

# Aid effectiveness in the post-Busan era

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#### **Intro**

- This seminar is
  - not about grand aid strategies, geographical or sectoral priorities, or global targeting (MDGs)
  - but more humbly about managing aid: choice of modalities, division of labour, outsourcing, delegation, and the like
- Aid effectiveness debate has lost momentum
  - Busan doesn't seem to have that same 'karma' that Paris had
- Uncertainty where to go and what to do

# The original aid effectiveness diagnostic

- In aid-dependent countries several dozens of foreign agencies work alongside each other
- Using their own diagnostics, priorities, procedures, budget time frames, reporting formats, and upward accountability systems
- This imposes a huge burden on recipients: unnecessary transaction costs, poaching of staff, burdening of budgets, and undermining policy coherence
- This undermines effectiveness of interventions
- Yet in these countries governments typically lack capacity and/or willingness to impose coordination
- The solution must come from donors changing their management practices

#### How we will proceed

- 1. Revisit the 'big moments' that have shaped donor thinking and acting on the topic
- 2. Get rid of the clutter and focus on the essential stuff
- 3. Look at the evidence and draw lessons
- 4. Single out those elements that remain worth striving for in a fast changing world

# 1. Revisiting the 'big moments'

- Assessing aid (World Bank 1998)
  - Projects don't work (see slide 6)
  - Good policies matter but pushing policies doesn't work (see slide 7)
  - So direct aid to countries that are well governed
  - Provide limited aid in other countries directed at immediate welfare improvements
- 1999 Launch of the PRSPs
  - Ownership national strategy (priorities, policies)
  - Alignment and harmonization
  - Budget support





# Why did donor-driven and managed projects not work?

#### **Strengths**

- Allows addressing genuine poverty issues at local level
- Even in absence of a 'development state'
- Relatively simple to manage and supervise (log frame)
- High donor commitment
- High donor accountability

#### Weaknesses

- Weak national ownership (donor-driven priority setting)
- High donor and recipient transaction costs
- Institutional undermining of public sector
- Weak sustainability
- Fungibility (WYS≠WYG)





# Why did structural adjustment not work?

#### **Strengths**

- Emphasis on sound macroeconomic management
- Some technocratic governance issues addressed
- Institutional strengthening of public finance management
- Attractive modalities: budget support and balance of payments support

#### Weaknesses

- Government uncommitted
- Public opinion hostile
- Disconnect with bilateral donors
- Conditionality design faults
- Reform overload
- Long-term view on development missing



#### 2005 Paris Declaration (PD)

- Ownership alignment harmonization
- Results orientedness mutual accountability

#### 2008 Accra

- PD aid delivey principles not just for LDCs or LICs but all recipient countries (MICs)
- Division of Labour
- Multi-stakeholder approach
- Involve civil society in everything

#### • 2011 Busan

- More about getting the BRICs on board
- Introducing Global Public Goods like climate
- IATI Aid transparency
- New Deal for Fragile states
- From aid effectiveness to development effectiveness

# Changing world - changing game

- Economic success stories in developing world abound
  - >70% of absolute poor now live in MICs with good prospects
  - Many aid dependent LICs are doing well economically
  - War on extreme poverty may be won
  - →National development dynamics beat aid any time
- A new multipolar world order has emerged
  - Old donors' insistence on democratic transition contested by emerging donors
  - Global public goods motivation gains strength over international solidarity
- Number of aid actors and instruments keeps expanding
  - Pleas for more reliance on markets (Barder 2009) and networks (Severino & Ray 2010)



#### 2. Getting rid of the clutter

- The nature of the state and the quality of government matter greatly for development
  - The market and civil society also play a crucial role, but cannot compensate for government failure
  - Neither can foreign aid
- For these reasons, structural aid should
  - (minimum scenario): improve services to the poor whilst making sure macro and meso institutions are not harmed
  - (maximum scenario): contribute to institutional improvements at macro and meso level

