wanted to improve its performance on an external assessment. (3)

- It was identified as a priority by senior officials in the government. (4)

- It was identified as a priority by technical experts in the government. (5)

- The government wanted to highlight its performance to donors and investors. (6)

- Demonstrators in [[Q1: Country]] demanded that this problem be solved. (7)

- It was identified as a priority by several interest groups in [[Q1: Country]]. (8)

- Development partners had tied funding to solving this problem. (9)

- The government had tied funding to solving this problem. (10)

- Foreign investors had tied funding to solving this problem. (11)

- Another reason (Please describe): (12)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (13)

- None of these (14)

- Prefer not to say (15)

Q14: Compared to the other [[Q6: Policy Area]] problems facing [[Q1: Country]] at the time, how easy or difficult was this problem to solve?

- Very easy (1)

- Somewhat easy (2)

- Somewhat difficult (3)

- Very difficult (4)

- Don't know / Not sure (5)

- Prefer not to say (6)

Q15: On the whole, how much progress did this initiative make towards solving the most important problem you identified?

- No progress at all (1)

- Very little progress (2)

- A fair amount of progress (3)

- A great deal of progress (4)

- Don't know / Not sure (5)

- Prefer not to say (6)

Q16: In your opinion, what prevented this initiative from making more progress towards solving the problem?(You may select up to three statements.)

- A shortage of adequate equipment or facilities (e.g., computers, buildings) (1)

- A shortage of adequate human resources (i.e., staff, training) (2)

- A shortage of financial resources (i.e., money) (3)

- A lack of support from national leadership (4)

- A lack of support among members of the legislature (5)

- A lack of support from the judiciary (i.e., the courts) (6)

- A lack of support among implementing staff (7)

- A lack of support from local communities (8)

- A lack of support from civil society (9)

- A lack of support from the private sector (10)

- Insufficient time allocated to solving the problem (11)

- Changing circumstances on the ground (12)

- A poor understanding of the problem to be solved (13)

- No easy way to measure performance (14)

- Corruption, fraud, or political interference (15)

- Another factor (Please describe): (16)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (17)

- None of these (18)

- Prefer not to say (19)

Q17: Overall, how much support did this initiative receive from each of the following domestic groups in [[Q1: Country]]?

	No support at all (6)	Very little support (7)	A fair amount of support (8)	A great deal of support (9)	Don't know / Not sure (10)	Prefer not to say (11)
The Head of State and/or Government (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government ministries and executive agencies (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parliament/the legislature (3)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The judiciary (i.e., the courts) (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Local Government (5)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The military (6)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Civil society, non-governmental organizations, and faith-based organizations (7)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Think tanks and academic institutions (8)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professional associations, labor unions, and student groups (9)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The media (10)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The private sector (11)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q18: How much opposition did this initiative receive from each of the following domestic groups in [[Q1: Country]]?

	No opposition at all (1)	Very little opposition (2)	A fair amount of opposition (3)	A great deal of opposition (4)	Don't know / Not sure (5)	Prefer not to say (6)
The Head of State and/or Government (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government ministries and executive agencies (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parliament/the legislature (3)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The judiciary (i.e., the courts) (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Local Government (5)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The military (6)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Civil society, non-governmental organizations, and faith-based organizations (7)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Think tanks and academic institutions (8)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professional associations, labor unions, and student groups (9)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The media (10)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The private sector (11)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q19: How much influence did each of the following domestic groups have on the level of success achieved by this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda.

	Not at all influential (1)	Only slightly influential (2)	Quite influential (3)	Very influential (4)	Don't know / Not sure (5)	Prefer not to say (6)
The Head of State and/or Government (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government ministries and executive agencies (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parliament/the legislature (3)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The judiciary (i.e., the courts) (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Local Government (5)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The military (6)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Civil society, non-governmental organizations, and faith-based organizations (7)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Think tanks and academic institutions (8)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professional associations, labor unions, and student groups (9)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The media (10)	-	-	-	-	-	-
The private sector (11)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q19.2: You indicated that civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations, and faith-based organizations were influential on the level of success achieved by this initiative. Which of the following do you believe were the most important characteristics of an influential civil society organization, non-governmental organization, or faith-based organization? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. (Please pick a maximum of three options.)

- It had significant numbers of public members. (1)

- It received coverage in traditional media (example: newspaper, radio). (2)

- It received coverage in social media (example: Facebook, Twitter). (3)

- It was based locally. (4)

- It was funded locally. (5)

- It was funded by sources outside [[Q1: Country]]. (6)

- It had significant resources (financial and/or human) at its disposal. (7)

- It provided locally relevant programs and/or recommendations. (8)

- It had a credible, independent voice. (9)

- It had personal connections with the government. (10)

- It put forward respected policy proposals. (11)

- It used strong evidence and data to support propositions. (12)

- Another reason (Please describe): (13)

  _____

Q20 [SG1-4]: Now we would like to ask about the raw data and analysis you used while you were working on [[Q6: Policy Area]] problems.

Q20 [SG1]: At which stages of the policy process have you used raw data in your work on [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiatives in [[Q1: Country]]? For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file). (Please select any and all that apply.)

- Research and analysis (1)

- Advocacy and agenda-setting (2)

- Design (3)

- Implementation (4)

- Monitoring and evaluation (5)

- External communications (6)

- Training, capacity building, and/or technical support (7)

- Don't know/not sure (8)

- Prefer not to say (9)

- None of these (10)

Q20 [SG2-4]: For which purposes have you used raw data in your work on [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiatives in [[Q1: Country]]? For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file).(Please select any and all that apply.)

- Research and analysis (1)

- Advocacy and agenda-setting (2)

- Design (3)

- Implementation (4)

- Monitoring and evaluation (5)

- External communications (6)

- Training, capacity building, and/or technical support (7)

- Don't know/not sure (8)

- Prefer not to say (9)

- None of these (10)

Q21 [SG1]: At which stages of the policy process have you used analysis in your work on [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiatives in [[Q1: Country]]? For the purposes of this survey, we define analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation. (Please select any and all that apply.)

