The starting point for the significant mobilisation among the international community to deal with the political, security and humanitarian situation in the Sahel has often been the production of policy papers known as ‘Sahel strategies’. These strategies and initiatives, many of which were drawn up in the wake of the crises in Libya and Mali, establish a direct link between security and development. Although the scale of such efforts is to be commended in view of the challenges faced in the region, this nonetheless raises the issue of coordination in order to better carry out the programmes and projects aiming to improve everyday life for the people of the Sahel. With this in mind, this study offers a comparative analysis of the various initiatives and strategies for the Sahel undertaken by multilateral actors. Gaps and overlaps are identified and recommendations on both the possibility for synergies and for coordination efforts are set out.

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From the outset it is important to point out that the terms Sahel ‘strategies’ or ‘initiatives’ (sometimes with different titles) actually cover a diverse range of policy or strategic vision documents developed by multilateral organisations, states, groups of states and networks operating in the Sahel region, the geographical scope of which vary depending on the actors involved.¹

In the context of this wide-ranging work,² it was agreed to limit the preliminary mapping exercise in the present study³ to the strategies and initiatives of the following multilateral organisations:
SAHEL STRATEGIES: WHY COORDINATION IS IMPERATIVE

The African Development Bank (AfDB)\(^4\)
The Islamic Development Bank (IDB)\(^5\)
The World Bank\(^6\)
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)\(^7\)
The Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)\(^8\)
The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)\(^9\)
The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)\(^10\)
The United Nations (UN)\(^11\)
The African Union (AU)\(^12\)
The European Union (EU)\(^13\)
The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)\(^14\)

Other multilateral and bilateral actors – such as the Sahel G5,\(^15\) France, the US and Denmark – have also developed strategies and initiatives for the region that should also be analysed at a later stage.

The range of strategies and initiatives is therefore not set in stone: new coordination initiatives are launched on a regular basis, strategic documents are produced by new actors who are keen to develop new programmes and existing strategies are updated regularly. In light of this ongoing evolution, this preliminary mapping exercise is cautious and modest in nature.

Each organisational actor defines the region differently according to its own needs, interests and perceptions

This comparative analysis also focuses on processes that are at different stages in their process and implementation. In the majority of cases the exercise involves an ex-ante comparison of strategies and initiatives. The implementation of the majority of the strategies and initiatives that are analysed has yet to really begin. With regard to those currently being implemented, in many cases it is too early to use them as a basis for definitive conclusions in a comparative analysis.

The following analysis is based on eight comparison categories with the aim of forming a framework for understanding a wide range of strategic documents. Based on the gaps, overlaps and synergies identified, some coordination priorities are outlined.

**Comparative analysis**

**Geographical scope**

The first key comparative point is the geographical scope of the strategies and initiatives in question. There is no internationally accepted definition of the ‘Sahel’ or the ‘Sahel-Saharan’ region. These areas are understood, both in specialised literature and in practice, either very broadly (as in the isolated case with the AU strategy), meaning the area comprising the great desert plains of the Sahara to the Atlantic Ocean and the Red Sea, or very narrowly, encompassing four or five Western and/or Central African countries (a more common approach, albeit with some variations).
Each organisational actor defines the region differently according to its own needs, interests and perceptions. Nonetheless, the comparison of the geographical areas of application of the strategies and initiatives reveals an overall focus on five countries that are at the heart of almost all the strategies and initiatives under analysis: Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger.

Objectives

A comparison of the objectives revealed some similarities among the actors. In general, the strategies and initiatives are designed to promote well-being, stability, good governance, and development to the benefit of populations and states. The strategies generally recognise that a long-term, holistic approach should be taken in partnership with other relevant actors.

In addition, there is usually a link between the areas in which the organisations specialise and the objectives set for the Sahel. In other words, the organisations...
remain ‘reasonable’: their capacities and competences inform their ambitions and the assessment of the contribution they can make. This also means that, despite the rhetoric of a common vision, there are very real risks of isolated, compartmentalised perceptions taking hold and of visions being disconnected from one another. Consequently, continued efforts to break down barriers, share ideas and approaches, ensure transparency, and pool resources are needed.

A comparative analysis setting out the objectives of each organisation would be too complex to summarise at the regional level: priorities may vary for some organisations depending on the country in question. This demonstrates that complementary comparative approaches are necessary at both the regional level and on a more limited geographical and sectoral basis.

Some strategies and initiatives, in particular those of ECOWAS and the AU, take account of the interdependencies among the Sahel, the Maghreb and southern West Africa. The strategies that focus more on the ‘core countries’ of the Sahel, such as those of the World Bank and EU, recognise the importance of taking into account the countries of the Maghreb, as well as Nigeria and Senegal.

