

Navigation by Judgment

Dan Honig
ANU
June 18, 2019



NAVIGATION BY JUDGMENT

Why and When Top Down Management
of Foreign Aid Doesn't Work

DAN HONIG





photo by Honig,
circa 2008



photo by Honig,
circa 2008



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Asymmetric Information & Good Outcomes

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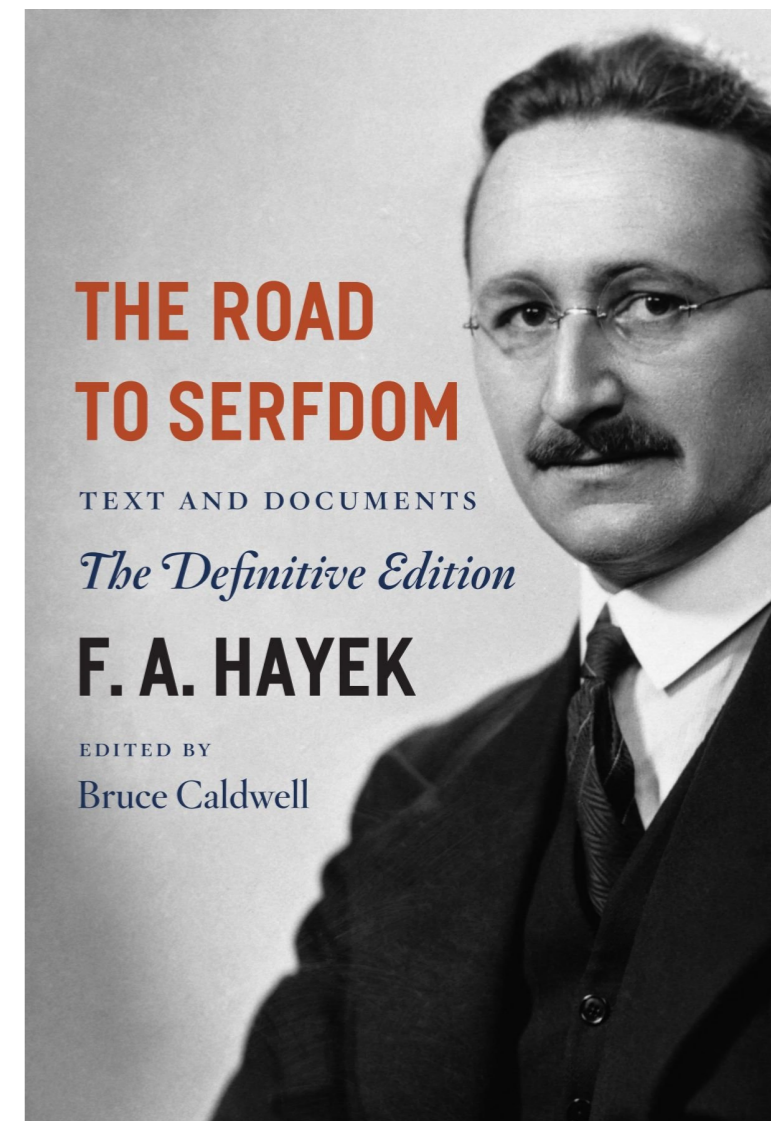
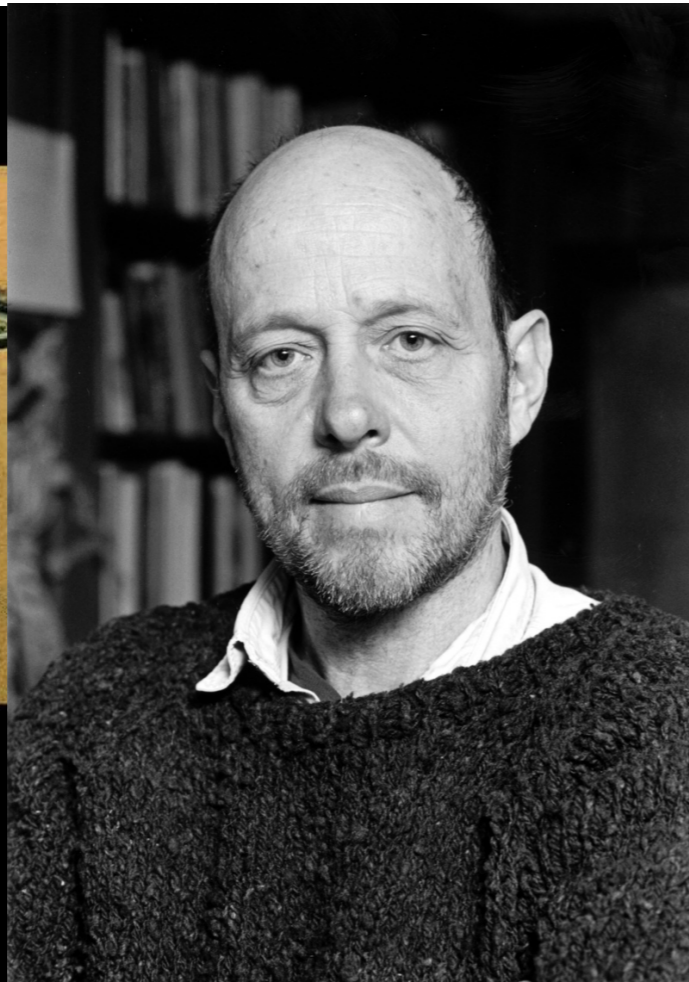
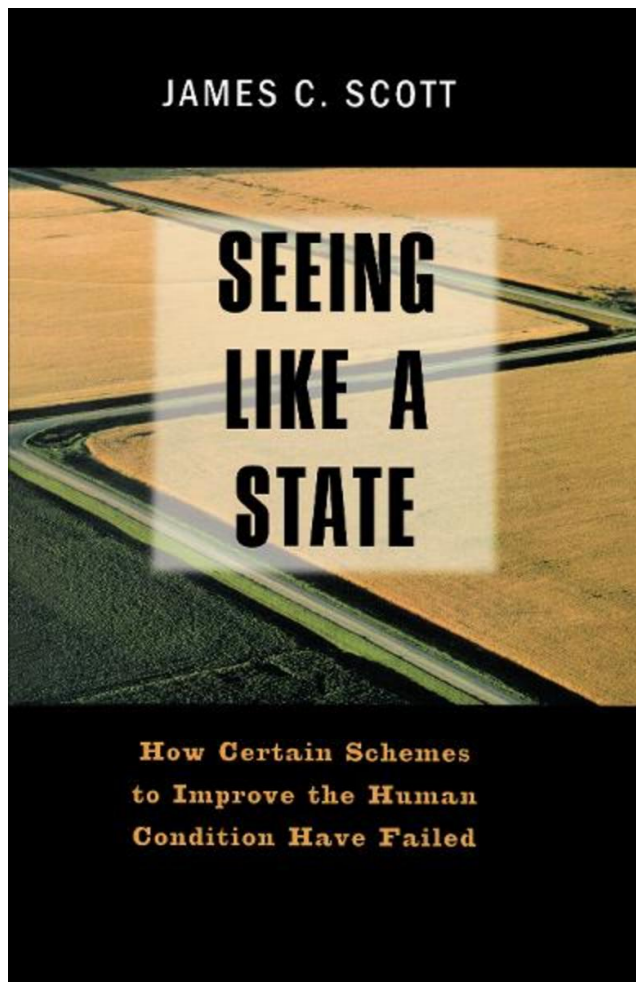
JAMES C. SCOTT