- Research and analysis (1)

- Advocacy and agenda-setting (2)

- Design (3)

- Implementation (4)

- Monitoring and evaluation (5)

- External communications (6)

- Training, capacity building, and/or technical support (7)

- Don't know/not sure (8)

- Prefer not to say (9)

- None of these (10)

Q21 [SG2-4]: For which purposes have you used analysis in your work on [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy initiatives in [[Q1: Country]]? For the purposes of this survey, we define analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation. (Please select any and all that apply.)

- Research and analysis (1)

- Advocacy and agenda-setting (2)

- Design (3)

- Implementation (4)

- Monitoring and evaluation (5)

- External communications (6)

- Training, capacity building, and/or technical support (7)

- Don't know/not sure (8)

- Prefer not to say (9)

- None of these (10)

Q22 [SG1or5]: Before we continue, please take a moment to think about all of the foreign or international organizations that provided the Government of [[Q1: Country]] with advice or assistance to support this initiative. After you have thought of as many organizations as you can, click "Next" to continue to the next section of the survey questionnaire.

Q22 [SG2-4]: Before we continue, please take a moment to think about all of the foreign or international organizations that provided your team with advice or assistance to support this initiative. After you have thought of as many organizations as

you can, click "Next" to continue to the next section of the survey questionnaire.

Q22.1 [SG1or5]: Of the following foreign and international organizations, which, if any, provided the government with advice or assistance to support this initiative? (Please select all that apply.)

Q22.1 [SG2-4]: Of the following foreign and international organizations, which, if any, provided your team with advice or assistance to support this initiative? (Please select all that apply.)

Q22.1.1: Inter-governmental organizations and multilateral development banks:

- African Development Bank (AfDB) (1)

- Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) (2)

- Arab Monetary Fund (AMF) (3)

- Asian Development Bank (ADB) (4)

- Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) (5)

- Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI) (6)

- Development Bank of Latin America (CAF) (7)

- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) (8)

- European Union (9)

- Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI Alliance) (10)

- Global Environment Facility (GEF) (11)

- Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (12)

- Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (13)

- International Finance Corporation (IFC) (14)

- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (15)

- International Monetary Fund (IMF) (16)

- Islamic Development Bank (ISDB) (17)

- Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) (18)

- OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID) (19)

- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (20)

- United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (21)

- World Bank (22)

- Other: (24) _____

- Other: (25) _____

- Other: (26) _____

- I do not recall the names of any Inter-governmental organizations or multilateral development banks. (23)

Q22.1.2: Foreign embassies and bilateral agencies:

- Australia - Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) (1)

- Australia - Australian High Commission (2)

- Australia - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Australia (3)

- Belgium - Belgian Development Agency (BTC) (4)

- Belgium - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Belgium (5)

- Brazil - Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) (6)

- Brazil - Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES) (7)

- Brazil - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Brazil (8)

- Canada - Canada Representative Office (9)

- Canada - Canadian High Commission (10)

- Canada - Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (11)

- Canada - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Canada (12)

- China - China Development Bank (CDB) (13)

- China - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of China (14)

- China - Export-Import Bank of China (China Exim Bank) (15)

- Denmark - Danish International Development Agency (Danida) (16)

- Denmark - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Denmark (17)

- Denmark - Representation Office of Denmark (18)

- France - Agence Française de Développement (AFD) (19)

- France - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of France (20)

- Germany - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Germany (21)

- Germany - Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) (22)

- Germany - KfW (23)

- Germany - Representative Office of Germany (24)

- India - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of India (25)

- India - Export-Import Bank of India (Exim Bank) (26)

- Japan - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Japan (27)

- Japan - Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) (28)

- Japan - Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (29)

- Japan - Representative Office of Japan (30)

- Kuwait - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Kuwait (31)

- Kuwait - Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (32)

- Netherlands - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of the Netherlands (33)

- Norway - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Norway (34)

- Norway - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) (35)

- Norway - Representative Office of Norway (36)

- Qatar - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Qatar (37)

- Russia - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Russia (38)

- Saudi Arabia - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Saudi Arabia (39)

- Saudi Arabia - Saudi Fund for Development (SFD) (40)

- Spain - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Spain (41)

- Spain - Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID) (42)

- Sweden - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of Sweden (43)

- Sweden - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) (44)

- United Arab Emirates - Abu Dhabi Fund for Development (ADFD) (45)

- United Arab Emirates - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of the United Arab Emirates (46)

- United Kingdom - British High Commission (47)

- United Kingdom - Department for International Development (DFID) (48)

- United Kingdom - Embassy (or Consulate-General) of the United Kingdom (49)

- United States - Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) (50)

- United States - U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) (51)

- United States - U.S. Embassy (or Consulate-General) (52)

- Other: (54) _____

- Other: (55) _____

- Other: (56) _____

- I do not recall the names of any foreign embassies or bilateral agencies. (53)

Q22.1.3: Civil society organizations and private foundations:

- Action Aid (1)

- Aga Khan Foundation (2)

- Amnesty International (3)

- Ashoka (4)

- Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (5)

- BRAC (6)

- Care (7)

- Carnegie Corporation of New York (8)

- Children's Investment Fund Foundation (9)

- Clinton Foundation (10)

- Cordaid (11)

- Danish Refugee Council (12)

- David and Lucile Packard Foundation (13)

- Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (14)

- Ford Foundation (15)

- Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) (16)

- Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation (17)

- Handicap International (18)

- Help Age International (19)

- Human Rights Watch (20)

- International Rescue Committee (21)

- Islamic Relief Worldwide (22)

- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (23)

- MasterCard Foundation (24)

- Mercy Corps (25)

- Open Society Foundations (26)

- Oxfam (27)

- Plan International (28)

- Rockefeller Foundation (29)

- Save the Children (30)

- Transparency International (31)

- United Nations Foundation (32)

- William and Flora Hewlett Foundation (33)

- World Vision (34)

- Other: (36) _____

- Other: (37) _____

- Other: (38) _____

- I do not recall the names of any civil society organizations or private foundations. (35)

Q22.1.4: Think tanks and research organizations:

- Brookings Institution (1)

- Bruegel (2)

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (3)

- Cato Institute (4)

- Center for American Progress (5)

- Center for Strategic and International Studies (6)

- Centre for European Policy Studies (7)

- Chatham House (8)

- Council on Foreign Relations (9)

- Fraser Institute (10)

- French Institute of International Relations (11)