**Implementation fields and sectors**

The mapping exercise demonstrates that the strategies share four main areas of focus: security, development and resilience (including infrastructure), governance, and education. Given the multi-dimensional challenges faced in the Sahel and the need for a holistic approach, these fields are often deemed to be inseparable. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify three approaches:

1. Some actors (e.g. the UN and EU) choose to adopt an overall approach that takes all areas of intervention into consideration.
2. Other actors advocate a broad approach taking into account various areas of intervention, without mentioning them in their strategies or initiatives. This seems to be the case of the IDB, because its strategy essentially focuses on economic development through supporting various business sectors. However, in identifying potential fields for cooperation with the countries of the Sahel, the IDB has identified a link between underdevelopment and criminality, emphasising that armed and criminal groups have a stronger presence in underdeveloped areas. The IDB also identifies criminal activity as a challenge for the region.

3. Some actors prefer to share out the work on the basis of their respective strengths by focusing on one or two specific areas, with the remaining dimensions being complementary or transversal:
   - Development and resilience (e.g. the AfDB, the World Bank and ECOWAS)
   - Security (e.g. the AU)
   - Governance (e.g. the AU)

In the governance field there are some differences between the various approaches and strategies: the AU adopts a holistic approach, whereas other organisations such as the AfDB and World Bank focus on equally significant fields related to governance based on their economic and financial capacities that are perhaps – and this remains to be seen in the implementation – more technical in nature (public services, and economic and financial governance).

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In the governance field there are some differences between the various approaches and strategies

Another example of these differences is that for ECOWAS security is transversal in nature. As a result, the strategy envisages support measures such as border management and security, preventing and combating terrorism, and promoting political participation. In conceptual terms, taking issues such as peace and security into account contributes to achieving the overall objectives of the Sahel strategy.

Implementation and action plans

An action plan should be understood as a written document that makes it possible to plan the actual, methodical implementation of the various vectors of a strategy. The action plan is essential both in terms of the implementation of the strategy or initiative and in its subsequent monitoring and evaluation, given that it:

- makes it possible to specifically and tangibly state the strategic objectives and approaches
- provides a framework for comparing the progress made in different projects
- makes it possible to identify possible synergies between strategies
- ensures greater transparency in relation to citizens
- serves as a key methodological and measurement tool for monitoring and evaluation, if performance indicators and objectives are included

Certain organisations are developing or have already drawn up action plans for their strategies (the EU, the UN, ECOWAS, the AU). The various degrees of development...
are the result of the differing time frames in which they were designed and drafted. For example, the EU is currently working on preparing a second action plan for its strategy; the UN has an implementation plan for the 2014–2016 period; ECOWAS has planned annual action plans that are also part of its monitoring system; and the AU has developed an action plan, which was published in August 2014.

**Instruments and activities**

Responsibility for implementation is either set out in documents or provided for in the institutional frameworks that determine relations between the institutions and its members, on the one hand, and their respective roles, on the other. For instance, the EU notes that its member states also share responsibility for implementation. The AU has entrusted implementation to the AU Mission for Mali and the Sahel.

It is also common for certain organisations to plan to act in partnership or synergy with others. ECOWAS and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) also participate in the Sahel Club. The member states of the Sahel G5 have sought and obtained support from the World Bank and EU. The latter provides regional support programmes for ECOWAS and WAEMU, as well as for a large number of United Nations (UN) agencies, for example.

A number of strategies and initiatives provide for internal coordination mechanisms that often interact with external actors. For example, the UN has created regional working groups that meet with the AU, ECOWAS, and the EU to discuss priorities and possibilities for joint programmes. The EU and UN in particular have coordination and information-sharing mechanisms when field missions are carried out.

Therefore, there are rather few cases in which it is possible to precisely identify the centralised authorities responsible for steering the strategies and even fewer where we can identify those responsible for implementing them. Responsibility for strategic approaches to the Sahel is (and will most likely remain) essentially collective, plural, and therefore ever changing and open to negotiation among the various actors.

Finally, there are a number of categories of instruments and activities:

- financial and development aid that takes various forms: grants, loans, budgetary or sectoral support, programmes, projects, etc.
- short-term humanitarian and food aid, a commonly used instrument in the region
- training and improving the capacity of state institutions, as well as civil society and non-state actors

When comparatively assessing the tools envisaged and those already available, the consistency between the long-term (development, capacity-strengthening, governance, education) and short-term instruments (emergency action in the humanitarian and security fields) must be examined. Additionally, the capacity not only of state structures, but also of the numerous organisations and actors active in the Sahel to use these instruments in synergy should be examined in depth.
Financing

A comparative analysis was carried out on two types of information: estimating the funding announced and the funds actually disbursed.