#### This matters more in some countries

- The institutional problem is most acute in weakly functioning environments
  - Incapacity/unwillingness of the state to organise the collective services that enhance development
- In such countries aid can be very useful if it successfully focuses on institutional improvements, but can also do considerable harm if it doesn't
- The more a country is aid-dependent, the more the lack of collaboration among donors increases the probability of institutional damage



#### ... than in others

- In countries that are not aid-dependent, PD strategy is less convincing
  - Effect of aid on institutions is marginal
  - Donor have very limited leverage
- All the more so if these countries also have more competent public sectors
  - Recipients better able to bear transaction costs of aid
  - Projects usefully address considerable bottlenecks situated at sub-sector level



# 3. Learning lessons (1)

- The PD criticism of traditional project practice was correct, but
  - Ignored that projects can be managed in accordance with PD principles ("new-style projects")
  - Underestimated the disincentives for donors to engage in budget support
- The PD erroneously assumed that all budget support has a benign institutional effect
- It also did not forsee that budget support would be a prime target for sanctioning democratic failings



|                                 | Direct effects                       | Indirect effects  |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Donor<br>managed<br>project aid | • productivity of the project itself | <ul><li>know-how transfer</li><li>pilot function</li></ul>  |
|                                 |                                      | • transaction costs   |
|                                 |                                      | <ul> <li>weakening of public<br/>sector (donor-driven priority<br/>setting, poaching of recurrent<br/>resources and staff)</li> </ul> |
| Budget<br>support               | productivity of the public sector    | • enhancing public sector productivity (in combination with technical assistance, policy dialogue, smart conditionalities)            |



# 3. Learning lessons (2)

- The empirical evidence of the PD was shaky
- Recent studies showing positive results of aid in general (irrespective of the modality) have become more convincing (Clemens et al. 2012)
- There is also evidence that budget support is achieving results (Dijkstra et al. 2012)
- There is strong theoretical backing for the importance of institutions, despite
  - Skepticism about donors "playing God"
  - "Randomistas" lamenting lack of rigorous testing



# 3. Learning lessons (3)

- The collective action envisaged by the PD ignored the importance of new players
- Busan tried to get emerging donors fully on board, but failed
- It still makes sense for the "old" donors to engage in harmonisation and alignment, but their reduced leverage should be counted in



# 4. Post-Busan aid effectiveness (1)

- Differentiate between poorly performing aiddependent countries and the rest
  - The effect of aid on institution building should be a key concern in the former, but not in the latter
- In the former, it is not about budget support supplanting projects, but about a judicious combination of an array of aid modalities (portfolio approach)
  - GBS, SBS, basket funds, projects with different degrees of alignment, support of non-state actors, emergency aid,...
  - In line with programme-based approaches (SIDA) 2008)



# 4. Post-Busan aid effectiveness (2)

- Inter-donor coordination remains important even if not all donors participate
  - Achieving alignment and harmonisation at EU level would have significant impact
  - Existing multi-donors initiatives offer other clusters of alignment and harmonisation
- Intra-donor coordination is equally important
  - Reduce the proliferation of budget lines, departments, agencies, actors (including non-governmental) that do not "speak to each other"

# 4. Post-Busan aid effectiveness (3)

- Confusion about promoting development versus democracy is a major source of ineffectiveness
  - Draw inspiration from Tinbergen's Law
- Aid Transparency remains an important issue
  - Communicate & learn

#### 5. Conclusion

- The present disillusion is predictable but is unwarranted
  - Aid performance should not be judged by the unrealistic initial expectations of the PD
  - It will take a long time before results materialise, but there are sound arguments to pursue the course
- The strong PD attention to the effect of poorly coordinated aid on recipient institutions is warranted in many countries
- We do not need yet another new aid paradigm, and should instead improve and fine-tune the PD agenda, one small step at the time

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# Thank you



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