

SEEKING AGREEMENT ON OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

THE UNITED KINGDOM,
GERMANY AND
THE UNITED STATES:
conclusions for France

Henry de CAZOTTE

Foreword by Rémy RIOUX

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Disclaimer

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SEEKING AGREEMENT ON OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

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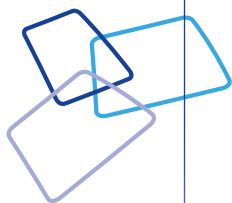
The United Kingdom, Germany & the United States: orientations and possible roadmaps for the future of France's international cooperation on sustainable development

Henry de CAZOTTE

*The original report in French was finalized as of May 2017
and reflects issues up to this date.*



Rémy RIOUX, Chief Executive Officer,
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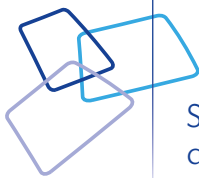
Foreword

Since 2015, the international concert of development policy has been playing a decidedly new score. With the Addis Ababa Conference on Financing for Development, the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals, the COP21 and the Paris Agreement, a new horizon is now emerging: a universal sustainable development agenda, shared by countries in both North and South and designed to mobilise in unison all of the players, be they private or public, operational or academic.

On this new stage, development policy is being played in crescendo. The official development assistance (ODA) figures for 2016 just published by the OECD indicate an 8.9% increase in ODA for that year. Among the contributing countries, three leaders stand out. The United States, with USD 33 billion, is by far the world's top donor. The United Kingdom, which since 2013 has kept its commitment to spend 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) on public development assistance, remains an international bellwether. And Germany has now joined the trio: with USD 25 billion spent on ODA in 2016, it has for the first time reached the 0.7% target for ODA devoted to development.

France too, since 2015, has expressed its renewed commitment to development. In the run-up to COP21, the President of the French Republic announced that AFD would step up its annual commitments by 50% by 2020. In 2016, the Agency's equity was doubled to allow for this growth and it has been allocated new grant resources from the Financial Transaction Tax to reinforce its actions in the most fragile countries. This move garnered bipartisan support from the French Parliament.

At the same time, dissonant notes are beginning to be heard. The new US administration has affirmed its wish to reduce the resources devoted to development, although it is not yet clear just how or by how much. Brexit raises the question of whether the British commitment to development will hold good over the long run. In Germany and France, voices advocating isolationism are being heard. The role that development will have in the new European agenda that is taking shape is still unknown.



Seeking agreement on official development assistance

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It was in this setting that I wished to entrust Henry de Cazotte with a mission to help us understand – beyond the numbers – the political and citizen underpinnings of the consensus or agreement on development policy that has built up in the three lead countries, the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany.

This report is the outcome of the work accomplished during this mission. It provides a fascinating analysis, which is the first of its kind: one that shows the exceptional harmony patiently built up over the last ten years in each of the three countries around development policy. Each country has taken up a different narrative to justify its solidarity effort, but all three have successfully mobilised the full spectrum of stakeholders around this narrative: political actors, civil society, academia, businesses, national security officials, etc.

The findings of this study could not have been more opportune, intervening at a time when France is facing major political waymarks. Comparisons may of course prove misleading, and the lessons gleaned from success or failure cannot be transposed from one country to another. But a reading of this report opens up perspectives for all those interested in French development policy, and gives grounds for optimism.

Seeking consensus on development aid and raising this policy to a higher level is a worthwhile ambition, true to the values of France and our partners' expectations. Other countries have found the strength and built their leadership on this foundation.

My hope is that all who read this report will feel inspired by this ambition. And if they wish to move from ambition to action, they will find the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) on their path, as a partner determined to work in unison with all development policy stakeholders, to build a powerful and harmonious consensus to serve a world in common.

Rémy RIOUX





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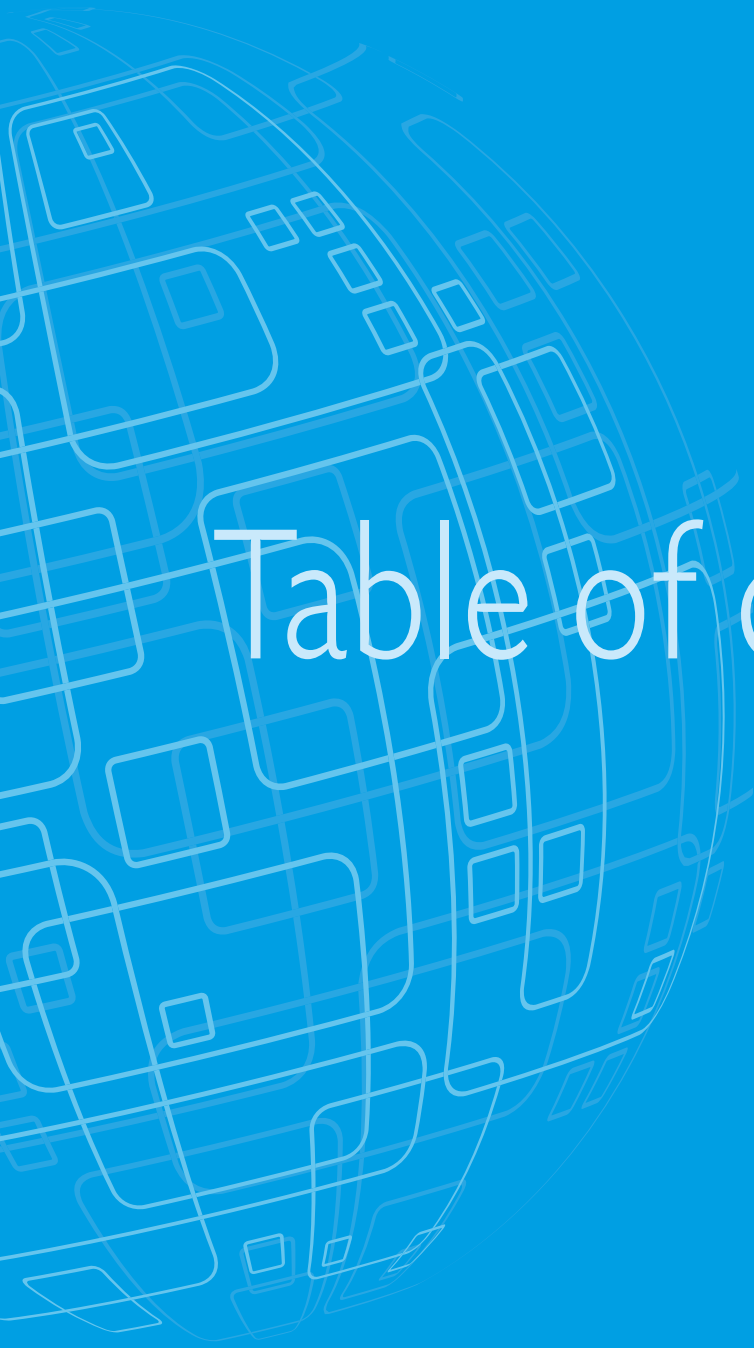


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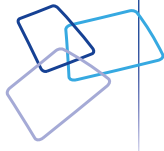


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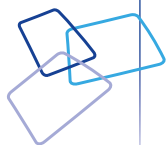


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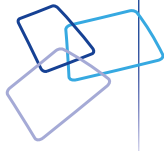


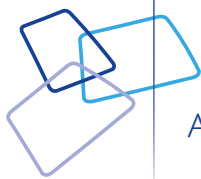
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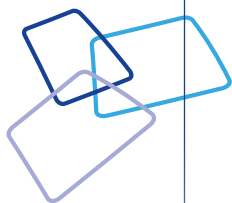


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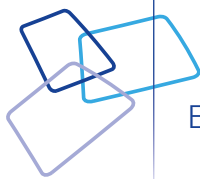


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The United Kingdom has spent 0.7% of its gross national income on official development aid since 2013; Germany reached this target in 2016. The United States is the leading donor country in terms of absolute value, having doubled its resources over the last fifteen years. Yet, these facts say very little about the social, institutional or cyclical economic factors that have yielded such outcomes and neither do they help to decipher the consensuses that seem to undergird them.

The efforts of France appear to be at variance with those of the three above-cited countries. The purpose of this report is thus to understand what resources can be mobilised in view of building political and social unity around the question of development, and what the underpinnings of such an agreement might be. To this end, our approach has been to examine the evolution and dynamics of contexts that are more consensual and more favourable to the question of aid. In line with the terms of AFD's mission letter (cf. Appendix 4), we were able to pinpoint the salient features of each country and note their common ground. This report thus highlights the important components of the institutional framework encompassing official development assistance (ODA), gives insights into parliament's role and the political parties' positions, and assesses the political leadership, the quality of institutional communication, the underpinnings of discourse and the ways in which all stakeholders are involved – all of these elements being potential drivers of a consensus on development assistance.

Development actors in these three countries – leaders from all quarters, be it non-governmental organisations (NGOs), parliamentarians, public, private and religious institutions, the media or the research community – have on the whole managed to establish a high quality of interactivity, though this takes different forms. The common denominator linking the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany is a certain continuity in the development policies they have crafted over the past twenty years, regardless of changes in government. Herein may lie lessons for France, bearing in mind that the recent political upheavals suggest that the consensus in these countries may be called into question. Certainly, public development policies in the United States and the United Kingdom are more difficult to predict now that Donald Trump has come to power and Brexit is imminent. The announced departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union (EU) is creating a considerable vacuum for Europe's steering of international sustainable development, not to



mention that British aid repeatedly comes under attack from the national media. The announcements of budget cuts by the President of the United States have rekindled the debate on aid. Germany, which reached the 0.7% of GNI target in 2016 thanks to an impressive hike in its ODA financing, nonetheless affirms that it cannot continue as an isolated leader on the international stage, and is now looking for a partner that it can count to act jointly on development matters.

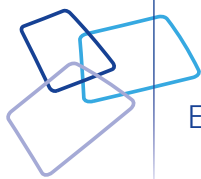
The United States: difficult global leadership

In the United States, House representatives and senators from both parties with a keen interest in international development have been allies since the 1930s. While viewpoints diverge between Republicans and Democrats – and even within the same party –, the need for development has not been challenged. Engaged NGOs and businesses appear relatively independent vis-à-vis a State that links development assistance with diplomatic and defence stakes. Admittedly, this sphere of action has so far been spared controversy, being presented as one of the US foreign policy tools that ensure national security. In fact, the consensus on official development assistance is perhaps more akin to a status quo, as it appears to hinge on excluding development aid from the public debate. The most visible sides of development policy are the regular initiatives taken by the president: these major theme-based Presidential Initiatives (HIV/AIDS, Energy/Africa, etc.) enjoy greater media coverage and are part and parcel of the communications released on the president's activities. Although intellectual circles are very actively involved with development questions, foreign aid only really concerns the interested elites: public opinion knows very little about US development policy and neither supports nor condemns it.

Germany: societal commitment

In Germany too, parliamentarians are unanimous about the importance of development assistance, which is termed "international cooperation". Yet, unlike the United States, the whole of society is involved in global sustainability issues and affirms its support for the sustainable development goals (SDGs). Citizens are actively encouraged to personally engage as much as they can. A sense of moral duty is instilled right from school and translates into robust public support for specialised development actors: NGOs, associations, elected politicians and political foundations, churches, businesses...

On top of this, the institutions mandated to implement German development policy



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are powerful. The Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has gained in heft now that it is headed by a minister (Gerd Müller) whose outspokenness and multiple initiatives have come as a surprise. The German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ) and the German development bank (KfW) implement the ministry's policy with a degree of autonomy. Their size in terms of human and financial resources is wholly the result of the Chancellery's stated political will to scale up development assistance, supported by the whole of German society.

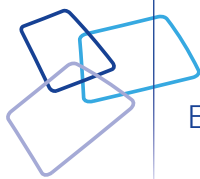
The United Kingdom: political will

British official development assistance is currently the target of an aggressive media campaign. It nonetheless continues to enjoy robust multi-party support, which was instrumental in legislating the 0.7% of GNI for ODA. All of the parliamentarians, and particularly the members of the Commons' International Development Committee, are well informed on these questions. They are strongly solicited by voters, NGOs and the churches, who exert pressure in their constituencies for development and poverty reduction to be pushed higher up the political agenda.

Relations between NGOs, the very powerful think tanks, businesses and the Department for International Development (DfID) are fluid; inter-ministerial mobility is high and ensures a dynamic network connecting all staff involved in development assistance work. DfID, a ministry whose sole remit is to allocate and implement 80% of ODA, is internationally recognised for its effectiveness and arm's length from British diplomacy. This situation is largely due to the audible and constant commitment of a series of political leaders: T. Blair, G. Brown, C. Short, D. Cameron, G. Osborne. And this repeated policy stance, albeit motivated by different interests, has made it possible to build a sound institutional framework over time, one able to withstand cyclical contingencies.

A bridge between countries to boost development assistance

The United Kingdom, Germany and the United States have commonalities that are likely conducive to establishing a consensus on development assistance. Political leaders in the three countries have foregrounded development as a commendable, useful and rewarding action. However specific the orientations of each development policy (global sustainable development, the fight against poverty, or security and the opportunities for national strategic interests), their common point is that they are clearly stated: when objectives are clear, it is easier to focus on the effectiveness



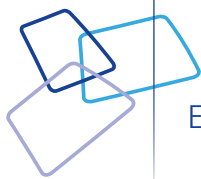
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and transparency of public action. As parliamentarians are informed on these subjects and institutionally involved in crafting development policy, this multiplies the number of advocates for aid across all political parties and reinforces the related messaging.

Although civil society is independent and disposes of substantial resources, as well as a potentially critical position vis-à-vis government, it does not engage in head-on confrontation, but instead works effectively with government through reciprocal dialogue. In-depth theoretical and strategic reflection, whether this emerges in scholarly research hubs or think tanks, seems crucial to renewing the practices and discourse favourable to aid. This is, moreover, linked to the growth of a “market” for aid and sustainable innovation, which deepens the involvement of private business in achieving the sustainable development goals.

The global partnership is one of the key components that lends credibility to the implementation of the universal agreements concluded in 2015. It is a partnership that implies commitment from the large emerging countries, an active role for the private sector, the involvement of banks and financial actors, and the recognition of civil society and dialogue at all levels. The actors in the three countries are wholly engaged in this global partnership through multiple private, political, associative and local initiatives – some of which are rolled out without support from public authorities. Yet, what is lacking is a message, a concept, a policy approach able to unify opinions and actors around a coherent and “holistic” consensus. The discourses heard still often reflect national and short-term concerns (less so in Germany), even though civil society in all three countries has already effectively grasped the interdependence between development and sustainability, in other words, between aid and environmental protection, and made the connection between issues in the Global North and Global South.

For Germany and the United Kingdom, the European context for aid has been fundamental over the past twenty years, and the influence of both countries was recently a decisive factor in building the European Consensus on Development. Faced with Brexit, Germany is now expecting France to strengthen the alliance in order to rekindle a momentum around ODA in line with the wishes of the other member states and the European Commission.



Creation of a consensus indicator

To make the cross-country comparison easier and pinpoint the factors of the consensus on development, this report proposes a new “consensus indicator”, which the reader will hopefully find useful. This is a visual work tool that could be a subject for further study.

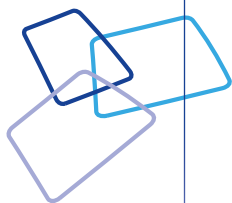
The indicator is based on twelve “consensus factors”, grouped under three headings: Unify, Act, Prioritise. Drawing on the qualitative and quantitative information gathered for this report, a score out of ten was given for each criterion to each of the three countries: the highest score indicates that the opportunities provided under the criterion to consolidate a consensus on ODA are fully exploited by the country concerned. An average is obtained by country and by period (the post-Cold War years 1995–2000, the latter MDG years 2010–2015 and the post-2017 years) and is intended to give a quantified picture of the extent and robustness of the consensus surrounding development assistance.

If this analysis is applied to the case of France, an action plan could be envisaged to implement initiatives conducive to strengthening the consensus on aid and thus encourage public policy on development assistance.





Introduction



So the picture has to be viewed as a sort of Italian-style theatre: the curtain opens, we watch, we wait, we receive, we understand; and once the scene has passed and the picture disappeared, we remember : we are not the same as before: as in ancient theatre, we have been initiated.

(Roland Barthes, 1979, *Cy Twombly*)

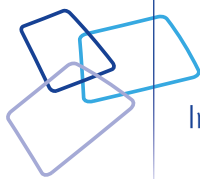
For more than fifteen years now and more particularly since the Gleneagles G8 in 2005, the positive change in public policy on international development assistance and financing seen in the United States, Germany and the United Kingdom has been remarkable and continuous. The OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) emphasises the key role of these three countries for global development assistance. Taking centre stage in international debates on global affairs, they also played an instrumental role in finalising the landmark agreements on sustainable development in 2015.

The United Kingdom, world leader in the fight against poverty, mobilises substantial resources and insists on governance, gender and climate change; this policy has received steadfast support from the highest levels of government since 1997.

Germany, champion of the green economy, is respected for its scaling-up of resources and the soundness and expertise of its institutions; it has set priority on finding a coherent foreign policy for global responsibility. It values capacity strengthening and an integrated approach to issues of water–energy–food infrastructure to bolster the environmental and climate transition. The political thrust to boost ODA also dates back to 2000.

The United States launched renewed efforts for international aid in 2001 and has played the game of a multilateralism open to partnerships, encouraging actors across the board. It has supported ambitious initiatives on health, innovation and new development models, and international assistance has occupied an increasingly important place in US national security policy.

These three countries' multilateral commitment to sustainable development, reinforced after 2012 by Rio+20 and the Durban COP17 on climate change and underpinned by each country's specific and complementary visions, was decisive in clinching the 2030 Agenda agreements on sustainable development and climate change, confirming France's choices and priorities. This powerful platform has



enabled Europe to give a predominant place in the multilateral debate to its vision of a unique and universal agenda integrating economic, social, environmental, climate- and governance-related aspects.

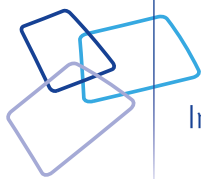
A common trait in the international development policies of the three countries is a certain continuity and stability, typified by vigorous actions and a gathering momentum. They have as their bedrock a relatively clear governmental stance, facilitated by a remarkable consensus within a political elite that has successfully withstood changes of government, and this has been a tremendous advantage for their implementing institutions. Other stakeholders are amply involved in building the consensus and able to influence these while retaining their independence. How was such an edifice constructed? What are its vulnerable points? Can the dynamics be sustained?

The 2015 agreements (the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda and the SDGs, the Paris Agreement) have made it possible to draw up an ambitious roadmap for global sustainable development and set targets for each and every one. This paradigm shift may lead to changes in direction and challenge priorities, strategic discourses and certainties: clearly, the universal dimension of the agenda is a game-changer. Can the existing consensus, which sometimes rests on differing visions, evolve?

The migration crisis that is fuelling the rise of populism and threatening to roll back recent advances may lead to a return to isolationism and a kind of national self-interest, but also to new and sometimes highly courageous initiatives. The recent election results in the United Kingdom and the United States provide food for thought and could undermine the progress achieved. The 2017 election timetables in Germany and France suggest that, for each of the three countries, a better understanding is needed not only of the consensus undergirding their policy stances on ODA and international sustainable development financing, but also of the success of their very different models. Is it possible to map various scenarios of how the consensus may or may not evolve, and some hypotheses on what causes their aid to fluctuate?

Future changes in the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany could have an impact on French policy on international sustainable development.

