

Whole-of-Society or Whole-of-Government?

What the GPEDC 4th monitoring round tells us about the inclusion of CSOs,
and some preliminary findings from early monitoring reports



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A

GPEDC's Fourth Monitoring Round: Deepening collective accountability

The Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) launched its Fourth Monitoring Round (4MR) in 2022 at GPEDC's 3rd High Level Meeting in Geneva, following a substantial review and revision of the monitoring framework.¹ This Round, gathering country-level data from 2023 to 2026, deepens collective accountability on the part of partner country governments, development partners and other development actors in implementing agreed principles for effective development cooperation – country ownership over development priorities and processes, a focus on country-driven results, inclusive development partnerships, and transparency and mutual accountability.²

While there is a high degree of consistency between the 4MR framework and earlier GPEDC monitoring rounds, this Round is assessing progress on the four effectiveness principles through four distinct but inter-related lenses:

1. **A Whole-of-society lens**, asking “to what extent are sub-national governments, parliaments, civil society organisations, the private sector, foundations, and trade unions included in the development process?”
2. **A Country Systems lens**, asking, “what is the state of countries’ core systems for development co-operation and how development partners’ align and use them?”
3. **A Transparency lens**, asking “what actions are partner countries and development partners taking to make development co-operation transparent?” and
4. **A ‘Leave-No-One-Behind’ lens**, asking “how is everyone consulted and targeted in development co-operation? And is disaggregated data available to monitor progress?”³

The 2016 GPEDC Nairobi Outcome document acknowledged that development cooperation cannot be effective if it does not address the 2030 Agenda’s pledge to leave no-one behind. Implementing Agenda 2030 is a shared responsibility across government, civil society and the private sector. It requires governments to work across policy areas through institutionalized consultative, collaborative, and coordinated processes. It requires concerted action to reverse the narrowing and closing of civic space in a growing number of country contexts.

Increasingly complex, context-specific development challenges in recent years, arising from persistent poverty and inequalities, protracted fragility and conflict, Covid-19, and climate change, accentuate the importance of a whole-of-society approach that leaves no one behind. The revised 4MR framework brings together a range of indicators in these areas that allow an assessment of progress on the part of development cooperation actors.

GPEDC’s monitoring is uniquely a partner country-driven exercise, which is coordinated by a government-appointed national coordinator. The national coordinator organizes data collection with government ministries, development partners and other actors, including CSOs, the private sector and local government, at the country level. The process includes a lengthy data collection phase, data validation by country stakeholders and the GPEDC Joint Support Team, and publication of detailed country results on the Effective Development Cooperation Global Dashboard.⁴ These results, including a Country Results Brief prepared by the Joint Secretariat, are intended to inform inclusive follow-up and country-level dialogue, and learning. They should lead to joint action to advance progress in key areas that have been identified.

¹ The full Monitoring Framework is accessible at <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/book-page/annex-1-monitoring-questionnaire>. Countries facing fragile and post-conflict situations now also can opt to conduct the monitoring using a framework adapted for those situations. See the Geneva Summit Declaration accessed at <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/Summitoutcomedocument>.

² See “About the Global Partnership,” accessed at <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/about>

³ See “Global Partnership Monitoring”, accessed at <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/4thMonitoringRound>. The full 4MR monitoring framework can be found at <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/Published-Create%20book%20page>, with a summary chart accessed at https://www.effectivecooperation.org/monitoring_framework. Unique to the 4MR framework is an assessment of progress in relation to the GPEDC “Kampala Principles on Private Sector Engagement in Development Cooperation”. The Kampala Principles and guidance for their implementation is accessed at <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/landing-page/kampala-principles>.

⁴ The GPEDC Global Dashboard is accessible at <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/GlobalEDCDashboard>.

Specific 4MR monitoring areas require information and data from different actors. Partner Governments, Development Partners and CSOs, for example, independently assess the environment for civil society to operate in the country (formerly Indicator Two of the 3MR monitoring framework). This methodology reveals interesting comparative data between these actors. There are additional complementary questions in the 4MR framework relating to engagement and dialogue with diverse country stakeholders, parliamentary oversight, and consultations conducted by government and development partners with vulnerable and marginalized groups.

These areas together create a multifaceted dataset to assess progress in inclusion of CSOs in country development processes, which is the focus for this chapter. While more modest in scope, it builds upon a detailed analysis of 3MR data for inclusion, accountability and transparency by the author for CSO Partnership for Development Effectiveness (CPDE) in 2019.⁵ The latter concluded that there had been minimal progress since 2016 in advancing inclusive partnerships, despite repeated affirmations of their essential importance in advancing Agenda 2030. Unfortunately, preliminary data from 4MR summarised in this chapter indicates a deterioration by 2024 from this modest progress in earlier years.

Unlike the 3MR in which all countries undertook monitoring in the same time period, 4MR is structured in a rolling-country process over four years up to 2026. Countries have the flexibility to participate at a time that is convenient to their national priorities and processes.

At this point (May 2025), only 16 countries have completed the 4MR with results published on the Global Dashboard. An additional 30 countries are listed on the Dashboard as “actively progressing in the monitoring process”. By way of comparison, 85 countries completed the 3MR (but only 50 countries included data on Indicator Two noted above). If all countries listed as “actively progressing” complete the monitoring process, the 4MR numbers of countries will be just over half the numbers for the 3MR.

Given the relatively low number of countries that have completed the monitoring process at the time of writing, the aggregated results presented below must be read as tentative. Of the 16 countries completing the process, only 10 have data from the 3MR to draw conclusions from indicators about progress between 2018 and 2024.⁶ In addition, the monitoring exercise relating to inclusion of civil society is largely based on perceptual indicators in which different stakeholders have shared their views. Where possible it is important to verify these country perceptions with other monitoring processes, such as the Civicus Monitor Tracking Civic Space, V-Dem indicators, and the Bertelsmann Transformation Index.

Stakeholder divergencies in GPEDC country data should also be informed by CSO-led country diagnostics of enabling conditions, and the recently-launched EU-SEE country profiles, which could inform in turn government/CSO dialogues to reverse and improve trends in CSO enabling conditions.

⁵ Brian Tomlinson, 2019. “Civil Society Reflections on Progress in Achieving Development Effectiveness: Inclusion, Accountability and Transparency,” CPDE, June 2019, accessed at <https://csopartnership.org/2019/07/civil-society-reflections-on-progress-in-achieving-development-effectiveness-inclusion-accountability-and-transparency/>

⁶ As of May 15th 2025, these 10 countries with data for both 3MR and 4MR are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, DRC, Laos, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, Yemen, and Zimbabwe. The six additional 4MR countries are Honduras, Indonesia, Sierra Leone, Tonga, Uganda, and Zambia. Data became available for Moldova after the author processed 4MR data for this chapter.

Please note that due to delays in completing data collection and verification in the countries where CPDE carried out its assessment of enabling conditions for inclusive participation in development planning and priorities for implementing the SDGs for this report, only four of the twelve countries (Honduras, Nepal, Indonesia and Nigeria) are among the 16 countries with published 4MR data.

B

Trends in Inclusive CSO Participation in Country Development Planning and Priorities, 2018 and 2024

The inclusion of peoples' voices, concerns, and interests in democratic planning processes, especially those who live in poverty or marginalized, is an essential dimension of democratic country ownership. Country-level processes for stakeholder inclusion in the determination, and therefore the legitimacy, of partner country development strategies is a crucial dimension of democratic country ownership.

