

Fairness in the international allocation of development aid

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1 | INTRODUCTION

Donor country governments to seek to justify the not insubstantial amounts of tax payer money allocated to foreign development aid by reference to poverty levels in developing countries. Aid is justified as a response to poverty levels and their attempts to sustainably reduce poverty. Such a response is generally supported by tax payers within donor countries that effectively fund these aid flows (see Milner & Tingley, 2013).

It is fitting, therefore, that two literatures evaluate the allocation of aid among developing countries from a needs perspective. The first assesses donor allocative performance (e.g., Baulch, 2006; Easterly & Pftutze, 2008; McGillivray, 1989, 1992; Nunnenkamp & Thiele, 2006; Rao, 1994, 1997; White, 1992).¹ To these studies, the amount of aid allocated to any given country should be an increasing function of its relative need for aid. Donor performance is assessed against this normative criterion, with performance being an increasing function of the consistency of the allocation of its aid among countries with their relative needs. Some studies also take into account the capacity of recipient countries to use aid to reduce need, recognising that the case to allocate aid to needy countries is diminished in the absence of this capacity. The second category of studies seeks to prescribe the amounts of aid that developing countries should receive according to need (e.g., Collier & Dollar, 2001, 2002; Wood, 2008).² Put another way, these studies seek to derive decision rules to guide allocation among recipient countries. Some of these studies also take into account absorptive capacity, as just defined.

This paper seeks to contribute to both literatures: to both assess donor allocative performance and provide an aid allocation decision rule. Aside from explicitly linking these literatures, the paper differs from previous studies through one substantive aspect.³ Previous studies have used income per capita or income per capita and population as indicators of need. It is reasonable to assume that most would have preferred to use poverty data, given donor statements on aid and voter preferences, if it was not

¹Clist (2015), McGillivray (2004) and White and McGillivray (1995) provide reviews of this literature.

²McGillivray (2004) and Clist (2015) provide reviews of this literature.

³Baulch (2006) also uses poverty along with a number of other indicators to assess the allocative performance of donors. This paper uses a much larger sample of countries to assess donor performance and provides explicit aid allocation decision rules based on poverty levels of recipient countries.



for data availability issues. Noting that the coverage of poverty data has improved considerably in recent years, this paper uses poverty as its indicator of the need for aid. The allocation decision rule proposed is based on the notion of a fair share of aid based on poverty headcount, one in which the shares of global aid to each recipient country equal each recipient's share of global poverty. The decision rule, and allocative performance index built around it, is designed with a view to simplicity and transparency so that it can inform donor allocation decisions. Notwithstanding, this decision rule satisfies various desirable aid allocation properties identified in the literature.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 outlines an index of donor performance, highlighting the allocation decision rule on which it is based. Section 3 discusses data issues, while Section 4 reports the results of calculating the index and departures from fairness to which it points. Section 5 concludes.

2 | A “FAIR SHARE” INDEX OF DONOR PERFORMANCE

The “fair share” index is written as follows:

$$P_i = 1 - \sum_{j=1}^n |\Pi_j - \Phi_j| \quad j = 1, \dots, n, \quad (1)$$

where P_i is the allocative performance of donor i , Π_j is the share of donor i 's aid to developing country j , and Φ_j is j 's share of global poverty. Poverty is defined in terms of a headcount, the number of people in j with an income below a given international poverty line. The index has a maximum theoretical value of unity, which occurs $\Pi_j = \Phi_j$ for all j . Its minimum theoretical value is zero, which occurs if the donor i allocates the entirety of its aid to a country or countries in which there is no poverty.

Various desirable properties of donor performance indices have been identified in the literature. Perhaps the most fundamental and relevant to (1) is that a regressive allocation should not improve donor performance (White & McGillivray, 1995) and its corollary, vertical equity, that a progressive allocation should improve donor performance (Rao, 1994, 1997). A regressive allocation is one in which the donor takes aid from a poor country and gives it to richer one. A progressive allocation is the opposite. Our fair share index violates this principal, in that taking aid from one country and giving to one with lower poverty need not reduce its value. Taking aid from a poor country and giving it to a rich country will increase the index if this results in their shares of aid being closer to their shares of global poverty. This reflects the defensible proposition that a poor country can be receiving too much aid, and a relatively richer country can be receiving too little. This in turn leads one to question what exactly is a regressive allocation of aid and the corresponding property identified in previous research. This should be viewed as one that results in a deviation from a fair allocation of aid, even if it involves taking aid from a relatively richer country and allocating it to a poorer one. A progressive allocation should be viewed as one which reduces any deviation from the international fair share of aid, as defined above by (1).⁴

⁴Other desirable properties include the following: (i) the performance index should not be maximised by giving all aid to a single recipient; (ii) no anti-concentration bias, in which the index should not penalise donors for failing to give aid to all recipients; (iii) scale neutrality, so that the index should not be affected by the scale of the aid programme; and (iv) horizontal equity, which is satisfied if aid to any two recipients with the same income per capita should be such that the corresponding amount of aid per capita is the same, so that the aid in question is sensitive to recipient country population. The index defined in (1) satisfies each of these properties except (ii), the desirability of which is questionable. It allows a donor to allocate zero aid to the very poorest of countries, but receive no performance penalty for doing so.

