

Budget Support and Aid Effectiveness: Experience in East Asia*

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Budget support has attracted great attention as a new aid modality for achieving the Millennium Development Goals and for increasing the effectiveness of aid.¹ In Africa in particular, aid efforts have been highly fragmented, with donor-driven approaches imposing a considerable burden on the administrative resources of partner countries (Johnston and Manning 2005) :

Today there are more than 60,000 aid projects underway in the developing world, often with different administrative procedures set up by the donors. 85 percent of these projects cost less than \$1 million. This places a heavy burden on poor countries that lack the administrative capacity to handle these demands, and does not help them build their own systems. So when the project ends, the results are often not sustained.

A conservative estimate for a typical African country is that this way of delivering aid translates into thousands of new reports and more than a thousand new annual missions to appraise, monitor and evaluate. Each mission asks to meet with key officials, and each will ask the government to comment on its reports. Strong evidence supports that these donor-driven approaches are one of the reasons development assistance has been under-performing.

Such fragmentation may not apply to aid to East Asia, where attempts are being made to enhance aid effectiveness by linking assistance for individual projects, fostering ownership by partner countries, and not merely offering aid but collaborating in foreign direct investments and private funds.

This paper reviews efforts by the Japanese government (GoJ) and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) in East Asia, especially in Vietnam, as examples of such attempts, and draws out their practical and policy implications. East Asia provides an aid model that is characterized by harmonization processes within the donor community and respect for ownership by the governments of partner countries. The goal is both to enhance and extend the partner country's capacity for system operation through official development assistance for projects and to apply policy leverage through program assistance in the form of budget support and poverty reduction support credits. Section A of the paper defines the terms used, Section B looks at the role played by budget support in Africa and East Asia, and Section C describes efforts being made to coordinate and harmonize aid in Vietnam and the Philippines. Section D concludes, drawing general lessons and some implications for aid to African countries.

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1 This interest arose out of the discussions of the late 1990s on aid effectiveness, which in turn arose from several different perspectives, including (1) the argument that aid works in a good policy environment, (2) greater focus and linkage between debt relief (HIPC Initiative) and poverty reduction (poverty reduction strategy papers), such as allocation of HIPC relief funds to pro-poor expenditures, (3) greater focus on aid that supports effective processes based on the recipient country environment, (4) greater focus on aid effectiveness (ownership, alignment, harmonization etc. and the trend towards SWAs, Program Based Approaches (PBAs), and (5) volume of aid to meet the Millennium Development Goals.

A. Definitions

At the outset some terms must be clearly defined. First, the characteristics of bilateral aid are defined by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) as follows (OECD/DAC 2004: 40) :

- *Project support* tends to identify a manageable set of problems and prescribe the inputs needed to foster local development. To contribute more significantly to poverty reduction, projects should be situated within the broader development framework, address the multiple concerns of the poor, and strengthen the capacities of the poor to achieve sustainable livelihoods.
- *Sector support* or sector-wide approaches (SWAs) contribute, under partner government leadership, towards a single sector policy and expenditure program and should, where possible, use common management and reporting procedures to disburse and account

for all funds. Sector programs imply a different approach to aid management calling for greater modesty, an acceptance of a slow process of change, and partnership building.

- *Program aid* consists of financial contributions, not linked to specific project activities, that are extended to a partner country for general development purposes, such as balance of payments support or general budget support. Program aid is often associated with the promotion of policy reforms at the macroeconomic level and/or in specific sectors.

The official development assistance (ODA) modalities specified by DAC are described in Table 1. below:

The Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) makes several types of ODA loans, both project-type loans and sector-targeted or program-based loans. (Table 2.) To maximize the effectiveness of its assistance, JBIC also has a technical assistance facility to complement project management efforts.

Table 1. Modalities for Official Development Assistance

Project Assistance	
Program assistance	
General program assistance	Program assistance made available to a developing country, without specific sector allocation, for development purposes, i.e. balance-of-payments financing, general budget support and commodity assistance. (cf. structural adjustment loans with World Bank/IMF)
Sector program assistance	Program assistance directed to a specific economic or social sector, such as agriculture, education, community development, and transport.
Program food aid	
Debt relief	

Source: OECD(1992).