Drafted at the request of the Chief Executive Officer of the Agence Française de Développement, this report aims to examine the consensus underlying public ODA



policies in each of these three countries, focusing on what seems to enhance their strength and constancy. Various observations useful to the French ecosystem and points to ponder will then be presented to help inform the discussion on international development policy in France

The report, which examines each of the three countries separately, will endeavour to:

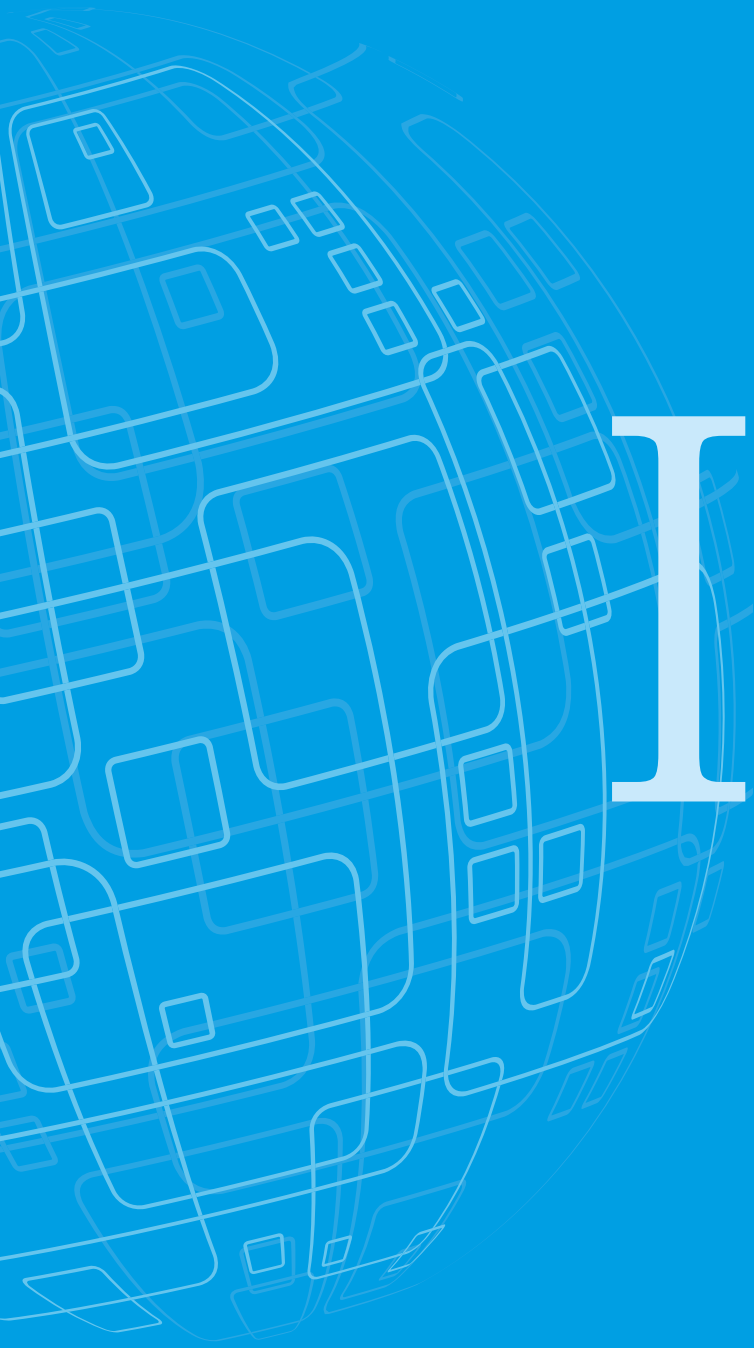
- ▶ summarise the **political discourse**, and the **communication** directed at public opinion,
- ▶ understand the **underpinnings** of the discourse,
- ▶ highlight the responsibility of the **parliaments** and the positions taken by **political parties**,
- ▶ assess how the **stakeholders** are involved in building the consensus,
- ▶ ascertain how the **institutional** framework draws strength from the consensus.

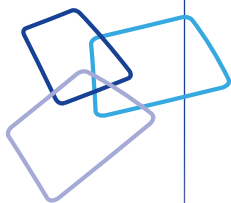
After some opening definitions, a separate chapter presents the comments and observations common to all three countries. Each country is then covered in its own chapter. A concluding chapter will attempt to form some hypotheses that could serve as proposals for the French context.

The report was written on the basis of interviews with over one hundred and seventy people¹ in Berlin, London, Washington D.C., Brussels, Luxembourg and Paris, Bonn and Frankfurt, but without interviewing development partners in the developing countries. The exercise of gathering how they perceive the points raised in this survey and react to the report's findings remains to be done.



1 / In this report, some of our interviewees have been quoted anonymously for reason of confidentiality.



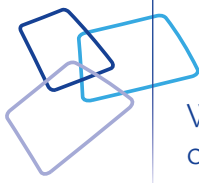


What is the consensus on development assistance?

Strictly speaking, “consensus” denotes full agreement on a given subject by the parties involved; the term could be more loosely applied to a configuration in which opinions converge. For public policies, such as those now encompassing development assistance, the number of stakeholders associated with a potential consensus is huge. It includes government, parliamentary institutions, political parties, the media, public opinion, NGOs, private firms, trades unions and local authorities, all of which may be further split into several different groups. The involvement of so many actors could even raise doubts as to the feasibility of reaching a consensual agreement on development assistance. This means that we are compelled to use the term “consensus” in a relative sense: we will thus refer to stronger or weaker consensus in a specific country, on a specific question.

This relativity is all the more necessary as the notion of consensus seems a volatile one. All of the stakeholders, their views and their interests regarding development assistance may be influenced by a series of not necessarily related factors, which we list below:

- significant events (e.g. 11 September 2001),
- aspects perceived by public opinion, and what decision-makers know about these,
- the population’s emotions towards the “other”,
- the flow of information (official or otherwise) from government institutions, and their capacity to educate the public on development issues and international affairs,
- the tenor of the domestic political debate on international relations,
- opinion leaders, whether in government or not (e.g. businesspeople, civil society leaders, celebrities),
- pressure groups,
- the tenor of the intellectual and scholarly debate,
- mainstream discussion topics and concerns, possibly put on the agenda by the media,
- short- and long-term government action, whether through charters, white papers, laws, institutions, statutes or policy lines pursued over several years.



What is the consensus on development assistance?

None of these factors alone is enough to bring about a consensus: it does not necessarily depend, for instance, on how widely the debate is reported in the media. Each of these factors and each of the stakeholders nonetheless play a role in establishing the consensus – which is a contingent object, difficult to pin down, dynamic rather than static, and under perpetual reconstruction.

However, we should note that this construction may be the focus of a communication strategy with precise objectives. It may be a purposeful message seeking to both convey and prompt support for the theme in question. The message may present the humanitarian imperative as a moral responsibility, or international aid as a guarantee of stability and security in the world. It might even be no longer than a single sentence, “Build the wall!” (D. Trump, 2016), or “*Wir schaffen das*” (“We can do it”; A. Merkel, 2015).

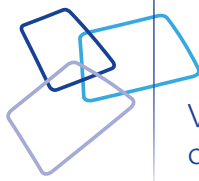
The aid consensus, explored for each of the three countries, is not to be taken for granted or viewed as a fixed state. It is a relative notion that serves as a starting point for the debate on institutions, final goals and public policy. A constant warning to bear in mind is that consensus is of a shallow nature. It is what enables public action to continue in relatively stable conditions, beyond the limited duration of a political mandate.

Finally, we should point out that this report does not address the “Washington Consensus”,² which is not to be confused with the consensus we are dealing with here. The Washington Consensus is an economic concept that belongs to another sphere of reflection and study. Nor does the report deal with the New European Consensus on Development,³ which is the outcome of an initiative by the European Union and its Member states to ensure a common strategy.

Finally, the quest for this consensus intervenes at a pivotal time, when states worldwide have united behind a “global political consensus” on an agenda with global objectives: first the MDGs in 2000, then the objectives of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the SDGs, and the climate objectives, bringing together government and non-governmental actors in what are considerably more open and more legitimate processes.

2 / The Washington Consensus (1989–2007) is a notion reflecting the agreement of advanced economies within the framework of the Bretton Woods institutions to promote a free market economy, which would guarantee favourable prospects for development and help overcome indebtedness.

3 / The New European Consensus on Development is a process currently under discussion by EU member countries and institutions, which should result in a common declaration in 2017 proposing a shared vision, a framework for action and a blueprint for a new European development policy to achieve the SDGs by 2030.



What is the consensus on development assistance?

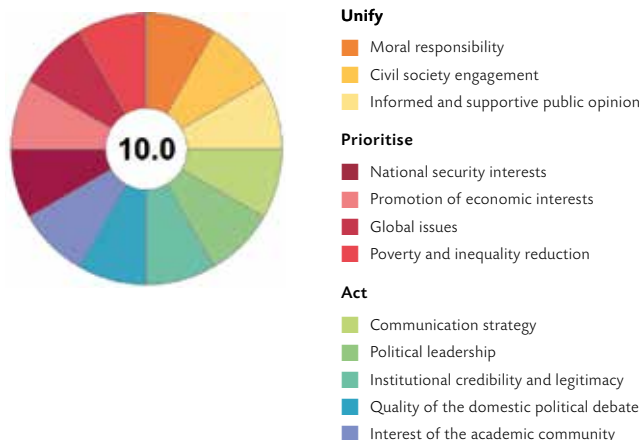
Understandably, the use of the term “consensus” is important, as this alone means that a discourse can be granted some form of legitimacy. Yet, since the notion is so hard to circumscribe, it could usefully be asked whether, instead of adopting a usage that is inevitably approximate, it would not be preferable to find another word to describe the societal configuration that helps development policy to advance in the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany. All in all, this report has sought to “capture all of a country’s dimensions in order to go further than just an economic, religious or political reading” (R. Rioux, *La Croix*, 6 December 2016).

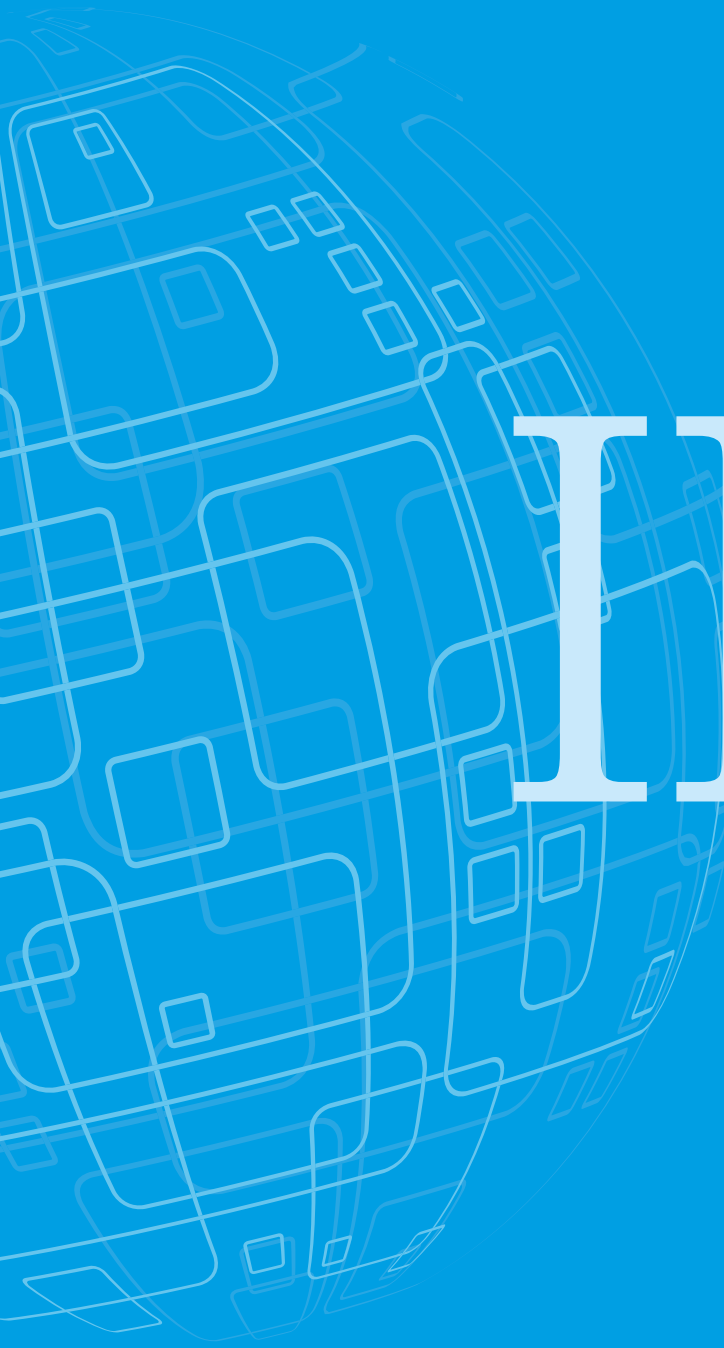
The consensus indicator

To make the cross-country comparison easier and pinpoint the factors of consensus on development, this report proposes a new “consensus indicator”, which the reader will hopefully find useful. This is an experimental work tool, under the author’s sole responsibility, that would be worth deeper study and exploration. It serves as a visual reference in the context of this report.

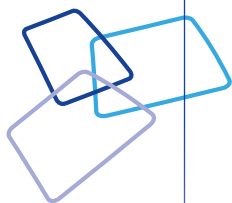
The indicator is based on twelve “consensus factors”, grouped under three headings: unify, act, prioritise. It assigns a score to each country, produces an average score for each factor and for three separate periods: the post-Cold War years 1995–2000, the latter MDG years 2010–2015, and the post-2017 years. The indicator can be visualised as a coloured rosette and appears as such in this text. An explanation of each factor is provided in Appendix 3

Figure 1: View of the indicator showing the maximum average





II



Building the consensus: a comparative analysis

Table 1: Cross-country comparisons based on seven key criteria

	Germany	United Kingdom	United States
Political leadership	Strong, at the highest level	Strong, at the highest level	Relatively strong
Quality of institutional communication	Weak, improving	Formerly strong, weakening	Weak
Underpinnings of the discourse	Sound, have become complex	Clear	Relatively clear
Role of Parliament	Involved	Very involved	Strongly involved
Position of political parties	Overall agreement on the basics	Overall agreement on objectives, with nuances. Engaged	Act together in Congress, within the national security policy
Stakeholder engagement	Very high	Very high	High
Institutional framework	Sound and sustainable, increasingly complex	Sound, but more fragile	Gradually improving, but many initiatives not completed

1. The common underpinnings of consensus (2000–2015)

a. *Stable institutions being consolidated to respond to new challenges*

Rooted in post-war fundamentals and institutions, the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany share similar values and approaches to international development even though their goals may differ. Over the past fifteen years, they have benefited from the deployment and consolidation of their institutional arrangements, thanks to:

- Sustained political leadership at the highest level, which foregrounds international development as noble, identity-forming and politically useful.
Reliance on values shared by public opinion works.
- Combined and targeted efforts, made possible by a favourable economic



Building the consensus: a comparative analysis

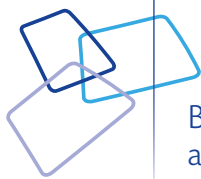
situation, an active civil society, the launch of the MDGs, private-sector intervention, and the resolve to meet the major commitments made with the G7, G20, UN, OECD, EU and other international institutions: health and HIV/AIDS, fragile states, climate, security, humanitarian crises.

- Integration of the fact that there is competition on the aid “market” from new multilateral agencies and new actors: the Global Fund to fight HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria and other vertical funds, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and, particularly, an emerging China. This is leading to emulation among actors, a drive for effectiveness and the move to revitalise and professionalise bilateral tools.
- The commitment of the Parliaments (with nuances), which have various tools to hand depending on the country: dedicated committees, the capacity to undertake independent evaluations and studies, contribute to dialogue and take part in the public debate, as well as an international and on-the-ground presence. Members of Parliament are duly recognised, listened to and clearly “champions” on the subject. They can propose initiatives (laws, budgets) and pursue careers in the humanitarian field or international sustainable development. The political debate is rich in content, in strategic thinking and expert input, but also demands effectiveness and results.

b. An independent civil society that interacts and is generally supportive of public policy

Civil society is well-organised, fast-growing and legitimate, has successfully and effectively mobilised public opinion and politicians, now makes full use of social networks, and is able to make a closer connection between the environmental and development worlds. Civil society is open to other actors (institutions, business, philanthropy, social economy, the scientific community, multilaterals, the media) and locally based. Most often it is extensively funded, recognised and politically supported, and at times “invasively” present in the political and institutional arenas. It is increasingly self-financed, capable of self-renewal and enjoys a growing independence. Civil society is listened to by the media and in Parliament. It is the source of many practical initiatives taken up by states or within a European and multilateral framework. It works more and more in groups, through interest-based platforms or around common objectives.

Ultimately, it creates a political space for institutions, acts as a sounding board and is an unavoidable factor for public action, to the point that it can weigh in on the level of state commitment. It can be demanding and critical, but its way



Building the consensus: a comparative analysis

of functioning generally converges with the political sphere, which has set up numerous points and spaces for formal and informal dialogue (differently in each country).

c. A guiding thread that varies little with changes of government or leaders

Each country has a clear through-line that is unwavering, or only marginally so: global sustainable development (Germany), poverty reduction (United Kingdom), and security and opportunities for national strategic interests (United States). This differentiation is surprising given that the three countries abide by the same references: the OECD's definition of ODA and the UN's sustainable development framework. Issues, priorities, goals and means are of course subject to debate, but this does not lead to a questioning of deep-rooted principles. The political line reflects a society's fundamentals; society can identify with it, even in the United States, where the reference to national security is widely accepted.

There is a strong demand for transparency, and for a discourse that reflects acts and corresponding commitments. There is little hesitation on objectives, which gives rise to a relatively clear-cut discourse that matches the substance of public action.

d. Intellectual production is encouraged, and financed, mobilising internationally known actors

Although it is not fully demonstrated that the presence of university research institutes and international think tanks influence the national consensus on development, the three countries all have poles of reference able to sway, influence and spur a substantial body of academic research and high-level reflection. This is crucial for the legitimacy of other actors, who need such intellectual references as backing for their actions – which thus consolidates the entire ecosystem. This is clearly the case at the political level, where members of political circles can be seen in the company of leading figures (academics, prominent intellectuals) who give the subject in question greater legitimacy in the eyes of informed opinion. Relations between the State and its government bodies and the think tank community are incomparably close and facilitated by revolving door appointments for their respective executives. Their role is clearly defined: **they are called on to provide, in real time and on demand, a capacity for strategic thinking, for new ideas and proposals based on the best analyses, which the public actors can then debate with other stakeholders in the ecosystem and promote accordingly.** The intellectual institutions in Washington and London bring their influence to bear on the global development ecosystem.



2. Singularities and weaknesses

a. *Insularity and rejection*

In each of the countries, we find opposition to aid policies, fuelled by some media outlets, social networks and political or intellectual movements. These actors' voices can have clearly negative effects on the public's sentiment but pose no real threat to the "moving train", since aid policy is not, strictly speaking, within the purview of domestic policy and is thus relatively far-removed and sheltered from the national policy debate. Questions relating to the State's sovereign powers, such as foreign relations and national security, are not the most critical topics in the public debate.

With the new context of 2016–2017 brought on by nascent populist pressures and the impact of migration, the reactions of some social groups may be exacerbated and hostile to development aid, but they could also trigger new solidarities and initiatives. Development issues such as unequal opportunities and risks related to the environment, climate and health, while seemingly far-removed, are in fact close to the public's concerns. There is a mounting call for responses to regulate instabilities, find humane and dignified solutions, and identify practical proposals that are effective and produce results.

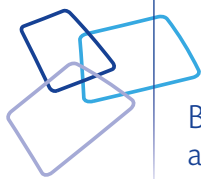
The demographic theme is driving a thinly veiled unease linked to the proximity of a large and unstable African continent now on the move. This could trigger fresh negative reactions in Europe and elsewhere if no steps are taken to renew the discourse on aid and investment, international cooperation and solidarity action. The initiative of Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) to launch the Marshall Plan with Africa is an attempt to respond to these fears.

b. *Supreme national interest and its linkage with domestic issues*

Two national temptations intersect and weigh on development policy. One, driven by the diplomatic and military spheres, is to connect everything to national security. The second originates in the grassroots and middle classes and is fuelled by concerns about security, employment and immigration.

These two dynamics combine to support a new discourse that favours realism in the face of a troubling planetary future, and induce a defensive attitude towards global development and the promotion of common interests.