Our index is based on four assumptions. The first two are closely aligned: that the average poverty gap in each country is the same and that aid is equally effective at reducing poverty in each country. Both assumptions may be incorrect, but they reflect the empirical reality that there is insufficient information to factor them into the allocation rule. This is particularly so with effectiveness, as is evident from the still unsettled debate in the empirical aid effectiveness literature on whether this effectiveness is conditional on the quality of policies and institutional performance in recipient countries. There is good reason to expect that it is, and this is supported by clear recipient country-specific evidence. Yet there is also evidence that aid has been effective in many countries with low-quality policies and institutional performances, at least in the short to medium term. The key issue for an aid allocation rule is that there is robust quantification of the extent to which policy and institutional performance matters across countries.

The third comment relates to the operational relevance of the decision rule on which Equation (1) is based. We do not propose that donors should rigidly apply the decision rule so that developing countries always receive a fair share as defined. There are plenty of valid country-specific reasons for divergence between actual and fair shares (e.g., the pursuit of foreign policy or strategic objectives in aid allocation). They can also involve humanitarian responses to conditions not reflected in official poverty data, such as refugee crisis, impacts of conflict and natural disasters. They can also involve donor responses to country-specific information on the likely effectiveness of aid.

The fourth comment relates to weighting. The index defined in (1) treats deviations as equally undesirable. Put another way, it sees an under-allocation of aid to a poor country as just as bad as an over allocation to a richer one. It also sees an over allocation to a poor country as just as bad to one to a richer country. This reflects the core thinking of which the index is based in that a poor person in a country with relatively few poor people is just as deserving as support from international donors as a poor person in a country with a greater number of poor people.⁵

3 | DATA

Aid data were obtained from the OECD International Development Statistics Database (OECD, 2017). The aid variable used to calculate aid shares was official development assistance (ODA) gross disbursements. Careful consideration was given to the sample of recipient countries. It comprises of all that received ODA in at least 1 year from 2010 onward. ODA data were collected for the period 2010–15, with 2015 being the latest year for which data were available, for the following donors or groups thereof: (i) all ODA donors that report aid data to the OECD-DAC; all donors that are members of the OECD-DAC; (ii) all multilateral donor agencies; (iii) all non-DAC donors; (iv) the EU; and (v) the five largest bilateral donors (in terms of ODA volume) during this period (France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States).⁶ In the cases of the DAC members, non-DAC members, the EU, France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States, it is their bilateral ODA flows that were used to calculate aid shares.

⁵Kanbur (2017) makes a very similar point in the context of determining developing country eligibility for aid. He argues that this eligibility ought not be based on the average living standards of a nation, but the number of poor people within it. Kanbur also provides an incisive survey of relevant literature.

⁶Aid flows from China and India are excluded as neither report aid data to the OECD-DAC. Non-DAC donors include Estonia, Israel, Kuwait, Russia, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. It includes many countries that have recently become donors and have in recent decades been aid recipients. Full details can be found in OECD (2017).



Poverty shares were calculated using the World Bank's extreme poverty indicator, the \$1.90 (2011 PPP) poverty headcount, from *World Development Indicators 2017* (World Bank, 2017). Data for this were available for 114 countries. These are countries that had at least one poverty headcount statistic available between 2005 and the latest year for which data on this indicator were available, 2014. In cases in which poverty data could be obtained from a reasonably authoritative alternative source, poverty headcount was estimated using a simple empirical technique.⁷ This increased the sample to 144 countries (Appendix A) with ODA to them accounting for between 98% and 100% of total bilateral ODA.

4 | RESULTS

Results of calculating the fair share index of donor performance are shown in Table 1. Wide variation in performance is observed, from zero to unity. Interestingly, the overall group performance of the international donor community, assessed using the aggregate of all donor ODA allocations to each of recipient in the 144 countries, is higher than subgroups and of individual donors. This is based on the index score for all donors (0.095). Overall performance of DAC member countries and multilateral agencies is also better than that of each of the seven individual donors. The respective index values for these two groups are 0.079 and 0.060. This might imply an international division of effort among donors, with different donors seeking to respond to the relative needs among recipients delineated by region or other grouping. Verification or otherwise of this would require further research.

By far, the lowest performance is that of the non-DAC group, with a fair share index of -0.727 . As noted above, many in this group of donors have in the recent past been aid recipients. Of our six individual donors, the United Kingdom records the best performance. France displays the worst and the EU the second worst.

TABLE 1 Fair share index of donor performance

	Index	% of ODA
All donors	0.095	99.46
DAC members	0.079	99.48
Multilateral donors	0.060	99.98
Non-DAC members	-0.727	99.98
EU	-0.234	99.97
France	-0.331	97.99
Germany	-0.061	100.00
Japan	-0.096	99.96
United Kingdom	0.085	97.97
United States	-0.106	100.00

⁷Estimates were obtained by initially estimating an OLS regression of extreme poverty headcount (as a ratio of the total population) on the natural logarithm of \$PPP GNI per capita for those countries for which both variables were available. The estimated values of the intercept and regression coefficient were used to estimate extreme income poverty ratios for those countries for which \$PPP GNI per capita and population but not poverty data were available. These estimated ratios were then multiplied by population levels to finally obtain estimated poverty headcounts.