This comparison leads to the identification of two categories of strategies: those with sufficient resources of their own and those that need external contributions.

AfDB, IDB, World Bank, and EU strategies and initiatives fall into the first category. The AfDB, for example, has the African Development Fund and the EU has its European Development Fund, while the World Bank finances regional and national portfolios.

The other strategies and initiatives fall into the second category. Existing resources are available, such as the UN Peacebuilding Fund, which financed two projects in Mali and Niger. In any case, their implementation is dependent on external financing. For this reason, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) published a consolidated appeal for funds for the Sahel. The ECOWAS strategy estimates financial needs and notes that various funding sources are available, both internally (the ECOWAS and WAEMU commissions; the ECOWAS investment and development bank) and externally (private sector and traditional donors).

In order to improve coordination in the Sahel, and in response to a suggestion made in the UN integrated strategy, in November 2013 the AfDB also proposed to create and manage ‘Action Funds for the Sahel’ that would bring together contributions from numerous donors.

The question of the consistency between long-term and short-term instruments must be examined

Data on the financing announced and disbursed is incomplete and should be approached cautiously, as is often the case when tracking financial, cooperation and aid streams. Certain donors are currently planning or renewing their aid for the region. The difference between the amount of funding announced and the amount disbursed is significant. The distribution of resources at different levels (local, national, regional) further complicates any attempt to map the financial situation. Nonetheless, general estimations are given in Table 1.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that other actors are also investing significant sums and resources in the region. This is the case in particular for bilateral donors such as France, Germany, Norway, the UK and the US. An analysis that excluded these investments would only offer a very limited view of funding and therefore of the possibilities for synergies and the risk of overlaps. A broader analysis involving systematic and constant monitoring is needed to provide a more accurate overview of the initiatives and resources available for the Sahel.

Implementation partners

A number of strategies and initiatives provide for collaboration with international, regional and national partners. For example, the UN plans to work on implementation with institutions and multilateral and bilateral donors and to bring together regional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Estimation of the amount planned to implement the strategy or initiative sensu stricto</th>
<th>Estimation of the amount planned for the region not covered by the strategy or initiative sensu stricto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AfDB</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>The AfDB has planned to invest US$2 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDB</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>US$2 554.4 million (2014 projects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>The World Bank estimates that in 2014–2015 it will invest around US$1.145 billion in the Sahel and US$198 million for the ‘Great Green Wall’ project</td>
<td>The bank plans to invest around US$1.5 billion in new regional investments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>ECOWAS estimates that it will need US$4.749 billion to implement its strategy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>In 2011 the EU planned to support its strategy with €606.25 million (already planned and additional funds)</td>
<td>In 2013 the EU plans to invest around €5 billion in the Sahel from 2014 to 2020 to contribute to the implementation of its strategy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
African states and organisations. The EU wishes to develop and support existing initiatives, including those carried out by the countries of the Sahel and regional and international organisations in the region.

In the implementation of various strategies and initiatives, it is already possible to identify specific examples of synergies:

- The World Bank finances a project on demography implemented by the UN Population Fund
- The AfDB finances a project on food security implemented by the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS) in the context of the Global Alliance for Resilience (AGIR), which is also supported by the EU
- A project on pastoralism funded by the World Bank is operated by the CILSS with countries and organisations from the region
- Through regional aid, the EU supports ECOWAS and WAEMU with a financial package of around €1.15 billion
- The EU supports the ECOWAS regional food security reserve
- In July 2014 the World Bank announced that it was mobilising technical support for the Sahel G5 Secretariat
- A number of UN strategy activities are implemented with ECOWAS. ECOWAS and UN Women created electoral programmes for women in Mali. The UN Development Programme will support the implementation of ECOWAS’s early warning systems

The problems related to synergies in the Sahel are nothing new

For example, at the outer edge of this mapping exercise, the World Bank and the EU contribute financially to framework activities such as the Sahel Club and West Africa, linked to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The Sahel Club’s Secretariat in Paris brings together Sahel-Saharan states, Western states and regional organisations (ECOWAS, WAEMU, the CILSS). This platform is de facto associated with certain strategy makers and initiatives such as AGIR and was already in place before the wave of new Sahel strategies launched since 2011. Thus, the problems related to synergies in the Sahel are nothing new.