This phenomenon has led to the emergence of a new « *Realpolitik* », in all three



countries. This is more or less deeply embedded in the forces that support consensus on aid, and is integrated into their arguments. It constitutes an important pillar in the United States and the United Kingdom, but less so in Germany, although the recent German incursions into Afghanistan and Mali along with the recognition of the Syrian question and South Sudan are fuelling this line of thinking. This logic leads to more development aid (under the cover of stabilisation) with strategies (in continuity or not) and new actors and tools. On the other hand, the subject is not necessarily consensual, but more a matter for chiefs of staff to decide.

The US message that “international development is good for me”, with its clear reference to the benefits that accrue to citizens in their daily lives, seems full of constructive potential, much like the potential that Germany apparently seeks to exploit by adjoining the idea that each citizen can also act – « **mitmachen** » – (participate) – and bring responses.

3. New arguments for aid

a. Building a sustainable world: the paradigm shift

The finalisation of the 2015 global negotiations to implement a renewed framework (the 2030 Agenda, the Paris Agreement, the Addis Ababa and Sendai Action Agendas, the universal goals for sustainable development of the planet involving all stakeholders) reflects the will for a collective effort to ensure survival and well-being over the long run. The three countries played a major role in these talks, along with their stakeholder ecosystems. The collective negotiation between states and civil society actors, relayed over the social networks for nearly five years, was experienced by the participants as a landmark moment of collective effort to build a common working basis.

A development community built on values, skills and references has taken shape, extending beyond development and climate-change circles. Driven by key actors in the three countries with relay points across the world, this wider community is forcing the governments to square up to their responsibilities. All three countries are aware of this whatever their differing but complementary priorities. The capacity of the three countries to implement the commitments made in 2015 is not guaranteed outside of the stakeholder community which negotiated and signed the agreements, defined the discourse, messaging and methods, and committed to take action. So far, Germany alone appears to have defined a structured process, tools and the beginning of an engagement strategy designed to be shared with the whole of society.



Building the consensus: a comparative analysis

The global partnership is one of the key elements that lends credibility to the implementation of these universal agreements. It involves the engagement of the large emerging countries, an active role for the private sector, the involvement of banks and financial actors, the recognition of civil society and dialogue at all levels. Stakeholders from the three countries are fully engaged in this global partnership through myriad private, political, associative and grassroots initiatives, some of which are being rolled out without state backing. However, what is lacking is a message, a concept or a political approach that can win over both public opinion and the stakeholders, uniting them around a coherent and holistic consensus. Federating multiple energies able to act and create collectively could be an inspiring project.

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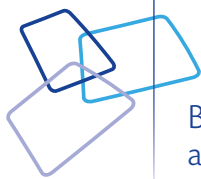
Another fundamental factor resulting from the negotiations of the 2015 agendas and their positive outcomes is the decision for universal “inclusiveness”. Here, the aim is to ensure equal opportunity for men and women alike, with the promise that “no one will be left behind”. As a new societal project for the world, it responds to the expectations of society. Has this materialised as a political project or emerged in the stakeholders’ arguments? In fact, it is not clearly visible in any of the three countries. Instead, other short-term concerns take precedence and tend to impede the invention of a new paradigm for human development. A political message, which each country could recraft, could be based for instance on the concepts of fraternity, solidarity, interacting communities and sharing.

b. Security pressures: diplomacy, defence and security, development

Although the United States exerts a strong influence on world affairs, its conceptual and practical association of the three pillars, “Diplomacy, Defence, Development”, has not been exported to its allies. In the case of the United States, this discourse has a historical explanation and was drastically reinforced following the attacks of 11 September 2001. Yet, the concept is only familiar to the elite and still little understood by public opinion. The discourse hinges on a very preoccupying current reality, as highlighted in a recent op-ed⁴ by the French Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces and AFD’s Chief Executive Officer on the risks in the Middle East and Africa, but it can also refer to recent positive results such as those in Colombia, Sierra Leone and Somalia, for instance. However, sharing information on crises, humanitarian work or on-the-ground stabilisation interventions beyond a circle of experts appears complicated.⁵

4 / *Le Figaro* 05/12/2016, Pierre de Villiers, Rémy Rioux “Une seule voix, pour une paix d’avance”.

5 / “Stabilisation” is a fashionable new concept relating to foreign policy, first introduced in Germany and the United Kingdom; it involves bringing in experts on diplomacy, defence and development for situations where these three types of action may be implemented. However, a case can be made against the relevance of this model as there is evidence that greater effectiveness is achieved when actors limit their action to their own areas of expertise.



Building the consensus: a comparative analysis

Explaining to public opinion that some development aid appropriations are channelled into projects in which the “military” are still active seems very difficult – hence, the requests for additional specific appropriations or instruments for such ambiguous situations in which an action is not primarily justified by economic and social development objectives.

In all three countries, after fifteen years of intervention in Afghanistan, Africa and the Middle East, new defence and security actors are showing a growing interest in development questions. This trend has led to a **broadened base of political support for public development policy**: this is clearly the case in the United States, which has set up specific structures to this end, but less so in the United Kingdom and Germany.

c. Priority on the environment and urgent action on climate change

The sustainability of the development policies is an acquis resulting from the global environment negotiations. The Paris Agreement makes clear reference to the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs. The Agreement has introduced a fourth pillar centred on voluntary actions and which operationalises **development co-benefits** through the fight against climate change. Yet, this vision was not a given in 2014, and the SDG 13 on climate very nearly failed to materialise. Over the past fifteen years, development NGOs have been struggling to internalise environmental issues. Environmental NGOs, on the other hand, have long understood the sustainable development-poverty nexus. American, British and German civil society organisations have structured themselves around these debates, and today all of the stakeholders understand that there is one single integrated issue.

However, the discourse on a zero-carbon development that is rich in biodiversity and respectful of “planetary limits” has not translated into a positive global message. Yet, such a message could consolidate the consensus on sustainable development across the entire stakeholder spectrum (e.g. the signing of “Zero exclusion, Zero carbon, Zero poverty” at the Convergences World Forum, or AFD’s “A World in Common”). Although we know that we need to act in favour of developing countries, for example, via the financial pillar of the Paris Agreement, the political actors do not immediately connect this with development aid.

Moreover, although public opinion is well aware of the threat posed by Chinese and Indian, US and European carbon emissions, it is less aware of Africa’s energy and sustainability issues (population, urbanisation, desertification, natural resources consumption, poverty). In all three countries studied, many public and private



Building the consensus: a comparative analysis

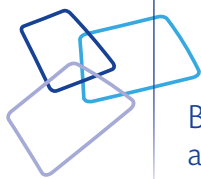
initiatives, both instrument- and finance-based, are underway in order to bring the fight against climate change and biodiversity loss, etc. closer to the fight against poverty and the issues of food security, healthcare, access to basic services, coverage in case of natural disasters or even security and stability. The three countries seem to be making efforts. Certainly, climate change is increasingly present in public opinion but, were environmental “thresholds” to be crossed, there would be an urgent imperative to communicate and **reinforce a message that coherently interlinks environmental emergencies and development needs** so as to channel the different energies involved, thus helping to build consensus.

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d. Concerns related to globalisation

As early as the 2000s, the OECD identified the fears linked to globalisation as a common factor that could trigger the rejection of development policies – so, this phenomenon is nothing new. **No one in the three countries any longer believes in a “happy” globalisation, where exchange would automatically be mutually beneficial, and where everyone would have their chance and see the advantages it could bring.** Public opinion is fighting back and expressing its hostility through the ballot box. The relocation and reclassification of jobs, decreasing wages, the capture of wealth and value-added, commercial dumping and the impact of the digital world are all reinforcing a negative feeling about development, which is assumed to be responsible for a competition that threatens capital, resources, lifestyle and quality of life, and jobs.

Public development policies are having to take these concerns into account since they are seen as contributing to catch-up efforts and competition, as shown by the example of the British press, which was violently critical of “aid” to China. Even so, both in Germany and the United Kingdom, a substantial share of ODA is still being allocated to emerging countries and is again on the rise. Whereas in the 1990s the development world was built around the notion of the selective protection of markets (mainly agricultural) and competitive devaluations, the current discourse is clearly grounded on free trade and a market economy that goes unchallenged – at least, much less contested than in the years marked by anti-globalisation activism. Yet, the subject of growth and even prosperity was muted during the UN 2014–2015 negotiations, and we are suddenly seeing established processes for trade agreements collapse like a house of cards. The Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the EU and Africa and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) are attracting strong criticism from German civil society, while the North American Free Trade Agreement and the plan for a trans-Pacific partnership for countries



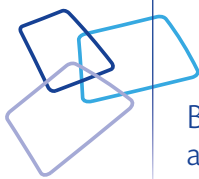
bordering the Pacific are being called into question.

Germany is proposing a way forward with the launch of an in-depth reflection on the fair-trade sectors and schemes for sustainable production and consumption as defined by SDG 12, which it is keen to promote. It is mobilising economic and trades-union players, from production sites through to German consumers; with the whole chain being urged to act responsibly and take into account upstream production conditions. There is indeed some logic to this, but measures are very difficult to implement as a coherence needs to be found between commercial policies and consumer expectations. The German minister for Economic Cooperation and Development has turned a very marginal case, backed by supporters of the Fairtrade movement and retail chain, into a pivotal element of his policy. Many major companies in the arena of global retailers have taken up the cause: Walmart, REWE, Tesco, Unilever, Danone, Starbucks, Cadbury.

Could this pave the way for a new form of action that would afford the subject of policy coherence a reputation for concrete and innovative action? Would it not be useful to organise a space where economic actors and policymakers could exchange with a view to establishing converging approaches across the three countries? Could the international development actors (including the World Economic Forum (WEF) and the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD)) and institutions be given a mandate to help build coherent and equitable economic and social conditions?

*e. The new economy's solutions:
"Tech Aid solutions for Sustainable Development"*

In the ecosystems of the three countries, businesses are playing an increasingly larger role, encouraged by the international institutions. One noteworthy sector, which enjoys a high profile in the United States, encompasses the community and laboratories working on technological innovation, digital technology and alternative solutions for sustainable development. The United Kingdom has joined the US initiatives and also set up specific mechanisms that use diverse incentive-based instruments. Some of the most prestigious US universities are creating platforms for social and environmental innovation, hoping to attract some of the world's best talents, including those working on "basic" subjects. The large foundations are supporting this innovative approach, which involves a broad array of sectors inspired by the SDG agenda, such as responsible finance, disease prevention and medical treatment, food security and trade, and new economic



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models.

These sectors may also harbour strategic competitive markets for future years: saving water, electricity storage, urban mobility, communication, education or vaccines. Importantly, some actors involved in this new momentum also have objectives with respect to the global control of development-related information, which explains why public authorities are showing an interest in the sector.

This movement, which seems to herald a renewed constellation of actors, is attracting a new type of support from so-called “globalised” young people and philanthropic investors, and is implementing powerful international networks that can operate across borders and create bridge between continents. This new economy of “Tech Aid solutions for Development” is a promising vector of growth and support for development aid, provided that public institutions lend this dynamic a helping hand.

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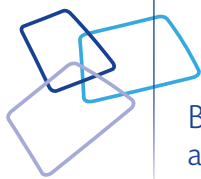
Seeking agreement on official development assistance

4. Public opinion and what it expects from public development policy

a. Public support is “a mile wide and an inch deep”⁶

Opinion surveys have continued to show relatively constant support for development aid, even in recent years. These have been the focus of multiple studies that suggest the need for some caution with respect to their results, since no compelling evidence has yet been found of their direct impact on public development policy. Moreover, the conclusions that could be drawn lack robustness as their results vary greatly depending on the survey questions asked. It would thus be risky to use them as a metric for one of the pillars of the development consensus. The findings of Eurobarometer, the OECD, development institutions, the PIPA survey (Johns Hopkins University programme on international policy attitudes) and others are nonetheless useful for measuring comparative trends in public attitudes. There are also excellent, more probing surveys – to be encouraged – such as those launched by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and supported by University College London (UCL). These offer multiple insights into the British, German and American (and French) situations. They afford a better understanding of the underlying motivations that drive the attitudes favourable to development aid and solidarity, and report results according to different demographic categories. This could help to deploy an appropriate political discourse and encourage civil society in all three countries to take action.

6 / An expression first coined by Ian Smillie to characterise public attitudes to aid (Smillie, 1999).



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Public opinion does not directly refer its demands to policymakers. Instead, known and listed intermediaries, including advocacy or local NGOs, act as spokespersons and address parliamentarians and political staff on a more or less systematic basis to try to influence their choices. In the United Kingdom, this seems to be a very active “industry”. In the United States, the **federal government’s role is neither known nor really understood by the public, and this does very little to help maintain the consensus on development aid.** On the other hand, in the United Kingdom, public opinion accepts that development aid is one of the government’s missions. Elsewhere, there is a reliance on local actors: Oxfam, Christian Aid, Brot für die Welt, World Vision. In fact, public opinion overestimates the amounts devoted to development aid, a fact that has spurred thinking on the need to review and **clarify** development aid indicators given that the %-of-GNI metric is a technical and obscure notion.^{7 8}

Furthermore, policymakers tend to over-interpret public attitudes – in a negative direction – even though surveys are overall fairly favourable to aid despite recent shifts of opinion on some topics. Many positive signs can be seen when personal motives are more deeply explored, including those involving new themes such as “investing to reduce migration”, and these create a space that is favourable to aid. Prompt humanitarian mobilisation in support of specific causes remains strong: hunger in Ethiopia, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, natural disasters (tsunamis, earthquakes).

There are also doubts as to how the concepts are understood. It is difficult to distinguish humanitarian assistance from development assistance. Today, development assistance encapsulates a more complex environment and its contours are inadequately delineated for communication purposes as it now covers a multitude of notions that are increasingly far-removed from the “message in the UNICEF brochure”. On the other hand, humanitarian assistance has recently taken on board the questions of sustainable development, stabilisation, the environment, sustainable institution-building: in Germany, the same NGO operators act on both development and humanitarian needs.

At this point, it is time to return to the discussion on new communication strategies aimed at opinion-making. These strategies need to redefine concepts

7 / Cf. Table 4 in the Appendix.

8 / In France, the 1% of the budget allocated to decentralised water and sanitation projects, which is guaranteed by some local government authorities, is clearly understood by the public (Law Oudin-Santini of 2005).



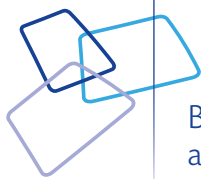
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able to create common ground between the general public and policymakers and which are close to the actual actions implemented by aid agencies and the private sector (financing, projects, exchange and dialogue, various types of cooperation, training and expertise, governance) – concepts that are also able to reconcile diverse objectives. The need to produce an audible universal messaging on solidarity appears to be so urgent that the decision to devise new communication strategies could be made at the highest levels for debate within a closed multilateral circle.

b. A globalised, structured and influential public opinion

Public attitudes are sensitive to the messages circulated by international sustainable development actors on borderless social networks. Movements of opinion and global consensus-building know no bounds and create transnational currents of opinion determined to influence the political debate. Relays for globalised public opinion campaigns have been functioning automatically between the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany since the 2000s, and are still generating multiple networks and institutions organised around international solidarity and sustainable development issues. These movements have mushroomed, be it in the area of advocacy or declarative action (ONE, Oxfam, CAN, Avaaz, etc.), in the institutional domain, where large foundations and discussion arenas play a key role (Davos Forum, World Social Forum), or in the multilateral sphere (the UNDP's and UNICEF's role, the messages and initiatives by the UN Secretary General, One World campaigns, etc.). The risk is that these movements become dominated by countries and actors qualified as "WEIRD" (Western, educated, industrialised, rich, democratic; Hariri 2016). Nonetheless, many powerful relays from the Global South have been noticeably present for many years. Brazil, for instance, spawned the World Social Forum in 2001, while Colombia and Guatemala inspired the Sustainable Development Goals.

These advocacy networks influence opinion, and thus public policy, through their impact on parliamentarians and the executive branches. The administrations of T. Blair and G. Brown played on this remarkably well. Moreover, these networks also intervene in international negotiating processes (G8, G20, UN) and in the development cycles of the Bretton Woods and OECD institutions, to the point that they are able to influence the content of agreements. Today, it would be difficult not to take these forces into account when it comes to the new public policy on development assistance – which, in a sense, they are "holding hostage". These networks are also evolving apace with society and technology, benefiting



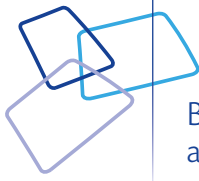
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from the raft of possibilities provided by Internet, to co-produce elements of a global consensus. In the longer term, this global dialogue on development is driving proposals. It is spurring collaborative initiatives to design and implement solutions that sometimes compete with the tools and practices of conventional aid, and offers a space rich in innovation. In the area of consensus-building, these networks can be of use to all actors, including government institutions, as a supportive tool to bolster alliances and enhance cohesion – hence, **the imperative for a sustained dialogue with the different components of this nebulous group**, which is sometimes subject to change and eager for signs of encouragement.

c. The demand for transparency

The three countries studied have made major efforts towards transparency. The array of institutional evaluation tools they have put in place over the period is the result of a strong desire to dispose of external, independent and publicly available information that calls on the involvement of their parliaments. These tools also owe their existence to the wish to better inform the aid effectiveness processes. They are intended to supplement the substantial methodological work carried out by the academic world and aid professionals, who are keen to address criticisms and questions from aid beneficiaries regarding the results achieved by the resources employed. This is evidenced by the international initiatives headed by the NGO Transparency International (Germany) and others, which led to the creation of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI, 2009) and International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI, 2008) in the United Kingdom. The need for transparency across the whole range of public policies is clearly demanded by the public. As for development aid, this has sometimes lain in the shadow of confidential foreign relations policies and seems to inspire little trust. Yet, the objective of ensuring the transparency of aid with respect to its targeted goals, resources, results, the quality of partners and the fulfilment of commitments remains complicated and difficult to achieve, especially in countries where aid is considered as falling under the purview of national security.

Yet, full transparency on aid seems crucial to having a robust consensus, as otherwise there is a risk that information asymmetry will undermine the stakeholders' agreement. This affirmation of the need for transparency is ambitious. Development aid encompasses an increasingly complex web of factors: security issues, economic leverage effects, democratic governance, projects involving partners with differing views on transparency, the strengthening of civil societies – and each of these factors may require some degree of confidentiality. Should only



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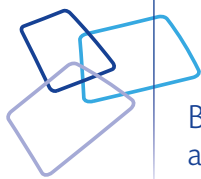
those actions offering transparency be reportable as ODA? And we could also assume that public opinion wants to know what purpose is served by development aid. Transparency is what ensures the integrity of aid, gives it the hallmark of a noble policy, avoids harmful ulterior motives (mercantile or shady relations between states or actors), and connects the means employed to the intended objectives. This integrity is one of the pillars of the consensus on aid. Development aid that has hidden objectives or is contrary to stated policy goals would run the serious risk of losing the public's support. Examples abound of public debates that have proved extremely detrimental to consensus-building, as shown by the controversies fuelled by the British press.

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d. Awaiting clarification on the objectives of aid

ODA pioneers and actors are nigh on astonished at what their offspring has become. Initially intended for reconstruction purposes, economic and social catch-up, poverty reduction and human rights, it now embraces global public goods and the protection of the planet, intervenes in crisis mitigation, and seeks to stabilise countries and assist abandoned and insecure populations. Today, it aspires to help to resolve the challenges of migration, arrange better commercial and financial relations between countries, and reduce inequalities. It has an inter-state dimension serving as a link in the chain of solidarity among peoples, but also seeks to give voice to individuals. It brings into play a vast ecosystem of actors whose messages still produce a certain cacophony. But how can this be explained to voters, citizens and individual donors? How can they be won over to a discourse on such diverse objectives?

Our three countries deal with this in two ways: first, by using a complex discourse specifically targeting the elites, who in fine are those who decide how resources are to be allocated and are responsible for managing the institutions; and second, through a simpler messaging directed at public opinion and based on cultural and historical fundamentals. The future positioning of aid nonetheless means that it will need to gain firm support from a public opinion that wants some clarification, especially if populist criticism increases. The need for a new discourse is clearly felt. Perhaps there should be less promotion of development aid as such and more focus on a global human partnership, yet to be defined and in which everyone can find their place. This means rekindling an inspirational idea of development and cooperation among peoples and countries to achieve common objectives, and its many related goals.