Table 2. Types of Official Development Assistance Loans from Japan Bank for International Cooperation

OECD/DAC Categorization	JBIC Loan Types
Project assistance	Project loans
	Engineering service loans
	Financial intermediary loans (two-step loans)
Program assistance	Structural adjustment loans
	Commodity loans
	Sector program loans
Debt relief	

Source: <http://www.jbic.go.jp/english/oec/yenloan/kind/index.php>

Highly concessional ODA loans have four advantages for enhancing aid effectiveness (Ojima 2004) :

- *Sustainability*: they can create incentives for appropriate aid management as they foster cost recovery mechanisms within the partner country government.
- *Continuity*: they support the seamless transformation of an economy from dependence on aid (100 percent grants) to dependence on the financial market (100 percent private funding).
- *Stability*: those that are based on large multi-year commitments can mitigate the volatility and unpredictability of aid funds, helping to stabilize the partner government's budget process.
- *Ownership*: they can foster the ownership of the partner government, because each project is officially screened for its consistency with the government's policy.

With these advantages, even project assistance can exert effective policy leverage at the project implementation level.

B. Roles of Budget Support

We can identify differences between the roles and significance of budget support in Africa and those in East Asia.

The *Joint Evaluation of General Budget Support* (DFID 2005), in which the Japanese Government and JBIC participate, defines budget support as follows:

- *Budget support* is channeled directly to partner governments using their own allocation, procurement, and accounting systems, and is not linked to specific project activities. All types of budget support include a lump sum transfer of foreign exchange; differences then arise on the extent of earmarking and on the levels and focus of the policy dialogue and conditionality.

- *Sector budget support* is distinguished from *general budget support* by being earmarked for a discrete sector or sectors, with any conditionality relating to these sectors. Additional sector reporting may augment normal government accounting, although the means of disbursement is also based upon government procedures.

The roles and practices expected of budget support are specified by the Development Assistance Committee as follows (OECD/DAC 2005):

- *Budget support should reinforce partner countries' ownership.* When providing fungible resources in the form of budget support, donors should support a partner country's overall development policies and priorities. While this requirement raises a justifiable need to discuss budgetary goals (and related funds-allocation decisions) with the partner government, sustained policy implementation ultimately depends upon strong political commitment. Budget support should therefore not attempt to leverage policy actions where such commitment does not exist.
- *Budget support should help to enhance the performance and accountability of partner countries' public financial management (PFM) systems.* Budget support provides donors with a legitimate interest in strengthening the PFM systems through which their funds are spent. For both developmental and fiduciary reasons, donors should use the provision of budget support to foster the improvement of partners' PFM systems, including transparency and accountability to their legislatures and civil society at large.
- *Transaction costs incurred by budget support should be minimized.* Channeling budget support through national procedures is a way to reduce transaction costs. Additional transaction costs associated with budget support, such as those incurred through multiple and large-scale PFM assessments, should be kept to a minimum.

► *Budget support should be delivered in a way that enhances the predictability of resources and reduces their volatility.* When planning their budgets, partner countries' authorities should be able to count on reliable estimates of the amount of budget support, the timing of its disbursement, and clear conditions for its release. Predictability is an important requirement for partner countries' budgetary authorities, particularly with respect to the short-term disbursements of committed aid and the early commitment of future aid flows in the medium term. Higher predictability, and lower volatility, facilitates the implementation of policies geared towards macroeconomic stabilization, the design (and implementation) of medium-term expenditure frameworks (MTEFs), the strategic allocations of funds across policy priorities, and the rational choice of the most cost-effective financing strategies. However, experience shows that the actual timing and size of budget support commitments and disbursements are variable. While this may be partly due to partner countries' behavior, donors should seek to eliminate the sources of volatility that are under their control.

The question arises whether budget support is a panacea to any country or not. We look at the experience of two countries, Tanzania and Vietnam, to compare the different roles that budget support assistance has played.

In Tanzania in 2003, aid accounted for 75 percent of government spending, about 14 percent of GDP, and more than 80 percent of investment (Ohno and Niiya 2005). Tanzania has received debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, and thus efficient aid management is a critical component of its fiscal management. Private sector finance is still only a small share of Tanzania's economy.