Table 2 and Figures B1–B10 in Appendix B provide insight into the index scores shown in Table 1. This shows the average difference between global aid and poverty shares by recipient country poverty quintiles for all donors and donor groups. quintile 1 consists of the poorest countries, those with the highest global poverty shares, while quintile 5 consists of the richest countries, those with the lowest such shares. The dominant message from Table 2 is a large bias against the poorest countries. The largest bias against these countries is exhibited by the EU, while the lowest is that of the United Kingdom. The biases in aid allocation shown to all other quintiles by all donors are positive, indicating that on average, quintiles 2–5 have received more that would be considered fair based on global poverty shares. There is one exception, however, the shares of non-DAC donor ODA to quintile 2, which on average, are less than the shares of global poverty for recipients that belong to this group. Indeed, it would appear that biases against the two poorest country groups, quintiles 1 and 2, have primarily driven the comparatively very poor performance of the non-DAC donor group.

Figures B1–B10 show the deviation between aid and poverty shares for each individual recipient country ranked by poverty share. The vertical axis is a line of equality, along which aid shares equal poverty shares. They reveal what has driven the bias against the poorest quintile, a substantial bias in aid allocation against India.

India dominates the global share of income poverty, with just under 30% of the world's extremely poor. This is, by a large margin, the largest share of global poverty of any one country. Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo rank second and third, with ten and six per cent, respectively. As shown in Figure B1, the all donor aid group share of aid to India is 26 percentage points less than the latter's share of global poverty. The greatest shortfall in aid to India, compared to its share of global poverty, is exhibited by the non-DAC group (see Figure B4). It is 29 percentage points less than India's share of global poverty. The smallest is Japan, a shortfall of 18 percentage points (see Figure B8). All donor groups and individual donors under consideration significantly under-allocate to India.

Donors will understandably be reluctant to provide such a large share of their aid to a single country, especially one that is a net donor in its own right (*The New Indian Express*, 2018). Yet as Fuchs and Vadlamannati (2013) note, it is both unsurprising that India still receives aid and puzzling that it has emerged as an aid donor, not only because of its very high poverty level, but

TABLE 2 Differences between aid and poverty shares by poverty quintile^a

	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5
All donors	−1.161	0.325	0.435	0.188	0.220
DAC members	−1.086	0.318	0.400	0.181	0.195
Multilateral agencies	−1.374	0.440	0.492	0.189	0.262
Non-DAC members	−0.566	−0.313	0.424	0.252	0.210
EU	−1.902	0.065	0.973	0.295	0.588
France	−1.769	0.773	0.616	0.266	0.119
Germany	−0.990	0.092	0.436	0.217	0.254
Japan	−1.009	0.230	0.429	0.256	0.097
United Kingdom	−0.416	0.251	0.039	0.040	0.089
United States	−1.027	0.275	0.422	0.131	0.207

Note: ^aNumbers shown are the mean of $(\Pi_j - \Phi_j) \times 100$ by poverty quintile.



because it ranks below each of its neighbours in South Asia in terms of life expectancy, access to sanitation, infant immunisation and underweight children. Donors will have a range of valid motives for providing aid to India beyond poverty reduction, yet it would seem difficult to justify such a large gap. It must, though, be acknowledged that this is an extremely difficult issue over which donors need to grapple, with this difficulty made greater by the fact that India is an aid donor in its own right and the related issue of moral hazard.

Another key message from Figures B1–B10 is the incidence of what can be described as “outlier” recipients in addition to India. There are five countries whose aid receipts deviate by at least ten percentage points from their shares of global poverty. Yet unlike India, each receives more than their fair shares. The two largest deviations, of 20% and 32%, are in aid allocations from non-DAC countries. All others come from individual bilateral donors.

Tables C1–C10 provide additional information on deviations from fair shares. This is precisely that the design of the performance index outlined in (1) is intended to provide. And in turn, this is intended to facilitate comparisons that can inform actual aid allocation decision-making. Each table compares actual ODA against that which is considered fair, as obtained by simple multiplication, taking each recipient country’s share of global poverty and multiplying it by the total of each donor or donor group total ODA during the period in question, which is 2010–15.

The information in Tables C1–C10 is for the ten most under-allocated and ten most over-allocated recipient countries. What matters most from a recipient need perspective is all donor support (see Table C1). In addition to India, the two other most under-allocated countries are Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At the other end of the scale, the three most over-allocated countries are Afghanistan, Vietnam and Turkey. What is interesting is whether the most under and over-allocated countries also fall into these categories for the donor groups and individual donors in question. This potentially provides insight into the allocative source of the under and over-allocations at the global level. Of the countries identified in Table C1 in addition to India, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Bangladesh and Ethiopia are the most consistently under-allocated across these groups and individual donors. Of the over-allocated countries, Vietnam and West Bank and the Gaza Strip are the most consistently so among these donors and donor groups. This is not to imply that aid allocations to each of these countries are not warranted based on the full range of motives pursued by donors, or in the under-allocated countries on operational challenges of providing aid to them. It does, however, imply donors ought to look closely at these allocations and consider on the basis of the full range of motives they pursue whether the deviations from a fair share based on extreme poverty levels are warranted.