Another key factor for communication and buy-in in all three countries is the **importance of initiatives that are celebrated and programmes that are seen and understood**. These are few and far between but nonetheless visible, and they leave aside questions of financial volumes, implementation methods and supporting institutions. Instead, the spotlight is on ambitions, partnership, local contributions and the objectives to be achieved. This blueprint is politically powerful and fortifies messaging that supports aid.

5. The consensus indicator applied across the three countries

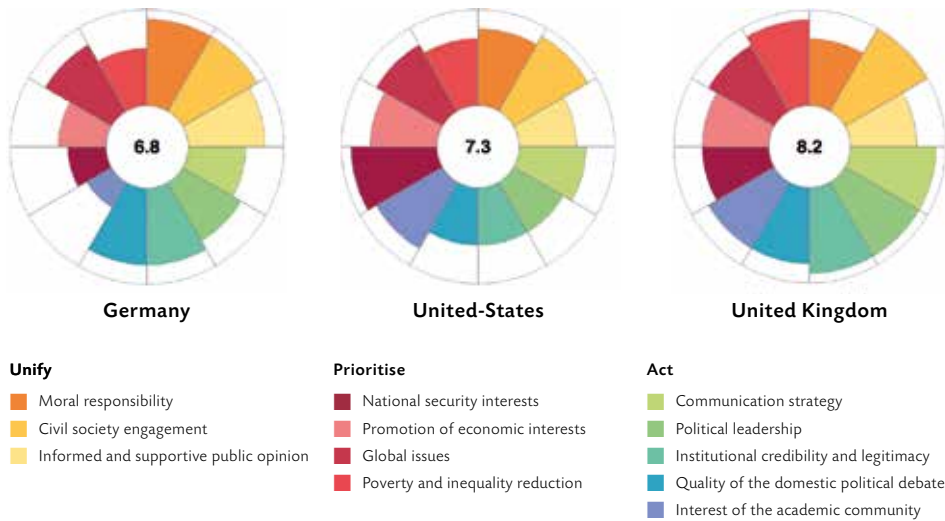
The figure below shows the results when the consensus indicator is applied to the three countries for the twelve factors chosen for the latter MDG years (2010–2015), as explained in Appendix 3. This is a subjective analysis and thus open to discussion. Thanks to this tool, we can see that their situations are quite similar with respect to the **Unify factors**, which federate public opinion and societal actors. There is a high level of civil society engagement across all three countries, even though public opinion is not particularly well-informed (though more so in Germany). The **Act factors** are relatively different, with the United Kingdom outperforming its German and US partners. Finally, the **Prioritise factors** show contrasted results, with national security or economic interests having greater weight in the United States than in the other two European countries.

The exercise was carried out with fewer criteria for the post-Cold War period, and prospectively for the post-2017 period to detect trends and highlight a few specific points. The tool can thus be used to provide a simple view of the state of pro-aid consensus-building and to draw conclusions for public action. A more detailed explanation of these factors can be found in Appendix 3.



Building the consensus: a comparative analysis

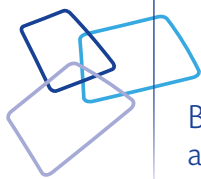
Consensus indicator 1: Latter MDG years (2010–2015)



6. Newcomers to the aid market

The three countries are the birthplace of what is termed **“hyper-collective action”** in favour of development aid (cf. Severino & Charnoz, 2008; Severino & Ray, 2011). This action has accompanied the new post-Westphalian global architecture that confers a leading role on a multitude of legitimate civil society actors often operating outside the traditional channels of international relations. In addition to these newcomers (foundations, businesses, local authorities and non-governmental institutions of all shapes and kinds), myriad active organisations have been created through alliances, clubs, coalitions and conglomerates created for specific purposes. Strikingly, in the space of just a few years, this trend has diluted the aid effectiveness debate and placed an overriding focus on stakeholder initiatives and the drive for results, whether the resources involved are public and/or private. These newcomers have little incentive to act within the established frameworks and collective rules that were designed for a handful of public actors.

The notion of “donor” is also growing weaker because, more often than not, aid recipients have become partners involved in the results and governance of implemented actions, which means that some institutional cooperation models (processes) are becoming obsolete. This is especially true when more complex financial tools are used, as is increasingly the case in all three countries and notably



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the United Kingdom and the United States. The donor has now become a joint-venturer, market-maker, investor, accompanier, guarantor, mediator, etc. National consensus built on the pact between the State, its public actors, civil society players and businesses are thus growing even more complex as the actors from the Global South – now partners and allies, beneficiaries and clients – are becoming stakeholders.

This remarkable profusion means that **“official” development assistance is now looking to break with the traditional public sphere and becoming a vibrant, dynamic constellation of stakeholders.** These stakeholders interact, run their programmes and messaging in line with their own logics and criteria, and exchange with other players. In addition to its own actions on behalf of society, the State and its institutions now have the role not only of ensuring that the path taken by its whole is a virtuous one, but also of nurturing the ties between the different players (NGOs, businesses, foundations, etc.) that together form a web of highly diverse actors whose unity needs shoring up.

The consensus on development is changeable because many of its non-institutional stakeholders evolve over time and create dynamics that hopefully converge or at least run in parallel. Each component that sustains the consensus can follow its own path. As a result, one consensus may coalesce around the fight against HIV/AIDS while another mobilises against plastic bags in the Mediterranean, without either coming into conflict. Moreover, these different consensus can help to reinforce an overall positive attitude to aid by bringing communities of interest into play. When NGOs join forces, their advocacy actions integrate elements that can act in synergy, be it fair trade, the fight against trade agreements, child protection, climate change, HIV/AIDS prevention or human rights.

In this context, States are facing de facto a situation that is rich in opportunity, albeit tricky to handle. If they manage to act and steer stakeholder discussion and debate, they can position themselves within a logic of virtuous consensus-building that is broad-based and legitimate, which allows them to take the initiative and claim a leadership role for the public sector. If they acquiesce to the winds of fashion and initiatives headed by others, they may lose their legitimacy, and this can have serious consequences for public aid given that the State is the ultimate guarantor of sustainable public policy. Witness the example of USAID, which was sorely tried in the early 2000s when civil society and its own contractors virtually held the agency to ransom. On the other hand, if the State is firmly convinced of the rightness of its discourse and the quality of its projects and fails to **lead a dialogue with the consensus stakeholders and thus create for itself a political space for action**, it would risk becoming isolated and on the defensive in the face of public opinion or the media, as has been the case in the United Kingdom.



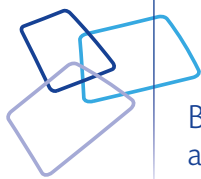
7. Contrasts and interdependencies

a. The reciprocal influence of development policies

Our three countries pursue three development policies built on different foundations and organisations, each with its own levers, each with its specific trajectory and dynamics. This is somewhat surprising given that there is an overarching global policy for OECD countries based on a single reference and monitored by powerful multilateral institutions common to all. Their individual commitments to poverty alleviation, national security interests and global sustainable development could trigger antagonisms or misunderstandings between the three countries. Yet, these are constructively arbitrated thanks to the strength and necessities of international cooperation among allies. Reality and on-the-ground engagement also ensure that their actions converge. Each country has actors who are now global players by dint of the aid business and their own resources. These actors do not, or no longer, need to be part of the national consensus, as their resources, energy and references derive from other sources: the UN, the EU, their private mandates and the momentum of their cooperation and partnerships with the Global South and Global North.

As pointed out earlier, national consensus in the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany change over time and in line with the context – they are by nature dynamic. Their interactions are driven by the quality and intensity of cooperation between the main donor countries, as they are sensitive to the state of the consensus prevailing in each. **A weakened consensus in one country leads to a weakening of the entire international aid collective: each country depends to a large extent on the others.** In 2016–2017, now that aid policies in some countries are being challenged, aid policies across the board are having to deal with new frailties.

The actions of public or private agents are interlinked and interdependent. Leaders may sometimes adopt a position on the basis of the position taken by their G7 counterparts. A country may sometimes modify its commitments depending on the efforts made by a third country: this was the case of Germany, whose international posture was strongly influenced by the United Kingdom. Today, any initiative aiming for impact cannot, as a rule, be envisaged without bringing partners on board: but this is not always the case, notably for the United States. Implementing institutions constantly compare themselves to one another and develop their tools in light of those of their peers, though not always successfully. Civil society organisations join forces to develop their advocacy activities. The intellectual debate defies borders, and think tanks are channelling all reflection towards common reference points.



Development and cooperation policies have become central to the countries' foreign influence and are embedded in European and US geostrategies. They are thus contingent on and marked by geostrategic priorities, as shown by the collective fight against terrorism, which has been a foremost concern since 11 September 2001. Other major issues such as migration and the effects of climate change inevitably come to bear. In the case of major disruptions, due to the crossing of thresholds or risk limits, new collective responses will prevail and supersede the consensus on development.

b. The inescapable European dimension

Today, the United Kingdom and Germany, alongside France, are the most active members of the European Union when it comes to development. The United Kingdom is more active given the history of its accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) following the integration of the Commonwealth's developing countries into the European aid system. Germany's interest in development is more recent: when the creation of the EEC was underway, one of the sticking points was whether to include a common development policy, an option refused by Germany on account of its colonial ties. After the Treaty of Rome, the mix of development policy (soft power) and trade policy (hard power) shaped the EU's external policy for many years, under the aegis of France and the United Kingdom – a *modus operandi* clearly disrupted by the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union and the emergence of Germany's development diplomacy.

The British departure from EU institutions is highly problematic for the continuity of European aid on all fronts, including the way in which development aid messaging is framed and conveyed. Indeed, over the years, the United Kingdom has greatly contributed to the European development debate. British actors (civil society, parliamentarians, think tanks, senior civil servants) have a remarkable capacity to deploy influence and offer insightful reflection. As a member of the Nordic+ group, the United Kingdom has been able to broaden its action and form alliances with the Scandinavian countries to work on joint projects. Its bilateral institutions (British Council, DfID, etc.) are involved in many complementary innovative intellectual partnerships and run European networks. British NGOs participate very actively in the European NGO platform, CONCORD. The British and European Parliaments talk to each other, and European development policy is strengthened by the fact that convergence prevails within the network of the UK's parliamentary development committees and commissions – a cooperative dimension that could be further encouraged in France.

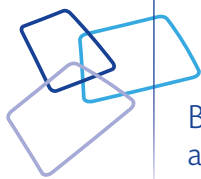


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A European space for development exists and is encouraged by the Commission through its European Development Days.⁹ This is also a place for creativity, debate and a deepening reflection that induces and supports change. It integrates new needs (security, migration, climate change), flexible tools and European initiatives that form the underpinnings of the global consensus and its long-term financing. That said, the European dimension does not appear to prevail when it comes to understanding where national consensus on development aid is built. The political elites and public opinion seem to focus primarily on their domestic debate and actions, many of them viewing the European dimension as no more than an additional tool for bilateral aid. On the other hand, for the British and German government teams, the European commitments, the management and financing of European tools, and the establishment of enhanced cooperation are all elements that stabilise their own national systems and give more weight to the arguments that reinforce the political bedrock of aid. Indeed, at the European scale, varyingly compelling national messages on development aid and their rationales are somewhat complementary as long as they reflect a pro-aid consensus. Naturally, viewpoints diverge regarding priorities and the allocation and use of resources, in line with the different diplomatic positions. Signs of this were visible in the negotiations on the European Consensus on Development, which is a joint statement by the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Member states, adopted in 2005. A new European consensus on development is currently being revised to factor in the 2030 Agenda and the EU's Global Strategy. This new consensus was signed in June 2017 during the European Development Days.

The elaboration of this European Consensus is a delicate exercise as positions need to be aligned and a middle path found that is acceptable to all twenty-eight member states. Moreover, the current exercise is even more complicated than the previous one as, for the first time, the Commission's other Directorates-General need to be involved in the drafting of a document inspired by the cross-cutting universal 2030 Agenda. This means harmonising discourses on development, the environment and climate, governance, financing and resources, all of which are the hard-earned outcomes of five years of international negotiations around the 2030 Agenda (which put Germany and the United Kingdom at odds). To achieve this, strong stakeholder support is needed to avoid a return to the thematic and sectoral logics that could unravel the huge effort to successfully establish a coherent approach to sustainable

⁹ / An annual forum for debate and sharing on development questions, organised by the European Commission (DG DEVCO) in June for two days in Brussels. In 2016, the European Development Days were attended by nearly 6,000 development professionals.



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development. For this reason, it is crucial that an active debate on international development be engaged within the European framework, through multiple meetings, consultations, parliamentary hearings, think tank input (ECDPM, Eurodad, Friends of Europe, etc.) and stakeholder discussions. This thrust would aim to do away with silo-based thinking and focus on the future, and both the United Kingdom and Germany excel in this type of exercise. The Commission's services, the European External Action Service and the EU institutions are highly receptive to such initiatives and to direct and open contacts that are highly fluid, informal and productive. They perceive these as a reflection of European public opinion, which the EU is keen to directly relay as a means of implementing the accountability and transparency principles that are now expected.

The European Union has agreed to entrust Member states with managing some of its development funds through their public development banks. As part of its External Investment Plan, it is promoting a new sustainable development fund that will call on domestic financial institutions as intermediaries to leverage private investment. For the European Union, the development sector thus provides an opportunity to forge closer ties with its member states, while the latter are increasingly incentivised to give the Union a larger role in their bilateral initiatives.

The EU's development policy suffers from a lack of political resonance. So far, it has no policy mouthpiece – no single champion engaged in European development action able to embody this mission in the eyes of its citizens. The European Union is thus promoting the UN 2030 sustainable development agenda using the ambitious signature, "Our World, Our Dignity, Our Future", which insists on the need for unity in order to act with dignity in a common world. While there is indeed a genuine desire to formulate clear goals and communicate on the means of action, attempts have so far been strongly constrained not only by the enormous complexity and wide dispersion of the development mandates, but also by the multiplicity of national viewpoints. Without this clarity, this univocity, it is difficult to disseminate a constructive message on development, now that angst rather than compassion dominates the debate on the daily flow of migrants into Europe. Yet, with the help of effective communicators, ambassadors and spokespersons, the much-debated European Consensus could spur an inspiring and identity-consolidating message for Europe and its member states. This message needs to be deployed with and within civil society and could offer the European Union an opportunity to pull together again in the wake of the US elections and Brexit.



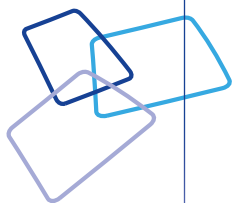
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The European Parliament, particularly the members of the Committee on Development (DEVE), should play a greater and more active role in helping to renew action and discourse. As the Parliament now has greater supervisory authority over a number of European instruments and is mindful of what civil society has to say, it can also serve as a link between other European policies to ensure more coherence and give greater political clout within the EU agenda to aid and cooperation. This univocal discourse is becoming even more important as the European Union is seeking to involve an increasing number of actors in its development policy – notably from the corporate sector – and is now dealing with a universal policy. **The gap between a now outdated and relatively traditional message and the reality of the EU's external sustainable development policy must be narrowed.** Its discourse also needs to involve all European citizens in the construction of a new “solidarity-based globalisation” or “global partnership”.





III



The United States

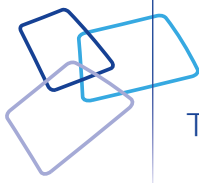
1. The US consensus: under the seal of national security and at the president's instigation, an alliance between public and private actors

In the United States, a bipartisan agreement has underpinned foreign policy since the end of the Vietnam War, especially regarding the need to achieve global balance through the use of soft power to influence world affairs. The soft power toolbox includes development aid as key component, as well as US support for the Bretton Woods institutions. Since G.W. Bush and B. Obama, national security considerations, formally laid out in the Policy Development Directive of 2008–2009, have guided all actors and are intrinsically linked to development. Any challenge to this mind-set can but marginalise opponents and all US public actors strive to fit their efforts into this frame. Other stakeholders refer to their own fundamental principles, be they moral (society) or economic (business). Both Congress and the executive branch are convinced that as the level of aid spent by the US taxpayers is low – less than 1% of the foreign assistance budget (and around only 0.8% of the ODA budget, strictly speaking)¹⁰ –, it is a worthwhile investment: the tool is a thus linchpin of US influence worldwide and comes at little cost. The United States determines its level of aid unilaterally and recognises no international commitment in this area. In fact, the low budget appropriations for foreign aid are consistent with the “value for money” rule that systematically governs actions in this domain.

This through-line is enduring and resilient whatever the government in power. If the economic situation changes, this has little effect given that foreign policy is built over the long term: historic references and the rigid institutional strategies (of Congress, the military complex) are impervious to short-term adaptations. The consensus is built “organically”, in line with political developments.

Congress is ostensibly an all-powerful institution and the locus where development assistance policy can garner consensus – which makes it an exception. Congress

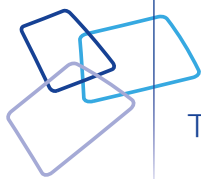
¹⁰ / Cf. Table 3 in the Appendices.



demands ongoing and compelling evidence in exchange for its support and is keen to retain its leadership on international policy. Military leaders, who since the Marshall Plan have confronted reconstruction and development on the ground in many countries, have opted to support civil international assistance policy as they reap its benefits and see its positive results. Their voices carry weight in all fora. **The thirty-year-long consensus among the members of Congress ultimately hinges on keeping the subject of international assistance out of the political debate.** If the topic were actually brought to the table, the vulnerabilities and tensions surrounding it would come to light. President Trump's decisions on the funding for development have in fact revealed where the support for aid policy lies, and this mainly comes from the military: the letter from one hundred and twenty-one retired members of the armed services to the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and the majority leader and speaker of the House of Representatives (27/02/2017) calls on the highest-level political leadership in Congress to oppose the budget cuts imposed by the president.

The **continuity of aid policy under Presidents B. Clinton** (with scant resources), G.W. Bush and then B. Obama is striking. It was the G.W. Bush presidency that enabled substantial additional appropriations to be voted in. Under B. Obama, dialogue and consensus were greatly encouraged, partly for tactical reasons, but also thanks to the context of a highly organised and bipartisan civil society that was open to Republican, conservative, military and economic forces, and which afforded him a space for initiative. Little or no reference is made to the international context (OECD, G20, UN).

The development ecosystem is extremely fertile. Universities, NGOs, think tanks, foundations, churches and all types of communities of interest are active and multiplying. The NGOs are highly organised, and the many lines of expertise and concrete initiatives they provide are commensurate with the number of moral messages they communicate. **NGOs, foundations and other private actors mobilise considerable resources on a scale comparable to that of public aid.** Through their interactions with congressional Republicans and Democrats and their ties to the political power and administration, this stakeholder ecosystem facilitates the personal engagement of leading figures and provides firm backing for the parliamentarians' stances. This collective approach is a major achievement undergirding the consensus on aid. Although Washington remains aloof and the ecosystem is relatively closed-in on itself, the theme of international aid goes beyond its main proponents such as NGOs, foundations and businesses to reach new constituencies who the subject on board. In fact, together, these actors help to

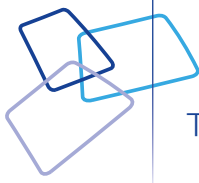


muster more resources than public aid: Hollywood, Silicon Valley and social networks, the new philanthropists, New York and California, progressive and internationalist mayors and governors, Starbucks and Walmart, etc. Sustainable development is now in fashion. The chief executives and owners of Facebook, Microsoft, Google or Apple want to “save” the world, and to leave their legacy by shaping the discourse on solutions and innovation. The notion of “do some good” is celebrated and reinjects a moral, self-evident perspective into the US setting. The think tanks are producing the intellectual discourse and driving the concepts forward.

Washington is also a capital of international aid given that it hosts the **Bretton Woods multilateral institutions**, the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and others, but these seemingly have little impact on US policy. The consequences are more visible in terms of jobs, either within these organisations or with the many contractors, agencies and institutions that interact with or depend on Washington’s multilateral network. However, the lobby of large private contractors and various NGOs does carry weight: it represents the subcontractors that handle a large part of US public aid (some caustic observers dub them the “Beltway bandits” to point up the fact that a hefty share of this aid travels no further than the federal capital’s ring road).