Monitoring and evaluation

Only the AU and ECOWAS – who have, however, limited resources for their own strategies – provide for specific monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. ECOWAS provides for a results measurement framework and an annual monitoring plan. The strategy will be evaluated in the 2015–2019 period (in terms of annual monitoring reports, a mid-term report and a final evaluation report) and via a mid-term revision in 2017 (or beforehand if needed).

The other strategic documents only provide information on their standard monitoring procedures, periodic reviews and evaluations, without specifically taking into account the issue of public accountability.
Efforts must be intensified to promote the transparency of the evaluation and/or monitoring mechanisms at the regional level in order to evaluate the way in which the strategies and initiatives are meeting the needs of the beneficiary populations in real time. They will also have a direct impact on governance, a transversal issue addressed by a number of strategies.

**Limits of the strategic frameworks**

Certain strategies, and in particular the initiating organisations (the World Bank, AfDB, EU and UN), appear to be more solid than others in relation to human, financial and political resources. On the other hand, other strategies are considered highly legitimate, because they are primarily initiated by authorities in the Sahel, but have more limited resources of their own (ECOWAS, the AU, AMU and CEN-SAD, as well as the Sahel G5, which is not included in this analysis).

Competition among organisations and states in obtaining resources and asserting influence is the inevitable consequence of the differences between certain strategies and their levels of funding. Therefore, the pivotal role of the executive powers in the region in finding effective and consistent formats must be considered. In their absence, the more powerful actors and those that act quicker will dominate the Sahel-Saharan region. This may constitute a second gap that does not appear in any strategy, but which is recognised by a number of regional observers.

The third gap, which is linked to those mentioned previously, relates to the lack of clarity regarding the shortage or availability of good-quality technical operators and public regulators in all fields envisaged in the various strategies. Given the proliferation of strategic documents and the fact that the organisations can make use of pre-existing networks, an increase in the capacity for strategic design is unlikely to be critical. Nonetheless, these human resources must be complemented by operational capacity for implementation.

The capacity of states to coordinate, absorb and manage the available resources remains a challenge

On this point, given the need to work with operators from the region itself, it is necessary to quickly clarify any existing capacity. In the absence of existing capacities, there is a need to clarify the type of approaches that can be employed to ensure that trustworthy actors can efficiently and effectively carry out high-quality implementation. The capacity of state government structures in the region to coordinate, absorb and manage the available resources is a significant challenge not referred to in the strategies. Beyond the funds to be mobilised, this raises the more general question of the availability of relevant regulatory bodies.

It is in any case too early to identify geographical or sectoral gaps or the areas that have a priori been neglected by Sahel strategies and initiatives. This issue should be addressed on a regular basis in future comparative analyses that detail the implementation conditions and progress made in the Sahel strategies and initiatives in greater depth.

**Redundant strategies?**

Geographically, five countries are at the heart of almost all strategies and initiatives, namely Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger, where the risk of overlaps, competition and poor coordination will be more significant. Therefore, the authorities in these countries need to ensure that there is clarity and precision in their coordination methods with international partners, including within the multilateral organisations of which they are members (ECOWAS, the AU, CEN-SAD, AMU).

Other overlaps may occur, especially among regional, national and local authorities, because any implemented strategy will translate into local action for the population. Decisions on the levels of implementation (especially for the World Bank, AfDB, EU and UN) must be closely monitored, along with harmonisation between the practices in Sahel strategies and national and local strategies. The formal and informal role of the authorities will also be crucial here.

Finally, the needs of the Sahel are such that the risk of gaps and redundancy are more likely to emerge in the interactions of the authorities responsible for managing international cooperation with their technical and financial partners, rather than in terms of a lack of foresight in the strategies themselves.

In this respect, the thoroughness and precision of the action plans and their monitoring and evaluation will be essential and will function as a test of the quality of the various strategies and initiatives involved.

One of the solutions to the problem of overlaps could be the emergence, as identified in all the strategies, of common themes and the effort to find common denominators through declarations of intent regarding collaborative work: for example, on the issues of peace in northern Mali, counter-terrorism and intelligence cooperation, pastoralism, food security, water, and infrastructure. If these intentions are real, setting up informal spaces for dialogue among all stakeholders should be a priority for strategy makers.
Synergies: diversity of expertise

Numerous synergies are possible in the Sahel, as demonstrated by the diverse range of strategy documents and the existing cooperation practices mentioned above. One of the greatest challenges in relation to synergies is undoubtedly the need to build functional, physical, human and technical relationships among the Maghreb countries, the Sahel-Saharan region and countries to the south of the Sahara. In this context, existing strategies (the AfDB, the IDB, the World Bank, ECOWAS, the EU, the UN) are promising because they are focused on programmes for peacebuilding, connectivity and fluidity of exchanges, and the emancipation of society. Cooperation initiatives in the security field must be equipped to work in synergy with development and humanitarian cooperation. A number of strategies adopt regional approaches that could be interpreted differently in practice. Regardless of the form it takes and whatever its objective may be, regional action in the Sahel (or elsewhere) is implemented in a limited number of ways. One such method operates at the often-crucial level of national authorities.