5 | CONCLUSION

This paper has assessed donor allocative performance against an aid allocative decision rule. This rule is based on the assumption that a poor person should have an equal right to aid regardless of the number of other poor (or rich) people in their own country. As such, the aid allocative decision rule is based on poverty headcount. Application of this decision rule indicates which countries are receiving a “fair share” of aid based on the number of people in poverty within their country as a proportion of total levels of poverty and compares this to the proportion of aid they receive. Having applied this decision rule, the paper found there is a wider variation in performance. While total aid flows are relatively “fair,” aid flows from DAC members and multilateral donors are less

fairly allocated. When poorer countries are assessed in quintile groups, though, it is evident that the poorest countries receive less aid than is “fair” compared to relatively richer countries.

As this paper uses empirical data, it also demonstrates the dollar value amount by which donors “over” or “under”-allocate aid to recipient countries. India, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo were found to be the most under-allocated aid recipients across all DAC donors, while Afghanistan, Vietnam and Turkey were the most over-allocated.

The findings of this paper will be of value to both donor countries (and multilateral agencies) and recipient countries. Donors will be better placed to understand the fairness of their aid allocation decision-making and either reallocate aid flows or publically justify these allocations to their own citizens (in terms of political, geographic, security or historical justifications), while under-allocated recipient countries will be able to argue for higher allocations based on “fairness.”

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APPENDIX A

RECIPIENT COUNTRY SAMPLE

Afghanistan ^a	Ghana	Oman ^a
Albania	Grenada	Pakistan
Algeria ^a	Guatemala	Palau ^a
Angola	Guinea	Panama
Antigua and Barbuda	Guinea-Bissau	Papua New Guinea
Argentina	Guyana ^a	Paraguay
Armenia	Haiti	Peru
Azerbaijan	Honduras	Philippines
Bangladesh	India	Rwanda
Barbados	Indonesia	Samoa ^a
Belarus	Iran, Islamic Rep.	Sao Tome and Principe
Belize	Iraq ^a	Senegal
Benin	Ivory Coast	Serbia
Bhutan	Jamaica ^a	Seychelles
Bolivia	Jordan ^a	Sierra Leone
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Kazakhstan	Solomon Islands ^a
Botswana	Kenya ^a	Somalia
Brazil	Kiribati	South Africa
Burkina Faso	Korea, Dem. People's Rep. ^a	South Sudan
Burundi ^a	Kosovo	Sri Lanka
Cape Verde	Kyrgyz Republic	St. Kitts and Nevis ^a
Cambodia	Lao PDR	St. Lucia ^a

(Continues)

APPENDIX A (Continued)

Cameroon	Lebanon ^a	St. Vincent and the Grenadines
Central African Republic ^a	Lesotho	Sudan
Chad	Liberia	Suriname
Chile	Libya ^a	Swaziland
China	Macedonia, FYR ^a	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Madagascar	Tajikistan
Comoros ^a	Malawi	Tanzania
Congo, Dem. Rep.	Malaysia	Thailand
Congo, Rep.	Maldives	Togo
Costa Rica	Mali	Tonga
Croatia	Marshall Islands	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Mauritania	Tunisia
Djibouti	Mauritius	Turkey
Dominica ^a	Mexico	Turkmenistan ^a
Dominican Republic	Micronesia, Fed. States	Tuvalu
East Timor	Moldova	Uganda
Ecuador	Mongolia	Ukraine
Egypt, Arab Rep. ^a	Montenegro	Uruguay
El Salvador	Morocco	Uzbekistan ^a
Equatorial Guinea	Mozambique	Vanuatu
Eritrea ^a	Myanmar ^a	Venezuela, RB ^a
Ethiopia	Namibia	Vietnam
Fiji	Nepal	West Bank and Gaza
Gabon	Nicaragua	Yemen, Rep. ^a
Gambia, The ^a	Niger	Zambia
Georgia	Nigeria	Zimbabwe

Note: ^aIndicates that poverty data were estimated.

APPENDIX B

ACTUAL MINUS FAIR AID CHARTS

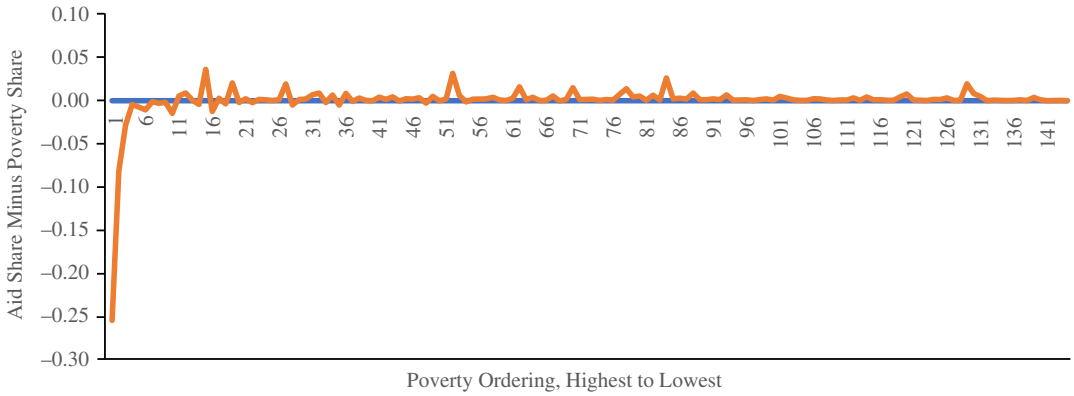


FIGURE B1 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), all donors, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