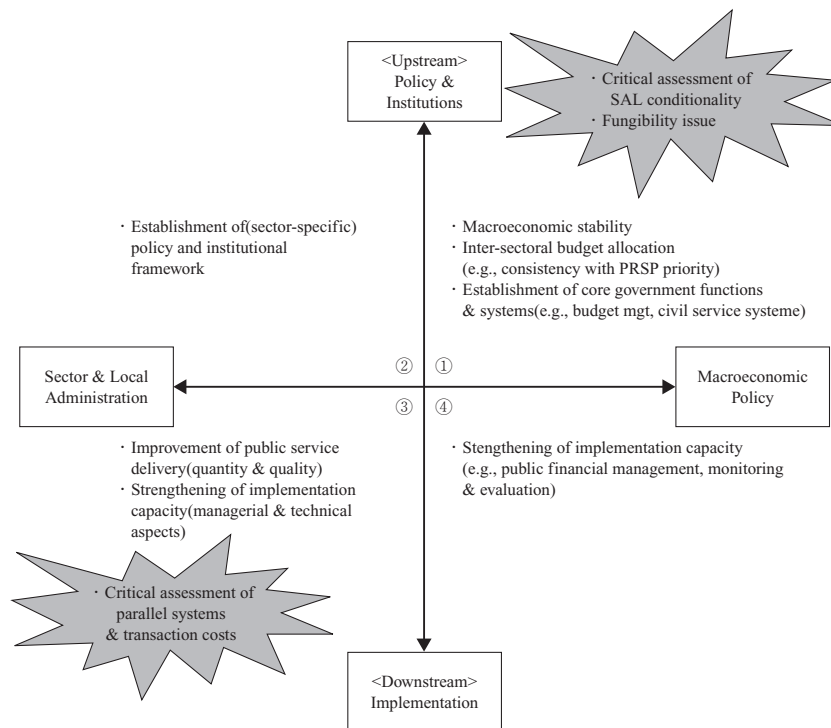
Though historically stand-alone/off-budget/in-kind assistance prevailed, Tanzania's approach since the introduction of the national poverty reduction strategy has been to (1) channel aid in

accordance with the priorities outlined in the poverty reduction strategy paper; (2) harmonize donor procedures with its own government systems; and (3) channel aid increasingly through program aid, particularly general budget support (Ohno and Niiya 2005). Now Tanzania is often cited as a model of donor-government partnership. The important characteristic of general budget support in Tanzania is that it supports the government's budget implementation process directly, along with sector-wide approaches (SWAs) in important social sector programs.

In Vietnam we see a different picture. Aid in 2003 accounted for about 18 percent of government spending, about 5 percent of GDP, and about 15 percent of investment. Vietnam has not applied for HIPC debt relief. Private sector finance plays an important role in the country's economy, and private sector development is the priority agenda for the transition to a market economy. A specific line ministry coordinates the overall development budget, and thus development planning, promotion of foreign direct investment, and aid coordination is led by strong government ownership. Three fourths of the total aid to Vietnam comes from the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and GoJ/ JBIC, and since large-scale project assistance constitutes a major share of aid, procedural harmonization among donors has advanced and transaction costs are relatively low. Project assistance dominates Vietnam's development effort, and budget support functions as a complementary tool to disseminate and replicate concrete outcomes from individual project assistance towards the achievement of growth-oriented structural reform processes (Ohno and Niiya 2005).

The above comparison shows that the role and significance of budget support differs between Tanzania and Vietnam because of the differences between two countries' development agendas, including foreign aid management reflecting their aid dependency. It is also important to note that in Vietnam the Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy (CPRGS) is growth-oriented

Figure 1. Development Policy Matrix



Source: Ohno and Niiya (2005).

(Ohno 2002), and thus the country’s development agenda and programs have been supplemented with budget support.²

How can a country efficiently and effectively use the various aid modalities, including budget support, to address its development agenda? Ohno and Niiya (2005) developed a development policy matrix as a tool for specifying the relationships between aid modalities and development agendas (Figure 1). The matrix can indicate the position of certain project or a program on the Y-axis, representing policy and institutional level vs. project implementation level, as well as on the X-axis, representing macroeconomic policy vs. sector and local administration.

C. Aid Coordination and Harmonization in Vietnam and the Philippines

This section describes the latest results of aid coordination and harmonization in Vietnam and

the Philippines mainly from the viewpoint of GoJ/ JBIC, before offering an analysis of JBIC assistance to Vietnam using the matrix in Figure 1.

Vietnam

Box 1 outlines the chronological efforts to harmonize aid and enhance its effectiveness in Vietnam, in association with the commitment of GoJ/ JBIC to the Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy development process.

