

Five years after the endorsement of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness – a landmark agreement to improve the quality and, in turn, impact of aid – has progress been made in implementing the Paris Declaration and the subsequent Accra Agenda for Action? Have donors and partner countries delivered on their commitments? How do donors and partner countries differ in their implementation of the Paris Declaration? How is progress assessed, and what are the limitations to the approach used? This chapter responds to these questions, drawing on evidence generated through the 2011 Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration and other relevant sources to offer a concise overview of the findings that are explained in more detail in subsequent chapters.

In 2005, donors and developing countries (“partner countries”) endorsed the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness – an ambitious set of commitments designed to make aid more effective for development. To what extent have they implemented these commitments? Is aid being delivered in a more effective way than five years ago? This report provides some answers to these questions.

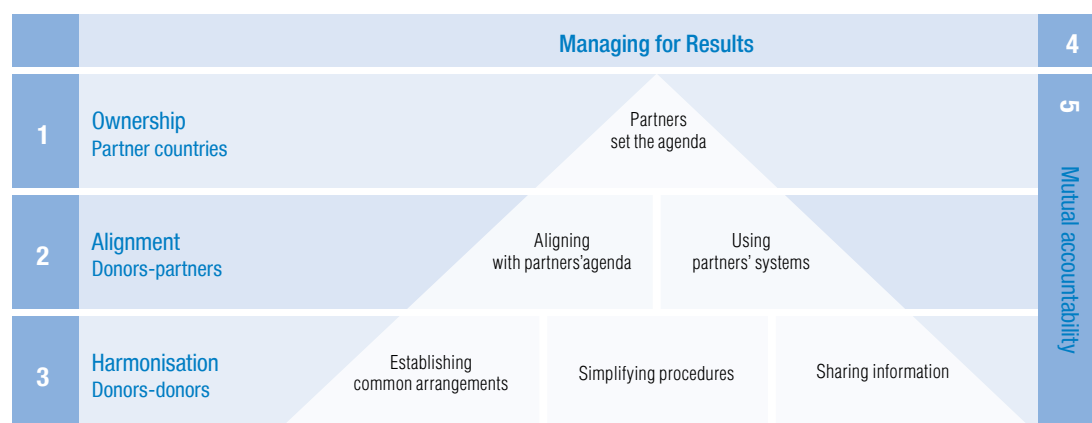
For the most part, the findings are clear: while many donors and partner country governments have made progress towards the targets that they set themselves for 2010, few of them have been met. Partner country authorities appear to have gone further in implementing their commitments under the Paris Declaration than donors, though efforts – and progress – also vary across countries and donor organisations. As the international community prepares to take stock of what has been achieved at the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (Busan, Korea, 29 November to 1 December 2011), this report sets out evidence of progress and challenges in making aid more effective, and should help to forge a consensus on the way forward in ensuring that aid supports development results beyond Busan. The Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness arrives at a crossroads in a context of development cooperation characterised by a wider range of development stakeholders. There is greater recognition that aid – and its effectiveness – are only one element of a broader landscape of development finance, and that findings relating to joint efforts to make aid more effective can and should inform a broader development effectiveness agenda going forward.

MONITORING THE PARIS DECLARATION AND ACCRA AGENDA FOR ACTION

Endorsed by donors and developing countries in 2005, the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness marked a turning point for development co-operation, recognising that significant efforts would be required by both donors and partner countries to ensure that aid is effective in helping to meet development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Paris Declaration placed an emphasis on ownership of the development agenda – and aid – by partner countries, and brought with it shared responsibilities for implementing a set of actions to strengthen ownership, alignment, harmonisation, managing for development results and mutual accountability (Figure 1.1).

Partner countries and donors agreed to hold each other accountable for making progress against agreed commitments and targets by monitoring their implementation

Figure 1.1 The Paris Declaration pyramid
Five shared principles with actions to make aid more effective



One of the distinguishing features of the Paris Declaration was the commitment by donors and partner country governments to hold each other accountable for implementing the Declaration at the country level through a set of clear indicators of progress with targets to be achieved by 2010. Building on similar surveys undertaken in 2006 and 2008, this report draws on the results of the 2011 Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration. A total of 78 partner countries and territories volunteered to participate in this round of the survey, which looks at the state of play in 2010. Between them, these countries form a broad and representative source of evidence: information relating to over USD 70 billion of aid – around three quarters of the core aid provided to developing countries worldwide – is captured in the 2011 Survey.