- Fundacao Getulio Vargas (12)

- German Institute for International and Security Affairs (13)

- Heritage Foundation (14)

- International Institute for Strategic Studies (15)

- Japan Institute of International Affairs (16)

- Peterson Institute for International Economics (17)

- RAND Corporation (18)

- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (19)

- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (20)

- Other: (22) _____

- Other: (23) _____

- Other: (24) _____

- I do not recall the names of any think tanks or research organizations. (21)

Q22.1.5 Media:

- Le Monde (1)

- New York Times (2)

- The Guardian (3)

- Other Media 1: (5) _____

- Other Media 2: (6) _____

- Other Media 3: (7) _____

- Other Media 4: (8) _____

- Other Media 5: (9) _____

- I do not recall the names of any media. (4)

Q22.2 [SG1or5]: You indicated that the foreign and international organizations below provided the government with advice or assistance. How influential were they on the Government of [[Q1: Country]]'s decision to pursue this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda.

Q22.2 [SG2-4]: You indicated that the foreign and international organizations below provided your team with advice or assistance. How influential were they on your team's decision to pursue this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda.

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q22>>

Q22.3: In which ways, if any, did the following organizations contribute to this initiative? (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q22>>

- Research and analysis (1)

- Advocacy and agenda-setting (2)

- Design (3)

- Implementation (4)

- Monitoring and evaluation (5)

- External communications (6)

- Training, capacity building, and/or technical support (7)

- Don't know/not sure (8)

- Prefer not to say (9)

- None of these (10)

Q23 [SG1or5]: You have identified [[Q22.2: Organization]] as an organization that influenced the Government of [[Q1: Country]]'s decision to pursue this initiative. In your opinion, what made the organization influential? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. (You may select up to three statements.)

- It respected the government's authority over final decisions. (1)

- It was seen by the government as unbiased and trustworthy. (2)

- It was the appropriate institution to provide advice for this problem. (3)

- It provided the government with significant financial or material resources. (4)

- It provided the government with access to international experts. (5)

- It worked closely with a significant number of government staff and officials. (6)

- It provided the government with high-quality advice or assistance. (7)

- It had the support of one or more high-level champions in the government. (8)

- It provided advice or assistance at a time when there was opportunity for change. (9)

- It provided evidence that an initiative was needed to address this problem. (10)

- It provided evidence that this initiative would produce positive results. (11)

- It worked closely with other groups outside of the government of [[Q1: Country]]. (12)

- It provided advice or assistance aligned with the government's national development strategy. (13)

- It was heavily involved in existing policy and programmatic discussions in [[Q1: Country]]. (14)

- It had broad support from citizens of [[Q1: Country]]. (15)

- Another reason (Please describe): (16)

  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (17)

- None of these (18)

- Prefer not to say (19)

Q23 [SG2-4]: You have identified [[Q22.2: Organization]] as an organization that influenced your team's decision to pursue this initiative. In your opinion, what made the organization influential? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. (You may select up to three statements.)

- It respected the government's authority over final decisions. (1)

- It was seen by the government as unbiased and trustworthy. (2)

- It was the appropriate institution to provide advice for this problem. (3)

- It provided the government with significant financial or material resources. (4)

- It provided the government with access to international experts. (5)

- It worked closely with a significant number of government staff and officials. (6)

- It provided the government with high-quality advice or assistance. (7)

- It had the support of one or more high-level champions in the government. (8)

- It provided advice or assistance at a time when there was opportunity for change. (9)

- It provided evidence that an initiative was needed to address this problem. (10)

- It provided evidence that this initiative would produce positive results. (11)

- It worked closely with other groups outside of the government [[Q1: Country]]. (12)

- It provided advice or assistance aligned with the government's national development strategy. (13)

- It was heavily involved in existing policy and programmatic discussions [[Q1: Country]]. (14)

- It had broad support from citizens [[Q1: Country]]. (15)

- Another reason (Please describe): (16)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (17)

- None of these (18)

- Prefer not to say (19)

Q24: In your opinion, how helpful were each of the following organizations to the implementation of this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q22>>

Q25: You identified [[Q24: Organization]] as an organization that was helpful to the implementation of this initiative. In your opinion, what made [[Q24: Organization]] helpful? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. (You may select up to three statements.)

- It worked in close collaboration with its government counterparts. (1)

- It provided implementers with significant discretion and flexibility. (2)

- It exercised careful management of the resources it used. (3)

- It translated broad policy guidance into specific implementation strategies. (4)

- It helped build support among local stakeholders and communities. (5)

- It identified practical approaches for overcoming barriers to success. (6)

- It provided valuable information for use in monitoring and evaluation. (7)

- It minimized the administrative burden associated with implementation activities. (8)

- It aligned its implementation activities with those of other organizations. (9)

- It supplied implementers with much needed financial or material resources. (10)

- It provided implementers with access to highly qualified international experts. (11)

- It helped implementers make course corrections during implementation. (12)

- Another reason (Please describe): (13)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (14)

- None of these (15)

- Prefer not to say (16)

Q26: You identified [[Q24: Organization]] as a foreign or international organization that was not very helpful to the implementation of this initiative. What, if anything, could [[Q24: Organization]] have done to be more helpful during implementation? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

Q27 [SG1-4]: Now we would like to ask about the raw data and analysis provided to your team by foreign and international organizations while you were working on [[Q6: Policy Area]] problems.

Q27 [SG5]: Now we would like to ask about the raw data and analysis you used to study and monitor [[Q6: Policy Area]] problems in [[Q1: Country]].

Q27 [SG1-4]: In making decisions while working on [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy issues, did you use any raw data or analysis provided by foreign or international organizations?For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file) and analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation.

- Yes, I used raw data or analysis provided by foreign or international organizations. (1)

- No, I did not use raw data or analysis provided by foreign or international organizations. (2)

Q27 [SG5]: In your work studying and monitoring [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy issues in [[Q1: Country]], did you use any raw data or analysis?For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (e.g., a spreadsheet, CSV file) and analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation.

- Yes, I used raw data or analysis provided by foreign or international organizations. (1)

- No, I did not use raw data or analysis provided by foreign or international organizations. (2)

Q28 [SG1-4]: Which external sources of information have you drawn from? For the purposes of this

survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file) and analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation.