The recognition of the role of these private actors and their involvement as global leaders at all levels is one of the assets that facilitates the crafting of an often pragmatic messaging. This contrasts with a system of official development assistance that is still extremely bureaucratic. Though the effectiveness of the approach is challenged, major initiatives backed by powerful marketing strategies (content-focused rather than institutional) and involving private-sector initiatives are frequently launched – the aim being to deliver impactful and better-performing solutions. As the federal government’s capabilities face harsh criticism from business quarters and civil society, this pragmatism offers some reassurance and a guarantee that the initiatives are sound. US public aid relies on this large and increasingly independent private aid market.

The strength of the development coalitions is remarkable and brings together the State, NGOs, foundations, businesses and an array of intermediaries. They receive substantial funding and enjoy a high degree of autonomy. They are also held accountable, and their “track record” would be worth evaluating. They are nonetheless important vehicles for mobilisation and implementation. They also support public policy by running counter to or out of kilter with the official bilateral cooperation relations that are built on a project-by-project basis and thus inevitably



The United States

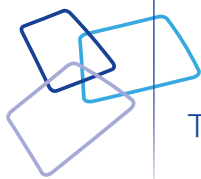
less compelling. Highly dependent on US foundations, the think tanks are quite copiously funded and help to drive the momentum. As a powerful force, they offer an arena where strategies and new ideas can be tested. They also serve as platforms giving state institutions the accountability and external credibility that they need to defend their positions outside of congressional hearings. The think tanks hire top officials from the administration whenever a change of government occurs. Spaces for encounter and debate abound, including in the inner circles with close ties to Congress, in a setting independent of the administration and USAID. This creates a vibrant community populated by first-rate experts.

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Seeking agreement on official development assistance

Public opinion does not engage with questions of foreign aid, which means that citizens manifest no real hostility or activism: social cohesion is strong and remains relatively consensual. Extremist views exist but remain marginal, although they circulate on active social networks. Americans focus more on their individual interests and raise no fundamental questions about public aid, which is understood to be the counterpart of military efforts. US opinion has little idea of what international assistance policy is about. Its perception of the sums involved – which it largely overestimates – reflects the gulf between Americans and the situation of a world they barely know. They do not call on members of Congress to demand more or less aid. The subject is non-existent, which gives the political power, institutions and lobbies great freedom to operate. Unlike the case of the United Kingdom, public opinion has no cultural ties with international development. It is through the churches, some NGOs, university campuses and volunteer work (the Peace Corps) that development issues are raised. Public opinion does not give its support to the consensus on official development policy, partly because it knows little about aid and grossly overestimates the amounts involved. Development assistance often seems bound up with political commitments (resulting from Middle East conflicts) over which citizens have little influence. This lack of popular support is the development sector's main fragility and is what has allowed President Trump to make drastic cuts to the aid budget, notably to UN-related funding, without sparking much resistance apart from in a limited circle of voices.

Moreover, aid transits mainly through charitable institutions as the federal government still lacks the legitimacy to act. These include some powerful mainstays such as the Protestant and Evangelical churches, the Catholic churches, immigrant communities (Haitians, Central Americans, Iranians, Africans), all of which constitute a local support base and have close ties with elected officials.

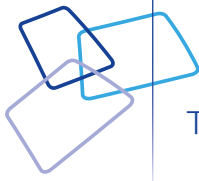


The authorities are thus able to implement public policy with relative ease: public opinion does not really weigh in and, since development aid falls under the international affairs umbrella, it remains the preserve of the federal government. Development aid budgets and international security budgets are inextricably linked and presented to Congress as a single budget request, which partly explains the success of the budgetary authorisation process.

Consensus prevails over the fact that aid is “good” and “works” and that impacts will meet expectations. It is recognised that a long-term effort is required.

To gain buy-in for major programmes, the authorities have to rely on strong diplomatic and political communication focused on measurable results and high domestic political payback (even though the percentage of GNI actually allocated to ODA is low). Americans are not looking for alliances or cooperation with bilateral agencies given that their own initiatives are on a sufficiently large scale: in any case, the controls and authorisations imposed on these initiatives is such that a rapprochement with other actors is not indispensable, or at times even possible.

In 2012, the Global Leadership Coalition (USGLC) foregrounded six drivers of bipartisan stakeholder consensus: strengthen “civilian” power within the State Department and USAID; promote effective results-driven development aid in line with the Busan principles, offering greater transparency and accountability; promote leveraging effects with the private sector (development partnerships) to go to scale; maintain sufficient budget resources to tackle “the significant economic challenges facing the United States in the years ahead”; improve coordination among US public players, which requires strong leadership; and define priorities for scaling up in areas where the United States has proven expertise and know-how.



The United States

Three lessons: a difficult global leadership

Key 1: *Republican and Democratic leaders have been allies since the New Deal and retain their control over the US institutions that have international influence.*

Key 2: *A civil, intellectual and entrepreneurial society with a powerful influence on international subjects, but little foothold in public opinion; it also keeps its distance from public action.*

Key 3: *A reasoned linkage between aid and diplomacy, aid and defence/security, driven by the search for global leadership and reliant on major initiatives that the presidents support personally as part of their political legacy.*

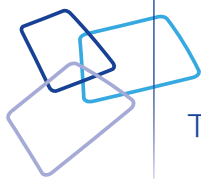
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2. History of aid and the evolution of public policies

a. *The origins*

Crisis and war

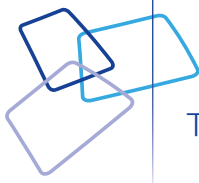
American democracy was severely hit by the 1929 crisis. Thereafter, the country embarked on the “New Deal” policy theorised by J. M. Keynes and which gave a prominent place to state action. These pre-war years saw the creation of a raft of US institutions, including the Social Security system and the Tennessee Valley Authority; it was thus seen fitting for the State to intervene on social objectives. Great philanthropic capitalists such as A. Carnegie, J.D. Rockefeller, and H. Ford took on social responsibilities, creating foundations dedicated to humanitarian action on the domestic front: food aid, libraries, schools, university hospitals. It was only natural to “give to the poor”. Liberals and conservatives alike had faith in the human benefits. During the war and post-war years, the Democratic Presidents F. D. Roosevelt (1933–1945) then H. Truman (1945–1953) shaped an interventionist state. The United States had to “extend the New Deal to the entire world”, be “the Good Samaritan of the entire world”, and “the duty of this country is to feed all the people of this world” (Henry Luce, quoted in Donald White, 1999), while the business sector could “put the world right”. In 1947, military and civilian assistance to Greece and Turkey was the first combat for modern development aid to be won in Congress, although admittedly the victory could partly be attributed to the “fear of Communism”. Over the period 1949–1950, US assistance to Palestinian refugees was distributed through the multilateral UN Relief and Works Agency. The Voice of America radio station was also a product of the war.



The Marshall Plan (1947–1951) sprang from the ideological drive to “contain communism”, as “Third World poverty provided fertile ground for communism’s growth” (Butterfield, 2004). It was a government programme to support the economic and financial reconstruction of Europe, whereby assistance was tied to the provision of US goods and services and co-financed by its beneficiaries, in line with the 1940 Lend-Lease Act. Its inspiration was akin to the spirit that had prompted the creation of the Fulbright scholarships in 1946 to promote peace through cultural exchanges between the United States and the rest of the world and enable high-achieving students and researchers to spend a year abroad. The economist J.K. Galbraith theorised the development gaps, evaluated the need for US financing to upgrade post-war economic standards across countries, and suggested prolonging the Marshall Plan beyond 1952.

The Truman doctrine (1945–1953) for world development with its “bold new program” was set out in the Point Four Program announced in the president’s inaugural address: the purpose of assistance was to teach the means of self-development. The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), set up during the war, was terminated in 1946 and its functions transferred to the Department of State. At the request of the House of Representatives, the Economic Cooperation Administration, created in 1949, had its functions transferred to the newly created Mutual Security Agency (Mutual Security Act, MSA, 1951) reporting to the president. In 1953, the MSA also took over the functions of the Technical Cooperation Administration (created in 1950). This re-organisation began to group together all the technical, financial and partly military cooperation activities that had thus far been run separately in Latin America, Asia, Europe and Africa. It absorbed the Marshall Plan, technical cooperation assistance and Truman’s Point Four foreign policy with a view to coordinating military operations and civilian action. There was also an unsuccessful attempt to establish an International Investment Corporation in view of setting up agencies similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority for the rivers Ganges, Parana, Ob and Danube. The idea of an inter-American development bank was launched in 1954, in response to an initiative by Brazilian President J. Kubitschek, and spurred by the future Republican Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller, who had a keen interest in US-Latin American relationships throughout Truman’s, Eisenhower and Nixon’s presidencies and was alarmed by the social tensions and loss of US influence in Latin America.

In the context of the Korean War, D. Eisenhower decided to create the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA, 1953), making it independent from the State



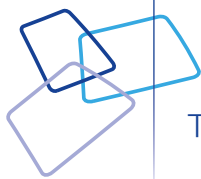
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Department. With the president's call for "trade, not aid", the humanitarian dimension of assistance faded somewhat into the background. The famous food aid law PL 480, which poured millions of tonnes of surplus cereals into developing countries by way of support for US farmers, was passed in 1954. Yet, the New York Times reported Eisenhower as stating: "the security and welfare of the United States are directly related to the economic and social advancement of all people who share our concern for the freedom, dignity and well being of the individual" (17 April 1955). He encouraged civil society to self-organise and promoted a national NGO conference, later known as the International Development Conference, which has convened every two years since 1952 at the initiative of civil society.

As of 1956, Congress requested that the needs of poor countries, along with the fight against Communism, become a priority for the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), which had replaced the FOA and been reintegrated into the State Department. At the time, the congressional view was that financial and military aid should be short-term programs and technical cooperation for the longer term – which explains why, each year, the question was raised of whether or not to maintain the aid institutions. It was only towards 1955 that the House of Representatives recognised that development assistance had to be part and parcel of US foreign policy in the Third World: "There is today evidence on every continent that the mutual security program has begun to give us important foreign policy advantages" (House Foreign Affairs Committee, 1955). Public opinion was chiefly mobilised by the international issues of poverty and employment, which were closer to its own preoccupations than the fight against Communism. Assistance was unilateral and in line with the US model, which served as the sole reference.

The Foreign Assistance Act

It was President J.F. Kennedy who decided, as he explained in his inaugural address, to launch the New Frontier concept and endorse international assistance for countries in need, in conjunction with a strengthening of national defence, the fight against segregation and the promotion of civil rights. This policy was pursued not just "because the Communists are doing it...but because it is right". In 1961, Kennedy launched an overarching project: the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) was voted in by Congress, and the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress (with Latin America) and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) were created. He appointed Robert McNamara as head of the World Bank. USAID absorbed several existing institutions: the International Cooperation Association (ICA), the Development Loan Fund and other State Department services. Its mission was to promote freedom,



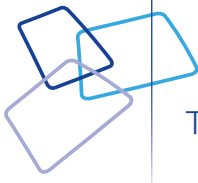
progress, peace, the fight against ignorance, and the “creative energies of people”, and to deploy cooperative efforts for basic needs such as housing, employment, land (in the Latin American context), health and education. As Kennedy remarked: “the conquest of poverty is as difficult, if not more difficult, than the conquest of outer space.”¹¹ L.B. Johnson, the advocate of the “Great Society”, continued the expansion begun by Kennedy (who had integrated economic assistance to poor countries as an instrument for the Cold War) and supported the findings of the Pearson Commission, which endorsed the ODA target of 0.7% of GNI and also requested increased resources. The bipartisan think tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), saw the light of day in 1962 to “sustain American prominence and prosperity as a force for good in the world”.

With the policy of détente espoused by President R. Nixon and Secretary of State H. Kissinger, the economic component of development assistance was reinforced by the creation of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) in 1973, which made it possible to separate out loans, technical assistance and grant aid. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1971 also introduced the fight against drug-trafficking. Nixon ushered in the notion of “national interest” and conditioned aid on this requirement, refusing to take up the defence of the world’s free nations (Guam speech, 1970). The Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations encouraged the creation of the progressive think tank, the Overseas Development Council, which closed its doors only in 2000; for many years, this organisation seeded reflection and advocacy on development, hiring former World Bank and USAID senior executives, promoting themes beyond the domain of aid, and critiquing quite sharply the traditional practices of USAID.

Over the period 1960–70, the Green Revolution was in full swing, propelled by its inventor and 1970 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Norman Borlaug. This led to the creation of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), the world’s first major global partnership, with support from the Rockefeller Foundation.

In 1973, the House of Representatives set “New Directions” that imposed on the executive branch a new foreign development assistance act, referred to as the Basic Human Needs mandate. This sought to remedy the phasing-down of aid programmes and promote US interests on the clear understanding that development aid was a policy tool serving national security. This revival aimed to align economic development with equity, ensure a larger role for trade, investment and the private sector, prioritise assistance to “the poorest people in the poorest countries”, and

¹¹ / Address on the first Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, March 13, 1962.



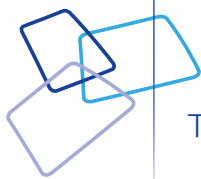
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reactivate a multilateral approach. The policy gradually filtered down into USAID's operations, which underwent radical change as the military component was separated out to a greater extent and combined programmes (diplomacy, security, development) were abandoned. Sizeable amendments were then made to the 1973 mandate: actions for women were prioritised, financing to support abortion and family planning were introduced, security and police cooperation activities were removed, and humanitarian assistance was to be deployed in case of disaster. This was also a fertile period for American thinking on global affairs: Robert McNamara at the World Bank, the Pearson Report, the first environmental alert at the 1972 Stockholm Environmental Conference, and the published works of Paul and Anne Ehrlich (*The Population Bomb*), David Brower (*Encounters with the Archdruid*) and Rachel Carson (*Silent Spring*). This was the moment that environmental and citizen movements began to emerge out of the struggles for civil rights (Ralph Nader's *Public Citizen*, *Global Watch*, *League of Conservation Voters*, *Friends of the Earth*), although they failed to establish ties with the private voluntary organisations (PVOs, the forerunners of development NGOs).

The first wave of large international UN conferences left its stamp on US policy and actors. These years saw the birth of a new NGO community that was less generic and more inclined to specialise in the issues of the moment: women, population, food security, housing, the environment.

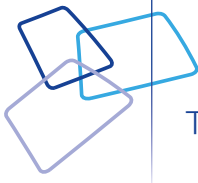
The politicians of the time, close to the "Old" or "New" Left, began to feel uncomfortable with the 1970s' cooling-off of the Cold War that had developed after the Truman years. The fear of a triumphant Communism ushered in by greater cooperation among nations including the USSR, the "recognition of social and economic progress as a basic human right" (Guilhot, 2005), and the perceived decline of US power suggested that these could all lead to a capitulation in front of the Soviet Union. The bipartisan consensus on foreign policy was clearly shattered.

Yet, this ruptured consensus gave a multitude of think tanks and expert groups the opportunity to emerge on a reformed model compared to that of the old Brookings Institution or the Ford Foundation. In fact, although these heirs of the Old Left were progressively sidelined by the administration, they still managed to draw close to the seat of power through their involvement in the policy expertise business and in the NGOs that were springing up, and were active within the State Department, for example, on the subject of Soviet denuclearisation. In the 1970s, however, the US think tanks specialised in international action were becoming increasingly competitive, and their advisory activities took a more outrightly partisan and ideological turn.



From 1977 to 1981, future Nobel Peace Prize laureate Jimmy Carter espoused the cause of human rights, and the allocation of US assistance was conditioned on their respect. He was eager to renew relations with the Third World and deployed numerous multilateral activities to this end. USAID initiatives were encouraged and plans were made to separate the agency from the Department of State and create a ministry dedicated to steering international assistance. However, with the growing strife and conflict in the Middle East, foreign assistance was overwhelmingly funnelled into Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the West Bank. The Camp David Accords (1979) led to a massive increase in resources for the Economic Support Fund (political and economic stability) and Foreign Military Financing (FMF) – two programmes that still play an important role today. **It is since Camp David that diplomacy, defence and development have been closely meshed together**, with development becoming a pivotal tool for a foreign policy lastingly marked by huge commitments in favour of less than half a dozen key countries.

The Reagan years (1981–1989), then those of G. Bush Senior (1989–1993), marked the end of the Cold War. The period saw a dramatic erosion of international assistance policy, together with a revival of military intervention and the US's role as “the world's policeman”, notably during the first Gulf War. The Foreign Assistance Act incorporated the fight against terrorism into its objectives (1983). The NGOs reacted to these shrinking ambitions by better organising themselves and creating their InterAction alliance in 1985. New philanthropists appeared on the scene: G. Soros founded the Open Society Institute (1979), Ted Turner created CNN and the United Nations Foundation, along with the Better World Society, which ran a television campaign to put an end to hunger... The House of Representatives produced the Hamilton-Gilman report (1988–1989), a broad bipartisan survey of US assistance that gave a stark description of its ineffectiveness, complexity and profuse uncoordinated objectives. The Reagan administration, under pressure from the increasingly professionalised NGOs, took a new direction and embarked on a dynamic development policy that finally brought results: the Republican administration embedded the promotion of human rights and democracy into its foreign policy. In fact, the Republicans recognised these principles only inasmuch as they were useful for the fight against Soviet influence, but they found themselves partly imprisoned by their own discourse, which did produce positive effects in the area of development. As the founder of Human Rights Watch A. Neier wrote: “Reagan was eventually driven by [the Administration's] own rhetoric”.



A false start

Bill Clinton (1993–2001) brought a breath of new life to US development assistance and reshuffled the cards: the risks were many, the solutions had to be global. An under-secretary of state for Global Affairs was appointed to the State Department. The reformer Jim Wolfensohn was appointed to the World Bank (1995–2005). At the 1996 G7 Summit, the United States encouraged efforts to drive cohesion among international financing structures. Sustainable development, human development and stakeholder participation were promoted, while support programmes – which had been highly polarised (on Central America) under the G.W. Bush and R. Reagan administrations – were cut back. B. Clinton found his ambitions blocked by a Republican Congress led by Senator J. Helms, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who had been extremely hostile to aid since 1995. This resulted in a drastic cut to the ODA budget, down to 0.08% of GNI¹² and the lowest level since pre-war years, and a 30% reduction¹³ in USAID staff – in total disregard of the Foreign Assistance Act. USAID, hobbled by the many contradictory demands and constraints imposed by Congress, sank into a paralysing bureaucratic morass despite the vision of its director, Brian Atwood, who was concerned that poverty gaps were not only fuelling war and terrorism, but also threatening health and global climate change (1999, quoted in OECD 2003).

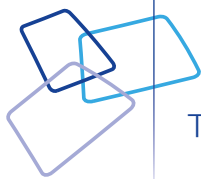
Levelling a conservative critique against multilateral interventionism, Congress launched a review of the Bretton Woods institutions and asked the Meltzer Commission (1999–2000) for a thorough examination of the role of international financial institutions (IFIs) with a view to preventing the spread of the Asian financial crisis (1997–1999). Firmly anchored in the idea that the World Bank and the IMF just “keep the slothful in their sloth”¹⁴ and that wrongdoers must pay for their wrongdoings, the Commission’s report rejected the IFI shareholders’ authority to refinance failing States such as South Korea, Brazil or Argentina through their quotas, or take on management responsibilities and intervene in these countries’ economic policies.

This morose climate led US non-governmental actors from all sectors to rally together in a powerful force. The US Global Leadership Coalition (USGLC) platform started up, spearheaded by L. Schraye. Its founding members included companies (aeronautics) that were fighting for business promotion structures (e.g. continuation of the EXIM Bank), NGOs, which at the time were highly dependent on USAID funding and keen to keep it, and military authorities, for whom development was

¹² / Source: OECD/DAC.

¹³ / Ibid.

¹⁴ / Cf. Article “Critic of World Bank and IMF eyed for key role at Treasury”, *Financial Times*, 27 March 2017.



a means of stabilising countries. Towards the end of his tenure, B. Clinton again seized the initiative and sought, albeit unsuccessfully, to transform USAID into an independent foundation. In fact, the agency remained under the State Department's supervision with no freedom of action. With his Clinton Global Initiative, the president later found a way to promote partnerships with the private sector and commit to "win-win" solutions, as was notably the case with his action in Haiti (2010–2011), which coupled his philanthropic initiatives with a UN mission.