FIGURE B2 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), DAC members, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

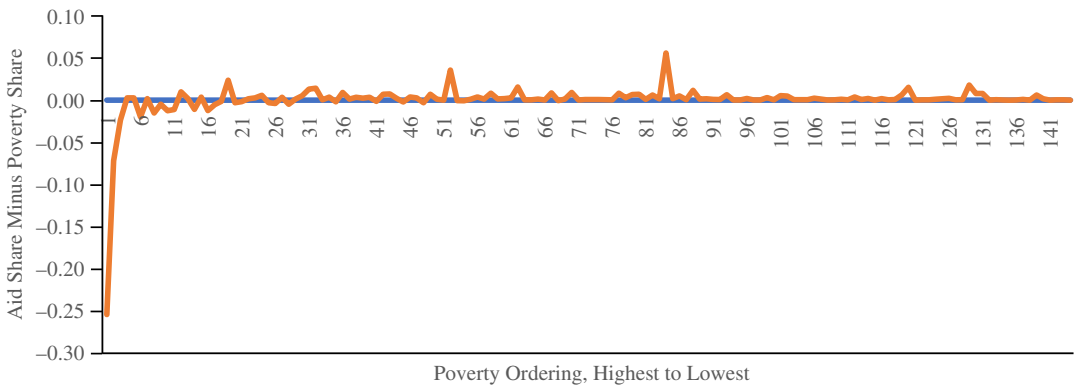


FIGURE B3 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), multilateral agencies, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

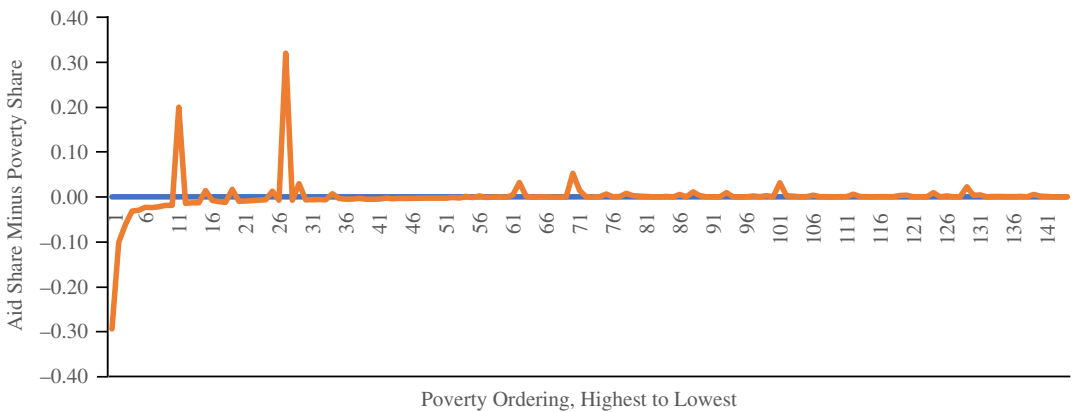


FIGURE B4 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), non-DAC members, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

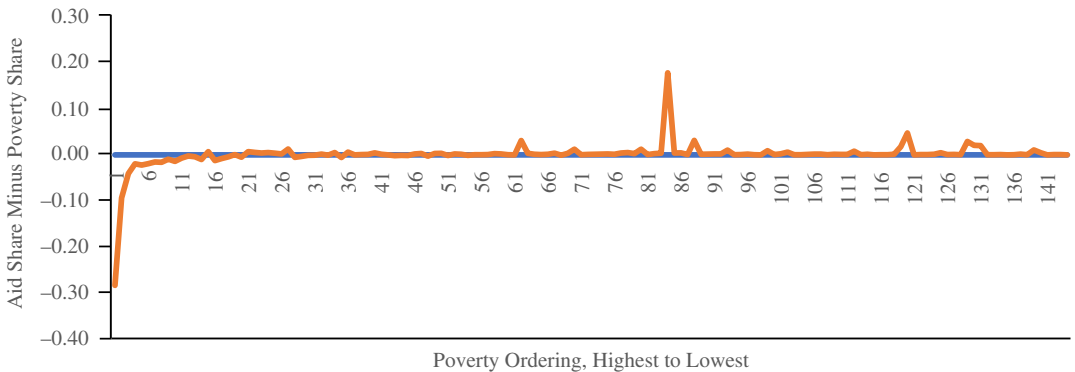


FIGURE B5 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), EU, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