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q22>>

Q29 [SG1-4]: How did you become familiar with the information you used from external sources? For the purposes of this survey, we define familiar as being aware the information existed. (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q28>>

- Email/e-newsletters (1)

- Informal face- to face communication (2)

- Memorandum/policy brief/short technical papers (3)

- Social media (4)

- Formal meeting or consultation (5)

- Internet search (6)

- Traditional media (newspaper, radio, television) (7)

- Information or data portal (8)

- Don't know / Not sure (9)

- None of these (10)

Q30 [SG1-4]: Which types of analyses, if any, did your team use from each of the following organizations to support your work on this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation. (Please select any and all that apply.)

Q30 [SG5]: Which types of analyses, if any, did you use to support your work studying or monitoring this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation. (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q28>>

- Qualitative analysis (1)

- Quantitative analysis (2)

- Impact evaluation analysis (3)

- Another type of analysis (4)

- Don't know / Not sure (5)

Q31 [SG1-4]: Which types of raw data, if any, did your team use from each of the following organizations to support your work on this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file). (Please select any and all that apply.)

Q31 [SG5]: Which types of raw data, if any, did you use to study and monitor this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file). (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q28>>

- National statistics (1)

- Survey data (examples: household surveys, income surveys) (2)

- Public opinion data (3)

- Program/project performance and evaluation data (4)

- Government budget and expenditure data (5)

- Spatial or satellite data (6)

- Aid and/or philanthropic finance data (7)

- Another type of data (8)

- Don't know / Not sure (9)

Q32 [SG1-4]: What was the geographic scope of the information you used? (Please select any and all that apply.)

Q32 [SG5]: What was the geographic scope of the information you used? (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q28>>

- Cross-national (1)

- National (2)

- Province/region (3)

- District (4)

- Village / town / city (5)

- Exact location (6)

- Don't know / Not sure (7)

- No data were featured (8)

Q33 [SG1-4]: You indicated that the foreign and international organizations below provided you with information. Overall, how helpful would you say the information provided by each of these foreign and international organizations was to your work? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

<<List of foreign and international organizations being identified in Q28>>

Q34 [SG1-4]: You identified information from [[Q33: Organization]] as helpful. In your opinion, which type of information from [[Q33: Organization]] was most helpful? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

- Qualitative analysis (1)

- Quantitative analysis (2)

- Impact evaluation analysis (3)

- Another type of analysis (4)

- National statistics (5)

- Survey data (examples: household surveys, income surveys) (6)

- Public opinion data (7)

- Program/project performance and evaluation data (8)

- Government budget and expenditure data (9)

- Spatial or satellite data (10)

- Aid and/or philanthropic finance data (11)

- Another type of data (12)

Q35 [SG1-4]: What has made [[Q34: Information]] from [[Q33: Organization]] helpful? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. (Please check up to 3 boxes.)

- It was easy to understand. (1)

- It was easy to adapt for a new purpose. (2)

- It contained information that senior government officials cared about. (3)

- It provided new insights that were not otherwise understood or appreciated. (4)

- It reflected an understanding of the local context [[Q1: Country]]. (5)

- It was timely and up-to-date. (6)

- It provided a concrete set of policy recommendations. (7)

- It was used by other governments that we could emulate. (8)

- It drew upon data or analysis produced by the government. (9)

- It was based on a transparent set of methods and assumptions. (10)

- It was seen as unbiased and trustworthy. (11)

- It was accompanied by critical financial, material, or technical support. (12)

- It was published frequently. (13)

- It was at the right level of aggregation (i.e., cross-national, national, district) (14)

- Another reason (Please describe): (15)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (16)

- None of these (17)

- Prefer not to say (18)

Q36 [SG1-4]: How did your team use the [[Q34: Information]] provided by [[Q33: Organization]]? (You may select up to three statements.)

- To better understand the [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy problems that needed to be solved (1)

- To keep citizens and other domestic stakeholders updated on the initiative's progress (2)

- To keep foreign and international stakeholders updated on the initiative's progress (3)

- To advocate for the adoption or implementation of the initiative (4)

- To make budgetary or resource allocation decisions (5)

- To identify the [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy problems that were most critical to solve (6)

- To design or inform specific implementation strategies (7)

- To foster a broader partnership with [[Q33: Organization]] (8)

- To monitor progress made towards solving specific [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy problems (9)

- To petition for resources from authorizing entities or external partners (10)

- To make course corrections during the implementation of the initiative (11)

- Another reason (Please describe): (12)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (13)

- None of these (14)

- Prefer not to say (15)

Q37 [SG1-4]: What did this information help your team to accomplish?

Q38 [SG1-4]: You identified that information from [[Q33: Organization]] could have been more helpful. What were the biggest challenges your team faced when trying to use information provided by [[Q33: Organization]]? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. (Please check up to 3 boxes.)

- It was hard to understand (1)

- It was hard to adapt for a new purpose (2)

- It did not contain enough information that government officials cared about (3)

- It did not provide any new insights (4)

- It did not reflect an understanding of the local context in [[Q1: Country]] (5)

- It was untimely and out-of-date (6)

- It did not provide a concrete set of policy recommendations (7)

- It had not been used by other governments that we could emulate (8)

- It did not draw upon data or analysis produced by the government (9)

- It was not transparent in its methods or assumptions (10)

- It was seen as biased and untrustworthy (11)

- It was not accompanied by critical financial, material, or technical support (12)

- It was received at a time when there was not much opportunity for change (13)

- It was not specific enough (for example, with respect to stakeholder group or geography) (14)

- Another reason (Please describe): (15)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (16)

- None of these (17)

- Prefer not to say (18)

Q39 [SG1-4]: What, if anything, could [[Q33: Organization]] have done to make its data or analysis more useful to your team's work on this initiative?

Q40 [SG1or5]: Before we continue, please take a moment to think about all of the domestic organizations that provided the Government of [[Q1: Country]] with advice or assistance to support this initiative. After you have thought of as many organizations as you can, click "Next" to continue to the next section of the survey questionnaire.

Q40 [SG2-4]: Before we continue, please take a moment to think about all of the domestic organizations that provided your team with advice or assistance to support this initiative. After you have thought of as many organizations as you can, click "Next" to continue to the next section of the survey questionnaire.