The modern history of US assistance (1961–2000) is edifying. Since the enactment of the Foreign Assistance Act in 1961, **the United States has been constantly balancing Development with Diplomacy and Defence**, juggling with a profusion of priorities and directives. The "3Ds" were driven by a lively dynamic within the US National Security Council, of which USAID became a member. Democratic and Republican presidents supported US development aid, although the House of Representatives at times proved difficult to manage. Political analysts conceded that the causes of poverty and development gaps generated risks much like many other factors, that they impacted global affairs and ultimately threatened the security of the United States. This meant that these questions had to be tackled over the long run, as H. Truman had already foreseen in 1945: "We are here embarking on a venture that extends far into the future. We are at the beginning of a rising curve of activity, private, governmental and international, that will continue for many years to come".¹⁵

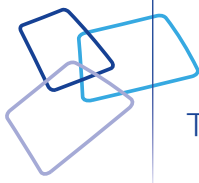
b. Recent years

A conservative development policy

Freed from the after-effects of the Cold War, the 2000 Millennium Development Goals seemed to unleash creative energies: over sixteen years, four successive administrations (under G.W. Bush Junior, then B. Obama) helped to build a totally transformed and firmly rooted system.

Founded in 1995, the US Global Leadership Coalition gathered together five hundred prominent individuals (politicians, diplomats, former military, civil society members, church representatives, entrepreneurs, philanthropists and intellectuals) campaigning for diplomacy and development in addition to defence. Its aim was to modernise USAID, make it more effective, more transparent, and reinforce a partnership approach. It systematically organised bipartisan consensus-building and helped to educate parliamentarians and leaders from Washington and many of the federal

¹⁵ / H. Truman, Special Message to the Congress Recommending Point 4 Legislation, June 24 1949.



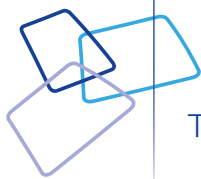
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states. The coalition encouraged a “civilised” approach to international affairs – a stance that was further strengthened after 11 September 2001 – and this line of thinking quickly gained ground. Development had to be extricated from its ties to military interventions and defence operators. It should aim rather at bolstering civilian power, a goal that had the backing of senior military personnel (a 2008 survey of post-9/11 retired US officers found that this was supported by nearly 90% of them¹⁶). Moreover, businesses were keen that the government help to strengthen the rule of law to bolster US commercial expansion. It was time to leave behind the Cold War stereotypes and the United States’ interventionist habits. In the wake of the World Bank report on health, Bill Gates – whose company Microsoft was threatened by anti-trust measures – decided to act to improve global health and organised his first trips to Africa.

From his first day in office, President G.W. Bush, with his Christian and antiracist sensibilities, was deeply affected by the messages about “Africa’s poor” and childhood health. These issues were brought to his attention mainly by the evangelical community, which had a strong presence in Africa and worldwide, and by the faith-based NGOs that he encountered while on his own spiritual journey. The singer Bono, who had already won over the conservative Republican Senator Jesse Helms, paid Bush a visit, Bible in hand, to encourage political leaders to assert a firm personal moral stance.

The events of 11 September 2001 sent the United States reeling. Deeply traumatised, the country was shaken to its very foundations. This assault had lasting effects and destroyed the sometimes idealistic and candid spirit of the American mind-set: the ties with the rest of the world were severed and the country had to start thinking differently within its international environment. Thinking on national security continued to support the idea of giving priority to countries with the highest chance for a democratic future. US development assistance needed to support these countries, as well as their private sectors since they could help to bring greater stability; this triggered a project to create a specialised institution that was to operate on a different basis from the cooperation implemented by USAID, the State Department and Department of Defense.

These new messages hit their mark and convinced the Republican Congress: in 2001, President G.W. Bush, who appointed the first Afro-American Secretaries of State Colin Powell then Condoleezza Rice, saw the adoption of his National Security



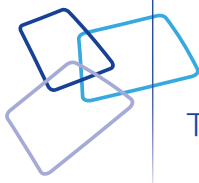
Strategy, which was the first operationalisation of the “3D” approach (diplomacy, development, defence). This also led to the annual launches and impressive roll-out of large-scale Presidential Initiatives. The White House was in control and convinced Congress. The Global Development Alliance (GDA, 2000), which enjoyed the personal support of Secretary of State C. Powell and USAID Administrator A. Natsios, also had a high profile: the Alliance rallied USAID, businesses, foundations and NGOs to promote development partnerships. In addition, Congress adopted the multilateral treatment of debt relief (A New York Times cover showing the Pope, Bono and G.W. Bush bore the headline: “The Pope, U2 and George W. Prevail”) and the aid budget announcements made at the UN Monterrey Financing for Development Conference (2002).

Presidential Initiatives: a tool with authority

The President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR, 2003), which followed on from the Kerry-Frist Global AIDS Bill (2002) to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic, was a landmark decision shored up by supplemental budget appropriations (USD 5 billion at the time). The scheme benefited from exceptional and powerful support (from Evangelical churches, the gay community, conservatives, pandemic experts) at a time when HIV/AIDS was taking its first toll on the United States. It proved a great success and has ensured the country’s lasting leadership on global health issues. G.W. Bush went on to found the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC, 2004), a new bilateral agency that conditioned financing on results, and the President’s Malaria Initiative (PMI, 2005), which focused on Africa and the Mekong Basin. He also extended the Development Credit Authority (DCA, 1999), a USAID guarantee fund, and launched the Feed the Future initiative in 2009. In 2002, Senators Dole and McGovern established the Food Education and Children Nutrition Programme.

At the multilateral level, President Bush was initially swayed by his political camp. He considered converting the World Bank into an agency in charge of grants for poor countries and abolishing all of the IMF’s activities directed at low-income countries. This was in response to the findings of both the Meltzer Commission with its sharp criticism of the IFIs’ role and the Gurría-Volcker Commission, which had recommended that multilateral development banks operate in middle-income countries. The Treasury took a different line and pushed the White House into using these institutions as tools for US influence, and the World Bank as an “American agency”.

As for environmental questions, after opting out of the Kyoto Protocol, President Bush crafted his own process called the Major Economies Meeting on Energy



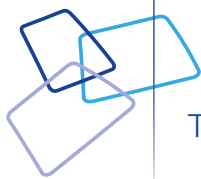
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Security and Climate Change (2007). This was designed as an alternative to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), but it nonetheless played a salient role in the UN climate negotiation. Climate change, however, did not garner the same level of support at home, as the US renewable energies industry was less advanced than its European or Chinese counterparts. He re-established ties with the United Nations by paying part of the US dues that were in arrears. Here, he was helped by Ted Turner, who contributed to the brokered deal by donating USD 1 billion for his Better World Campaign and his initiatives in support of the United Nations.

These programmes went hand in hand with an increase in human resources for the State Department and USAID, the overall aim being to bring USAID's activities under tighter control, notably through the State Department's so-called "F Process" (2006). This process was launched by Condoleezza Rice, who set up a "dual-hatted" control over programmes and budgets, introduced performance indicators and reinforced accountability and the evaluation of implementation. Was this a prudent reaction to stymie Congress's determination to lay its hand on USAID, which it viewed as too independent and lacking political leadership? Although the will was there for a gradual untying of aid in compliance with OECD rules, the facts show that the beneficiaries of aid budgets were still mostly businesses, NGOs and the US institutions in charge of implementing the Agency's policy and programmes – to the point that USAID complained that it was straightjacketed between the requirements of Congress and the interventionism of these beneficiaries. Three congressional acts (2007–2009) imposed efforts to improve accountability and evaluation, at the same time requiring more data on a broad array of subjects ranging from microfinance, water and sanitation to basic education.

The State Department embarked on a reflection around the concept of "transformational diplomacy", which aimed to integrate development actions. Foreign assistance was not limited to OECD/DAC-defined ODA, but also encompassed other initiatives by the State Department and USAID (and MCC) and the Defense Department, as well as the Departments of Health, Public Administration and the Treasury. This diplomacy also provided for exceptional temporary assistance for conflict and crisis situations and funded by distinct budgetary allocations rather than encroaching on bilateral aid budgets.

Yet, development still seemed inextricably embedded in questions of national security: the fight against HIV/AIDS, the Afghan crises, the war in Iraq or the consequences of the global economic and financial crisis were all placed on the

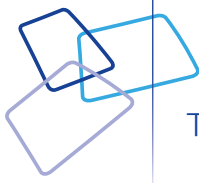


same footing. Staffing and budgets were concentrated on these countries, Pakistan, and global crisis spots. The principle of “Make America Safer” determined how financial resources were allocated. **In 2005, 21% of US official foreign assistance transited through the Department of Defense.** As an operational agency, USAID had positive relations with the military, mainly with respect to humanitarian actions and the key target countries. Economic justifications for development assistance were clearly absent.

The multilateral framework became a potential vector for US influence, guided by the Treasury’s Office of International Affairs and the State Department’s Bureau of International Organisations Affairs. These two bodies gradually imposed their policies inside the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations (under Bush Senior’s presidency, they had withdrawn from this ecosystem). Partnerships with companies, civil society and NGOs were the main conduits for implementing public action and grew in number and size (the combined resources of the Global Development Alliance programme between 2001–2008 totalled USD 11.5 billion,¹⁷ including private contributions). Within the opposition, the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN) – a bipartisan coalition headed by Gayle Smith, formerly of the National Security Council under Clinton’s presidency – was preparing for a Democratic presidency as early as 2007 and rallying administration officials and development experts in view of a radical reform of foreign assistance. It launched a new vision of the world that internalised the notion of interdependence and the need to on-board other actors; the call was for partnership and burden-sharing, particularly in the multilateral arena, and potentially for a distribution of tasks. It was also necessary to rethink strategies and priorities, and explore how multiplier effects could be secured through the use of new instruments. The focus was to be on development assistance for places vital to US strategic interests, notably in the Middle East. This implied rebalancing resource allocation priorities. USAID needed to evolve and develop stronger capacities, knowledge and evaluation tools based on the DfID model. However, unlike practice in the British agency, ODA principles were not the guiding force; instead, US development assistance was used more as a tool to complement diplomacy.

In the area of cooperation, international development was to become commonplace theme, albeit thorny and confrontational, and since 2009 it has been on the agenda of the annual talks between the United States and China. A strategic dialogue was

¹⁷ / Source: USAID.



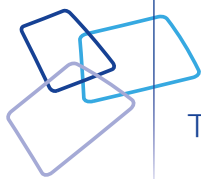
The United States

begun with a view to discussing institutions, ODA, global health, energy, climate and the environment – a dialogue that was also encouraged at the OECD within the framework of the Busan Global Partnership (2011).

Democrat-driven continuity

Building on these impressive Republican achievements, President B. Obama (whose mother had worked for the Ford Foundation and USAID) became engaged in his own generous and reasonable manner, but chose a different political strategy from that of his predecessor. Together with the State Department and USAID, he encouraged Congress's favourite themes, taking them up and formalising them in founding documents and legislative acts. Congress was thus at the forefront of these legislative initiatives. In tandem, **he made development a core pillar of his foreign policy (the 2010 Policy Directive on Global Development based on MFAN's work) and built on the unchallenged legacy of the Bush presidency, particularly as the MCC blueprint well fitted his approach (the results-based contract). This also enabled him to forge ties with the Republicans and count on their future backing in Congress. Drawing on top outside expertise brought together by Jerry Weinstein (Stanford University and inventor of the Open Government Partnership), he sought to boost the capabilities (knowledge base) of USAID, which went on to introduce internal reform along these lines.** He echoed the opinions of General Petraeus, who was back from Afghanistan and an advocate of "non-traditional" foreign interventions, and was assisted by his Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. He worked to gradually step up actions that impacted the expansion of major programmes in strategic countries (Egypt, Iraq, etc.) by focusing on economic aspects with potential multiplier effects. He thus promoted the first blended-finance instruments and rolled out Peace and Development packages for fragile countries.

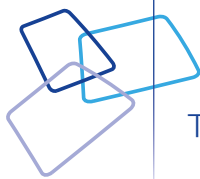
The Government launched several initiatives as early as 2009: the overarching Global Health Initiative expanded and consolidated the PEPFAR programme, which was to be "driven by science", and the President's Malaria Initiative was reinforced and extended. As a result, health aid appropriations almost tripled over six years and the success of the initiative was to serve as a blueprint for future "bipartisan" programmes. The Feed the Future platform (2012) was extended to include global food security and introduced at the G8 and G20 Summits; it led to a fivefold increase in appropriations for agriculture – all these programmes furthering the achievement of the MDGs. The Global Climate



Change Initiative accompanied the international negotiations and was intended to be part of B. Obama's lasting legacy.

At the same time, Hillary Clinton continued to combine the three Defence, Diplomacy and Development pillars, while development questions gained more prominence on the National Security Council. Development policy was spearheaded by the White House, which adopted an aggressive strategy vis-à-vis Congress in view of marshalling a bipartisan consensus on the subject, even though other budgetary processes were blocked. The White House opened up the debate to the other administrations concerned, notably the Department of Defense, which was preparing a message on the need to step up foreign assistance appropriations rather than entrust development work to the military. As General Mattis, then serving in Pakistan and Afghanistan (and D. Trump's future Secretary of Defense), remarked: "If you don't fully fund the State Department, then I need to buy more ammunition". The Obama administration resumed funding for the United Nations agencies, which had seen US support wane since the time of Senator Helms. In Congress, the two camps engaged in constant discussion on US economic interests, which pointed to the need to extend US influence overseas.

The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) process was launched in 2010, enabling USAID to progressively acquire greater autonomy through its 2010 USAID Forward reform programme. In return, the agency was to embark on a strong drive for effectiveness and accountability to counter the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis; development, however, remained under the umbrella of a "value-based" integrated national security strategy. Innovative Rajiv Shah from the Gates Foundation – and creator of the International Finance Facility for Immunization (funder of the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization, GAVI) – took the helm at USAID (2010–2015) and pushed for an evidence-based approach (Evidence Summit). An important decision was taken to **give the USAID administrator a seat, albeit non-permanent, at Cabinet and National Security Council meetings**. USAID underwent reform and was assigned a greater strategic function and stronger implementing role, as opposed to a systematic reliance on the external contracting of resources; strategies integrating budgetary envelopes were drawn up for country programmes, while functions for measuring results, for learning and planning, and evaluation were created (Bureau for Policy, Planning and Learning). USAID was thus able to stand its ground vis-à-vis the executive branch, the State Department and the National Security Council, particularly as it enjoyed the support of Congress. Outdistanced



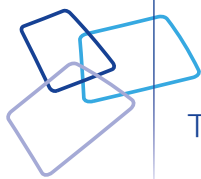
The United States

by DfID and its oft-cited model, the agency decided to use its financial resources to better effect and gain greater clout with respect to its for-profit contractors.

Innovating with private-sector actors

Innovation and partnership with the private sector and national actors were prioritised by the Global Development Lab (a 2016 bipartisan act) and other mechanisms that extended the scope of the Global Development Alliance. One of the key objectives was to leverage private-sector potential: the Office of Private Capital and Microenterprise (PCM) was set up in 2015, while the Sustainable Finance Initiative for HIV/AIDS sought to mobilise domestic funds. The response to emergency situations was improved through the use of professional task forces in the form of Disaster Assistance Response Teams (DART) (Haiti, 2010). Coordination between the thirty agencies involved in foreign assistance was set on firmer footing with the creation of the Interagency Policy Committee on Global Development. A strategic dialogue with civil society was organised in 2011 by the State Department. Global affairs took a central place. A systemic approach to development was emerging, with priority set on collective action, strategic alliances, consultation with the private sector and multi-partner platforms. The Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act (Rubio/Poe), introduced by the Republicans to address criticisms from Congress, was passed in 2013 – which strengthened the parties' mutual trust.

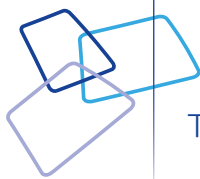
Hillary Clinton took the lead on global causes, particularly rights and equality for women and girls, but also on more technical subjects such as improved cook stoves, which she promoted on all her official trips. The United States pursued a relatively clear-cut policy in favour of economic development, governance and democracy, the MDGs (health, food security and education), gender, conflict and crisis prevention and post-conflict/crisis situations, environment, climate and emergency humanitarian response. Some heavy strategic commitments remained dominant in various frontline countries: first and foremost, Pakistan, but also Afghanistan, where funding was shrinking as the US gradually disengaged, and Eastern Europe, Central Europe and Asia, where the goal was to contain the Russian Federation's expansionist leanings. US foreign assistance was also deployed elsewhere in line with the international consensus around UN objectives. The United States was able to play its part in the concert of aid donors, riding the wave of increased foreign assistance budgets. These doubled between 2000 and 2010 (to reach USD 30 billion), while budgets outside of security and military cooperation for development quadrupled (1995–2015) to reach USD 20.5 billion.¹⁸ At the G8 and G20 Summits, the United States again brought its influence to bear in favour of international development.



The country re-joined the multilateral ecosystem, actively participated in coalitions, played the interdependence card, and began to listen to the world and its emerging issues.

During his final term, President Obama seemed to accelerate his pace, facilitated by the fact that foreign assistance was ostensibly one of the few subjects on which a bipartisan congressional policy could be built (“an oasis of legislative successes”). Obama made full use of bipartisan networks such as the MFAN, the US Global Leadership Coalition, which was pushing for a more ambitious agenda, and the Global Development Council, created in 2011 and convened for its first public meeting in 2014. In 2010, as the OECD/DAC underlined, a transparency and accountability dashboard was applied to USAID, inspired by the work of MCC. This served as a benchmark and was part of the presidential commitment to open government (the Open Government Directive, signed on the first day of Obama’s presidency, was applicable at domestic and international level and followed by the US contribution to the Open Government Partnership). In 2012, the Congressional Research Service’s Foreign Assistance report clearly stated that “moral duty” was still the key driver of development assistance policy. The policy was closely in line with the attitudes of public opinion, and state policymakers were chiefly motivated by humanitarian concerns rather than commercial or defence considerations (Lawson, CRS, 2016).

In 2014, newly appointed Secretary of State John Kerry and USAID Administrator Raj Shah presented the Joint Strategic Plan for International Development, which combined overarching diplomatic strategies and sustainable development with performance targets. Building on the 2010 USAID Forward agenda, USAID and the State Department were keen to switch from the traditional donor model to become an agency fully and lastingly committed to strategic partnerships and a more effective, efficient, transparent and flexible organisation. The backside of this evolution was the continuing and hefty erosion of USAID’s strategic and policy component and the agency became little more than a vehicle for contracting with NGOs and the private sector (consultancies or construction firms). Some initial arbitrations in support of development policy improved overall coherence and affected trade and agricultural policies (e.g. food aid under the Public Law PL 480, which became the 2014 Agriculture Act, or Farm Bill). Relations with the private sector grew stronger through USAID’s Center for Transformational Partnerships, which pursued social, health and ITC objectives. Partnerships were formed along with a call for innovation (Global Development Innovation Labs or the Higher Education Solutions Network) and helped to break down USAID’s



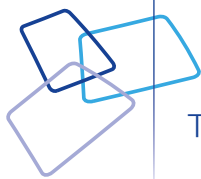
The United States

internal silos. As no new resources for large initiatives were voted through by Congress, President Obama mobilised the scientific community, a move that enabled him to deploy a new international cooperation tool. This encompassed numerous domains, such as the Internet, technology, health, energy, economic models and food security and gave rise to fruitful partnerships with the country's forty-six top universities. Special ties were forged with India and other countries. There was a drive for reform in international agricultural research and a clear commitment to pro-growth pathways in line with the United States' less social and more economic interests. This emerged through public-private coalitions, such as the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition; Power Africa in 2013, whose private contributions totalled USD 3 billion; and the Better than Cash Alliance with Visa, MasterCard and Chase. MCC participated in the Power Africa and Feed the Future initiatives, deployed tools to leverage private-sector potential and invested in compiling data. The existing health initiatives were supplemented by the Global Health Security Agenda focused on countering the threat of infectious diseases. This agenda rallied support from thirty-one countries and became a programme of the G7 member states.