SEEING LIKE A STATE

How Certain Schemes
to Improve the Human
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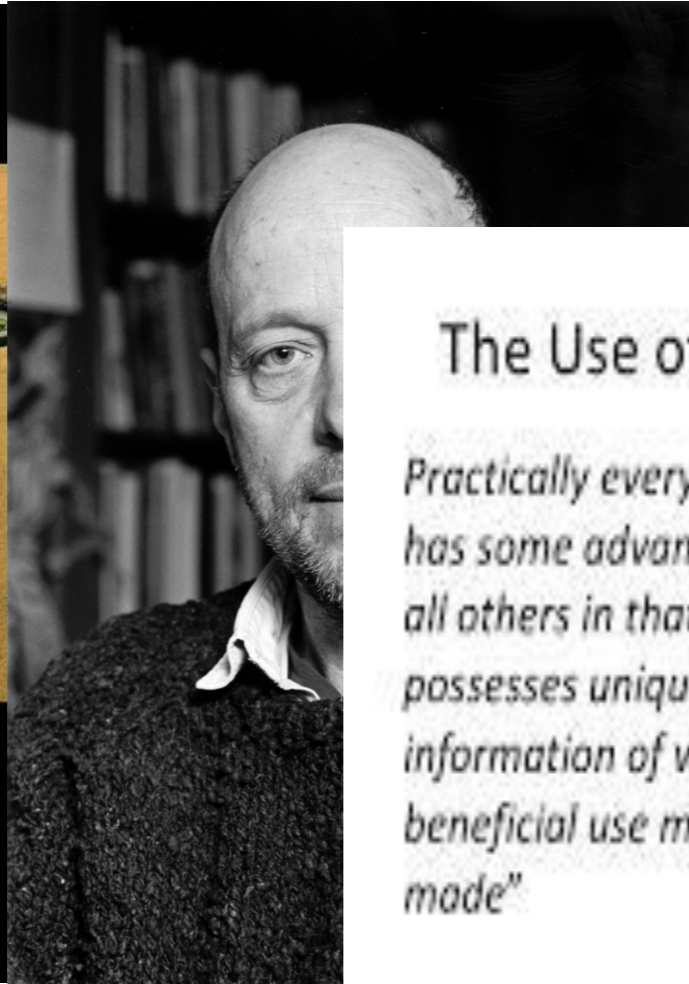


Asymmetric Information & Good Outcomes

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SEEING LIKE A STATE

How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed



The Use of Knowledge in Society

Practically every individual has some advantage over all others in that he possesses unique information of which beneficial use might be made"



8 May 1889 – 23 March 1992

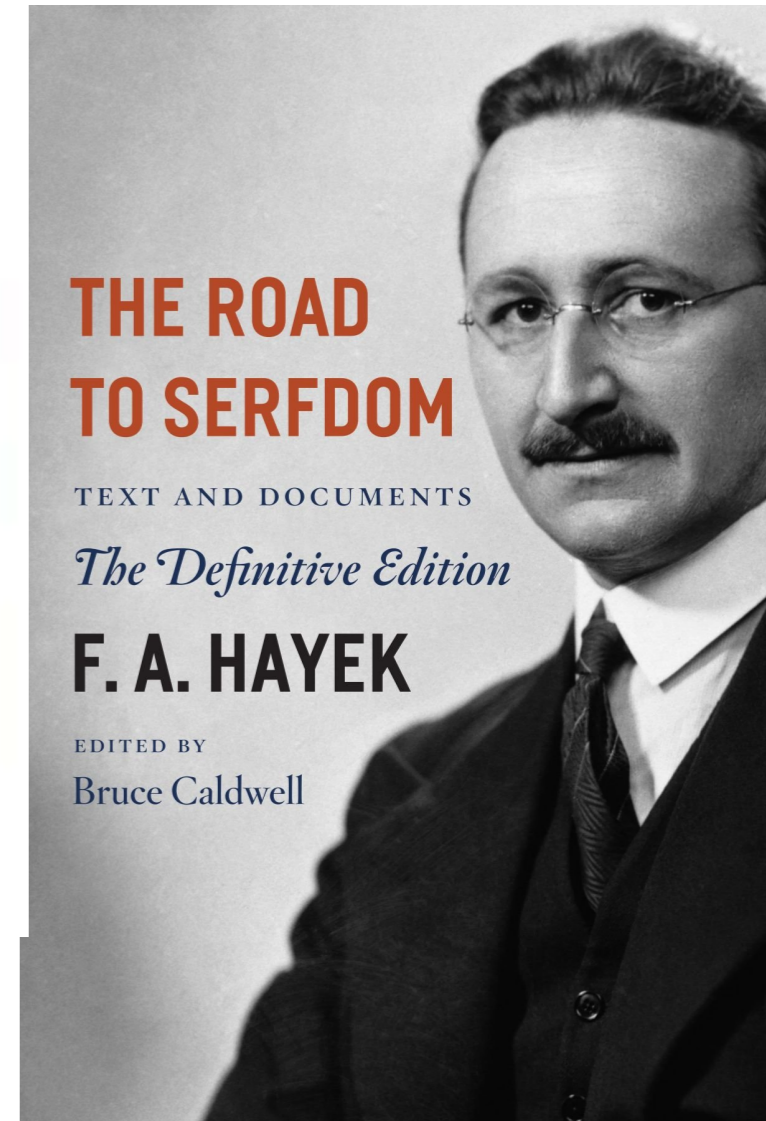
THE ROAD TO SERFDOM

TEXT AND DOCUMENTS

The Definitive Edition

F. A. HAYEK

EDITED BY
Bruce Caldwell



Flawed Choices: Top-Down Control vs. Bottom-up Driving

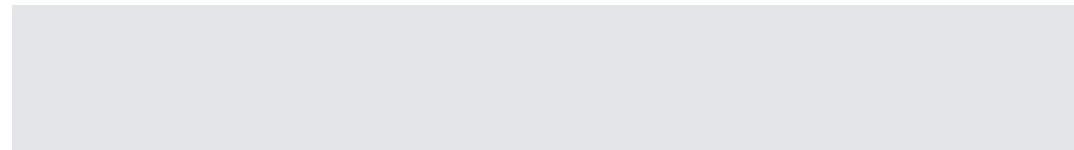
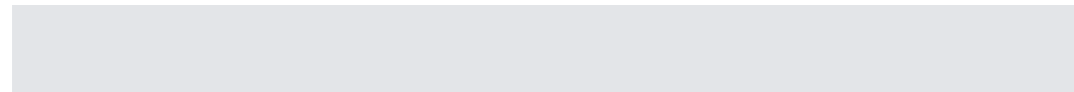


Aşağı tükürsen sakal,
yukarı tükürsen bıyık

Flawed Choices: Top-Down Control vs. Bottom-up Driving

Navigation from the
Top

Navigation by
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Flawed Choices: Top-Down Control vs. Bottom-up Driving

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*Management
Control*

Oversight

*Standardized
Behavior*

*Extrinsic Motivation
(maybe)*

*BUT: Distortions of
Performance
Measurement; Loss
of Flexibility/
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Flawed Choices: Top-Down Control vs. Letting Agents Drive

Navigation from the Top	Navigation by Judgment
<i>Management Control</i>	<i>Agent Initiative</i>
<i>Oversight</i>	<i>Soft Information</i>
<i>Standardized Behavior</i>	<i>Flexibility</i>
<i>Extrinsic Motivation (maybe)</i>	<i>Intrinsic Motivation (maybe)</i>
<i>BUT: Distortions of Performance Measurement; Loss of Flexibility/Adaptability</i>	<i>BUT: Fallible Agent Judgment.</i>



Getting the Balance Wrong

**THE
SEEN AND THE
UNSEEN**

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- Zoellick 2010: “We know that a **focus on results is absolutely key for donors** [those who contribute funds to the World Bank], for clients [those who receive funds from the World Bank], and for us.”