Q40 [SG1or5]: Please list the names of as many domestic organizations in [[Q1: Country]] that provided the government with advice or assistance to support this initiative as you can remember. (Please select as many as apply and/or write the full name of each organization. Do not include your own organization.)

Q40 [SG2-4]: Please list the names of as many domestic organizations in [[Q1: Country]] that provided your team with advice or assistance to support this initiative as you can remember. (Please select as many as apply and/or write the full name of

each organization. Do not include your own organization.)

Q40.1: Civil society organizations and private foundations:

- Organization 1 (1) _____

- Organization 2 (2) _____

- Organization 3 (3) _____

- Organization 4 (4) _____

- Organization 5 (5) _____

- I do not recall the name of any civil society organizations or private foundations. (11)

Q40.2: Think tanks and research organizations:

- <<List of domestic think tanks or research organizations in [[Q1: Country]]>>

- I do not recall the name of any think tanks or research organizations. (98)

Q40.3: Private sector organizations, associations, and businesses:

- Organization 1 (1) _____

- Organization 2 (2) _____

- Organization 3 (3) _____

- Organization 4 (4) _____

- Organization 5 (5) _____

- I do not recall the name of any private sector organizations, associations, or businesses. (11)

Q40.4: The media:

- Organization 1 (1) _____

- Organization 2 (2) _____

- Organization 3 (3) _____

- Organization 4 (4) _____

- Organization 5 (5) _____

- I do not recall the name of any media. (11)

Q40.5: Ministries or agencies within the Government of [[Q1:Country]]:

- Organization 1 (1) _____

- Organization 2 (2) _____

- Organization 3 (3) _____

- Organization 4 (4) _____

- Organization 5 (5) _____

- I do not recall the name of any other ministries or agencies within the Government of [[Q1:Country]]. (11)

Q41 [SG1or5]: You indicated that the domestic organizations below provided the government with advice or assistance. How influential were they on the Government of [[Q1:Country]] decision to pursue this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda.

Q41 [SG2-4]: You indicated that the domestic organizations below provided your team with advice or assistance. How influential were they on your team's decision to pursue this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda.

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q40>>

Q42: In which ways, if any, did the following organizations contribute to this initiative? (Please select any and all that apply).

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q40>>

- Research and analysis (1)

- Advocacy and agenda-setting (2)

- Design (3)

- Implementation (4)

- Monitoring and evaluation (5)

- External communications (6)

- Training, capacity building, and/or technical support (7)

- Don't know/not sure (8)

- Prefer not to say (9)

- None of these (10)

Q43 [SG1or5]: You have identified [[Q41: Organization]] as an organization that influenced the Government of [[Q1: Country]]'s decision to pursue this initiative. In your opinion, what made the

organization influential? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. (You may select up to three statements.)

- It respected the government's authority over final decisions. (1)

- It was seen by the government as unbiased and trustworthy. (2)

- It was the appropriate institution to provide advice for this problem. (3)

- It provided the government with significant financial or material resources. (4)

- It provided the government with access to international experts. (5)

- It worked closely with a significant number of government staff and officials. (6)

- It provided the government with high-quality advice or assistance. (7)

- It had the support of one or more high-level champions in the government. (8)

- It provided advice or assistance at a time when there was opportunity for change. (9)

- It provided evidence that an initiative was needed to address this problem. (10)

- It provided evidence that this initiative would produce positive results. (11)

- It worked closely with other groups outside of the government [[Q1: Country]]. (12)

- It provided advice or assistance aligned with the government's national development strategy. (13)

- It was heavily involved in existing policy and programmatic discussions [[Q1: Country]]. (14)

- It had broad support from citizens [[Q1: Country]]. (15)

- Another reason (Please describe): (16)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (17)

- None of these (18)

- Prefer not to say (19)

Q43 [SG2-4]: You have identified [[Q41: Organization]] as an organization that influenced your team's decision to pursue this initiative. In your

opinion, what made the organization influential? For the purposes of this survey, we define influential as the power to change or affect the policy agenda. (You may select up to three statements.)

- It respected the government's authority over final decisions. (1)

- It was seen by the government as unbiased and trustworthy. (2)

- It was the appropriate institution to provide advice for this problem. (3)

- It provided the government with significant financial or material resources. (4)

- It provided the government with access to international experts. (5)

- It worked closely with a significant number of government staff and officials. (6)

- It provided the government with high-quality advice or assistance. (7)

- It had the support of one or more high-level champions in the government. (8)

- It provided advice or assistance at a time when there was opportunity for change. (9)

- It provided evidence that an initiative was needed to address this problem. (10)

- It provided evidence that this initiative would produce positive results. (11)

- It worked closely with other groups outside of the government of [[Q1: Country]]. (12)

- It provided advice or assistance aligned with the government's national development strategy. (13)

- It was heavily involved in existing policy and programmatic discussions in [[Q1: Country]]. (14)

- It had broad support from citizens of [[Q1: Country]]. (15)

- Another reason (Please describe): (16)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (17)

- None of these (18)

- Prefer not to say (19)

Q44: In your opinion, how helpful were each of the following organizations to the implementation of this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we

define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q40>>

Q45: You identified [[Q44: Organization]] as an organization that was helpful to the implementation of this initiative. In your opinion, what made [[Q44: Organization]] helpful? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. (You may select up to three statements.)

- It worked in close collaboration with its government counterparts. (1)

- It provided implementers with significant discretion and flexibility. (2)

- It exercised careful management of the resources it used. (3)

- It translated broad policy guidance into specific implementation strategies. (4)

- It helped build support among local stakeholders and communities. (5)

- It identified practical approaches for overcoming barriers to success. (6)

- It provided valuable information for use in monitoring and evaluation. (7)

- It minimized the administrative burden associated with implementation activities. (8)

- It aligned its implementation activities with those of other organizations. (9)

- It supplied implementers with much needed financial or material resources. (10)

- It provided implementers with access to highly qualified international experts. (11)

- It helped implementers make course corrections during implementation. (12)

- Another reason (Please describe): (13)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (14)

- None of these (15)

- Prefer not to say (16)

Q46: You identified [[Q44: Organization]] as a domestic organization that was not very helpful to the implementation of this initiative. What, if

anything, could [[Q44: Organization]] have done to be more helpful during implementation? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

Q47 [SG1-4]: Now we would like to ask about the raw data and analysis provided to your team by domestic organizations while you were working on [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy problems.