At the same time, firmer stances were taken on the fight against corruption, the need for transparency (the US joined the EITI), and the protection of global civil society (reinforced by the presidential coalition, Stand with Civil Society Initiative). Young people were empowered through the Young Leaders Initiative, which made full use of social networks. And the financial sector was also involved through the Dodd-Frank Act, introduced in the wake of the financial crisis. Michelle Obama successfully launched the Let Girls Learn initiative. At the United Nations, the State Department worked on the elaboration of the SDGs and demonstrated leadership in key areas: innovation, governance (SDG 16) and the paradigm shift. Gayle Smith, Samantha Power and Susan Rice teamed up to convey the domestic concerns of the Obama administration: violence, social justice, inequality. They agreed with the principle of SDG 13 on climate change and determined their positioning as the climate negotiation agenda progressed.

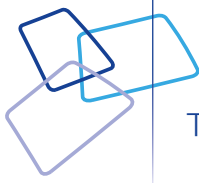
A host of commitments and flat-lined resources

In 2016, two Presidential Initiatives bore fruit with Congress's approval. The Power Africa initiative led to the bipartisan Electrify Africa Act, which was unanimously adopted by both chambers, while Feed the Future inspired the bipartisan Global Food Security Act, which resonated in the US public's imaginary. These two acts were rounded off by three others passed by Congress: the Foreign Aid Transparency



and Accountability Act, the Girls Count Act and the Water for the World Act. In September 2016, two other legislative processes were underway in Congress: the digital divide and access to basic education. However, two further projects failed to come to fruition in 2016: constraints were placed on the resources of the Import-Export Bank (EXIM Bank) and international support for emission reductions from coal-fired power plants came to nothing. Note that aid appropriations flat-lined and even shrank as of 2014 (from USD 33.8 to 32.0 billion in 2015¹⁹), partly due to the United States' disengagement from Afghanistan. The Treasury maintained the aid flows for multilateral financing instruments without intervening on their content. The resources for UN agencies (UNICEF, UNDP, UNHCR, etc.) showed no increase. The plan to create a development bank by merging existing mechanisms (OPIC, USAID-DCA, USTDA) remained stuck in the doldrums of Congress, as minds were more preoccupied by the question of EXIM Bank's reauthorisation, which had been rejected by the Republicans. As a share of total US aid, the contributions to multilateral funds remained low (around 11% in 2015). Pressured by the lobbies in their respective States, the legislators came down in favour of tied aid, which finally reached a 37% share of US aid in 2013, more than twice the OECD average.

With the arrival of John Kerry, the United States embraced all the multilateral processes launched in the wake of the Durban Climate COP17 and Rio+20 in 2011–2012: the country's role at the New York Summit was instrumental in the adoption of the SDGs, in support of Colombia and Guatemala. The country was deeply involved in the debate on financing sustainable development and backed the Franco-Brazilian initiative for technology and innovation. It retained world leadership (through the US foundations) not only on global health matters, as evidenced by its immediate response to the Ebola and Zika crises, but also on child mortality and gender issues. After the Copenhagen and Durban Climate COPs, the United States pursued a firm and committed climate strategy – as shown by the bilateral agreement with China in 2015 and the ratification of the Paris Agreement in 2016. The country joined numerous coalitions: the Climate and Clean Air Coalition, the Tropical Forest Alliance 2020, Sustainable Energy for All, etc. As an actionable alternative to the Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982 and not ratified by the US), John Kerry's personal initiative, the Our Ocean Conference (2014–2016), helped to garner substantial commitments to protect the environment, tackle climate change and promote development, and has now become an international event. The United States remained the main funder of the GEF and actively participated in the Convention on Biodiversity, even though the Convention was not ratified under the Obama administration.



The track record of Obama's presidency thus seems positive. It did more and better: it deployed a partnership-oriented strategy, modernised foreign assistance policy, injected the policy with an ethical dimension, reinforced existing policies and programmes over the long term, acted at the multilateral level, and strengthened collaboration with Congress – indeed, as Gayle Smith remarked: **“When we work together, we can get a lot done”**.²⁰ The foundations were there, ready for another leap forward. In July 2016, President Obama emphasised that: “In a city that doesn’t agree on much, we can all agree on the imperative of smart development.”²¹ And he added: “Whoever the next president is, development has to remain a fundamental pillar of American foreign policy and a key part of our work to lift up lives not just overseas, but here in the US” and “the US continues to be the world’s largest donor of humanitarian aid, and it will remain so, I’m confident, in the next administration”. The conviction that efforts needed to be patient, long and sustainable remained steadfast.

The only downside was that new budget appropriations were not forthcoming and American ODA was flat-lining, dwindling even, boosted only by the large-scale initiatives for health. Yet, the Obama and Bush administrations clearly show the importance of the presidents’ personal engagement with development policy, as this ultimately rested on a very small number of committed collaborators. The return of the Republicans, now in control of both the executive branch and Congress, is likely to usher in a return to the old norm that prevailed before the exceptional increases in aid witnessed at the beginning of G.W. Bush’s presidency. At least, this is what some Republicans argue.

3. The US consensus-builders

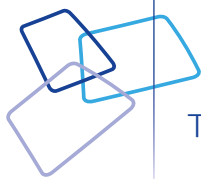
a. The government is playing a tricky score in order to produce consensus

The White House

The National Security Council is the political engine of US foreign assistance policy and the locus of coordination: it is here that the linkage between the “3Ds” is formulated. Its members listen to and advise the President and ensure the smooth functioning of the overall dynamic, a role that fell to Gayle Smith under Obama’s presidency. In the new administration, Deputy National Security Adviser for Strategy Dina Powell could take on this role, given her results and achievements in her former job with Goldman Sachs (where she ran the projects, 10,000 Women, the Urban Investment Group and the Goldman Sachs Foundation).

²⁰ / Gayle Smith, Opening remarks at White House Summit on Global development, July 2016.

²¹ / President Obama, remarks at the White House Summit on Global Development, July 2016.



The Council on Environmental Quality, another body within the President's Executive Office, has been deeply involved in global environmental questions.

The Department of State

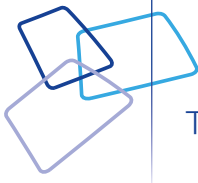
The Department of State keeps a close eye on resources to ensure their optimal use. It is fully committed to the discourse that came out of the major 2015 international negotiations and insists on the need to muster more domestic resources for development. This means that international assistance also needs to harness private flows to quicken growth. The international aid architecture is called on to work in unison on the SDGs, while the IFIs, UN agencies and regional entities are being urged to coordinate on results-based programmes. The reform of the agencies needs to be pursued by driving innovation and focusing on improving the effectiveness of in-house procedures. Institutional reviews may be conducted.

The legislators pay great attention to how the budgets for the different international agencies are balanced and allocated, and to the results achieved (value for money). Private-sector interventions are encouraged to bolster the agencies' efforts, bring modern systems and technology and build partnerships in education, notably through the use of the Internet and mobile telephony. Public aid needs to be combined with philanthropy to fund investment in new technologies and open up new markets for the future. Middle-income countries now in a position to do so must contribute to the international agencies. The United States attaches great importance to SDG 16 on governance and SDG 5 on gender (an issue where much remains to be done) as these are seen as accelerators and fundamental drivers for the rest of the agenda.

The Department of State carefully follows congressional debates and uses the themes that spark most interest, such as food security, health and global security, not only to explain how actions on these fronts impact American citizens, but also to ward off any serious challenges to these programmes. This aspect of the department's action nonetheless appears somewhat ineffective and poorly communicated to American citizens and, as mentioned earlier, public opinion remains relatively unfavourable to aid. The ongoing humanitarian crises need to be able to count on joint efforts that are better coordinated.

USAID: involve all societal actors to gain better recognition from Congress

Until 2016, USAID Administrator Gayle Smith was on an equal footing with National Security Adviser Susan Rice. Her input to the National Security Council meetings



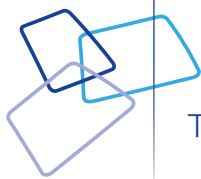
The United States

convinced US authorities that there was indeed a correlation between poverty, conflict and instability. “Development isn’t charity. It’s one of the smartest investments we can make in our shared future, in our security and our prosperity” (Obama, 2016). USAID is the lead player in the soft power approach promoted by the White House National Security Council. It has been given an elevated status among the government agencies not only due to its role in reducing vulnerabilities, but also because of its objectives to promote sustainable growth. Making the case for its continued role as the mainstay of US foreign policy, the agency has endeavoured with some success over the past twenty years to enhance its image and identity in order to justify and build up trust in its capacities and mission; its resources have held steady for eight years, but they have not been increased. Yet, each of its decisions is still subject to a “no-objection” declaration from Congress, which keeps the agency’s administrator and congressional liaison team constantly busy. Today, they are backed by a capacity for strategic and sectoral thinking within the agency that compares favourably to that of other international institutions.

However, USAID is facing a major challenge as the renewal of its teams is underway: its experts are leaving and being replaced by less seasoned staff. Its systematic outsourcing means that the required expertise is now concentrated in the hands of independent development contractors, expert consultants, NGOs and the World Bank. Moreover, USAID is now struggling to ensure it has the capacity to implement its own funding.

Its officials are feebly engaged as they are on short-term contracts and thus unlikely to become a resilient force for “resistance” or for making proposals if the overall climate discourages fresh ideas and initiatives. Proposals are more likely to come from external contractors and therefore follow the line of official political discourse. Some NGOs may try to shoe-horn themselves into the same mould given that they depend on government contracts for their survival, particularly those working in the area of emergency and food aid. On the other hand, these contractors and NGOs embody a real force and could organise themselves into a powerful lobby to keep some of the programmes up and running.

With its internal reform, USAID needs to show its partners that it can achieve results and serve the interests of the United States. Yet its size, complex organisation, densely ramified links with external actors and the fastidious congressional controls all constitute hurdles. This explains why PEPFAR is politically popular, as the number of persons treated, the number of vaccines or treatments distributed, etc. can be quantified.

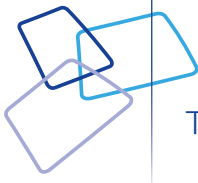


Gayle Smith has been actively engaged with development matters since 2006, notably during the time she spent following African affairs on the National Security Council under B. Clinton. She fostered and strengthened links with a generation of congressional actors, NGOs, religious forces, businesses, foundations, Silicon Valley, etc. By building up the identity of this ecosystem and tackling development on a basis “that is not only bipartisan, it’s been non-partisan” (G. Smith²²), she gained support for US assistance and encouraged regular collaboration for drafting legislative amendments to move forward more rapidly. Tactics and politics need to combine and spur people’s motivation to make decisions and apply them. G. Smith was aware that expertise and excellence could be found in actors outside the administration: in academia, diaspora groups from various countries and civil society organisations. The private sector is asked to contribute to designing models and initiatives, an aspect also advocated by the Republicans. Encouragement is given to this “committed and slightly crazy community” (G. Smith²³), which can offer support to the presidency. USAID has ongoing consultations with civil society, and societal actors can be called on at any time to discuss strategies, programmes and projects that are often run by NGOs. The Global Development Council is one of the conduits for discussions, bringing together public and private actors. The Advisory Council on Voluntary Assistance holds formal quarterly meetings, while the Global Development Lab has become an open market for ideas and for the multi-stakeholder and multi-tool partnerships that USAID encourages, co-finance (matching) and sets in motion. **These spaces for coordination are especially crucial for the administration given that civil society as a whole contributes more international resources than the major government agencies.**

Understandably, USAID ploughs substantial resources into shoring up alliances with Congress and other actors. The agency accompanies all members of Congress on their official trips and, when they debrief their community or constituency on their international experience, everything is done to ensure that the value of the United States’ role and results overseas is clearly highlighted. Partners (NGOs, foundations, private operators) are asked to produce stories, use social networks and diffuse visuals that impact public opinion. As USAID is constrained by regulatory hurdles that rule out any self-advocacy, the agency encourages its partners to target public opinion and Congress and develop broad-based educational outreach in favour of public aid. Policymakers and decision-makers have representations of US assistance that are extremely rigid, and very difficult to shift. The significant changes in the underpinnings of the discourse and operational practices within the international aid community are not taken into account, which means that the leaders of US development institution still have considerable efforts to make.

22 / Gayle Smith, Opening remarks at White House Summit on Global development, July 2016.

23 / Ibid.



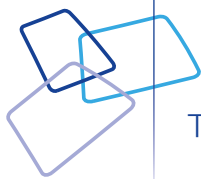
The United States

The Treasury: the last defender of multilateral development?

Apart from monitoring bilateral financing instruments such as OPIC, EXIM Bank and MCC, the Treasury has the highly important task of steering multilateral financing. For twenty-five years, it has pursued a steadfast policy of supporting the international financial institutions: Bretton Woods, regional banks, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and global funds. Now, under pressure from US actors, it has integrated new environmental, social and development considerations. The Treasury adopts the position of an “activist” shareholder, intervening on strategies, operations and the supervision of institutions, contrary to other countries whose agencies are given a greater margin of manoeuvre. According to observers, the treasury secretary is still not sufficiently personally committed to the questions of international development financing, despite the efforts of the government departments that try to garner political support for their messaging. Ultimately, it is up to the National Security Council (G. Smith under Obama), in liaison with the secretary of state and the USAID administrator, to convince the treasury secretary to support the message of US leadership in international financing circles regarding these subjects. Under the Obama administration, Jack Lew had taken an interest in financial inclusion and attended the 2015 Addis Ababa conference.

The Treasury’s position thus seems ambivalent – it is all-powerful when it comes to imposing its views on multilateral and financial institutions, yet fragile for want of support for its actions both in Congress and from the general public. It is also involved in the heavy task of cross-departmental coordination, which was driven by the White House under Obama’s presidency, and relies on USAID to keep it informed of what is happening in the field, ensure project and financing reviews, and examine changes in the policies of development institutions.

Despite many efforts to engage a stakeholder dialogue, US civil society offers little support for multilateral financing – notably for funds channelled through the IFIs – and prefers grant aid. It has levelled strong criticisms against multilateral strategies, starting with its criticism of the Washington Consensus and more recently of development policies for large dams, deforestation, agri-business, fossil fuels, biodiversity protection, the fight against climate change, etc. Yet, the tools for a regular weekly or monthly dialogue are in place; the sometimes tense and sometimes productive debates enable the Treasury to take into account information from the field and inform the administration on what positions to adopt. Its administrative services reply to voluminous correspondence from civil society, but this does not



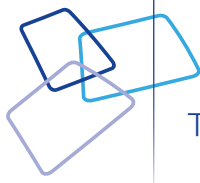
give it the necessary space to defend its budget in front of a Congress that demands compelling justification for all multilateral financing and sees “little return for the American people”. Recent interventions by civil society or the USGLC make no reference to multilateral commitments. The Global Fund alone has a multi-stakeholder support base.

The Treasury administration therefore faces a tough job. It has to invest in legislative affairs experts and be ready for regular attendance in Congress, not least to counter pressure from groups opposed to the World Bank’s activities – pressures that emerge in budgetary documents (e.g. controversy over dams, or gender topics). It also has to pre-empt any forceful opinions from members of Congress that might jeopardise financing for the fight against climate change, energy-related questions, refinancing the International Development Association (IDA) and various country interventions. This is why, as Obama’s presidency was drawing to a close, roundabout means were employed (grants taken from the balance of the Emergency Stabilization Fund) to ensure the first tranche of financing for the Green Climate Fund (twice USD 500 million²⁴) through an executive order that required no specific authorisation by Congress. Meetings with Congress officials, always bipartisan, can be difficult and need ongoing dialogue to overcome latent opposition. Democrats and Republicans are at odds, the former demanding more environmental and social safeguard clauses, the latter rejecting them as they fear these will be enforced on home ground.

The Treasury also maintains close relationships with key stakeholders, including the Gates Foundation, to address subjects that frame the way in which funding operates. This notably involves the system whereby IDA countries that graduate from recipient status lose their eligibility for Global Fund support and for these countries it is crucial to avoid threshold effects. A further example of this collaboration is the promotion of efforts to create innovative instruments able to mobilise a country’s domestic resources.

Although US firms were very supportive of the Bretton Woods institutions during the 1980s and 1990s, their interest has gradually waned as they no longer need institutional backing for their international markets. The corporate sector and the Treasury are nonetheless highly satisfied with the recent changes to procurement terms, which now factor in service quality and may thus give US suppliers a larger share of World Bank-funded contracts: these mainly involve infrastructure projects funded by the International Finance Corporation (IFC). Yet, some people insist that,

24 / Source: House of Representatives.



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ultimately, only the beneficiaries can judge who should be awarded implementing contracts and that the recent directions taken by the US presidency may prove counter-productive. Public opinion and Congress are hostile to international aid flows being used to subsidise businesses, a stance that is hobbling the plans for a development bank, which have been under study for several years now.

The Treasury is keen to speed up the move towards a sharper focus on the effectiveness of tools. It could be considering a new multilateral review under congressional supervision, much like the reviews carried out by the Meltzer and the Volcker-Gurria Commissions.

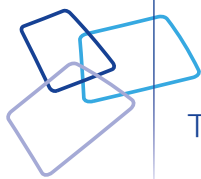
The other government departments

We have already pointed out the pivotal role played by the Department of Defense. Since the interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, a coalition of interest has formed within the military and among veterans (Association of United States Army – AUSA) around human rights and development. Some powerful voices are expressing very clear views on the respective roles of civil power and military power. The Secretary of Defense has implemented substantial assistance in strategic countries, including aid for natural disasters. It is now keen to disengage and give a greater role to USAID.

US assistance policy also involves other governmental actors including the Department of Agriculture, which provides transport for US assistance, and the Department of Health and Human Services, which looks after PEPFAR. The Atlanta-headquartered Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) manages the programmes for HIV/AIDS and other pandemics. The White House manages environmental and climate questions through its Council on Environmental Quality in liaison with the National Security Council. The Secretary of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) headed the US delegation at Rio+20 and links up questions of environmental justice, poverty and sustainable development. The Secretary for Housing and Urban Development, in partnership with civil society organisations, was in charge of preparations for the 2016 Habitat 3 Conference. These institutions interact with the State Department and are often associated with the Presidential Initiatives.

Millennium Challenge Corporation

MCC has a distinctive role: it is an independent and innovative agency built on the multilateral principles of the Paris Declaration. Its model is grounded on the notion



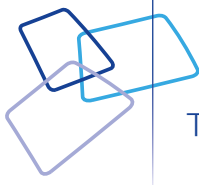
of performance-based compacts, much like the Global Fund. Since its creation at the beginning of G.W. Bush's first administration, MCC has implemented nineteen compacts (worth USD 11 billion²⁵) and is finalising eight more. Its pro-growth and anti-poverty action is steered by a highly sophisticated performance-based system designed by a Bush administration that was questioning the effectiveness of aid; its **focus is on good governance**, judged to be the determining factor of success. As a result, the institution makes a substantial amount of conditional financing available for clearly defined and locally run programmes, the emphasis being on results rather than the implementation of micro-resources. The systematic involvement of the private sector and civil society via consultations is seen as being very different from the approach that USAID had at one time used. Its introduction of an annual indicator-based scorecard combined with an incentive-and-reward system was backed by Congress and external observers. Success was guaranteed thanks to the effective untying of aid and the priority given to sectors supported by Congress, such as food security, water, sanitation and health, energy and the focus on Africa.

President Obama had entertained the idea of merging MCC with USAID but his Policy Directive on Development (PDD) did not retain this option and chose to keep the Republican administration's original framework rather than innovate. The links between MCC and government are nonetheless close: the secretary of state chairs the Board of Directors, the secretary of the Treasury serves as the vice-chair, and the USAID administrator sits on the Board along with four private-sector representatives, which facilitates coordination and avoids duplication. Congress is notified of the four or five compacts studied each year. It tracks their progression at each step of the approval process and can hold back a project until it is satisfied with the answers to its many questions. Congress members visit compacts in the countries concerned, and the vice-president of the United States is one of the compact signatories. Congress acts as the guardian of the temple and is keen for MCC to apply its assessment criteria stringently so that it does not deviate from its main purpose.