To what degree are such processes institutionalized in multi-stakeholder bodies for the preparation and implementation of development plans, including the SDGs? What is the quality of these processes (assuring full diversity of participants, timely access to relevant information,

mutually agreed content for consultation, and a format that allows for dialogue and feedback)?

Broadly speaking, 4MR data to date confirm prior assessments that various forms of consultations exist in most countries, but these processes are highly compromised by an absence of institutional regularity, often perfunctory processes meant to confirm existing government priorities with limited CSO participants. The following charts compare the results of the 2024 4MR and the 2018 3MR with respect to consultations for the ten countries with data for both monitoring rounds. The conclusion brings together highlights from these important areas for inclusion of CSO voices and proposals.

1. Inclusive, institutionalized consultations on national development strategies and SDG priorities

Chart 1. **2024 4MR: CSO Engagement with National Development Strategies**

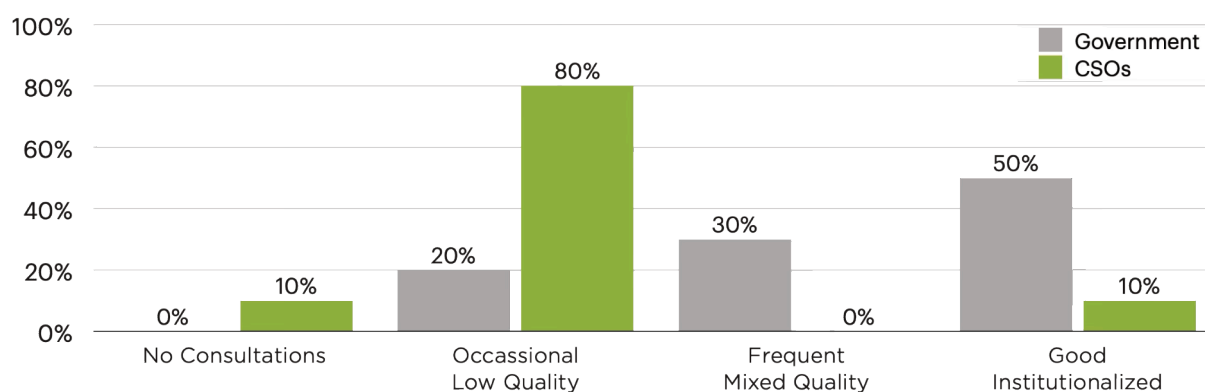
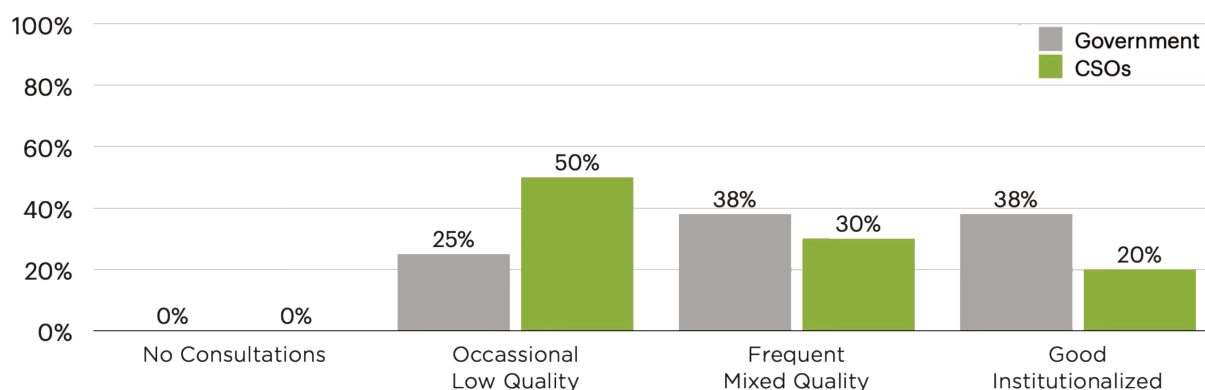


Chart 1. **2018 3MR: CSO Engagement with National Development Strategies**



There is a notable decrease in CSOs' perception of the quality of consultations with government in the design, implementation, and monitoring of national development strategies, which are intended to direct development priorities. **(Chart 1)** Among the 10 countries, CSOs in almost all countries (80%) indicated that consultations often existed, but the process was often very challenging (no diversity of participants, no mutually agreed content, format did not allow for dialogue). This weak indication of consultations is up from 50% in the 3MR results for these countries.

Partner country governments have significantly divergent positive views, suggesting that consultations have been frequent if sometimes mixed quality (30%), or have been regular and institutionalized, with consistently good quality (50%). This result is largely unchanged since 2018, when 76% of government respondents in these countries shared this view. **(Chart 1)**

With respect to consultations relating to national SDG implementation, again CSOs in the vast majority of these countries (80%) indicated that they have been held only occasionally and involving select CSOs. **(Chart 2)** In contrast, government officials signaled that these consultations have improved since 2018, with 50% suggesting that such consultations have been formal and a regular part of an SDG institutionalized process, compared to 22% in 2018. This government perception of engagement with a diversity of CSOs is confirmed in their responses to parallel 4MR questions on consultations (see below).

The perceptions of development partners for these two areas for consultation (not shown in the Charts), are largely consistent with CSO perceptions of weak episodic government consultations with CSO stakeholders.

Chart 2. **2024 4MR: CSO Engagement with National Development Strategies**

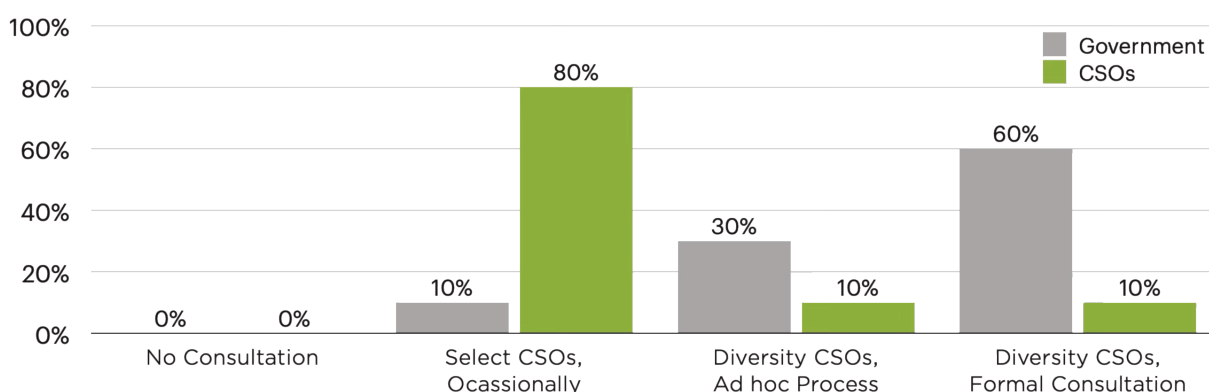
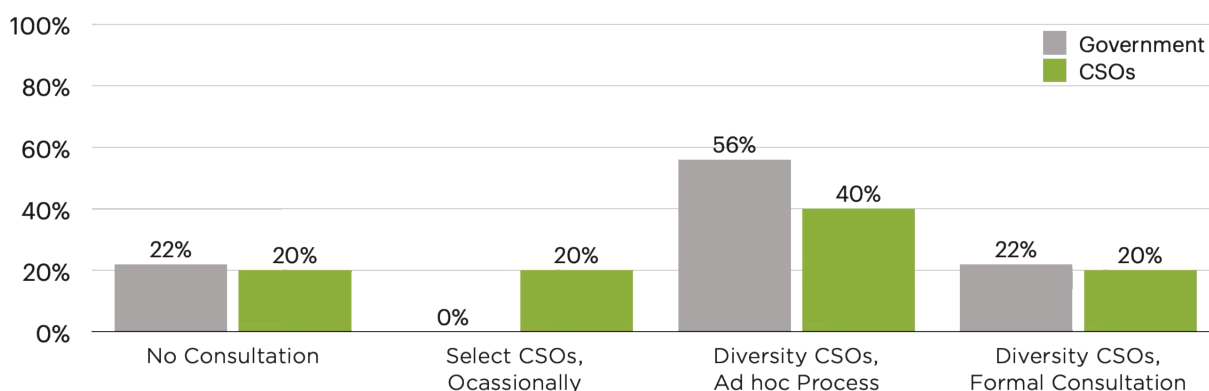