Q47 [SG1-4]: In making decisions while working on [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy issues, did you use any raw data or analysis provided by domestic organizations? For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file) and analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation.

- Yes, I used raw data or analysis provided by domestic organizations. (1)

- No, I did not use raw data or analysis provided by domestic organizations. (2)

Q48 [SG1-4]: Which domestic sources of information have you drawn from? For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file) and analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation.

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q40>>

Q49 [SG1-4]: How did you become familiar with the information you used from external sources? For the purposes of this survey, we define familiar as being aware the information existed. (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q48>>

- Email/e-newsletters (1)

- Informal face- to face communication (2)

- Memorandum/policy brief/short technical papers (3)

- Social media (4)

- Formal meeting or consultation (5)

- Internet search (6)

- Traditional media (newspaper, radio, television) (7)

- Information or data portal (8)

- Don't know / Not sure (9)

- None of these (10)

Q50 [SG1-4]: Which types of analyses, if any, did your team use from each of the following organizations to support your work on this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define analysis as evaluations, papers, memos, and other products that use interpretations of data to provide insight into a particular situation. (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q48>>

- Qualitative analysis (1)

- Quantitative analysis (2)

- Impact evaluation analysis (3)

- Another type of analysis (4)

- Don't know / Not sure (5)

Q51 [SG1-4]: Which types of raw data, if any, did your team use from each of the following organizations to support your work on this initiative? For the purposes of this survey, we define raw data as a data point, dataset, or datasets (examples: spreadsheet, CSV file). (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q48>>

- National statistics (1)

- Survey data (examples: household surveys, income surveys) (2)

- Public opinion data (3)

- Program/project performance and evaluation data (4)

- Government budget and expenditure data (5)

- Spatial or satellite data (6)

- Aid and/or philanthropic finance data (7)

- Another type of data (8)

- Don't know / Not sure (9)

Q52 [SG1-4]: What was the geographic scope of the information you used? (Please select any and all that apply.)

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q48>>

- Cross-national (1)

- National (2)

- Province/region (3)

- District (4)

- Village / town / city (5)

- Exact location (6)

- Don't know / Not sure (7)

- No data were featured (8)

Q53 [SG1-4]: You indicated that the domestic organizations below provided you with information. Overall, how helpful would you say the information provided by each of these domestic organizations was to your work? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

<<List of domestic organizations being identified in Q48>>

Q54 [SG1-4]: You identified information from [[Q53: Domestic Organization]] as helpful. In your opinion, which type of information from [[Q53: Domestic Organization]] was most helpful? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.

- Qualitative analysis (1)

- Quantitative analysis (2)

- Impact evaluation analysis (3)

- Another type of analysis (4)

- National statistics (5)

- Survey data (examples: household surveys, income surveys) (6)

- Public opinion data (7)

- Program/project performance and evaluation data (8)

- Government budget and expenditure data (9)

- Spatial or satellite data (10)

- Aid and/or philanthropic finance data (11)

- Another type of data (12)

Q55 [SG1-4]: What has made [[Q54: Information]] from [[Q53: Domestic Organization]] particularly helpful? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. (Please check up to 3 boxes.)

- It was easy to understand. (1)

- It was easy to adapt for a new purpose. (2)

- It contained information that senior government officials cared about. (3)

- It provided new insights that were not otherwise understood or appreciated. (4)

- It reflected an understanding of the local context in [[Q1: Country]]. (5)

- It was timely and up-to-date. (6)

- It provided a concrete set of policy recommendations. (7)

- It was used by other governments that we could emulate. (8)

- It drew upon data or analysis produced by the government. (9)

- It was based on a transparent set of methods and assumptions. (10)

- It was seen as unbiased and trustworthy. (11)

- It was accompanied by critical financial, material, or technical support. (12)

- It was published frequently. (13)

- It was at the right level of aggregation (i.e., cross-national, national, district) (14)

- Another reason (Please describe): (15)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (16)

- None of these (17)

- Prefer not to say (18)

Q56 [SG1-4]: How did your team use the [[Q54: Information]] provided by [[Q53: Domestic

Organization]]? (You may select up to three statements.)

- To better understand the [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy problems that needed to be solved (1)

- To keep citizens and other domestic stakeholders updated on the initiative's progress (2)

- To keep foreign and international stakeholders updated on the initiative's progress (3)

- To advocate for the adoption or implementation of the initiative (4)

- To make budgetary or resource allocation decisions (5)

- To identify the [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy problems that were most critical to solve (6)

- To design or inform specific implementation strategies (7)

- To foster a broader partnership with [[Q53: Domestic Organization]] (8)

- To monitor progress made towards solving specific [[Q6: Policy Area]] policy problems (9)

- To petition for resources from authorizing entities or external partners (10)

- To make course corrections during the implementation of the initiative (11)

- Another reason (Please describe): (12)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (13)

- None of these (14)

- Prefer not to say (15)

Q57 [SG1-4]: What did this information help your team to accomplish?

Q58 [SG1-4]: You identified that information from [[Q53: Domestic Organization]] could have been more helpful. What were the biggest challenges your team faced when trying to use information provided by [[Q53: Domestic Organization]]? For the purposes of this survey, we define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes. (Please check up to 3 boxes.)

- It was hard to understand (1)

- It was hard to adapt for a new purpose (2)

- It did not contain enough information that government officials cared about (3)

- It did not provide any new insights (4)

- It did not reflect an understanding of the local context [[Q1: Country]] (5)

- It was untimely and out-of-date (6)

- It did not provide a concrete set of policy recommendations (7)

- It had not been used by other governments that we could emulate (8)

- It did not draw upon data or analysis produced by the government (9)

- It was not transparent in its methods or assumptions (10)

- It was seen as biased and untrustworthy (11)

- It was not accompanied by critical financial, material, or technical support (12)

- It was received at a time when there was not much opportunity for change (13)

- It was not specific enough (for example, with respect to stakeholder group or geography) (14)

- Another reason (Please describe): (15)
  _____

- Don't know / Not sure (16)

- None of these (17)

- Prefer not to say (18)

Q59 [SG1-4]: What, if anything, could [[Q6: Policy Area]] have done to make its data or analysis more useful to your team's work on this initiative?