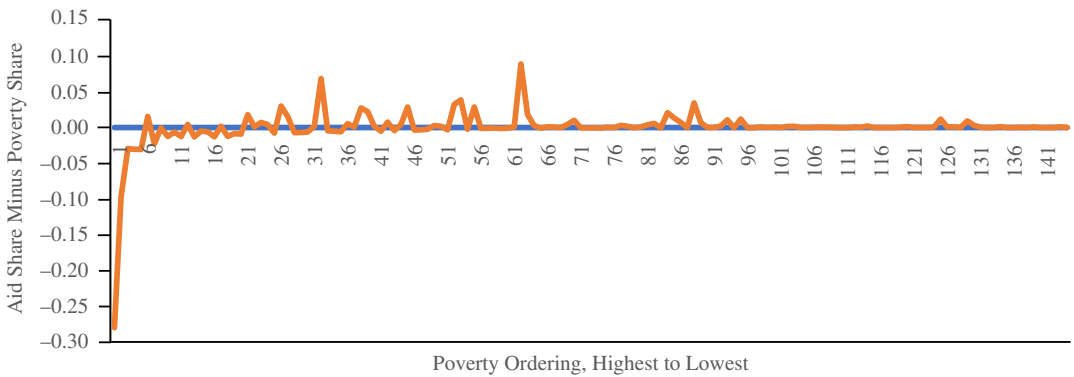


FIGURE B6 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), France, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

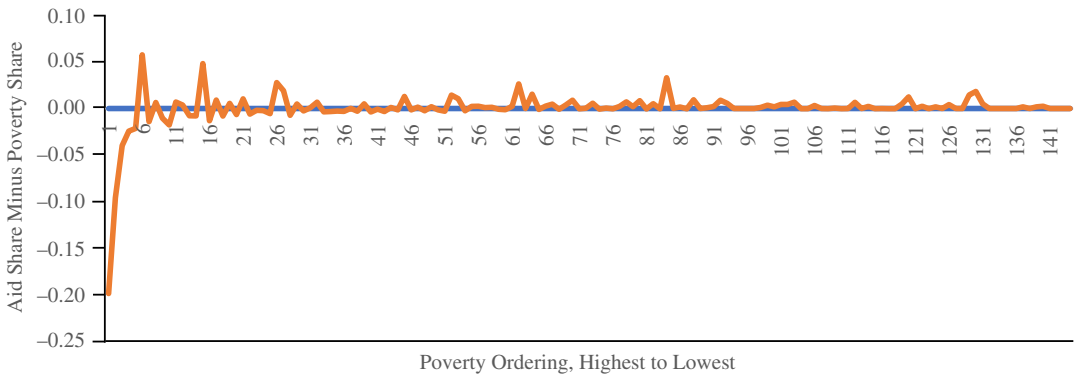


FIGURE B7 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), Germany, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

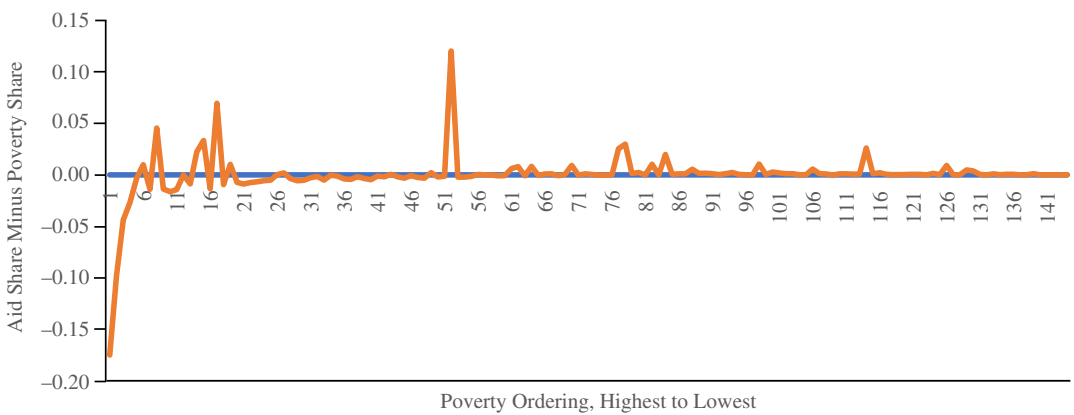


FIGURE B8 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), Japan, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

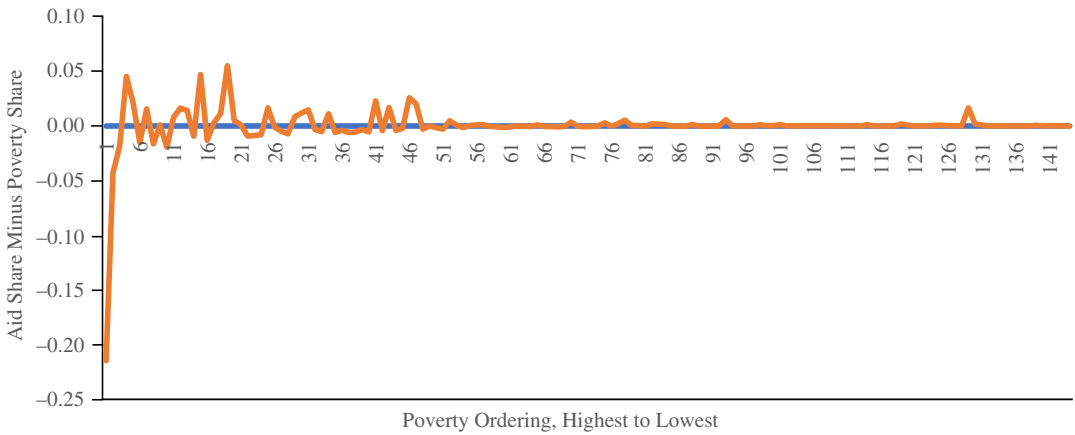


FIGURE B9 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), United Kingdom, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