Chart 2. **2018 3MR: CSO Engagement with National Development Strategies**



2. Access to timely, relevant information

Timely access to relevant information is a critical condition informing effective consultative practice.

Chart 3. **2024 4MR: Access to Information**

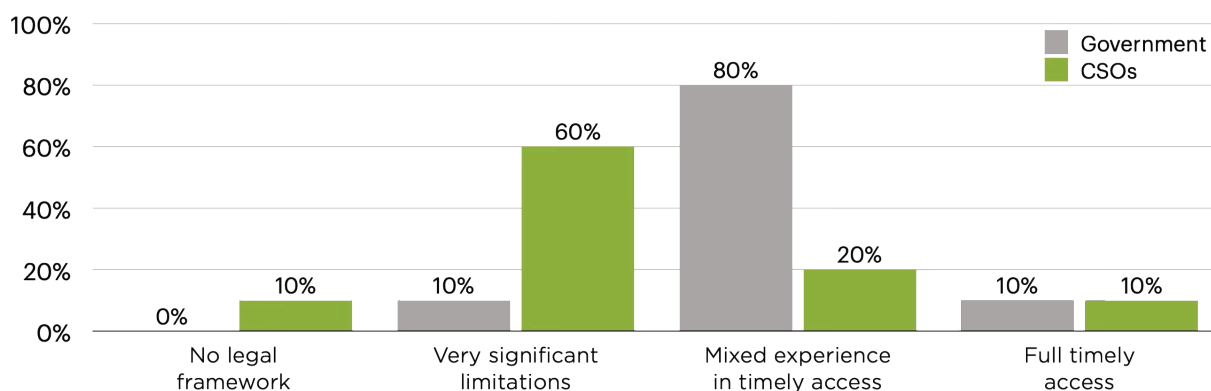
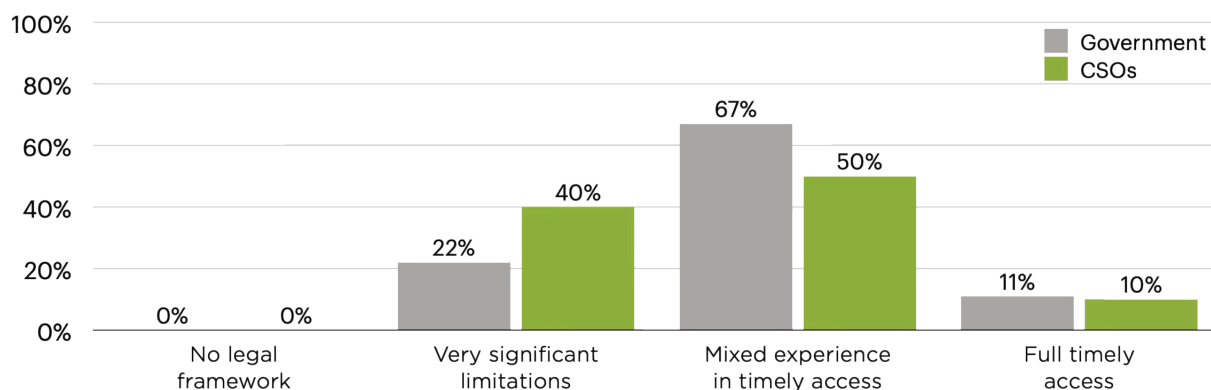


Chart 3. **2018 3MR: Access to Information**



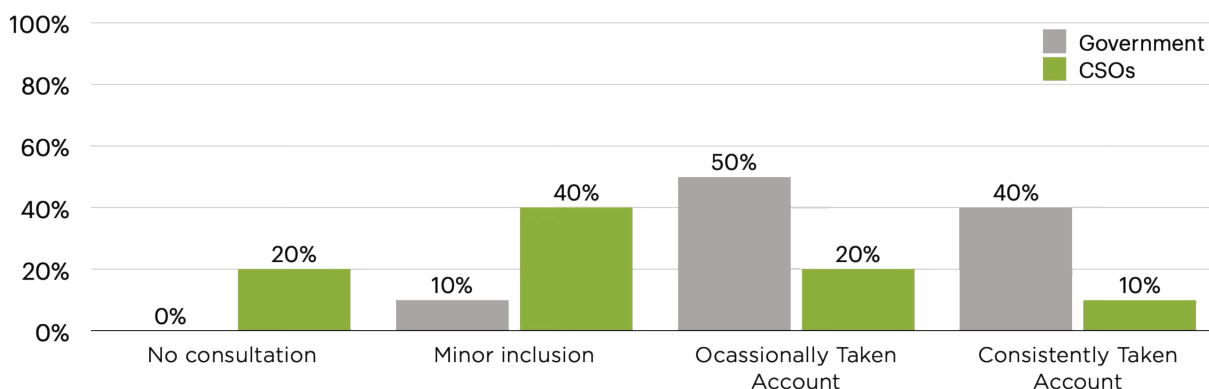
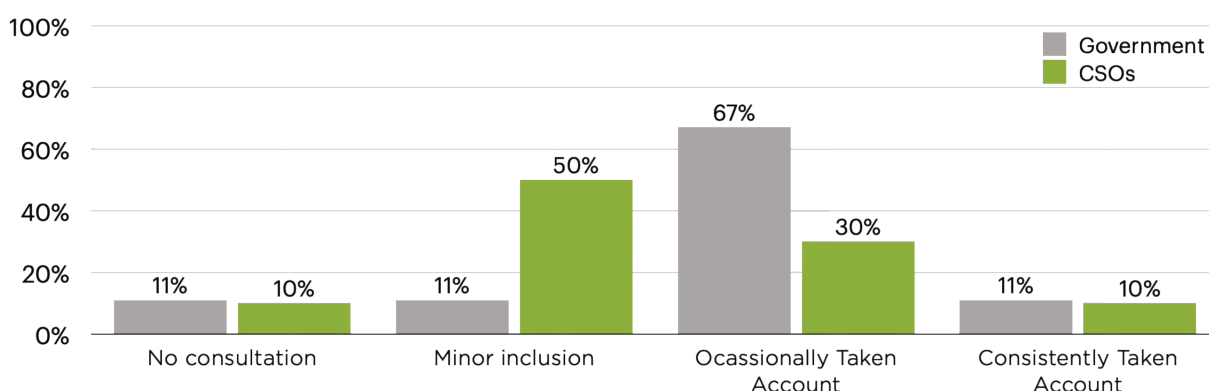
Compared to 2018, CSOs perceive an increase in significant limitations in access to government information, excluding CSO access to the most relevant information in practice. There can be limitations in the law, with access based on the nature of information requested and/or the CSOs

making the request. Governments on the other hand indicate that access to information law exists, but in practice they provide stakeholders with mixed results in timely and comprehensive information. **(Chart 3)**