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- Differentially likely to constrain Navigation by Judgment

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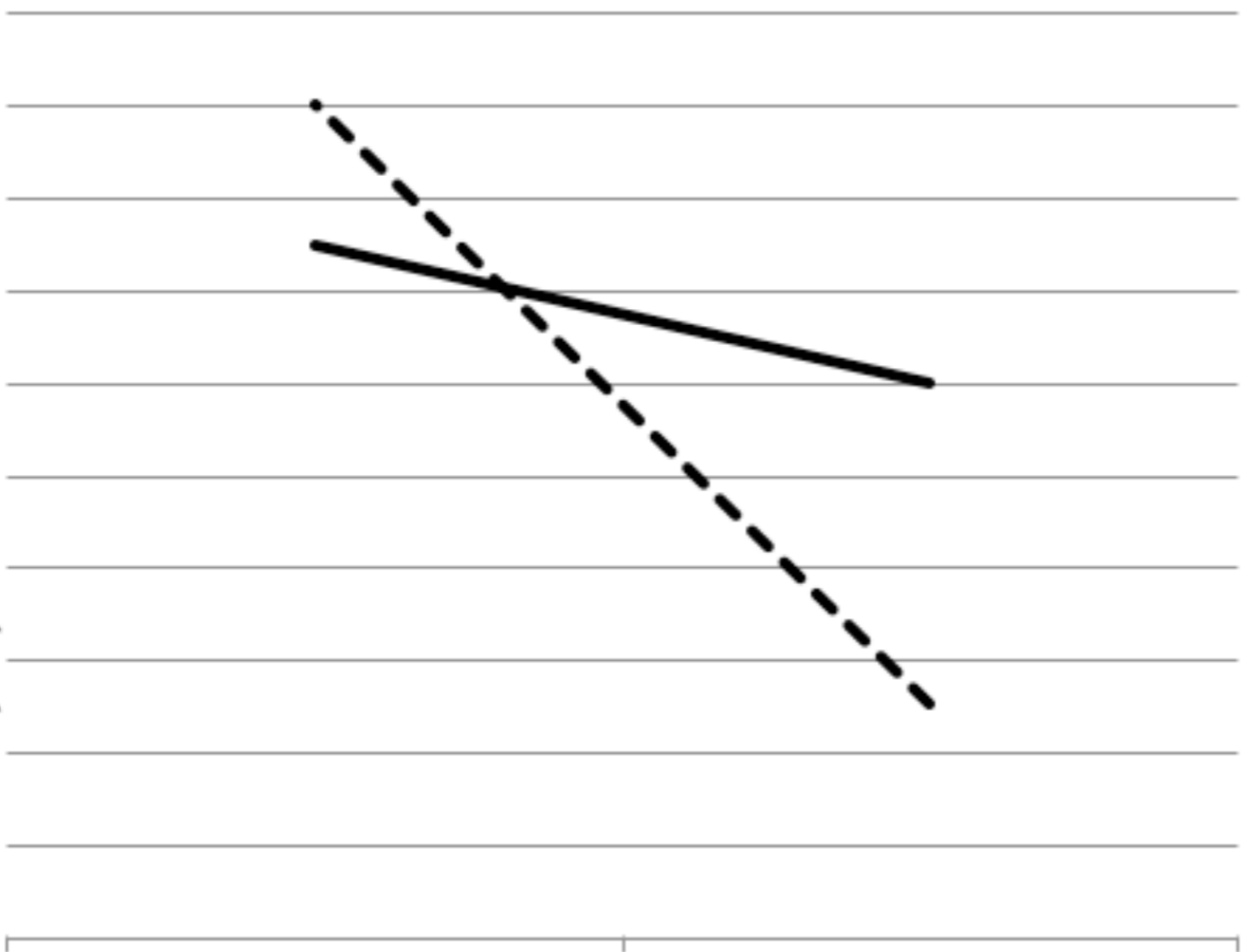
1: Most organizations will err on the side of “too much” control more often than “too little”

2: More insecure agencies will err more than less insecure agencies

3: The more unpredictable the environment, the greater the returns to Navigation by Judgment

4: The less the task can be pre-planned or effectively managed using output #s (verifiability), the greater the returns to Navigation by Judgment

Project/Intervention Success



High

Low

Environmental Predictability (or Task Verifiability)

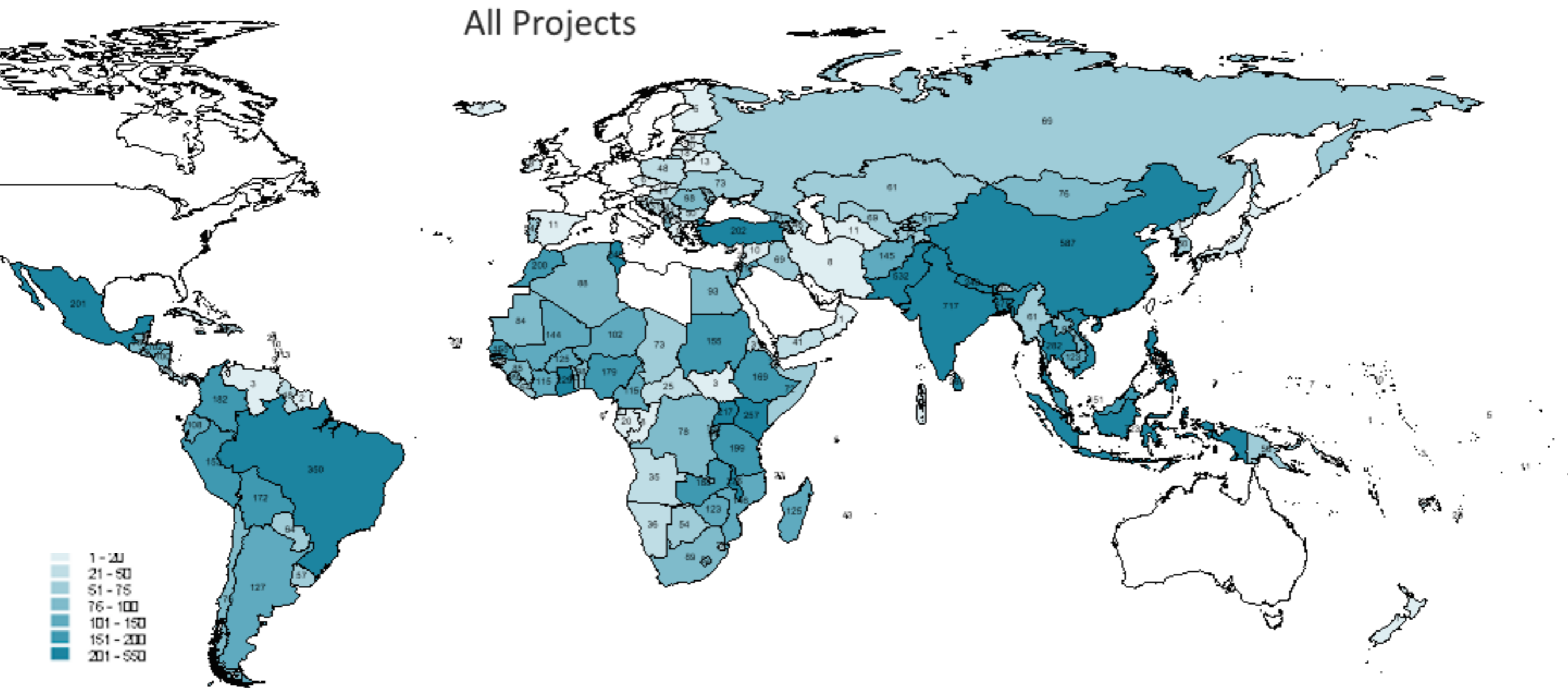
- - - Low Navigation by Judgment
- High Navigation by Judgment