The partner countries and donors participating in the 2011 Survey have done so on a voluntary basis, and more countries than ever before are taking part in this unique global process. The survey is co-ordinated at the country level by partner country authorities, with the active support of donors and participation from civil society, parliamentarians and the private sector. This process recognises the importance of assessing change at the level of developing countries themselves – where aid needs to be provided and used in a way that responds to development challenges, and contributes to the sustainable and equitable development of societies and economies. Country chapters – detailing the evidence of progress and challenges for each of the 78 countries participating in the 2011 Survey – are published in Volume 2 of this report.

Each of the indicators of progress agreed in Paris is accompanied by a target for 2010 (Appendix D). Many of these targets were calculated irrespective of the number of countries participating in the survey, though in a number of cases the target depends on the baseline established by the 2006 Survey (OECD, 2006). The 32 countries that participated in both the 2006 and 2011 Surveys constitute the “baseline” group of countries and as such, are often referred to throughout in order to draw like-for-like comparisons over time. Further information on the Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration and other related initiatives is provided in Chapter 7.

Informed by the findings of the 2008 Survey (OECD, 2008) – which showed that progress towards the targets established for 2010 had been insufficient – the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) reflected a deepening of the commitments entered into in Paris. The Accra Agenda for Action sets out priorities for the implementation of the Paris Declaration, and also accords greater recognition to the role played by a broader set of stakeholders in development. This report looks at the progress made in implementing both the commitments entered into in Paris, and also many of the recommendations agreed in Accra. It continues to draw heavily on the results of the survey, but presents other relevant evidence of progress and challenges alongside the survey results. This approach to monitoring recognises that quantitative methods of assessment – involving measuring or counting progress – cannot present a complete picture of the efforts undertaken to make aid more effective.

**Table 1.1 To what extent have global targets been met?
Paris Declaration indicators and targets, 2010**

Paris Declaration Indicator	2010 Actual	2010 Target ^d	Status
1 Operational Development Strategies % of countries having a national development strategy rated "A" or "B" on a five-point scale ^a	37% (of 76)	75%	Not met
2a Reliable public financial management (PFM) systems % of countries moving up at least one measure on the PFM/CPIA scale since 2005 ^a	38% (of 52)	50%	Not met
2b Reliable procurement systems % of countries moving up at least one measure on the four-point scale since 2005	--	No Target ^c	--
3 Aid flows are aligned on national priorities % of aid for the government sector reported on the government's budget ^a	41%	85%	Not met
4 Strengthen capacity by co-ordinated support % of technical co-operation implemented through co-ordinated programmes consistent with national development strategies ^a	57%	50%	Met
5a Use of country PFM systems % of aid for the government sector using partner countries' PFM systems ^b	48%	55%	Not met
5b Use of country procurement systems % of aid for the government sector using partner countries' procurement systems	44%	No Target ^c	--
6 Strengthen capacity by avoiding parallel PIUs Total number of parallel project implementation units (PIUs) ^b	1 158	565	Not met
7 Aid is more predictable % of aid for the government sector disbursed within the fiscal year for which it was scheduled and recorded in government accounting systems ^b	43%	71%	Not met
8 Aid is untied % of aid that is fully untied ^a	86%	More than 89%	Not met
9 Use of common arrangements or procedures % of aid provided in the context of programme-based approaches ^a	45%	66%	Not met
10a Joint missions % of donor missions to the field undertaken jointly ^a	19%	40%	Not met
10b Joint country analytic work % of country analytic work undertaken jointly ^a	43%	66%	Not met
11 Results-oriented frameworks % of countries with transparent and monitorable performance assessment frameworks ^a	20% (of 44)	36%	Not met
12 Mutual accountability % of countries with mutual assessment reviews in place ^a	38%	100%	Not met

Notes:

- Assessment against 2010 target uses data for all 78 countries participating in 2011 for which data were available. Where data are available for only a subset of these countries, the sample size is indicated in brackets.
- Assessment against 2010 target uses data for the 32 countries participating in both the 2006 and 2011 Surveys, as the indicator target is formulated in relation to the 2005 baseline. Targets may differ from those published in previous years as baselines have been recalculated, omitting data from two countries (Nicaragua and Yemen) which formed part of the original panel of 34 countries participating in 2006, but which did not participate in 2011.
- No targets are presented for indicators 2b (reliable procurement systems) and 5b (use of country procurement systems) as the sample of countries for whom data on the quality of systems are available is too small to allow for meaningful analysis.
- The targets shown may differ from indicative targets published in previous years as a result of adjustments to historical data (e.g. indicator 8, where final data on tying led to adjustments to the underlying datasets after publication of reports on the previous surveys). The target for indicator 5a (use of country PFM systems) has been computed to consider the 2010 scores on the quality of PFM systems (indicator 2a), consistent with the approach agreed in the Paris Declaration and described in Chapter 3.