3. CSO consultations are taken into account in determining government policies

While institutionalized consultations are an important ingredient for development effectiveness at the country level, the degree to which stakeholders perceive that government take into account CSO proposals in determining government policies is a crucial indicator for democratic country ownership in practice. The results from the 4MR and 3MR suggest that CSOs largely (60%) still believe that only minor

comments by CSOs at best are taken into account in the design, implementation and monitoring of national development policies. Governments on the other hand perceive that their practice has significantly improved since 2018, with 40% suggesting that CSO advice is consistently taken into account. **(Chart 4)** Development partners' perceptions (not shown in the Chart) are more consistent with CSO views.

Chart 4. **2024 4MR: Governments take CSO consultations into account**Chart 4. **2018 3MR: Governments take CSO consultations into account**

4. CSO self-coordination

CSOs' own coordination, whether through national or sectoral platforms, is a key element in organizing effective consultation and dialogue with government and development partners. Coordination strengthens the effective representation of CSOs interests, particular where such coordination includes the voices of affected communities, people living in poverty, and those who are marginalized.

3MR data indicated that CSO-intimated coordination was present and was improving in

most countries. This understanding by CSOs has weakened to some extent in these 10 countries with 40% (versus 30% in 2018) indicating that CSO coordination was weak, existing in a few sectors, mainly sustained by the interests of development partners or governments in these sectors.

However, in the majority of countries, both CSOs and governments agree that CSOs are coordinated in their policy dialogues, either through a major national inclusive CSO platform or several different platforms at sectoral and national levels. **(Chart 5)**

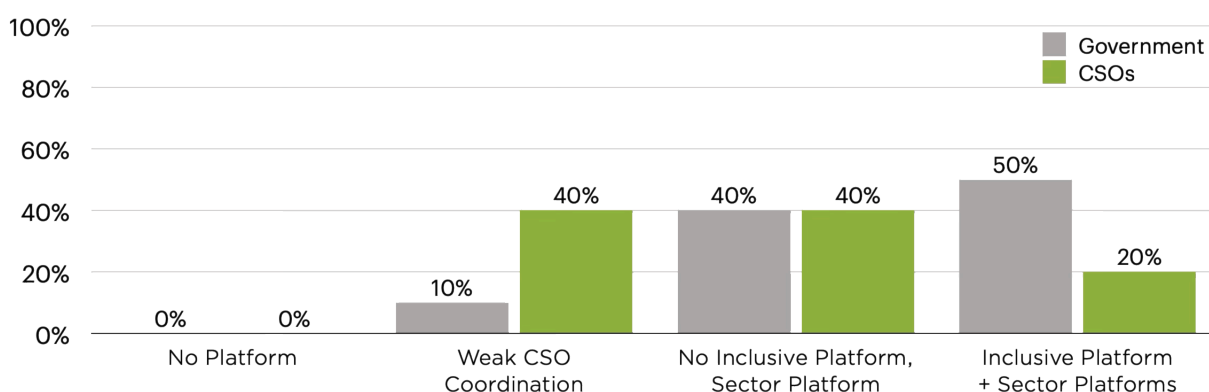
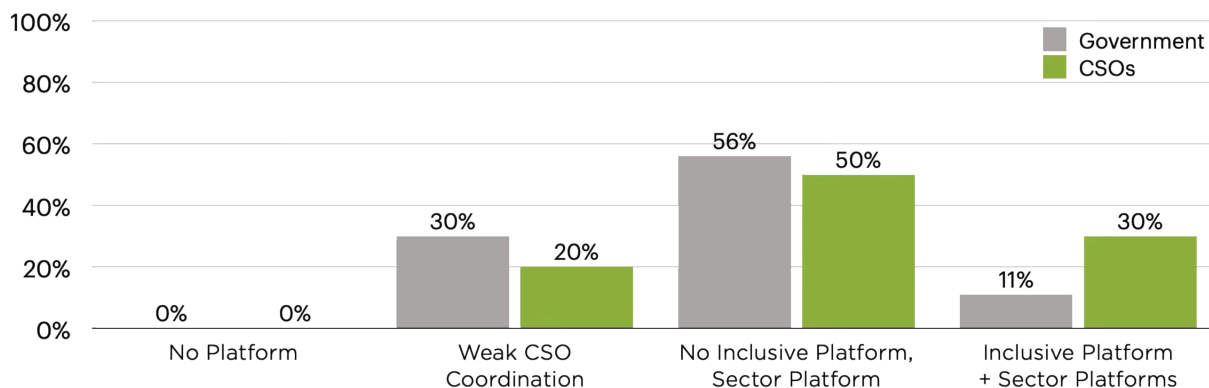
Chart 5. **2024 4MR: CSO self-coordination**

Chart 5. **2018 3MR: CSO Self-Coordination**

5. Development partners' consultations with CSOs and dialogue with government

To what degree are development partners consulting with a diversity of CSOs at the country level in regular, institutionalized consultations? Is the focus mainly on implementing existing

provider policies, or is their space to influence development partner priorities? Are development partners coordinating among themselves in their relationships with CSOs?

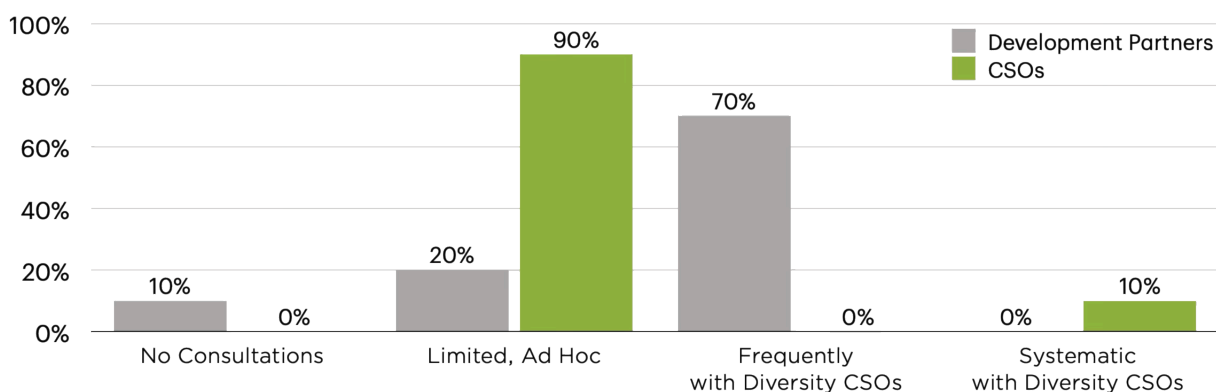
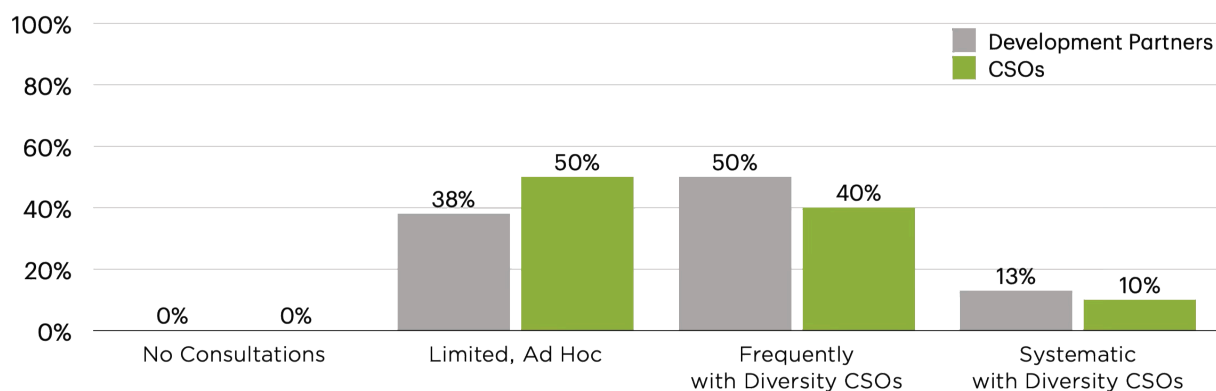
Chart 6. **2024 4MR: Development partners' consultations with CSOs**Chart 6. **2018 3MR: Development partners' consultations with CSOs**