Box 1. Aid Enhancement Efforts in Vietnam

Before May 2002

Vietnam requested harmonization through Joint Portfolio Performance Review (JPPR), separately from international discussions.

May 2002 (Interim Consultative Group) to February 2003 (Rome Declaration)

2 A comparative study between Ghana and Vietnam (Ozeki 2004) suggests similar observations.

In the wake of an approach by the World Bank, three banks (World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and JBIC) agreed on the three areas of procurement, financial management, and environment in the harmonization action plan.

February 2003 (Rome Declaration) to December 2003 (Harmonization Action Plan)

Two more banks, Agence Francaise de Developpement (AFD) and Kreditanstalt fur Wiederaufbau (KfW), joined the project in May 2003. JPPR was implemented.

During this period, an initiative for harmonization was developed throughout Vietnam. Vietnam proposed the issues of harmonizing harmonization and aid modalities (including financial aid and migration to sector-wide approaches).

December 2003 to February 2005

Group on Aid Effectiveness (GAE) was established.

Based on the experience of the five banks, in procurement, for instance, JBIC presented the view that harmonization only among donor countries or harmonization of ODA-related projects would not lead to solutions, but that it is much more essential to improve public investment systems developed by the governments of partner countries. (If they were improved, donor countries would be able to fully utilize the systems of the partner country.) The issue of country systems presented by the World Bank and the importance of building capacity were integrated.

A mutual understanding between Vietnam and donors was promoted from the view that improvement in overall management of development funds would be necessary and that utilization of country systems would not be viable without capacity building.

The Vietnamese Government identified two main headings and contents of activities of local projects in Vietnam:

- Reinforcement of procurement systems →

capacity building

- Intensification of public financial management (PFM) → development of MTEF, PFM Intensification Project, integration of reporting systems for ODA projects.

GoJ/ JBIC efforts to PRSC3 assistance can be summarized as follows:

- *Focus on public expenditure management and improvement of business and investment environments:* The proposals by Japan were reflected in the policy matrix. The *Japan - Vietnam Joint Initiative Action Plan* was reflected in the matrix for improvement of business and investment environments in April 2003.
- *Improvement of business and investment environments:* This was based on the awareness of the problem that foreign capital investments were not advanced, due to regulations regarding foreign capital, flaws in fundamental rules and administration, lack of support industries, and other underdevelopment factors in the investment environment.
- *Public spending management:* For implementation of individual infrastructure development and enhancement of public spending efficiency, pursuit of consistency between investment budget and ordinary budget, appropriate examination of public investment programs, and establishment of evaluation frameworks were included as future tasks. The chapter for the roles of large-scale infrastructure in poverty reduction was added to the Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy as proposed by GoJ/JBIC.

The five banks' initiative described in Box 1. was primarily launched on the assumption that harmonization (integration of the five banks' systems with the country systems of Vietnam) for financial management and safeguard policies could be realized first at the project level.

The prime example of accelerating policy reform through individual projects under the five banks' initiative was the improvement of public procurement systems. Vietnam's donor countries accepted, with certain conditions, the draft standard documents for local competitive bidding (LCB) that had been prepared under the current framework (Procurement Ordinance #88/66) for the procurement reforms initiated by the Vietnamese government. At the same time, as discussions were in progress on redrafting the LCB standard documents for use in the country's overall procurement system, the five banks also continuously sought improvement (from a medium-term perspective) in the course of developing the government's new procurement ordinance. The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) also contributed significant technical assistance for capacity building in public expenditure management. This was a notable collaborative contribution by GoJ as a whole, in addition to the harmonization process among the donor community.

The Philippines

Box 2. outlines the efforts for harmonization and enhancement of aid effectiveness in the Philippines.

Box 2. Aid Enhancement Efforts in the Philippines

Aid coordination and harmonization efforts have strengthened since 2002, and are ongoing.

Reinforcement of public procurement systems through individual projects.

- More than two years of intensive policy dialogue to start up the Procurement Harmonization Program.
- Harmonized standard bidding documents for national competitive bidding for works, goods, and consulting services are now being used.

Intensifying financial management through individual projects.

- The three banks' (World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and JBIC) initiative has led to harmonized drafts of (1) private auditor's terms of reference, (2) auditor's qualification questionnaire, (3) executing agency's qualification questionnaire, and (4) financial management reports by executing agencies.