HAVE DONORS AND PARTNER COUNTRIES DELIVERED ON THEIR PARIS DECLARATION COMMITMENTS?

■ Donors and partner countries met 1 out of 13 global targets

Progress has been made by both donors and partner countries towards many of the targets established for 2010. Despite this, only 1 out of the 13 targets for which data were available was met at the global level (Table 1.1). The 2010 target for co-ordinated technical co-operation – a measure of the extent to which donors provide aid in support of countries' capacity development objectives in a co-ordinated way – had already been exceeded by 2007 (Chapter 4).

■ Despite setbacks, progress has been made

Although 12 of the 13 targets identified above were not met at the global level, it is important to note that considerable progress has been made towards many of them. Conversely, while the target for indicator 4 (technical co-operation) was met, only a small improvement was observed against this indicator against the 2005 baseline, and in fact this indicator showed stronger progress between the 2006 and 2008 Surveys, which has to an extent reversed since the 2008 Survey. The sample of 32 countries participating in both the baseline and 2011 surveys offers some insights into the direction and pace of change over the last five years (Figure 1.2).

For a number of commitments, progress is not measured through standard indicators. In these areas (e.g. the inclusive nature of ownership; transparency; medium-term predictability), assessments are based primarily on available secondary evidence and material of a qualitative nature.

Substantial progress

- More partner countries have **sound national development strategies** in place, and these tend to be more clearly prioritised than in 2005 (Chapter 2).
- Higher quality **results-oriented frameworks** are in place in many countries, with evidence suggesting that MDG-related statistics are becoming increasingly available at the country level (Chapter 6).

Moderate or mixed progress

- Evidence on the commitments to **broaden ownership** – including on the participation of non-state stakeholders in aid and development processes – is at best partial. Evidence gathered through the survey suggests that non-state actors are more involved in the development of national strategies in many countries. Evidence on efforts to provide an enabling environment for civil society activities suggests that challenges persist in some partner countries (Chapter 2).
- Efforts to improve support for **capacity development** have been mixed. While donors met their targets on co-ordinated technical co-operation, evidence suggests that support for capacity development efforts often remains supply-driven rather than responding to genuine needs (Chapter 2).
- Over one-third of all participating countries showed an **improvement in the quality of their public financial management systems (PFM)** over the period 2005-10 – some of them making considerable progress over this period. At the same time, a notable number of countries saw setbacks in the quality of their systems (Chapter 3).
- Donors are using partner country systems more than in 2005, but not to the extent agreed in Paris. In particular, **donors are not systematically making greater use of country systems where these are more reliable** – a finding which was highlighted by the 2008 Survey (Chapter 3). Fewer **parallel project implementation units (PIUs)** – structures set up by donors to implement aid-funded activities, and which can hinder accountability – are in place than in previous years, though progress was insufficient to meet the target (Chapter 3).
- Although donors did not make progress in **untying aid** across the sample of 78 countries participating in the 2011 Survey, good progress is being made by donors in developing individual plans to further untie aid. The proportion of aid reported as untied worldwide by DAC members has risen slightly (Chapter 3).

Global results show considerable variation in the direction and pace of progress across donors and countries

Figure 1.2 To what extent has progress been made since 2005?
Performance across 32 countries participating in both the 2006 and 2011 Surveys



– There are promising examples of efforts to improve **transparency** around aid, though there is no evidence yet on whether these efforts are leading to tangible improvements in transparency where it is needed (Chapter 5).

Little or no progress on aggregate

– **Aid for the government sector is not captured systematically in partner countries’ budgets and public accounts.** The absence of information from donors, and partner government decisions to include only some aid flows, contribute to this (Chapters 3 and 5).

– Little progress has been made towards targets on **common arrangements or procedures and joint missions and analytic works** designed to reduce the burden on partner countries of often fragmented donor processes (Chapter 4).