Chart 6 reveals the CSO perception of a substantial decline in development partners' consultations with CSOs in these ten countries in 2024 compared to 2018 results. In almost all of these countries, consultations with providers are now described by CSOs as occasional and limited to some individual development partners with select CSOs and focusing only on the implementation of the former's programs. Development partners on the other hand describe their consultations in more than 60% of the countries as frequent, with a diversity of CSOs, but often with an agenda largely established by the provider.

In certain country contexts, development partners, acting in concert and guided by country-level CSOs, may be able to raise critical issues as civic space narrows and CSOs are subject to harassment or attack. In their dialogue with government, development partners signaled that most of them included the CSO enabling environment agenda as an item in their policy dialogue with government, particularly if CSOs lobby on specific issues. Governments generally agreed with this assessment, while CSOs suggested that in most countries (70%) only some development partners do so when CSOs advocate on particular issues.

6. Discrimination and harassment of CSOs working with vulnerable populations

The degree to which the rights of vulnerable populations are upheld and their organizations protected in practice by the rule of law is a strong

indication of their access and capacities to participate in government consultation on development priorities.

Chart 7. **2024 4MR: Protecting the rights of vulnerable populations**

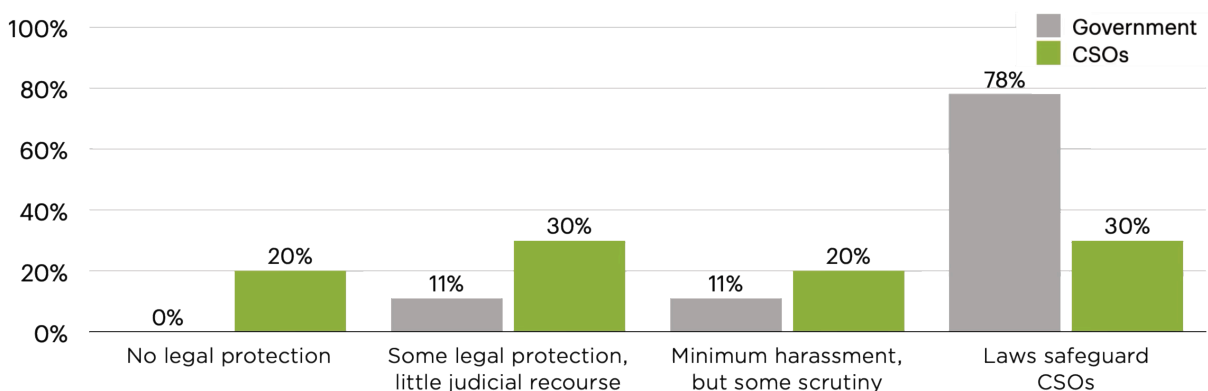
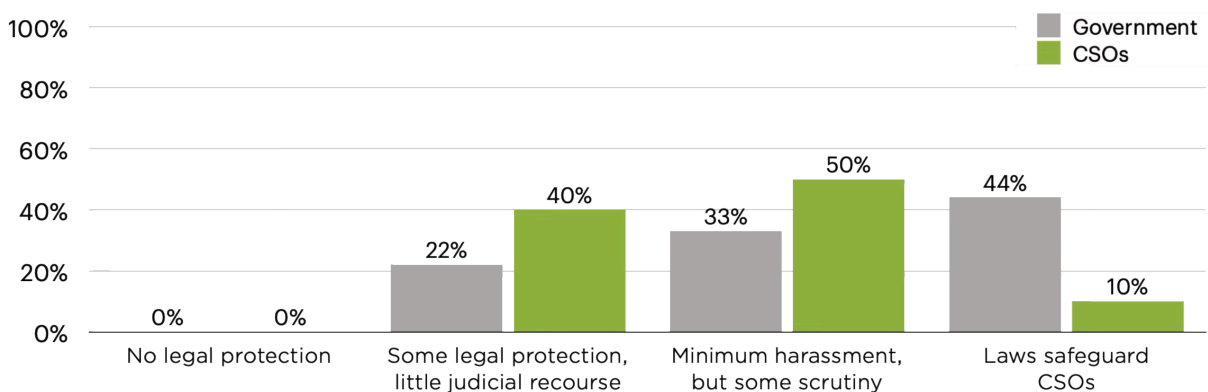


Chart 7. **2018 3MR: Protecting the rights of vulnerable populations**



Governments in most countries (78% up from 44% in 2018) perceive that their laws and regulations effectively guard CSOs working with vulnerable and marginalized groups of the population and discriminatory actions are an exception. CSOs in

half of the countries indicate that there is no legal protection (20%) or there is some legal protection, which is applied inconsistently, with few if any judicial recourses (30%).

C

Partner countries and development partners' perception of stakeholder participation in setting development priorities and plans⁷

1. Which stakeholders have partner countries included in a participatory process in developing their national development plans / strategies?