Project Results Database

IDO Name	Sourcing Process
Asian Development Bank (AsDB)	Public Information Process
Department for International Development UK (DFID)	Public Information Process
European Commission (EC)	Negotiated Release (Confidential)
Global Fund for Aids, TB, Malaria (GFATM)	Back Channel
German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GiZ)	Coded from Public Documents
German Development Bank (KfW)	Negotiated Release
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	Coded from Public Documents
Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA)	Coded from Public Documents
World Bank (WB)	Already Public

Online (ex-EC) at danhonig.info

Heat Map of Projects (approx. 14,000)



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 - Quant analysis makes relative comparisons

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- Navigation by Judgment: 2 measures, both organization-level time-invariant
- Focus on contingent relationship (interaction term)

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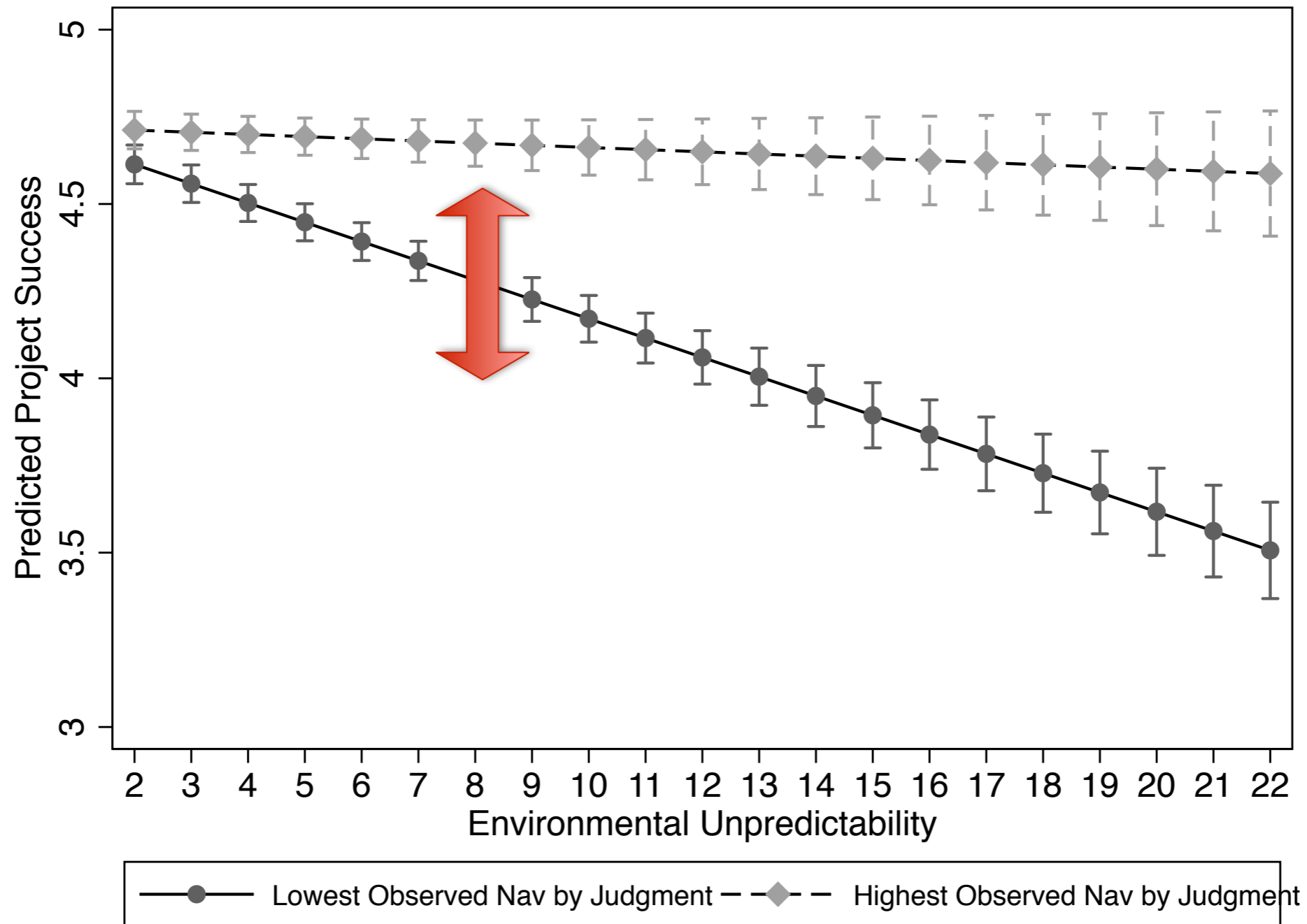
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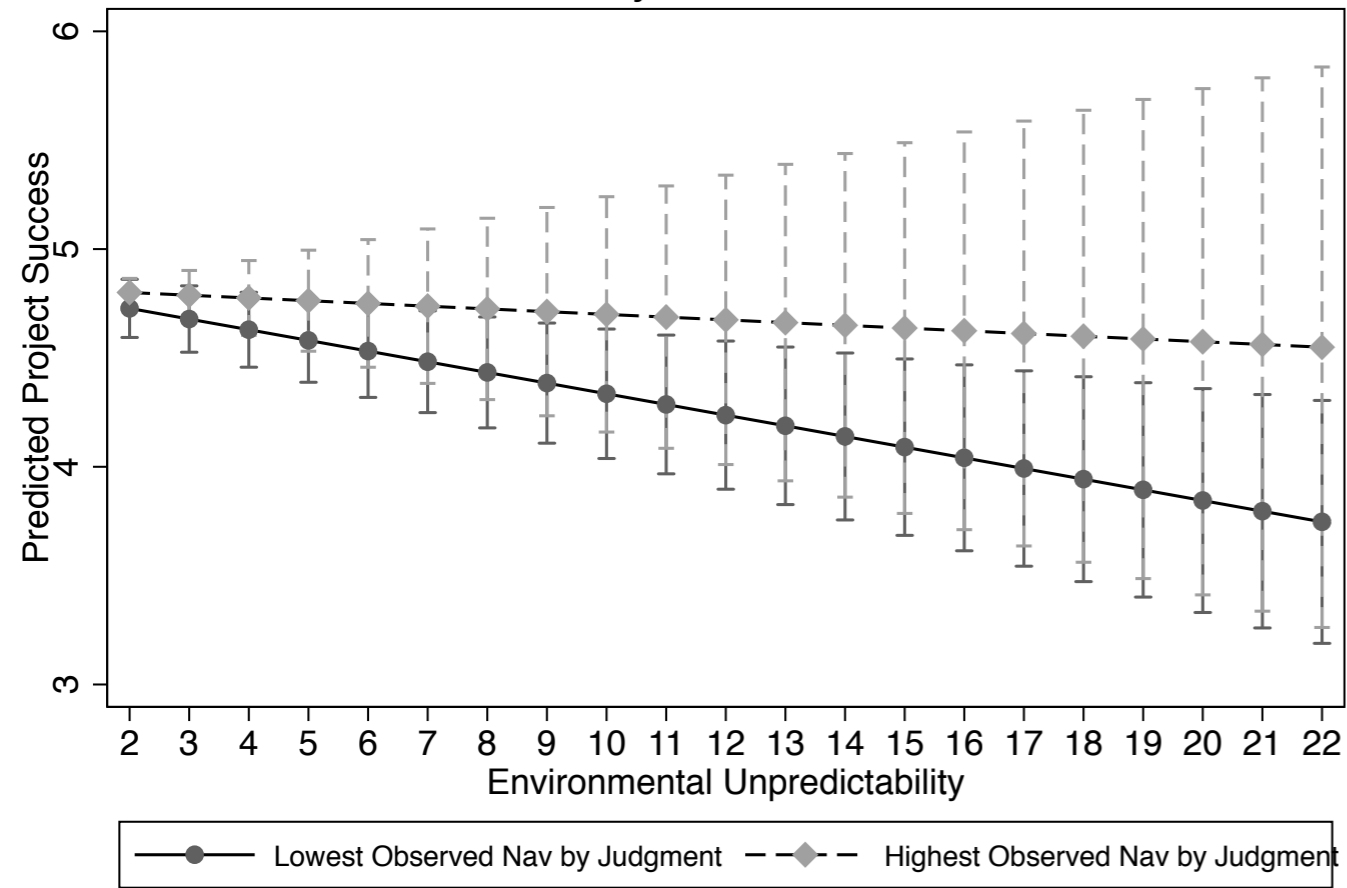
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 - IDO freedom relative to political authorizing environment
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- **Small field survey** of development professionals who can directly compare autonomy of IDOs (correlation with PD measure: .71)