– **Aid fragmentation is worsening** despite some efforts to reduce it, including examples of initiatives to improve division of labour at both the country and global levels (Chapter 4).

– Progress in improving the **medium-term predictability of aid at the country level has been limited.** The communication of forward-looking indications of future aid flows to individual partner governments by donors remains isolated rather than being the norm (Chapter 5).

– While some countries are leading in the pursuit of opportunities to strengthen **mutual accountability**, including through mutual (government-donor) assessments of performance, most have yet to implement thorough review processes that benefit from broad participation. Efforts are under way in a number of countries to address this challenge (Chapter 6).

Several of the indicators for which responsibility for change lies primarily with partner country governments show important progress. For example, significant efforts – often requiring deep reforms going beyond aid management to broader aspects of government processes – have driven improvements in the quality of planning, financial, and results management tools and systems in a number of partner countries.

Significant progress can be seen against several indicators for which responsibility for change lies primarily with partner countries

While making progress against many indicators requires joint efforts on the part of both partner countries and donors, progress in some areas depends largely on donors (*e.g.* untying aid; working with other donors). The lack of progress against several of these indicators shows the need for sustained and accelerated efforts. Stakeholders at the country level frequently cite constraints imposed by donor headquarters as bottlenecks to further progress, suggesting that many of the challenges are political in their nature. This is likely to be the case for the commitments around donors’ use of country systems and untying aid, for example (Chapter 3).

HOW DO COUNTRIES DIFFER IN THEIR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS DECLARATION?

For international aid efforts to have an impact on the lives of poor people, they need to result in tangible changes in the way in which aid is provided and used in developing countries, and in turn on the results that they help achieve. While global headline figures are useful in understanding the overall direction of progress since 2005, they hide considerable variations in progress across countries. Just as some countries met many of the targets, others fared worse than the global average. Although the Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration does not aim to provide a basis for robust comparative analysis, it is possible to identify from the evidence available – in a preliminary way – some of the main differences between different types of countries.

■ Fragile states and situations

Fragile and conflict-affected states present very specific challenges. In view of this, donors from OECD countries committed in April 2007 to ten Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations (OECD, 2007). The principles go beyond development co-operation to consider other aspects of international support in these settings (peacebuilding, statebuilding, security and peacekeeping, and whole-of-government approaches), and reflect a growing consensus that fragile states require responses that are different to those needed in better performing countries. Through the Accra Agenda for Action, donors and partner countries committed to monitor the implementation of the Fragile States

Box 1.1 Progress in the implementation of the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations

A survey of 13 countries shows that making progress against the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations has been particularly challenging. The engagement of international stakeholders is assessed as being partly or fully off-track for eight out of the ten principles.

Level of implementation	Broadly on-track	6. Promote non-discrimination as a basis for inclusive and stable societies
	Partly on-track	7. Align with local priorities in different ways in different contexts
	Partly off-track	1. Take control as the starting point 3. Focus on statebuilding as the central objective 4. Prioritise prevention 5. Recognise the links between political, security and development objectives
	Off-track	2. Do no harm 8. Agree on practical co-ordination mechanisms between international actors 9. Act fast...but stay engaged long enough to give success a chance 10. Avoid pockets of exclusion

LEGEND

Broadly on-track: Good progress in implementation of the Fragile States Principles

Partly on-track: Commitment and some progress in implementation

Partly off-track: Commitment but implementation is insufficient

Off-track: Limited commitment and poor to non-existent implementation

This overview of the situation hides variations in the state of implementation across the thirteen participating countries, although as the detailed findings set out in OECD (2011) show, most of the countries share a range of common challenges to improving international engagement.

Three main conclusions emerge from the Survey on Monitoring the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations. First, donor commitments to improve the quality of engagement in fragile states and situations need to be followed through with sustained efforts to reform policies and practices, ensuring that they can respond more rapidly and with flexibility to the needs of states emerging from conflict or in situations of fragility. Second, the evidence suggests that existing frameworks at both global and country levels (e.g. the MDGs; poverty reduction strategies) do not provide an adequate framework within which to address the challenges faced by conflict-affected and fragile states. The political realities of fragile states need to be better recognised, and development outcomes, priorities and results defined in more appropriate ways both locally and globally. Finally, while the principles are viewed primarily as a donor-led framework for engagement, the survey has highlighted the existence of opportunities for donors and partner countries to negotiate – at the country level – joint accountability frameworks. Such approaches could help to better prioritise peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts, to facilitate improved and more co-ordinated financing of activities across development and humanitarian programmes, and to allow stakeholders at the country level to define jointly how international engagement can be improved.