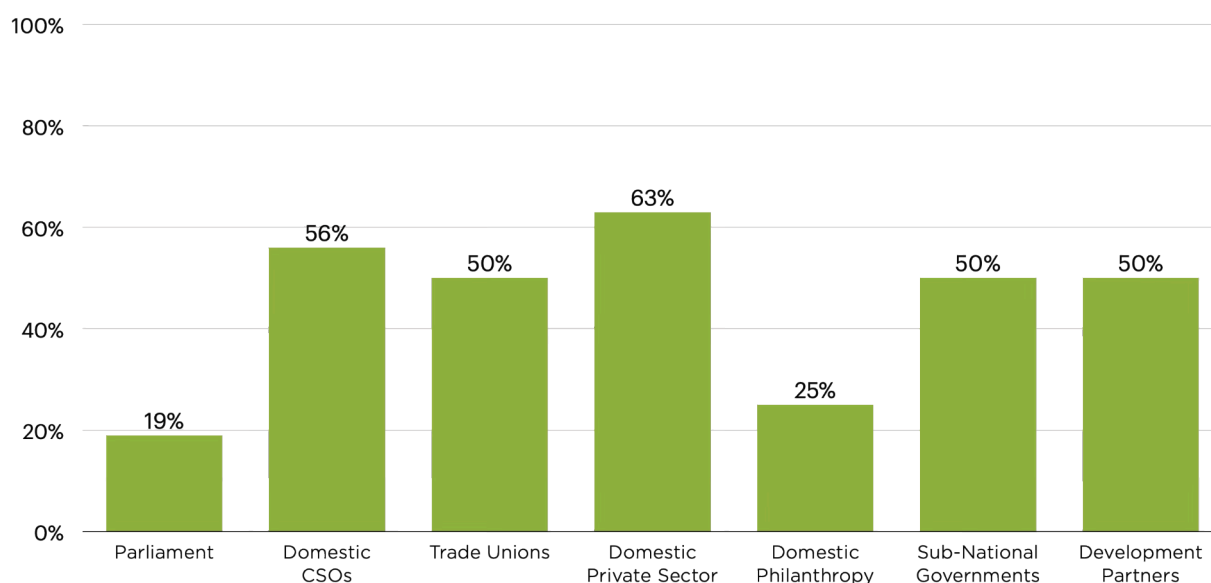
Chart 8 looks exclusively at data for participatory processes in developing national development strategies, which is quite positive. Governments could also indicate when they only consulted stakeholders, but not in a participatory process.

When combined, governments signaled that in more than 80% of the 16 countries with published 4MR data, they either consult with domestic CSOs (25%) or involve them in a participatory process (56%) in the development and implementation of their national development plans. This result is true across different populations – women and girls, children and youth and vulnerable/marginalized populations. While close to 90% of countries consult or involve the domestic private sector, governments also claim to consult or involve domestic trade unions (75%) in these plans and strategies.

But the extent and quality of this engagement is important for effective democratic ownership of these strategies and plans. As was apparent above (section B1), when asked directly, CSOs perceive consultations in two-thirds (67%) of the 16 countries to be only occasional, with weak qualities -- no diverse participation, government-determined with no agreement on content of consultation, and a format that did not allow for dialogue and feedback.

The responses to the 4MR framework also reveal very minimal assessments of progress in plan/strategy implementation assessments at the country level and no national cooperation/partnership forums with development partners or other country stakeholders. Only 3 of 16 countries point to any public process for assessments of progress, with two (2) of these indicating the inclusion of different stakeholders including CSOs in these assessments.

Chart 8. **Stakeholders engaged by government in participatory process in national development plan**



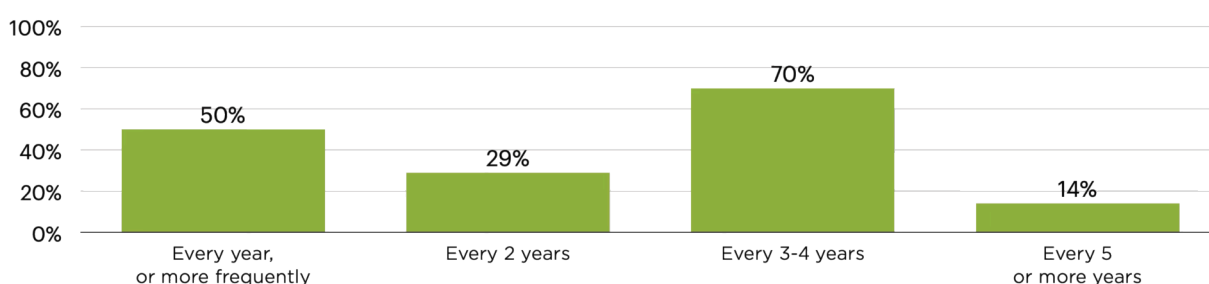
⁷ In this section, the full sample of 16 countries with data in the 4MR for 2024 is the basis for the observations that follow. There were no comparative questions in the 3MR.

2. Do partner countries publish progress reports on their national development strategies?

Access to information on the national development strategy or plans is crucial for effective engagement by CSOs and other domestic actors. Despite the lack of public processes for assessment of these plans noted above, 14 of 16 countries produce progress reports, 50% annually and another 29% biannually. Almost all countries (13) claim to use these reports in stakeholder dialogues, including 12 in dialogue with CSOs, and 13 in dialogue with development partners.

Almost all countries (15 of 16) collect and make information on their development strategies and plans public, mainly through online reports. Governments use these progress reports in dialogue with CSOs (12 of 16 countries) and with development partners (13 of 16 countries). But only 11 of 16 countries report development cooperation information to their parliament.

Chart 9. **How often are progress reports published on national development strategies?**



3. The share of 4MR countries where development partners indicate that they involve stakeholders in development of their country plans.

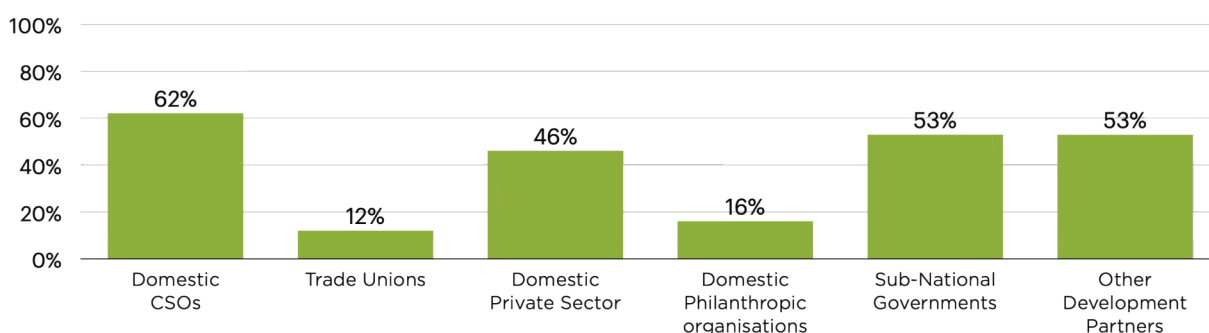
On average more than 60% of development partners indicated that they have engaged CSOs in the preparation of their country strategy or partnership framework. **(Chart 10)**

But digging deeper, this engagement does not necessarily involve a diversity of CSOs (women and girls, children and youth, vulnerable and marginalized groups). In 9 out of 16 countries less than two thirds of development partners involve these groups. When asked directly in the 3MR process (Section B5 above), In 13 of 16 countries domestic CSOs indicate that these consultations are quite limited and ad hoc.

Interestingly, the 4MR data for development partners in the 16 countries suggests that they involve domestic private sector actors even less. In 9 out of the 16 countries, less than half of development partners do so). There is also very limited involvement of trade union actors on the part of development partners. On average across the 16 countries only 12% did so.

Surprisingly there is also limited engagement with other development partners in the development of their country plans. In only 3 countries do more than two-thirds of development partners indicate they involve other development partners in the development of partner country strategies. On average across the 16 countries only 53% do so.