Q60: To close, we would like to learn about your broader educational and professional background.

Q60: What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Primary (1)

- Secondary (2)

- Technical/Vocational (3)

- University/College (4)

- Postgraduate (5)

Q61 Please provide the following information about this degree:

Name of degree (example: Bachelor of Arts in Economics): _____

Year degree earned: <<Dropdown of years 1937-2016>>

Name of university (example: University of London): _____

Q64: Country of university: <<List of countries>>

Q65: Do you have another university/college degree?

- Yes (1)

- No (2)

Q66: Do you have another postgraduate degree?

- Yes (1)

- No (2)

Q67: Over your entire career, have you worked for or been a member of any of the following types of domestic organizations in [[Q1: Country]]? (Please select any and all that apply.)

- Civil society organizations and private foundations (1)

- Think tanks and research organizations (2)

- Private sector organizations, associations, and businesses (3)

- Professional networks, organizations, and associations (4)

- Other domestic organizations outside of the government (5)

- None of these (6)

Q68: Have you ever worked for or been a member of any of the following types of foreign and international organizations? (Please select any and all that apply.)

- Intergovernmental organizations and multilateral development banks (1)

- Foreign embassies and bilateral agencies (2)

- Civil society organizations and private foundations (3)

- Think tanks and research organizations (4)

- Private sector organizations, associations, and businesses (5)

- Professional networks, organizations, and associations (6)

- Other foreign and international organizations (7)

- None of these (8)

Q69: Are you willing to participate in a future survey or interview? We would like to learn from your updated perspectives on events and developments in [[Q1: Country]] and elsewhere.

- Yes, you can contact me at the following email address: (1) _____

- No (2)

Q70 [SG5]: Aside from you, please list the three scholars, commentators, or journalists who you think have produced the most insightful analysis of recent policy developments in [[Q1: Country]].

- Person 1 (1) _____

- Person 2 (2) _____

- Person 3 (3) _____

Q71: Please click "Next" to record your responses. After you submit your survey questionnaire, you will no longer be able to access your survey or change your responses.

Appendix F: 2014 Reform Efforts Survey Questionnaire

Below are a selection of questions from the *2014 Reform Efforts Survey* that were used in this report. For the full questionnaire, please refer to the Appendix of "Listening to Leaders: Which Development Partners Do They Prefer and Why?", available here: http://docs.aiddata.org/ad4/pdfs/appendices.pdf

Q6 While with <<Org.s.1>>, did you work with any development partners (i.e., international organizations, foreign embassies, and development finance agencies)?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q7 Please think of the one position you held with <<Org.s.1>> in which you had the most interaction with development partners working <<in.country>>.

(The questions in this survey will ask you about the experiences you gained while working in this position.)

(1) What was the name of this position? (E.g., Director)

_____

_____

(2) In which of the following years did you hold this position?

(Please select all that apply.)

- 2004 (1)
- 2005 (2)
- 2006 (3)
- 2007 (4)
- 2008 (5)
- 2009 (6)
- 2010 (7)
- 2011 (8)
- 2012 (9)
- 2013 (10)

Q12 Thinking of your time as <<pos.Q7.1>>, please select all of the development partners (i.e., international organizations, foreign embassies, and development finance agencies) that you worked directly with on <<issue area policies and programs>> <<in.country>>.

(Please select all that apply.)

- <<Organization 1>> (1)
- <<Organization 2>> (2)
- ...
- <<Organization N>> (n)
- Other (Please indicate): (n+1 to n+3)

_____(n+1)

_____ (n+2)

_____ (n+3)

- I did not work with any development partners. (n+4)

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- Q21 To the best of your knowledge, how much influence did each of the following development partners have on the Government <<of.country>>'s decision to pursue reforms focused on these particular <<issue area policy problems>>?

  (Please answer on a scale of 0 to 5, where 0 means no influence at all and 5 means a maximum influence. You can use any number between 0 and 5.)

  _____ <<Organization 1>> (1)

  _____ <<Organization 2>> (2)

  _____ ...

  _____ <<Organization N>> (n+3)

  Q22 How much influence did each of the following development partners have on the design of the Government <<of.country>>'s <<issue area reform efforts>>?

  (Please answer on a scale of 0 to 5, where 0 means no influence at all and 5 means a maximum influence. You can use any number between 0 and 5.)

  _____ <<Organization 1>> (1)

  _____ <<Organization 2>> (2)

_____ …

_____ <<Organization N>> (n+3)

Q24 To the best of your knowledge, which of the following development partners were involved in the implementation of the Government <<of.country>>'s <<issue area reform efforts>>?

(Please select all that apply.)

<<Organization 1>> (1)

<<Organization 2>> (2)

…

<<Organization N>> (n+3)

Other (Please indicate): (n+4 to n+6)

_____ (n+4)

_____ (n+5)

_____ (n+6)

No development partners were involved in reform implementation efforts. (n+7)

Don't know / Not sure (n+8)

Q25 When involved, how helpful do you think each of the following development partners was to the implementation of the Government <<of.country>>'s <<issue area reform efforts>>?

(Please answer on a scale of 0 to 5,where 0 means not at all helpful and 5 means extremely helpful. You can use any number between 0 and 5.)

_____ <<Organization 1>> (1)_____ <<Organization 2>> (2)_____ …

_____ <<Organization N>> (n+6)

Appendix G: Comparison of the 2014 and 2017 Survey Waves

Below is a short summary of differences pertaining to the questions on partner influence and helpfulness. The module on the use and helpfulness of data and data providers was only included in the 2017 survey.

Overview of similarities:

1. The five types of organizations that respondents worked with are the same: government, development partner, NGO or CSO, private sector, independent country experts.