Source: OECD (2011).

Fragile and conflict-affected states present specific challenges

Principles on a voluntary basis. In 2011, this monitoring was carried out through a dedicated Survey on Monitoring the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations, which was combined with the Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration in 12 out of the 13 fragile states taking part (Chapter 7). Box 1.1 offers an overview of findings.

The Paris Declaration's indicators of progress complement the broader findings on the effectiveness of international engagement in the 12 countries that participated in both surveys, offering insights into some of the challenges to effective aid:

- The quality of national development strategies (indicator 1) and results-oriented frameworks (indicator 11) remains low in these countries, with only one country considered to have an operational development strategy in 2010, and most of the countries being assigned low scores for the quality of results-oriented frameworks.

- Both the quality and use of country public financial management systems remains challenging in the countries that participated in the Fragile States Survey. Four of the nine countries for which historical data were available improved their scores on indicator 2a (reliable PFM systems) over the period 2005-10 by at least one measure on the PFM/CPIA scale. But average scores across this group tend to be lower than across the full set of 78 countries participating in the 2011 Survey. Donors' use of partner countries' PFM systems in these countries is also – on average – lower than in the larger group of 78 countries.

- Survey data suggest that donors make less use of existing structures, and limited use of programme-based approaches, in the delivery of aid to the countries participating in the Fragile States Survey. Between them, donors made use of an average of 11 parallel PIUs (indicator 6) for every USD 100 million in aid disbursed for the government sector in these countries, compared with a global average of 4 parallel PIUs per USD 100 million of disbursed aid across all 78 countries that participated in the 2011 Survey. Indicator 9 (use of common arrangements and procedures) also suggests that aid in the

countries participating in the Fragile States Survey is less likely to be provided through programme-based approaches in these countries.

- Only one of the countries participating in the Fragile States Survey reported having in place a mechanism for the mutual review of performance in implementing commitments that met the criteria associated with indicator 12 (mutual accountability).

■ Middle-income countries

While most of the 34 countries participating in the 2006 baseline Survey were least-developed countries (LDCs), subsequent surveys – bringing together evidence from a larger number of countries – have included more middle-income countries (MICs). Middle-income countries – although usually less dependent on aid than others – display a unique set of characteristics, and the 2011 Survey shows a number of interesting findings:

- While donors made slight progress in untying their aid to LDCs and heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC), tying remains a persistent feature of aid to many middle income countries (Chapter 3).

- Use of country systems by donors varies considerably across MICs, with some countries reporting relatively high use of country PFM and procurement systems by donors (*e.g.* Indonesia) while very limited use of these systems is made in others (*e.g.* Colombia). There is no clear relationship between the quality of systems and their use by donors in MICs.

- Discussions in some MICs (*e.g.* Morocco) point to the very different planning and policy-making processes in place in these countries. For example, comprehensive national development strategies of the sorts used in most low income countries (*e.g.* poverty reduction strategy papers – which were often developed as a condition for debt relief) are not always the norm in MICs.

HOW DO DONORS DIFFER IN THEIR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS DECLARATION?

Just as the results of the 2011 Survey show important variations in the direction and pace of progress in the implementation of the Paris Declaration across partner countries, the degree of progress – and the starting points – of different donors also vary. While the nature of the survey process means that there are limits to the sorts of comparisons that can be drawn across donor organisations, the data offer some broad insights into both the progress made and challenges faced by different donors as they have sought to implement their Paris and Accra commitments:¹

- Despite notable differences across donors, many have made progress in aligning their aid with partner countries' systems. Data from the 2011 Survey suggest that aid channelled through multilateral organisations makes greater use of partner country PFM and procurement systems (Chapter 3). This may in part reflect efforts the use of multilateral channels by bilateral donors at the country level.

- Making progress towards untying aid remains largely a challenge for bilateral donors. Four DAC donors reported 100% of bilateral aid in 2009 to the countries participating in the 2011 survey as untied. Three DAC donors increased their share of untied aid to the countries participating in the survey by ten percentage points or more over the period 2005-09, while four saw their shares of untied aid to these countries decline by ten percentage points or more over the same period (Chapter 3).