Support to Commission on Audit for implementation of new government accounting system.

Findings and Lessons

The above comparison yields two major findings:

- The experiences at the project level have led to capacity building and the establishment of comprehensive country systems at the national level.
- Standardizing the use of country systems in the implementation of ODA projects have created incentives to implement necessary policy reforms under the budget support framework.

These findings suggest four lessons with regard to enhancing aid effectiveness through harmonization:

Importance of short-term outcomes

- Prompt production of tangible outcomes in the short term is important because it will encourage both partner countries and donors to make progress toward harmonization.
- To this end, donors should harmonize those of their methods and processes that differ unnecessarily. Also, harmonization and simplification should be implemented at an early stage in the areas where both donors and partner countries can implement harmonization and simplification easily and effectively reduce administrative costs.

Cost of harmonization

- Because harmonization requires coordination among different organizations within both the donor and partner countries, it tends to raise administrative costs. Therefore, the efficient and cost-effective processing of harmonization is critical.

Areas of harmonization

- While procedures must be simplified to reduce partner countries' administrative costs and harmonize aid, safeguard policies and transparency must meet international standards. The task is to provide a method to fulfill these two requirements simultaneously. But the areas where both are easily fulfilled are limited.

Consistency with partner country systems

- Adoption of higher standards for ODA-funded activities than those for domestic operations is not always sustainable.
- Harmonization in ODA may enhance operational efficiency and reduce processing costs, but entrenched differences in rules and methods between domestic operations and ODA operations may push up the administrative costs

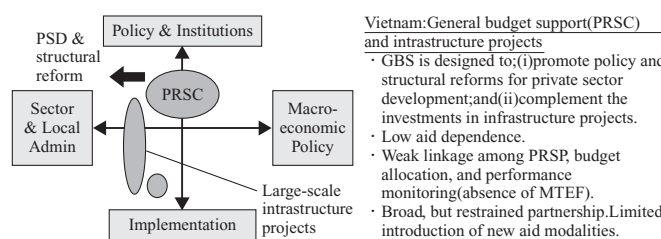
of the partner countries.

As regards the selection of aid modalities and the need to control administrative costs, GoJ/ JBIC's harmonization experience suggests the importance of the following (Ohno and Niiya 2005) :

- country-specific approaches that respect the ownership and leadership of the partner country;
- respect for the diversity of aid modalities;
- respect for capacity building and participation of civil societies; and
- no *a priori* preference for specific modalities.

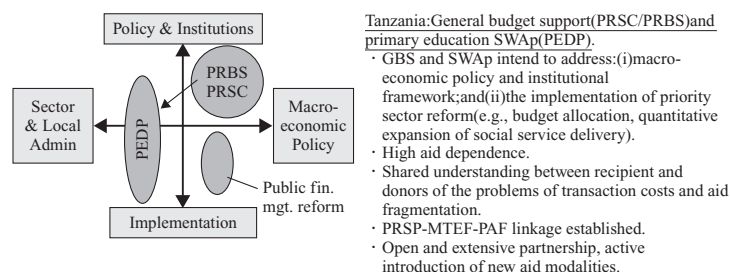
In Vietnam, budget support (in the form of poverty reduction support credits) significantly affects policies and systems, and individual infrastructure projects also affect policies and systems through project implementation (Figure 2.) In addition, the conditions attached to budget support affect the mobilization of private resources for each sector and the structural reforms of the financial sector.

Figure 2. Vietnam: Effects of different aid modalities on policies and systems



Source: Ohno and Niiya (2005).

Figure 3. Tanzania: Effects of different aid modalities on policies and systems



Source: Ohno and Niiya (2005).

Vietnam's experience also shows that project assistance and budget support (PRSCs) can complement each other. While PRSCs support the improvement of institutional frameworks, project loans provide replicability at the micro level to individual projects.

In this context, one could argue that JBIC's ODA loans incur extensive transaction cost considering the average project scale which is quite large in both physical and nominal terms. Nevertheless, the costs of learning-by-doing should be regarded as constructive investment costs in human resources. Needless to say, however, minimizing any administrative costs of JBIC's projects is important in general.

In Tanzania, priority is placed on general budget support and pooled finance. In this case, project assistance (small scale) has comparative advantage, as long as such assistance is on budget and therefore aligned to Tanzania's development strategies (Figure 3.).