FIGURE B10 Differences between aid and poverty shares ($\Pi_j - \Phi_j$), United States, 2010–15 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



APPENDIX C

DEPARTURE OF ACTUAL FROM FAIR AID ALLOCATIONS

TABLE C1 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, all donors 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	25,900	194,033	–168,133
Nigeria	13,183	66,959	–53,776
Democratic Republic of the Congo	21,990	40,724	–18,734
Madagascar	3,166	12,946	–9,781
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	612	8,829	–8,218
China (People's Republic of)	10,854	17,809	–6,955
Bangladesh	15,806	20,788	–4,982
Uzbekistan	765	4,133	–3,368
Angola	1,807	5,151	–3,344
Ethiopia	20,055	22,946	–2,891
Kenya	16,113	10,157	5,956
Iraq	9,433	273	9,160
Jordan	10,350	408	9,943
Morocco	11,428	747	10,682
Egypt	18,129	5,302	12,827
West Bank and Gaza Strip	12,930	3	12,926
Pakistan	21,500	7,925	13,574
Turkey	17,547	181	17,366
Vietnam	22,855	1,959	20,896
Afghanistan	32,783	8,886	23,897

TABLE C2 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, DAC Members 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	16,204	114,043	–97,839
Nigeria	6,037	39,355	–33,318
Democratic Republic of the Congo	12,822	23,935	–11,113
Madagascar	1,430	7,609	–6,180
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	195	5,190	–4,994
Bangladesh	7,545	12,218	–4,673
Ethiopia	10,987	13,487	–2,499
Angola	1,106	3,027	–1,922
Malawi	3,210	4,910	–1,700

(Continues)

TABLE C2 (Continued)

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
Niger	1,952	3,623	−1,670
Turkey	4,061	106	3,955
Kenya	10,043	5,970	4,073
Colombia	5,278	1,126	4,152
Morocco	6,321	439	5,883
Jordan	6,251	240	6,012
Pakistan	11,979	4,658	7,321
West Bank and Gaza Strip	7,873	2	7,871
Iraq	8,352	160	8,191
Vietnam	13,545	1,151	12,393
Afghanistan	27,778	5,223	22,555

TABLE C3 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, multilateral agencies 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Multilateral agencies	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	9,682	70,478	−60,797
Nigeria	7,137	24,321	−17,184
Democratic Republic of the Congo	9,154	14,792	−5,638
China (People's Republic of)	1,722	6,469	−4,746
Indonesia	1,723	5,380	−3,657
Madagascar	1,718	4,703	−2,985
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	239	3,207	−2,968
Syrian Arab Republic	1,195	3,849	−2,654
Philippines	703	3,331	−2,628
Myanmar	1,937	3,199	−1,262
Kenya	6,035	3,689	2,346
Tunisia	2,839	56	2,783
Ghana	4,851	1,729	3,122
Ivory Coast	5,048	1,648	3,400
Serbia	3,647	3	3,643
Morocco	4,004	271	3,733
West Bank and Gaza Strip	4,307	1	4,306
Pakistan	8,562	2,879	5,683
Vietnam	9,260	712	8,549
Turkey	13,445	66	13,380



TABLE C4 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, non-DAC members 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	14	9,847	−9,833
Nigeria	8	3,398	−3,390
Democratic Republic of the Congo	13	2,067	−2,053
Ethiopia	98	1,164	−1,067
Bangladesh	62	1,055	−993
Tanzania	63	865	−801
China (People's Republic of)	123	904	−781
Indonesia	11	752	−741
Madagascar	18	657	−639
Mozambique	37	670	−633
Afghanistan	921	451	470
Cuba	495	20	475
Pakistan	959	402	556
West Bank and Gaza Strip	750	0	749
Yemen	1,232	259	973
Kyrgyzstan	1,050	3	1,047
Morocco	1,103	38	1,065
Jordan	1,763	21	1,742
Syrian Arab Republic	7,212	538	6,674
Egypt	10,954	269	10,685

TABLE C5 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, European Union 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	750	21,418	−20,668
Nigeria	563	7391	−6,828
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1,536	4,495	−2,959
Bangladesh	679	2,295	−1,616
Ethiopia	1,119	2,533	−1,414
China (People's Republic of)	573	1,966	−1,393
Indonesia	452	1,635	−1,183
Tanzania	737	1,881	−1,144
Madagascar	403	1,429	−1,026
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	58	975	−916
Georgia	922	28	894
Egypt	1,515	585	930

(Continues)

TABLE C5 (Continued)