Returns to Navigation by Judgment in Countries of Differential Environmental Unpredictability

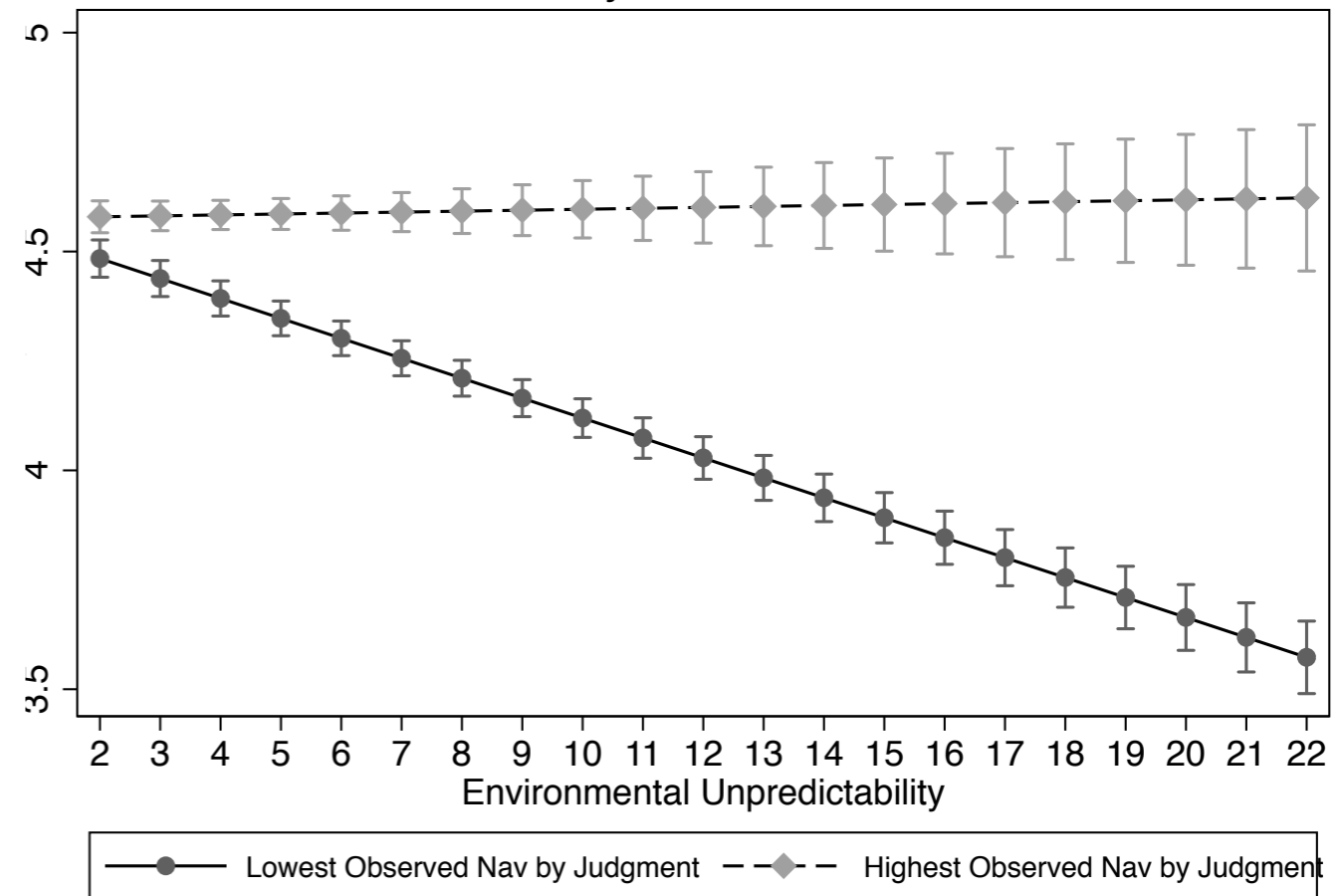


Effects are Driven by Hard to Manage-by-Measurement Sectors

More Externally Verifiable Sectors



Less Externally Verifiable Sectors



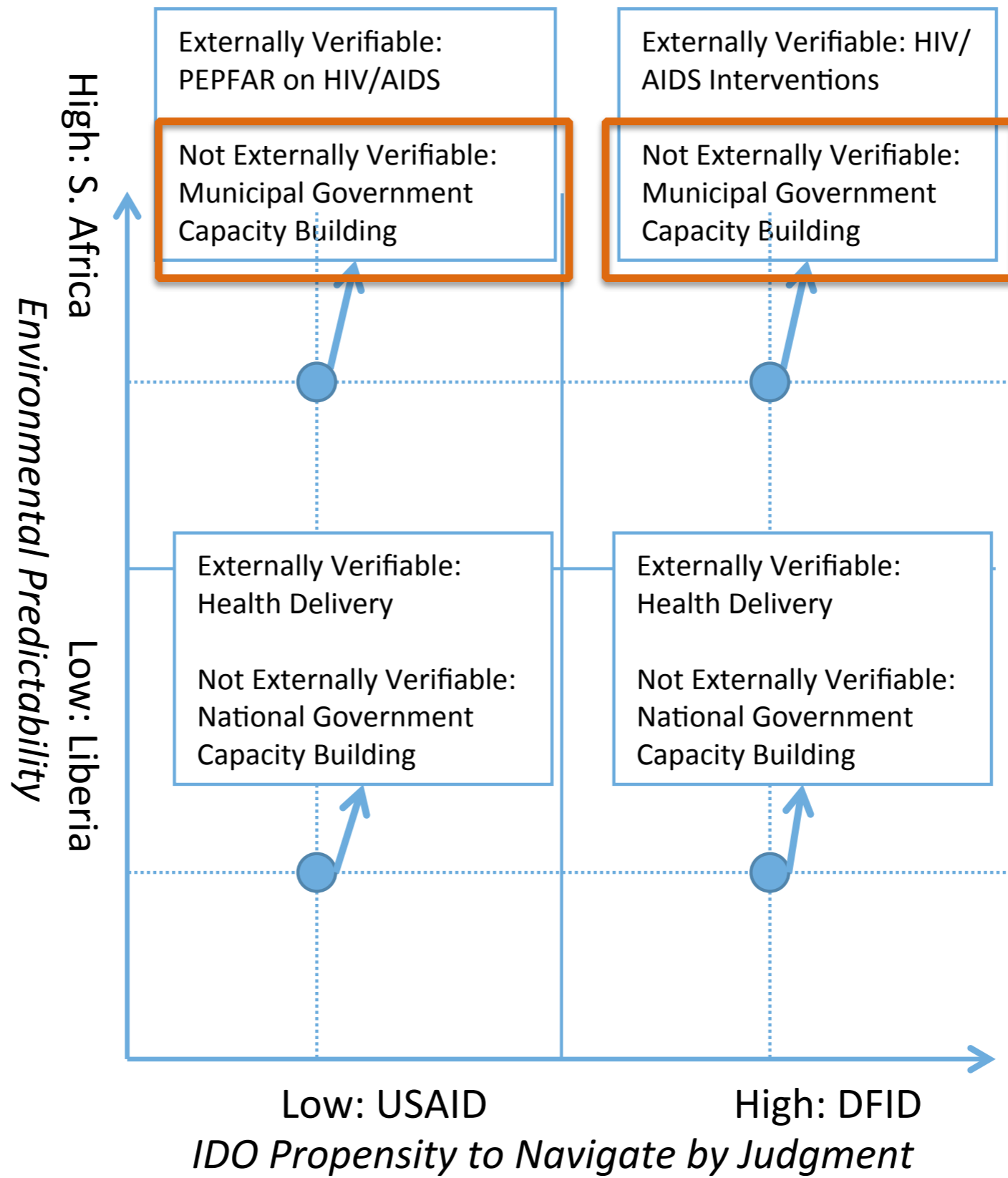
Robustness

- Placebo tests for alternate scales of “Good Donor-ness” - this isn’t just a proxy for best practice
- Control for Evaluation Type
- Test for systematic selection into donor-country-sector-years by $NbJ * Fragility$
- Survey measure rather than Paris Declaration-derived scale for Navigation by Judgment
- Running observability of sectors as dummies in full model (heterogeneity of IDOs, recipients in sectors)
- Donor, Recipient, Year Fixed Effects (where not shown)
- Using scales without IDO Fixed Effects & with base term (Z-score outcomes)
- Ordered Logits

Robustness 2

- Running 9 separate regressions (so not driven by parameterization of interaction term)
- Restricting SFI to common support (so not driven by SFI outliers)
- No substantially differential variance by SFI/NbJ ‘quadrant’; NbJ result also shows by quartile (non-parametrically)
- Double-clustering SEs at IDO-recipient level
- Controlling for project size
- Changing PD measure - dropping any measure, each of the two sub-scales, any wave of the PD survey
- Using either sub-scale of SFI (legitimacy or effectiveness), or using any SFI domain (security, political, economic, social)

A Deeper Dive: Case Studies



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A: No I never, no people didn't talk about, I mean [name redacted] would time and again, maybe talk about the Department of International Development [DFID], you know meaning in London, but it wasn't a dominant sort of talk about, “we are all doing this so that we can report to the House of Commons” or something like that in the UK Parliament. But the US[AID] is always about **“the Congress wants these numbers because they are providing so much for South Africa and they want to know what is it that we have done with their money”**

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Constraint from above “make[s] you cautious” -
USAID Official

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<i>Reporting (Official Language)</i>	Success Indicator: “All staff trained in Finance Dept and Municipal Secretariat” (in practice, count people at training)	Advisers “implement their workplans and report on progress monthly and quarterly.”

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- DFID project sometimes (but not always) effective
- DFID: Successes linked to good judgment calls...
“although uneven in parts, included some highly positive examples in selected municipalities” - DFID report

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- “More a number chasing toward the end especially because we needed to reach our target.” - Implementer