This mapping exercise provides insight into both opportunities and risks in relation to synergies, which are linked to the need for cooperative efforts among communities with sectoral expertise (each with its own security, governance, development and resilience strategies) and their respective partners in each country. The comparative analysis has made it possible to take into account the inevitable plurality in terms of coordination: the AU/UN, AGIR, G5 Sahel, etc. The responsibility for strategic approaches for the Sahel is (and will most likely remain) essentially collective, plural and ever changing, and open to negotiation among the actors involved in order to achieve effectiveness for the benefit of the populations of the countries concerned.

Conclusion

This preliminary comparative analysis demonstrates the need and added value of a neutral and dynamic approach in order to provide relevant and up-to-date information to all actors, which is the only way to independently support regional diplomacy in the Sahel. To offer a more comprehensive view, the scope of the analysis should be extended to include other activities and offer a more in-depth analysis of gaps and synergies. It would also be crucial to link strategies and implementation by examining the issues by sector and by country and their impact on the populations who are the primary beneficiaries of these strategies.

Notes

1 The methodology adopted aimed to be both easy to use and inclusive, and does not intend to impose a single definition of the Sahel, nor does it adopt a restrictive view of the term ‘strategy’. 
2 The Technical Secretariat (TS) supporting the Ministerial Coordination Platform (MCP) for Sahel strategies was set up following the first ministerial meeting of Sahel-Saharan countries held in Bamako, Mali, on 5 November 2013. At the second MCP meeting on 16 May 2014 the TS was mandated to map and prepare ‘a detailed comparative analysis, including gaps and overlaps in different regional and international initiatives/strategies for the Sahel’. In this context the TS, through a memorandum of understanding signed on 26 September 2014, mandated the Institute for Security Studies, the African Governance Institute and the European Centre for Development Policy Management to produce a preliminary map of Sahel strategies.

We would like to thank the multilateral actors who have replied to our requests for information under tight deadlines, which was essential for the realisation of the mapping and comparative analysis presented to the MCP in November 2014.

We thank in particular Amandine Gnanguenon, who coordinated the development of the maps.

3 ‘Mapping’ should be understood in this context in a figurative rather than geographical sense, the aim being to carry out an inevitably restrictive analysis that will in any case be as comprehensive as possible of the initiatives under way which state that their focus is the Sahel. This analysis was carried
out based on a comparative approach insofar as certain characteristics of each strategy are examined in relation to others, based on common criteria. Based on the findings, the consortium then conducted a comparative analysis of the strategies in order to draw preliminary conclusions on their synergies, gaps and overlaps. It is this analysis that is presented in this document.

4 The AfDB’s Approach Paper was in its final stages of completion in October 2014. In addition, since 2011 the AfDB has had a regional strategy in place for West Africa, the Regional Integration Strategy Paper (RISP) for West Africa 2011–2015.

5 Overview of IDB Cooperation with West Africa Sahel Countries, 2014.


7 The ECOWAS strategy is a tripartite document involving ECOWAS, WAEMU and the CILSS (ECOWAS, ECOWAS Sahel Strategy, working paper, September 2014).

8 CEN-SAD does not have a specially defined strategy specifically for the Sahel region.

9 ECCAS does not have a specially defined strategy specifically for the Sahel region.

10 No information has been made available on the OIC’s strategies and initiatives in the Sahel.


15 This group, which was created in 2014, includes Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger.


17 Training workshops organised by the AU; the training of police and military forces provided by a number of actors, including the EU and the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali; support for civil society provided by the EU and AU, etc., are examples of this.


27 For more information, visit the ECOWAS site, http://agric.comm.ecowas.int/ECOWAP/?lang=en.


29 The Sahel Club is an international platform focusing on regional challenges in West Africa; see www.oecd.org/swac/aboutus/.

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The Institute for Security Studies is an African organisation that aims to enhance human security on the continent. It does independent and authoritative research, provides expert policy analysis and advice, and delivers practical training and technical assistance.

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