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
Kosovo	1,299	1	1,298
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,457	0	1,456
Ukraine	1,509	0	1,509
West Bank and Gaza Strip	2,129	0	2,129
Morocco	2,350	82	2,268
Tunisia	2,296	17	2,279
Serbia	3,458	1	3,457
Turkey	13,010	20	12,990

TABLE C6 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, France 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	501	10,274	−9,774
Nigeria	163	3,546	−3,383
Bangladesh	31	1,101	−1,070
Ethiopia	155	1,215	−1,060
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1,133	2,156	−1,023
Tanzania	116	902	−787
Uganda	31	489	−458
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	18	468	−449
Syrian Arab Republic	123	561	−438
Mozambique	263	699	−436
Cameroon	980	204	776
Senegal	1,168	208	960
Congo	1,064	62	1,002
Mexico	1,144	142	1,002
Brazil	1,333	282	1,051
Vietnam	1,232	104	1,129
Tunisia	1,216	8	1,208
Colombia	1,454	101	1,352
Ivory Coast	2,629	240	2,389
Morocco	3,144	40	3,104

**TABLE C7** Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, Germany 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	4,096.81	1,2615.82	–8,519.01
Nigeria	245.64	4,353.59	–4,107.95
Democratic Republic of the Congo	940.85	2,647.82	–1,706.97
Ethiopia	455.82	1,491.93	–1,036.11
Bangladesh	437.46	1,351.60	–914.14
Madagascar	90.53	841.77	–751.24
Tanzania	505.55	1,107.91	–602.36
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	14.93	574.08	–559.15
Mozambique	414.69	858.29	–443.60
Malawi	197.59	543.12	–345.53
Vietnam	746.80	127.37	619.43
West Bank and Gaza Strip	629.12	0.22	628.90
Peru	706.17	44.48	661.69
Ukraine	788.10	0.21	787.89
Egypt	1,167.01	344.74	822.27
Morocco	1,181.84	48.55	1,133.29
Brazil	1,543.03	346.03	1,197.00
Turkey	1,429.19	11.74	1,417.45
Afghanistan	2,650.98	577.77	2,073.21
China (People's Republic of)	3,636.62	1,157.90	2,478.72

TABLE C8 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, Japan 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	7,385	18,197	–10,812
Nigeria	227	6,279	–6,053
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1,119	3,819	–2,700
Ethiopia	477	2,152	–1,675
Madagascar	210	1,214	–1,005
Syrian Arab Republic	115	994	–878
Tanzania	737	1,598	–861
Mozambique	390	1,238	–848
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	0	828	–828
Malawi	201	783	–583
Malaysia	659	6	654
Turkey	1,243	17	1,226

(Continues)

TABLE C8 (Continued)

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
Philippines	2,254	860	1,393
Sri Lanka	1,605	26	1,579
Thailand	1,621	2	1,619
Iraq	1,879	26	1,854
Afghanistan	2,904	833	2,071
Indonesia	4,207	1,389	2,818
Myanmar	5,128	826	4,302
Vietnam	7,621	184	7,437

TABLE C9 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, United Kingdom 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

United Kingdom	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	2,939.49	10,830.32	–7,890.83
Nigeria	2,144.47	3,737.43	–1,592.96
Madagascar	10.66	722.63	–711.97
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1,612.79	2,273.08	–660.29
Indonesia	226.25	826.78	–600.53
China (People's Republic of)	437.69	994.02	–556.33
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	6.23	492.83	–486.60
Philippines	164.23	511.88	–347.65
Niger	4.21	344.02	–339.81
Mali	8.40	331.41	–323.01
Somalia	909.65	302.39	607.26
West Bank and Gaza Strip	610.04	0.19	609.85
Nepal	784.95	166.34	618.61
Zimbabwe	880.38	128.50	751.88
Bangladesh	1,927.45	1,160.31	767.14
South Sudan	1,045.19	200.36	844.83
Sierra Leone	1,079.49	130.16	949.33
Ethiopia	2,942.99	1,280.78	1,662.21
Afghanistan	2,224.33	496.00	1,728.33
Pakistan	2,467.29	442.37	2,024.92



TABLE C10 Ten most under and over-allocated recipient countries, United States 2010–15, US\$ millions, constant 2015 prices

Recipient country	Actual ODA	Fair ODA	Actual minus fair ODA
India	645	34,646	−34,000
Nigeria	2,895	11,956	−9,061
Democratic Republic of the Congo	4,012	7,271	−3,259
China (People's Republic of)	307	3,180	−2,873
Bangladesh	1,188	3,712	−2,524
Madagascar	485	2,312	−1,827
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	17	1,577	−1,560
Indonesia	1,404	2,645	−1,241
Myanmar	384	1,573	−1,189
Brazil	163	950	−787
Colombia	2,098	342	1,756
South Africa	3,043	1,128	1,915
Sudan	3,223	740	2,483
Haiti	3,397	718	2,679
Kenya	4,689	1,814	2,875
West Bank and Gaza Strip	3,525	1	3,524
Jordan	4,042	73	3,969
Pakistan	5,571	1,415	4,156
Iraq	4,940	49	4,892
Afghanistan	14,777	1,587	13,190