- While progress towards most of the indicators on harmonisation has been slow, some variation across types of donors is identified in – for example – the use of programme-based approaches (Chapter 4). It is difficult to draw robust comparisons across donors in this area as countries and thematic areas of intervention vary across donors.

- Improving the medium-term predictability of aid appears to be a particular challenge for a number of bilateral donors. While a number of donors have multi-year programming frameworks in place, and some are able to provide indications of future aid flows on a rolling basis, many bilateral donors remain constrained by annual budgeting processes.

Multilateral organisations are usually able to provide information on indicative future spending, though such plans tend to be limited to the duration of their replenishment cycles (Chapter 5).

- Although the evidence on the role of emerging donors and providers of south-south co-operation gathered through the Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration is limited, this report draws on other evidence where appropriate to examine the role of a broader set of actors. For example, the particular roles that south-south and triangular co-operation can play in supporting capacity development are highlighted (Chapter 2). The 2011 Survey saw a modest increase in the number of non-DAC providers of assistance participating in the process and providing information on development co-operation in some partner countries.

LIMITATIONS TO THE ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS

The Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration provides a mechanism to support global and country-level accountability and learning to help make aid more effective. While several countries and organisations have built on the global process to deepen their assessments at the country, donor or sector level (Chapter 7), the global process does not aim to offer a complete picture of progress and challenges in making aid more effective. Its main purpose is to provide conclusions on whether the *commitments* entered into in Paris and Accra have been implemented, and if so, to what extent. It does not consider the *relevance* of the commitments for development in any detail, nor the *causes* of the progress or setbacks observed. Where the evidence gathered supports this, examples and possible explanations for the trends observed are presented to inform further discussion. Rather than offering a complete picture of progress over time, the surveys offer three snapshots – with unequal coverage of countries – over a five-year period.

The indicators of progress and associated targets were agreed between donors and partner countries in 2005, and are proxies for assessing progress around the five principles agreed in Paris (Figure 1.1).

Comparison is limited given that countries and areas of intervention vary across donors

This means that they are indirect – or intermediate – measures of progress, and they do not capture the full range and depth of the principles and actions agreed in the Paris Declaration. Some of them bring inevitable methodological shortcomings, and where specific challenges to the accuracy of data or the methodology are known, efforts are made to identify these in the explanations provided. It is possible that in some cases, stakeholders at the country level have interpreted definitions and criteria slightly differently in the 2006, 2008 and 2011 Surveys. Feedback from some countries suggests that national co-ordinators may have been more experienced and increasingly willing to hold donors to account for accurate reporting against agreed criteria and definitions in 2011 – a positive feature that helps strengthen accountability and improve the quality of the evidence generated.

While the indicators themselves offer a partial picture of progress, there is also a risk that they might in their own right drive efforts to implement the Paris Declaration too rigidly – focusing too narrowly on the attainment of targets and crowding out opportunities for innovation and adaptation to context and real development needs. As a result, this report draws on a broader range of evidence – including feedback of a qualitative nature gathered through the survey – and also other sources, including case study evidence, thematic assessments and other evidence generated through reliable means. This is also the case for the assessment of commitments and actions that are not captured by the indicators, but are nevertheless relevant to the full implementation of the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action. The findings of the in-depth Survey on the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations further enrich the evidence base.

NOTES

1. While the Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration is designed to facilitate the tracking of progress across a group of partner countries over time, producing consistent and comparable assessments of progress for individual donors at the global level is more challenging, as the country contexts within which different donors provide aid are often diverse and the coverage of data individual donors' aid programmes can vary significantly across successive surveys. Furthermore, because donors report on aid activities at the "point of delivery", the indicator values of individual donors may understate efforts – for example, where the donor has provided more aid through delegated co-operation arrangements, or joint funding mechanisms managed by other donors at the country level. The tables provided in Appendix C provide detailed information on many of the donors participating in the 2011 Survey, including estimates of survey coverage and indicative targets that offer insights into the contribution of individual donors to the achievement of global progress shown by the indicators.

REFERENCES

OECD (2006), *2006 Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration*, OECD, Paris.

OECD (2007), *Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations*, OECD, Paris.

OECD (2008), *2008 Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration: Making Aid More Effective by 2010*, OECD, Paris.

OECD (2011), *2011 Report on International Engagement in Fragile States: Can't We Do Better?*, OECD, Paris.