Chart 10. **Development partners: Involvement of stakeholders**



4. Do development partner country strategies address development priorities for a range of stakeholder groups?

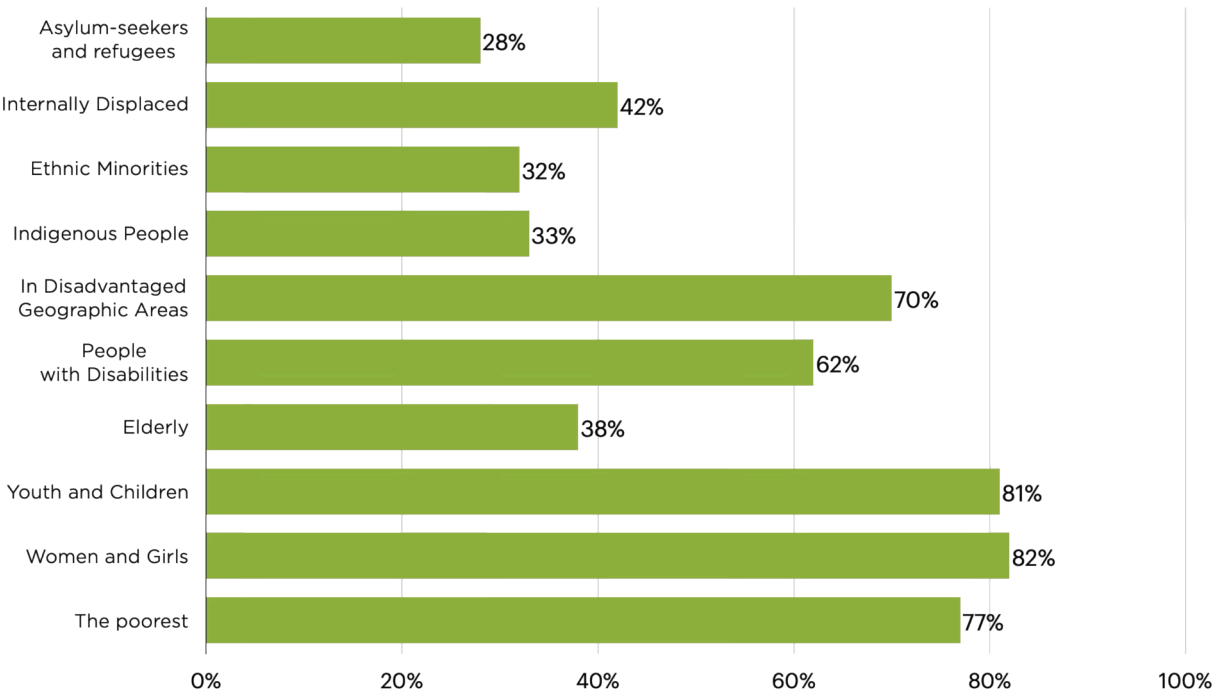
Most development partners’ country development strategies give high priority to addressing the rights of people living in poverty and vulnerable populations. On average across the 16 countries, 77% of providers indicate that their programs focus on “the poorest”. **(Chart 11)**

People with disabilities, those living in disadvantaged geographic areas and the elderly are a priority for the majority of DPs, but not all.

Low representation of Indigenous peoples may reflect the population of the 16 countries that have reported data.

The poorest, women and girls, youth and children are well represented in the development priorities of most development partners.

Chart 11. Development partners: Addressing poverty and vulnerable groups



D

The changing development landscape

The changing development landscape in 2025 is having a deep, if somewhat unpredictable, impact on the capacities of governments, development partners, and CSOs to implement Agenda 2030. The OECD DAC is estimating aid cuts in 2025 of the order of 10% to 20% over 2024, a year in which ODA declined by 7%. CSO estimates are significantly higher. **Table 1** sets out the major known or likely cuts in ODA by development partners. If realized, and other providers maintain on average their 2023 ODA level, cuts in by 2026 will amount to 23% on actual ODA for 2024, and 29% on actual ODA for 2023.

However, these cuts will likely affect different programs disproportionately. If one looks at ODA allocations for purposes beyond in-donor refugee

costs, imputed student costs, support for Ukraine, an estimate for humanitarian assistance, core support for UN system and for IDA, support for climate mitigation, and donor administration, the picture is more dire. In 2023, \$70.9 billion is available for bilateral long term development investments in health, education, agriculture, climate adaptation. An estimate, taking in these cuts up to 2026, leaves between \$30 billion and \$35 billion for these purposes, a cut of 50%!⁸

With cuts in long term development cooperation programming at this level, implications for advancing the development effectiveness agenda will be more challenging, but also more necessary to maximize country-led outcomes for Agenda 2030.

Table 1. **Projections of ODA in 2025 (in millions of USD)**

Provider	2023 ODA	2024 ODA	Expected Cut to 2026
Canada	7,970	7,420	1,360
France	15,050	15,430	2,790
Germany	37,900	32,420	3,540
Netherlands	7,360	7,520	1,170
Sweden	5,622	5,010	340
Switzerland	5,220	4,440	410
United Kingdom	19,070	17,970	5,380
United States	64,690	63,300	33,400
Total Expected Cuts			48,390
All DAC Providers	223,460	207,600	159,210

Source: DAC1, CRS; SEEK Donor Tracker, Budget Cut Tracker

The cuts also disproportionate affect both countries and development actors. **Charts 12** and **13** set out the provider profile in 2023 for the 16 countries currently reporting data for the 4MR. They highlight the share of four providers, with planned large cuts in their ODA (United States, France, Germany and the United Kingdom), in country ODA, and in support for CSOs, respectively.

The United States, the provider with the deepest cuts, is a major provider (more than 20%) in 13 of the 16 countries. (**Chart 12**) Taking the four providers together, they represent more than almost half (from 48% to 98%) in 12 of the 16 countries. It is only a few countries in Asia

(Philippines, Cambodia, and Indonesia) that are less reliant on these providers. There are five countries where these four providers account for more than 80% of bilateral ODA received in 2023 (Zimbabwe, Yemen, Zambia, Nigeria, and DRC). In the case of the DRC, these providers represent 98% of bilateral ODA received in that year. Major disruptions of long term development initiatives, supported by these providers, will impact not only those immediately affected by these programs, but also capacities for planning, recovery, and trust in future engagement with stakeholders.

For CSOs, the impacts are even more profound. (**Chart 13**) The United States accounts for 33% to 77% of all support for CSOs in all of the 16

⁸ Author's calculations based on latest data from OECD DAC and assumptions that some core expenditures will remain unchanged, in-donor refugee costs will decline by 33%, and US aid cuts will remain very substantial. The demands for humanitarian assistance will also remain high but at a level significantly less than the 2023 figures.

countries in 2023. Much of this support will have disappeared by 2025. It is almost to more than half of support for CSO in ten countries (Philippines (48%), Uganda (63%), Honduras (65%), Laos (64%), Zimbabwe (64%), Yemen (52%), Indonesia (57%), DRC (71%), Zambia (77%), and Nigeria (77%)). Other donors, particularly the UK but also

Germany, will likely diminish their support for CSO development and humanitarian actors. Given the importance of CSOs in driving accountability in development effectiveness commitments, this dramatic change in the CSO ecosystem is likely to have deep impacts on this agenda going forward.