D. Conclusion and Implications for Future Assistance to Africa

From Projects to National Level

The experience in East Asia emphasizes the need for:

- A balanced response to conflicting demands, such as simplification of ODA project procedures and introduction of international standards for improvement of transparency.
- Strong respect for ownership by the governments of partner countries.

Both of the above lessons have been applied in JBIC's ODA lending at the project level. The experience suggests that ODA loans will lead to capacity building at the national level as well as to the establishment of comprehensive country systems. Standardizing the use of the country system through the implementation of projects will automatically provide an incentive to partner

country governments to accelerate the reforms that they encourage through budget support.

The harmonization process in East Asia does not merely seek efficiency in ODA projects and speed in ODA disbursements. It has also been implemented to assist the capacity development of partner countries, for example improving the overall public expenditure system and replicating the best practices learned under ODA projects.

As seen from the examples above, "good projects" are premised on respect for ownership by the governments of the partner countries; consistency with the development plans of the countries and their domestic projects; investment/maintenance costs that are within-budget; and effective replication of institution building. The effects expected from these "good projects" may be similar to the four effects expected from budget support that were outlined above (OECD/DAC 2005). JBIC considers that budget support can be an effective tool for supporting such "good projects."

Therefore, a comparison between preferable characteristics of budget support and JBIC's modality of assistance through project type loans and program-based loans can be summarized as in Table 3.

Swift transfer of aid resources from donors to partner countries is not a sufficient condition for enhancing aid effectiveness. As long as the ODA funds transferred are converted into services and delivered to the beneficiaries through the public expenditure system of the partner countries, the efficiency of the entire public disbursement system of the partner countries may be more important than the facilitation of fund transfers to the partner countries.

From a mid- and long-term perspective, donors should support the development of human resources and institutional capacity in the partner countries and encourage the greater use of countries' own systems in channeling ODA.

Table 3. Achieving the Goals of Budget Support through Project and Program Lending

Preferable Characteristics of Budget Support	JBIC's Assistance in East Asia (Project Loans and Program Loans)
▶ On budget; partner country's ownership	✓ Yes (single line ministry, relatively small number of major donors)
▶ Alignment to partner country's policy and practice	✓ Yes (PRSP, programmatic approach, use of improved country systems)
▶ Enhance the performance and accountability of partner country's public financial management systems	✓ Yes (harmonization among donors, use of improved country systems)
▶ Reduced transaction cost	✓ Yes (harmonization among donors; use of improved country systems)
▶ Predictability of aid	✓ Yes (multi-year commitment and disbursement)

These processes should be implemented at a pace appropriate to the administrative or social capacity of the partner countries, according to their degree of ownership.

Need for Customization of Project and Program Assistance

No single model exists for enhancing aid effectiveness. A major premise is that aid should respond to local characteristics, historical politics/economics/social structure, donor structure, and the historical reality of aid acceptance. Based on these features, it is important to improve the budget expenditure system, which enables efficient distribution of aid funds, so as to engender synergy through the effective use of aid modalities.

Implications for Future Assistance to Africa: The Way Forward

What does East Asia's experience imply for future assistance to Africa?

The choice and sequencing of aid modalities should cater to the country's priority development agenda. The significance and appropriateness of budget support to Africa should be assessed based on political/economical/social conditions and the environment that is fostered by the use of country-by-country approaches. Development will be a mid- and long-term continuous process involving economic and social changes in the partner countries. Thus, it will be essential to

respond from a mid- and long-term perspective, based on changes in development needs of the partner countries.

Facilitation of fund transfer mechanisms is necessary but not sufficient for aid effectiveness. Ways should be explored to improve the overall public expenditure system (planning system, procurement system, integration of capital expenditure and current expenditure, project evaluation and selection, budget management, individual project management). Experience with the use of various frameworks such as poverty reduction support credits, portfolio performance review, and harmonization of procurement procedure can be applied.

Development is not a linear process from aid dependence to dependence on the market. The viewpoint that the ultimate goal is to free the partner country of dependence on aid is an important one, and very relevant in the ongoing debate on budget support and aid modalities. And the extent to which the priority problems of partner country governments can successfully be addressed by public expenditures and policies (such as primary education and health issues), rather than by private sector activities, is a critical point to begin with. Pro-poor growth requires growth promotion and development of private agriculture, industry, and business, for which both public actions and the behavior of private agents such as firms and farmers matter. The importance of economic growth through private sector development cannot be overemphasized.