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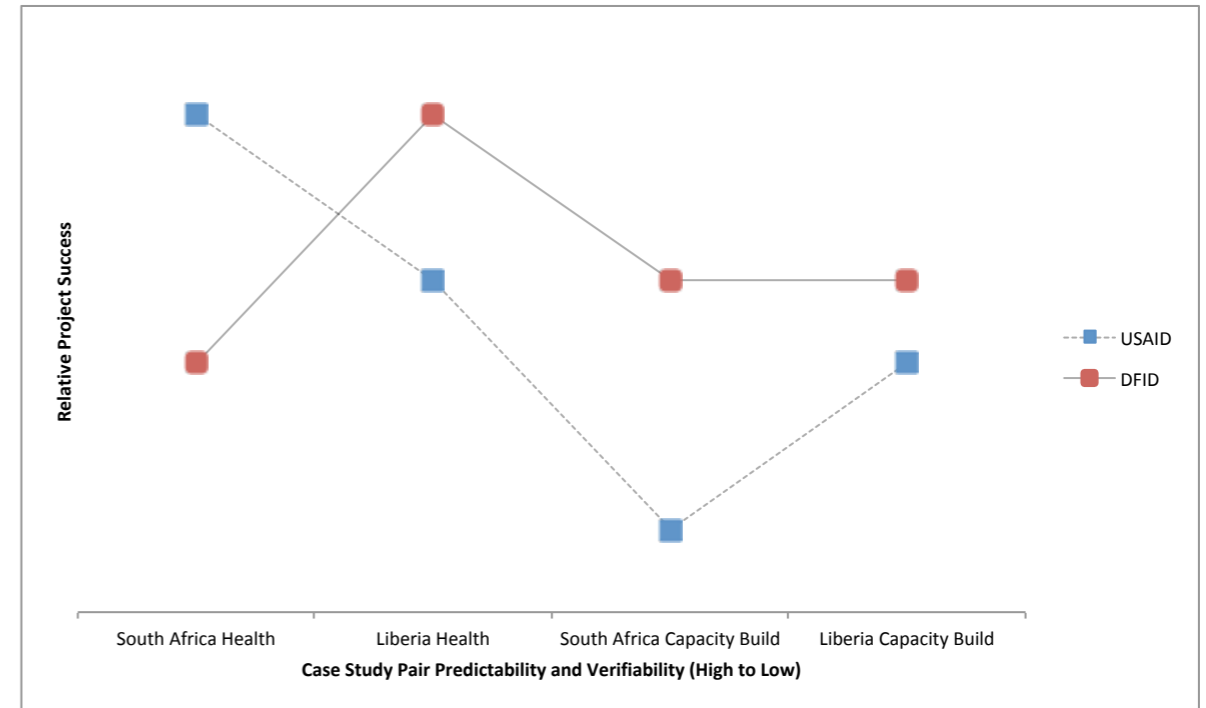
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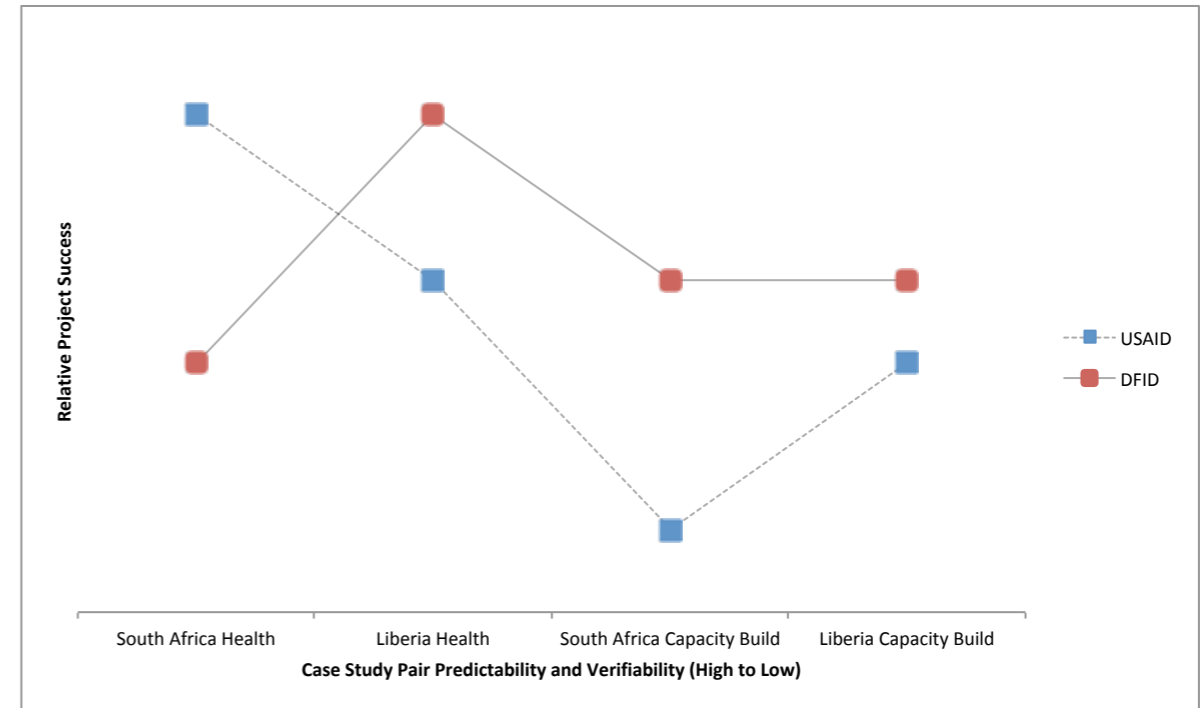
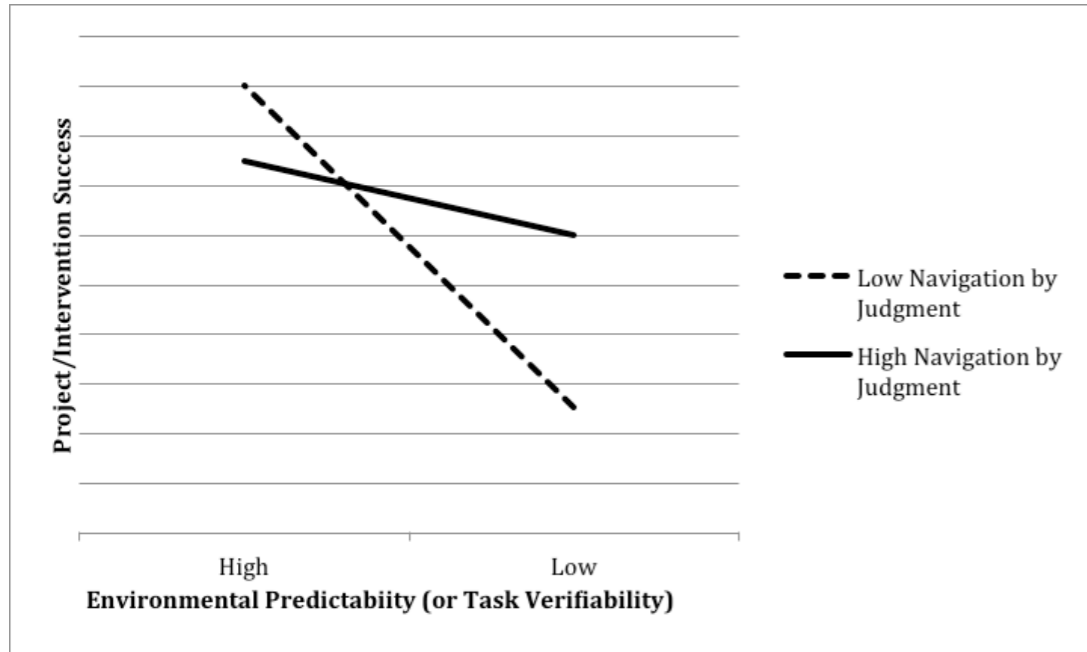
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- Navigation by Judgment not perfect, either, *can* have too much (SA Health Case Pair)