2. The list of 126 low- and middle-income countries is the same

3. Both surveys have information on the highest level of education completed for the respondents

Overview of differences:

1. 2014 Reform Efforts Survey (RES) focused on reform efforts while 2017 Listening to Leaders Survey (LtLS) focused on policy initiatives

2. 2017 does not capture the frequency of communication of host government officials with development partners

3. 2014 has three measures of DP performance: usefulness of policy advice, agenda-setting influence and helpfulness in reforms implementation. The 2017 survey only has the latter two measures, with some change in wording of the question (see below)

The table below captures key differences between 2014 and 2017 surveys:

	2014 Reform Efforts Survey (RES)	2017 Listening to Leaders Survey (LtLS)
Primary area of focus	Macroeconomic management	Economic policy
	Finance, credit and banking	Finance
	Trade	Trade
	Business regulatory environment	
	Investment	
	Health	Health
	Education	Education
	Family and gender	Human development and gender
	Social protection and welfare	Social development and protection
	Labor	Labor market policy and programs
	Environmental protection	Environment and natural resource management
	Agriculture and rural development	Agriculture, fishing and forestry
	Energy and mining	Energy and mining
	Land	
	Infrastructure	Transportation
	Decentralization	
	Anti-corruption and transparency	Good governance and rule of law
	Democracy	
	Public administration	
	Justice and security	
	Tax	
	Customs	
	Public expenditure management	Public sector management
	Foreign Policy	Foreign Policy
	I did not have a particular area of focus	Other (please indicate)
		Information and communications technologies
		Industry, trade and services
		Nutrition and food security
		Private sector development
		Rural development
		Urban development
		Water, sewerage and waste management
Primary area of focus	No further disaggregation of the primary area of focus	Drills-down on each issue area with sub-sectoral categories
Time period	Respondents held their position in [country] at some point during 2004-2013 Re	spondents held their position in [country] at some point during 2010-2015
Function	Thinking of an average working day working as [position], did you usually participate in each of the following activities: On Research and analysis	which [issue area] policy initiative did you work most directly? In which of the following ways did you contribute to this initiative? I conducted research and analysis
	Advocacy	I served in an advocacy role
	Agenda-setting	I helped set the policy agenda
	Program design	I provided advice on design and implementation
	Resource mobilization	I helped mobilize resources
		I provided official authorization
	Policy M&E	I conducted M&E
	Policy implementation	I oversaw implementation activities
		I communicated the results of the initiative

	Coordination	I coordinated with stakeholders inside of the government
		I coordinated with stakeholders outside of the government
		I performed some other function
	Consultation	
	Policy formulation	
	Program implementation	
	Program M&E	
Working with DPs	While with [organization], did you work with any DPs (i.e., international organizations, foreign embassies, and development finance agencies)? No	such question
Intermediate questions	Please think of the one position you held with [organization] in which you had the most interaction with DPs working in [country] → name of the position → in which years did you hold this position (2004-2013) → in this position with [organization] which was your primary area of focus? Please	write the name of the organization in [country] with which you worked for the longest period of time between 2010 and 2015 → please identify the position held for the longest period of time between 2010 and 2015 → which years you held the position → what was your area of focus while holding this position → think about some of the [policy area] policy initiatives that you worked on as [position]. On which policy initiative did you work most directly?
Selecting DPs	Thinking of your time as [position], please select all the DPs that you worked directly with on [issue area policies and programs] in [country]? Which	of the following DPs provided your government (SG1 and SG5) or your team (SG 2-4) with advice or assistance to support [this initiative]?
		*SG1=government
		SG2=development partner
		SG3=NGO or CSO
		SG4=private sector
		SG5=independent expert
Reform success	How much progress did the reforms pursued between [year x and year y] make towards solving each of the following [self-identified policy problems] in [country]? → for each problem the respondent identified (upto 3 problems), response options were: 1=no progress at all; 2=only a little progress; 3=moderate amount of progress; 4=great deal of progress On the	whole, how much progress did this initiative make towards solving the most important problem you identified (which was an open-ended question asked earlier on)? Response options: 1=no progress at all; 2=very little progress; 3=a fair amount of progress; 4=a great deal of progress; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=prefer not to say
Influence	How much influence did each of the DPs have on the government's decision to pursue reforms focused on these particular [self-identified issue area policy problems] Ho	w influential were [selected DPs] on the government's or your team's decision to pursue [this initiative]? Influence is defined as the power to change or affect the policy agenda
	How much influence did each of the DPs have on the design of the government's [issue area reform efforts] No	such question
	Influence is measured on a scale of 0-5 where 0 means no influence and 5 is maximum influence (respondents had to use a number between 0-5)	Influence is measured on a scale of 1-4 with response options defining this: 1= not at all influential, 2=only slightly influential, 3=quite influential, 4=very influential
		[If 3 or 4 was selected in previous question]: In your opinion, what made the organization influential (select 3 out of a fixed list)
Helpfulness	Respondents were asked to select DPs that were involved in the implementation of the government's [issue area reform efforts] No	such question
	When involved, how helpful were each of the following DPs to the implementation of the government's [issue area reform efforts] (used in LtL I) In	your opinion, how helpful were each of the following organizations to the implementation of this initiative? We define helpful as being of assistance in implementing policy changes.
	Helpfulness is measured on a scale of 0-5 where 0 means not helpful at all and 5 means extremely helpful	Helpful is measured on a scale of 1-4 with response options defining this: 1= not at all helpful, 2=only slightly helpful, 3=quite helpful, 4=very helpful
		[If 1 or 2 was selected in previous question]: What if anything could [organization] have done to be more helpful during implementation? (open-ended response)
		[If 3 or 4 was selected in previous question]: In your opinion, what made the organization helpful (select 3 out of a fixed list)
Previous link to international organizations	Captures past work experience (full-time, part-time or consultant) for a fixed list of international organizations or DPs	Captures past experience or membership of categories of international organizations (e.g., foreign embassies and bilateral agencies)
	Includes a question on the duration of current or primary position held	No such question
Domestic support for policy initiatives/reforms	Which of the following groups expended substantial time, effort or resources to promote [sectoral reform] in [country]? How	much support did this initiative receive from each of the following domestic groups?

About AidData

AidData is a research lab at the College of William & Mary. We equip policymakers and practitioners with better evidence to improve how sustainable development investments are targeted, monitored, and evaluated. We use rigorous methods, cutting-edge tools and granular data to answer the question: who is doing what, where, for whom, and to what effect?

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