Moreover, to foster productivity and thereby accomplish the MDGs and alleviate poverty in Africa, the creation of network infrastructure, agricultural development, private sector development, and improvement in the investment environment are critical.

In this connection, the Strategic Framework for Assistance to Africa of the World Bank/IDA (Figure 4.) is promising for identifying “good projects” in future assistance to Africa. It is based on the premise of various aid modalities dependent on the partner country policy/system, and reflects lessons from past assistance for structural adjustment.

An efficient aid environment needs to be built to promote “good projects” recognizing that private sector development and investment need to play a key role. The weight of each aid modality will also naturally change depending on country circumstances.

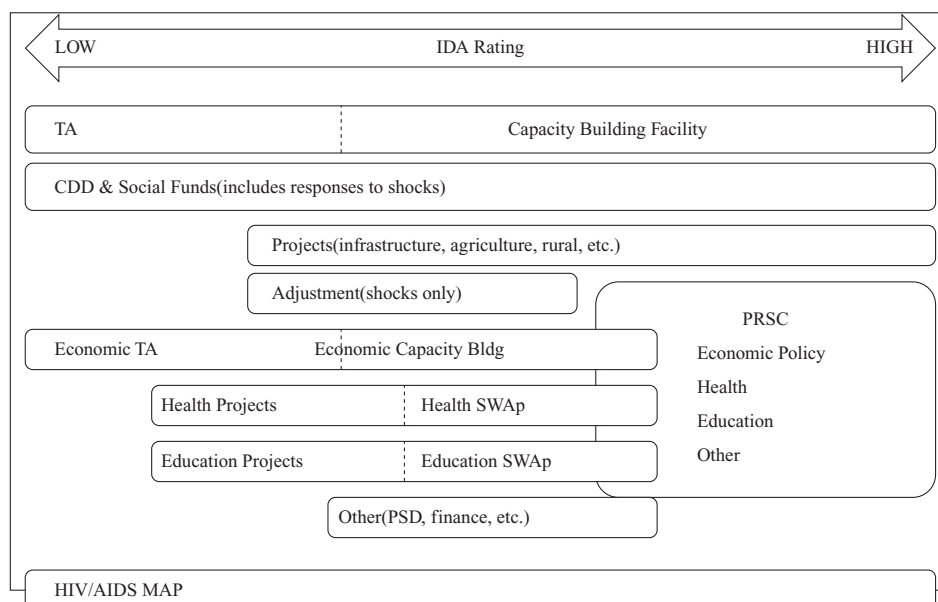
For Tanzania as seen above, the Japanese government and JICA, have been providing assistance to the first-generation Poverty Reduction Budget Support (PRBS) process with

a combination of approaches according to the progress of its funding, i.e. participation in forming a poverty reduction strategy system to execute the PRBS, and a sector-wide approach to aid in the agricultural sector. Now the Tanzanian government and donors (including Japan) are in the process of establishing a second-generation PRBS framework which puts more emphasis on growth aspects. This process clearly shows a transitory process whereby the first-generation PRBS (social sector oriented) is transformed into the second-generation PRBS (growth oriented) in accordance with Tanzania’s current developmental needs.

Within the framework of Figure 4., then, Tanzania’s position will shift further to the right. The key element is whether the shift reflects a growth-oriented process or not. The shift seems to be similar to the above-mentioned process in East Asia. Also, a critical view of the World Bank/IDA framework indicates that the issue of repositioning budget support will acquire major significance as the development process becomes growth oriented.

Lastly, *sufficient time and patience is required*

Figure 4. World Bank/IDA Strategic Framework for Assistance to Africa



Source: World Bank/IDA 2004.

to achieve concrete development results. The following remark from a partner country seems to sum up the essence of the overall endeavor of achieving aid effectiveness (Duong 2005) :

Since the reforms of the country system would have significant effect not only on ODA-related stakeholders but on a full range of others as well, the recipient government's strong ownership and leadership is essential. Reforms may take a long time, but their impact would be much greater than any impact gained from establishing a dual system. Respecting the government's ownership and self-determination, a patient approach is necessary in implementing or supporting these capacity developments.

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