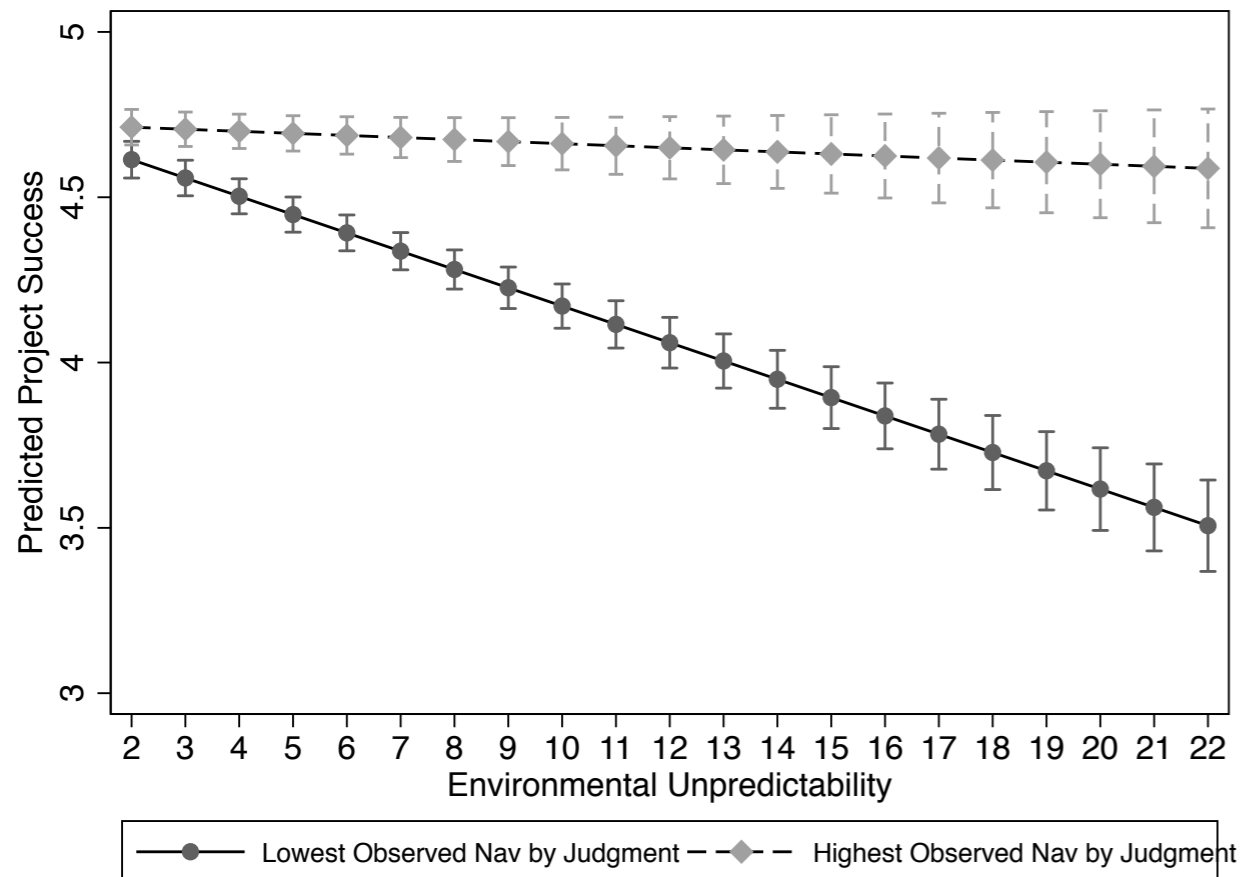
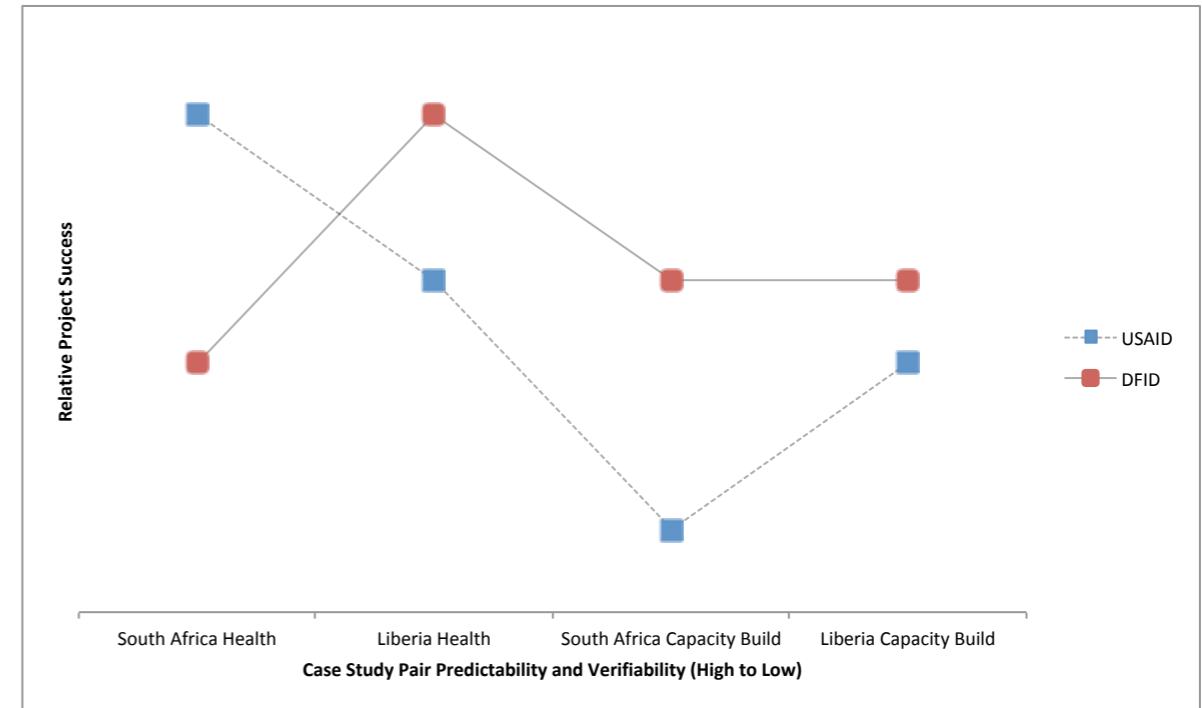
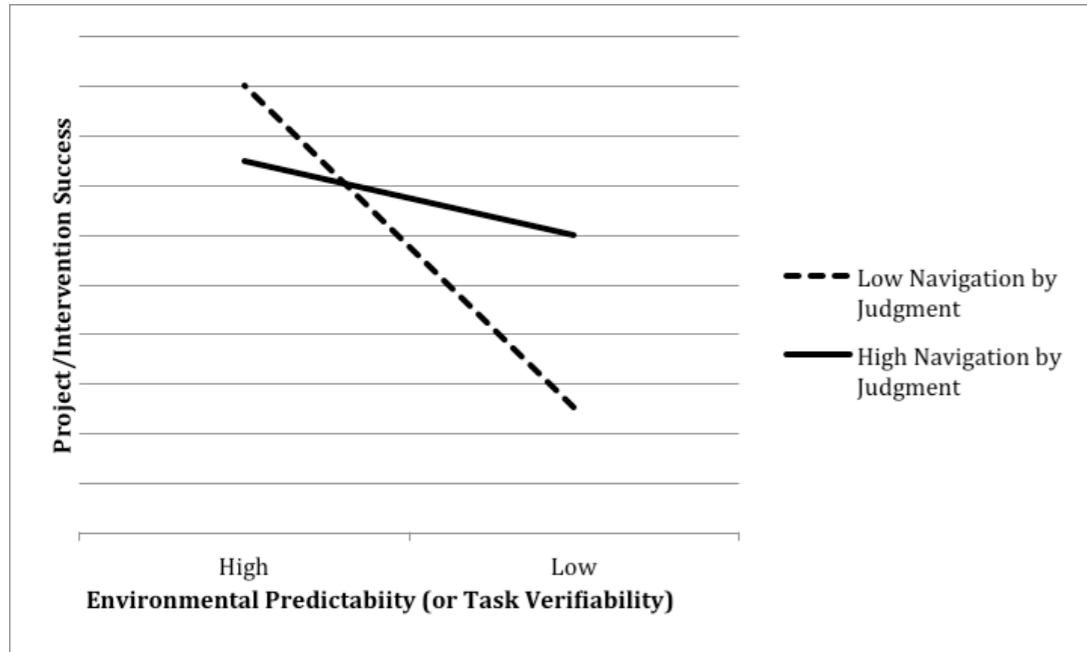
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- Organizational structure and bureaucratic incentives matter in aid delivery
- Navigation strategy errors 1) particularly frequent, and 2) have particular 'bite', in fragile states

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When development assistance works best **Accountability is a conversation, not a #; primarily “Account”, not “Accounting”.**

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 - Can sometimes get more “juice” with *less* “squeezing” (Trust-based Management?)

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