Chart 12. Major providers' share in Country ODA, 16 4MR Reporting Countries

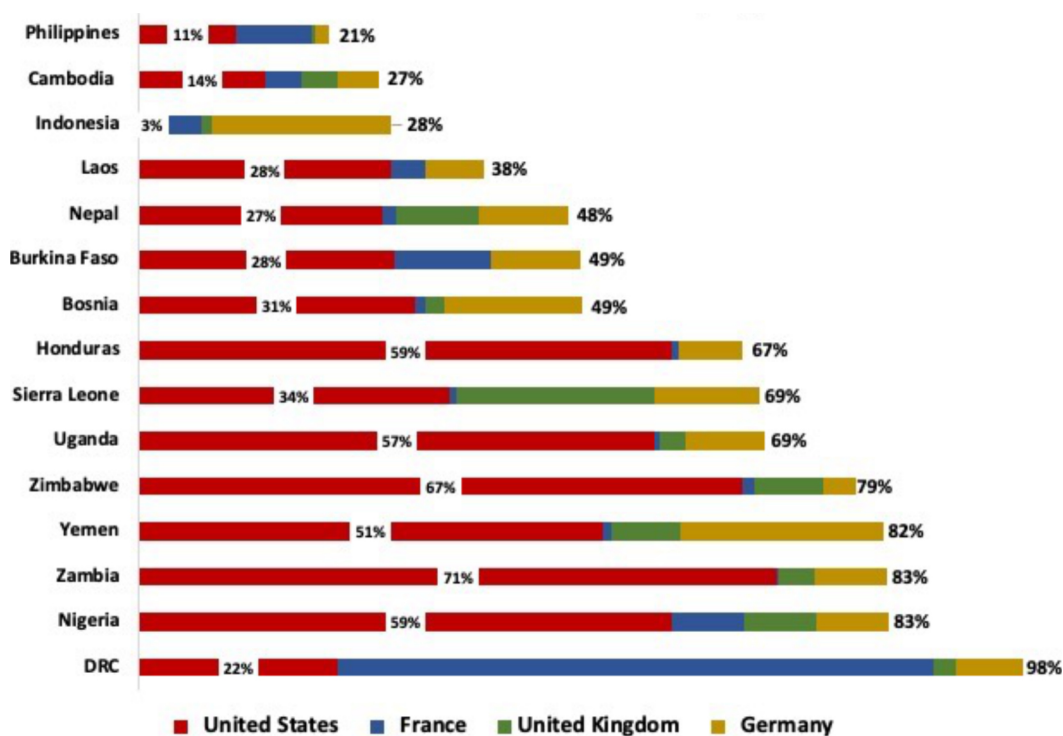
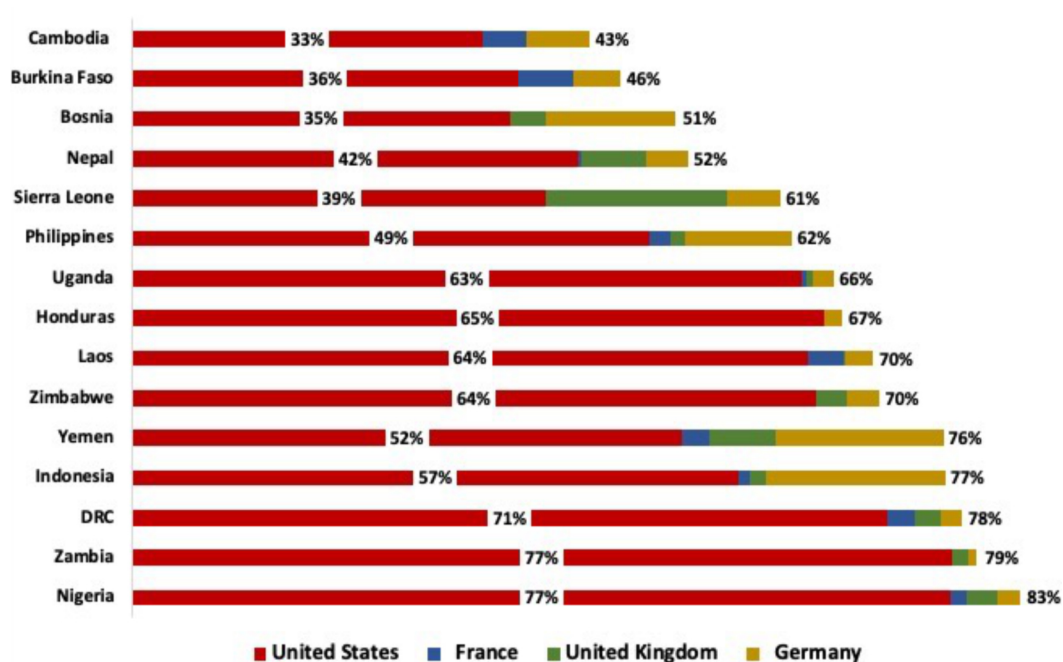


Chart 13. Major providers' share in support for CSOs, 16 4MR Reporting Countries



E

Summary of findings and conclusions

Conditions for inclusion of CSOs in government and development partner processes to determine development priorities and participate in the design, implementation and assessment of progress have declined in the six years since the third Monitoring Round in 2018. Inclusion is a key commitment for development effectiveness and an essential condition of “leaving no one behind.” The preliminary evidence suggests that:

1. While various forms of consultation exist, there has been a notable decrease since 2018 (3MR) in CSOs’ perception of the quality of consultations with government in the design, implementation, and monitoring of national development strategies, which are intended to direct development priorities. Consultations are episodic, often involve only select CSOs, and are meant to confirm existing government priorities.

Partner country governments have very divergent views about this trend, which should be explored through dialogue. Governments in 80% of the 16 countries with data indicate that they either consult (25%) or involve in participatory processes (56%) domestic CSOs and a range of stakeholder groups. The quality of these consultations is clearly being challenged by CSOs. Interestingly, governments also indicate that while they issue reports on progress in their development plans, there are virtually no inclusive assessments of this progress in the vast majority of countries.

Similarly, while the majority of development partners give high priority to their strategies in addressing the rights of people living in poverty and vulnerable populations, only 60% on average suggest that they engage with domestic CSOs in determining these priorities.

2. Access to information by CSOs is an essential ingredient of effective consultations and inclusion in government development priorities. Since 2018 CSOs perceive a significant increase in limitations in accessing government information.

3. When consultations occur, CSOs in a majority of 4MR reporting countries perceive that only minor comments at best are taken into account in government development priorities. There is little evidence from stakeholders that CSO advice is routinely addressed in the design and implementation of national development plans and strategies.
4. Coordination of CSO voices in consultation is an important aspect of effective engagement with government and development partners. While relatively strong in these ten countries, the evidence suggests that in 40% of the countries, there has been some weakening since 2018, with CSO coordination existing only in a few sectors, and often sustained by interests of development partners.
5. There has been a substantial decline in CSO perception of the scope and quality of development partner consultations with CSOs, which are described in 80% of the countries as occasional and limited to select providers, to select CSOs, and restricted to the implementation of providers’ already determined priorities. On the other hand, most providers indicate that they include issues in country CSO-enabling environment as an item in policy dialogue with governments.

The dramatic changes in the development landscape, with major cuts in ODA in 2025, will have deep, if somewhat unpredictable, impacts on the capacities of government, development partners and CSOs to implement Agenda 2030. Resources for long-term development cooperation are disproportionately affected and CSOs in all of the 16 countries face catastrophic impacts from these cuts. While the principles of development effectiveness are all the more crucial in addressing this fundamental crisis, the sudden drop in finance will surely undermine the implementation of these principles for all development actors. The historic changes in CSO country ecosystems resulting from the demise of USAID will deeply impact their capacities to be partners in the development process and drive accountability for development effectiveness.