The business sector supports and maintains close ties with MCC. Other influential groups such as the churches, think tanks and NGOs appreciate the mechanism and its discourse.

MCC is thus able to distance itself from the official discourse of the State Department or USAID (stability and national security) and focus on its mandate, knowing that

25/ Source: MCC.



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its model and procedures will not come under criticism: MCC creates markets and opportunities for actors and populations in the compact countries and contributes to poverty reduction, but its action is not in fine central to US interests (the latest USD 437 million funding for Niger and the USD 257 million funding for Sierra Leone offer no strategic advantage, but they are not contested²⁶). Contrary to initial plans, MCC was authorised to roll out a second cycle of compacts, which it has since done doubtless with a stepping-up of its economic activities: the primary goal of the Benin Power Compact (USD 375 million) and the Ghana Power Compact (USD 498 million) is to catalyse US private-sector investment as a relay for Power Africa. As far as any further development of its model is concerned, MCC is constrained not only by the limited pool of candidate countries, now extended to Central America, Europe and Central Asia and some emerging countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, Peru), but also by the limited absorption capacities of the poorest countries. It is currently studying whether to broaden its list of countries to include developing countries in which some populations or regions would qualify for support. It also plans to deploy regional programmes, the priority being to reduce the amount of undisbursed funds that remain blocked on a Treasury account.

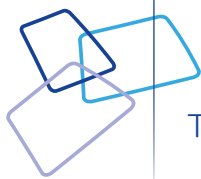
Peace Corps

The Peace Corps has a long history and continues to build and run a vast public support network, recruiting its volunteers from the top US universities.

It is an independent government-run agency and garners bipartisan support in Congress. Its budget is generally a percentage of the foreign operations budget (USD 410 billion in 2016, also including military operations) and its purpose is to recruit volunteers (6,800 in 2016) for work overseas (in 74 countries) on development issues targeting populations with a specific need, mostly in the areas of health (PEPFAR, the PMI, Global Health) and security. Current and former volunteers form a network of some 220,000 people, most of whom have spent two years working abroad.

Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)

This agency is not sufficiently recognised by the outside world for its role as one of the tools for development assistance. Not only is it seen as somehow competing with USAID, but it also suffers from its history of overly close ties with the corporate

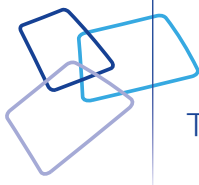


sector. Well-regarded by the Treasury and operating in the private-sector niche promoted by the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, it fails to muster adequate support from a civil society that prefers grant-based interventions and from the Republicans, who would like to scrap it as they suspect it of subsidising businesses. On the other hand, actors (including some NGOs) who are better informed on development questions wish to see the agency evolve and progress. Plans to incorporate it into a development bank by consolidating various public instruments were not passed by Congress.

b. Congress: as lawmaker and main decision-maker for foreign assistance policy, it has secured the transpartisan values surrounding it

The primacy of Congress

The US Congress, comprising the Senate and House of Representatives, holds a very distinctive place in the overall system and has guaranteed a certain continuity over its seventy years of debates on foreign assistance policy. The established consensus has remained relatively stable over the last thirty years and rests on the idea that partisan politics should be kept out of foreign policy debates. Congress approves funding for foreign assistance without referring to international standards (OECD, the UN MDGs or SDGs), as this would be irreconcilable with the United States' conception of independence. Moreover, Congress never forgets that these resources are, first and foremost, monies from the American taxpayers. The power of Congress derives both from its increasing control over foreign assistance activities and its capacity to take the initiative, complementing or substituting the executive branch. Members of Congress have taken and continue to take numerous initiatives on public policy and act as lead drivers, notably through the House Foreign Affairs Committee. A core of Committee members is relatively well-informed and follows the various agencies' operations, including their field activities. They listen to the different think tanks, lobbies and actors involved in international relations, oscillating between the proponents of US leadership on global issues and poverty reduction, and those who would prefer to limit foreign assistance to stabilising states and societies and combating the causes of crisis and conflict. Members of Congress are not particularly worried about public opinion as this is mostly centre-leaning and thus relatively consensual: strong public hostility to foreign assistance remains marginal and only comes into play on burning issues such as abortion, family planning and climate change, which are all domestic policy issues. The divergences between Democrats and Republicans reflect relatively classical postures: Republicans see foreign



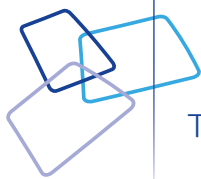
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assistance as soft power for the purposes of national security, while the Democrats view it as serving economic and human development, the promotion of the private sector, and climate issues. Whenever necessary, they are able to reach a bipartisan consensus to support policy but always keep the notion of moral responsibility well at bay.

The House of Representatives and the Senate are thus playing a complex score, but one that is vital to producing consensus. Around fifty members of Congress are active on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. They are particularly well-informed, go on field visits with their advisors, visit projects and travel constantly whenever a legislative recess intervenes. USAID has a bureau that keeps close track of their travel plans and organises regular project visits for them and their teams. This gives them the opportunity to explore matters in depth and challenge the results of country programmes (cf. the evaluation of the USD 600 million²⁷ PEPFAR programme in Uganda, for which large budget cuts were requested). In the House, there are numerous caucuses grouped by country or region (Africa, Cuba) or by theme: safe drinking water, primary education, international nature conservation. Hearings are held on topics such as the “four famines”, humanitarian programmes for Syria, or resilience in Ethiopia, and themed study days (e.g. on East Africa) are organised. No interest is shown, however, in holding an overarching debate on sustainable economic development and, most often, only a handful of countries or flagship initiatives or special interests are addressed. This takes place within the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the State Foreign Operations and Related Affairs Appropriations Subcommittee.

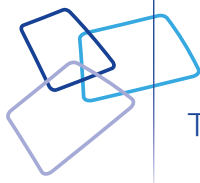
The annual budgetary documents make for interesting reading as they are grouped together under the label “Foreign Assistance”, which goes far beyond aid as such, covering military and security cooperation through to bilateral or multilateral development and humanitarian relief. The most contested budget chapters concern military matters, the reduction of resources allocated to disengagement, justification for funding for Pakistan, the needs relating to Russian expansionism, and security-related issues (illegal migration, drug-trafficking, terrorism), much more than programmes linked to humanitarian or development issues.

At this point, a distinction needs to be made. On the one hand, there is the budgetary process, along with the ordinary activities related to initiatives, monitoring and



oversight, which gives rise to **authorisations** that define framework laws but play no role in allocating the corresponding resources. On the other hand, there are the appropriations bills, which in recent years have been almost entirely passed on a bipartisan basis. Congressional activity needs to proceed in a bipartisan manner and, for each subject, unanimous consent is sought, notably in the Senate. The teams have to work to bring the various interests closer together. Take, for example, the Global Food Security Bill (which became an act, once signed by the president): this reconciled the interests of the proponents of international agricultural development (opening up markets to US interests) and those of Congress members concerned about food security for reasons of national security (due to hunger riots in some countries). “Toxic” issues had to be avoided and special interests put aside (food aid transporters) in order to build a support base that united actors supporting US business interests and those promoting national security. US foreign assistance continues to function under an authorisation bill dating back to 1985 and which has been readapted little by little, while the original act (the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended) was passed in 1961 under the presidency of J.F. Kennedy. PEPFAR and MCC are governed by specific legislation.

The debates are tougher than in the past as members of Congress are now asking new questions: for example, on the sustainability of efforts, the utility of various small projects given the global economic challenges, or the need to prioritise. All Congress members scrutinise the amounts involved through the prism of their own constituency’s needs (a bridge in need of repair, etc.). Taken one by one, individual members can be convinced but their group may take a more negative, more political stance. Some members have specific concerns (a religious principle) or specific interests (the defence of Laurent Gbagbo) that have to be taken on board, as consent must be unanimous. Those members of Congress with a sound knowledge of development assistance are from the large cities: New York, Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Houston Detroit, etc.; in Indiana, only 2%²⁸ of respondents to an opinion poll supported US aid for Iraq. In cases such as these, opinion focuses more on the Moscow in Indiana than on Moscow, Russia. Support for foreign aid is typically found in areas with a high concentration of immigrants or internationalised companies. Once the long road to authorisation has been travelled, the implementing agencies are directed to duly respect what has been decided either in terms of budget ceilings and floors or of the criteria and conditions fixed for a given country or programme.

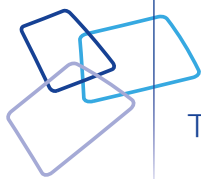


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Construction of the budget

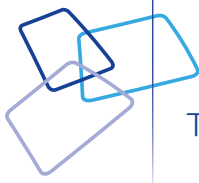
The actual budget process is based on **appropriations**, which form the integrated budget for the State Department and Foreign Assistance including security, funding for USAID and other bilateral agencies and multilateral organisations. Here, two instruments incorporated into the “discretionary” budget come into play: first, Article 150, which covers the main commitments, and second, the Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) funding, which covers major temporary operations (Iraq, Pakistan, Jordan, Syria, Yemen, Central African Republic, Ukraine) and amounts to around USD 60 billion including roughly 30 billion for ODA and many other non-ODA items such as embassy security. The elaboration and finalisation of the budget is the work of the House Foreign Affairs Appropriations Subcommittee, one of the twelve budget subcommittees: five members of the majority party work with two congressional advisors and their six Senate correspondents. All in all, some ten people are involved in preparing the final budget for programmes (PEPFAR, MCC, multilateral financing) and countries (Israel, Egypt, Afghanistan, Jordan, Pakistan, etc.) based on a set of criteria. Keeping in mind the administration’s proposals, they first have to take into account the spending ceiling set by the House Chair of the budget process and also deal with a massive number of interventions from the House representatives, who are often grouped by theme (access to water, microfinance, PEPFAR, etc.) into bipartisan caucuses, each comprising from twenty to fifty members (with a larger presence for Democratic representatives). The House Committee prepares the budget process and decides on how the vote is to be handled: either a “political” passage by the majority party or bipartisan support. The two parties enter into arbitration: each budget line is examined and consideration given to the president’s budget request, the majority’s support and the opposition’s views, which makes an agreement possible without the need for a full debate in the House. Indeed, full debates are fraught with danger, as representatives can at any moment decide to jettison the appropriations for a given action or institution (e.g. a UN agency) through open amendments, reduce a salary or cut a budget – each member being eager to help reduce spending. For the international assistance budget, the bipartisan solution is usually adopted as it allows **the most problematic items to be passed without a debate**: in fact, the Foreign Assistance bill has not been debated in Congress since 2008!

Contrary to the appropriations bills for the other functions, the international assistance appropriations bill is complex and contains many predefined conditions. For instance, it sets minimum intervention targets for assistance that are directly



related to the level of support from members of Congress. The more organised the congressional support for a subject – for example, the support organised by the Basic Education Caucus –, the more likely it is that the Committee Chair will successfully muster support from all of the caucuses for adoption of the appropriations bill. If setbacks occur, the whole bipartisan process to reach agreement has to start afresh, which may take many weeks of work. In parallel to the House's efforts, the Senate also is at work. Congressional advisors from both Houses meet to finalise the appropriations report; each comma is then up for negotiation, and the majority party deliberately leaves areas for potential gains by the opposition. Assistants also receive numerous visits from civil society advocacy groups, who come to defend their arguments and programmes. A formal hearing convenes the members of Congress, their staffers and advocacy groups for a joint discussion of the whole bill. The foreign assistance appropriations bill is then **incorporated into an omnibus spending bill** that leaves no room for discussion. This serves to consolidate various appropriations bills such as the veterans' budget, homeland security or the functioning of the State. The Foreign Affairs Appropriations Subcommittee gives ear to the outside world and has close ties with the legislative affairs offices of the various agencies and with the administration so as to keep up to date on the latest debates and priorities. In the present Congress, the excessively divergent starting positions mean that the 2017 budget will probably need to rely on the passage of a continuing resolution, and real discussion of an appropriations bill will be postponed to the 2018-2019 fiscal year: if no new budget is passed, government activities will continue on the basis of current authorisations. Yet, since the Trump administration cannot operate indefinitely on the basis of authorisations passed under the Obama administration, the situation will certainly become problematic by the end of 2017.

Since most Acts and authorised directives, such as Food for Security, Electrify Africa and country programmes, which are too difficult to sell (e.g. Pakistan), have no appropriations bill, they are funded exclusively through the existing budget. This means that the administration is obliged to make trade-offs within the margins of manoeuvre set by the ongoing budgetary ceilings. Congress is thus deliberately silent on a number of subjects in order to foster agreement, while the administration fights for as much margin of manoeuvre as possible. Congress knows that it has to accept these flexibilities so that the government's commitments can be met, notably the multi-year commitments that have no guarantee of obtaining funding via an appropriations bill. Financing for the Green Climate Fund is a textbook case: the funds transferred by the Obama administration were lifted, at the administration's initiative, from the Economic Support Fund appropriation and



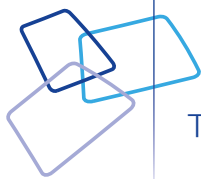
the outstanding balances earmarked for country programmes (Gaza, Egypt, Pakistan) – a manoeuvre that, at some future date, will raise serious questions from a House opposed to climate finance. The Democrats are trying to move forward their objective to obtain budgetary financing for climate mitigation, but this will need to mobilise a large caucus if it is to succeed.

Congress also has a research capability to hand: the Congressional Research Service (CRS). Housed in the Library of Congress, this provides non-partisan expertise on development and replies to one-off requests from members of Congress, sending them confidential memoranda, ad-hoc replies, briefings for hearings, and reports. The CRS also produces public documents that analyse US foreign assistance. In its Foreign Affairs and Trade Division, a dozen people are assigned to general subjects, two of whom follow the foreign assistance programme. The CRS makes no direct evaluation of projects. This is done either by foreign assistance institutions and state departments (Office of the Inspector General), or by the Government Accountability Office. CRS staff may be invited to travel on congressional missions. The agency is a very useful resource for informing key debates in which consensus needs to be built (e.g. food aid reform). It is also a platform that shapes thinking on questions of aid architecture and coordination and the role of private and non-governmental sectors, and conducts comparative studies of international assistance mechanisms (e.g. bilateral development banks).

c. The influence of lobbies and development partners

USGLC: a unique and effective tool for strengthening bipartisan consensus

It is well worth returning to the astonishing USGLC coalition, whose underlying mission is to support **the consensus that sets diplomacy, development and defence on equal footing** and to maintain international assistance budgets, as aid is one of the key tools for protecting national security. The coalition brings together businesses (Pfizer, Chevron, Deloitte, UPS, Walmart, Caterpillar, Boeing...), NGOs (InterAction, Save the Children, Care, World Vision, Oxfam, ONE, Catholic Relief Service, Bread for the World...) and other actors (American Enterprise Institute, GGD, Brookings, International Republican Institute...). The coalition rests on a broad-based spectrum of actors including political, faith-based, academic and military leaders. Its two advisory councils have an impressive array of members: one is chaired by Colin Powell and includes all former secretaries of State and former World Bank presidents (John Kerry joined in March 2017). The other is composed of an elite group co-chaired by Admiral J. Stavridis, former NATO commander-in-chief, and General A. Zinni, former commander-in-chief of US Central Command, along with

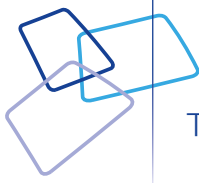


175 retired three- and four-star generals. The Coalition aims to promote civilian tools to support national security, the economy, international prosperity, and humanitarian, values by reducing poverty, hunger, infectious diseases and improving education and opportunities for women and girls. Replicated in 27 US States, the coalition puts out simple messages mainly in direction of Congress. Upon each change of government, it reports on the current state of the development consensus, which enables it to weigh in on decision-making and make legislative proposals. Its 2012 Report on Reports reviews an array of positions, analyses diverse initiatives and establishes a “roadmap of consensus to put smart power to work” destined for the administration and Congress. The USGLC also publishes a directory (The Global Plum Book) listing the top hundred government positions that shape global development and diplomatic policy to underscore the importance of these appointments. For the different stakeholders, this congressional lobby is an assurance of the constancy of foreign policy and international assistance. Its “Global Impact Blog” regularly publishes very simplified and educational arguments in favour of aid and describes the results of public and private programmes to show that aid is effective. The coalition’s activities across various US States target the world of education, veterans (Veterans for Smart Power), local NGOs, churches and firms with an international dimension, and also provide a showcase for elected federal officials. Its congressional lobbying is intense: for example, on 10 February 2017, it had 80 appointments with 100 members of Congress! Its members may have diverging views on subjects such as food aid reform, but compromises are reached as all agree on the basics and on the pragmatic goal of maintaining state funding. Everyone appreciates the fact that the USGLC is a high-performing tool for connecting with the country’s political system.

NGOs: major players that are largely autonomous

The power of US civil society is one of the assets for the United States’ presence abroad. The large humanitarian and development NGOs (World Vision, Care, Save the Children, Mercy Corps, American Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, The Samaritans, Plan, etc.) have a powerful role in this sector and their international action runs into billions of dollars. The international budget of the two hundred US NGOs that were members of InterAction in 2016 is estimated at USD 18 billion, 24% (USD 4.32 billion) of which was provided by government funding.²⁹ The NGOs are progressively freeing themselves of the need for government funds, which they had

29 / Source: InterAction, *Giving USA, The Annual Report on Philanthropy*.



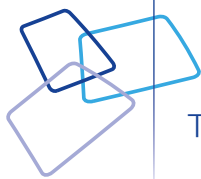
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heavily relied on before 2000. They are now 80% self-financing thanks to donations from the public, their members and other private actors (foundations, 800 key firms). Together, they stand as the fourth largest international donor. Some have no ties whatsoever with government, which somewhat diminishes the role of USAID, but they nonetheless take initiatives to find co-financing for their projects. Contrary to the approach of British NGOs, their interaction with society is not “citizen-based”. It is rather the Catholic and Protestant Churches that act at the community level. Some of their spokespersons, notably the evangelical Christians, have a high profile and form the mainstay of the PEPFAR programme, joining forces with gay community activists in a surprising alliance that was later to be supported by foundations and health communities.

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The NGOs have come together under InterAction, a platform for advocacy and education on development and humanitarian assistance. InterAction rallies a broad diversity of actors whose opinions and political stances may be poles apart. Yet, when dealing with the authorities, InterAction speaks with a single voice and adopts a constructive approach. The NGOs are seeking visibility for their positioning in favour of poverty reduction – an issue on which neither government nor businesses are effective. They are keen to show that they act on an equal footing with other stakeholders in a sort of division of labour. For instance, they express their disagreement with the way they are involved in the governance of the Development Labs.

InterAction also spawns specific coalitions such as the coalition on the Sustainable Development Goals. This is the case of the Action 2015 Campaign which, with support from the public authorities, could form the bedrock for deployment of the SDGs in the United States. American NGOs stepped up their active engagement during Obama’s two presidencies and bought into the partnership approach. They are working to reform the way they operate and moving away from the model used by the NGOs that lived off the sale of US food aid, for example. Adhering to the principles of the Paris Declaration, they differentiate between fragile states and middle-income countries, and advocate for aid transparency (IATI). They also publish the “NGO Aid Map”, which listed 7,500 projects implemented by some hundred NGOs in 2015. Their advocacy actions intervene in major negotiations and introduced a pro-development tool into the framework of trade agreements (Trans-Pacific Partnership). They were a useful catalyst for the coalition of interests around the Feed the Future Initiative (Global Food Security Act), reconciling the seemingly incompatible interests of the agri-food business and transport firms, farmers’ unions, academia, NGOs divided among themselves, members of Congress and international institutions (World Food Programme – WFP), for a USD 6.7-billion programme. However; this bill remains unfunded, pending the passage of an appropriations bill.



The NGOs are positioned as much on the left as the right of the political spectrum and thus have to deal with the concepts of national security, as development aid is seen as a vector of soft power and safely niched in the foreign assistance budget. They are able to craft messages centred on safeguarding national security for their more conservative and centrist members, but equally well reprise government messaging on opening up to US firms markets and opportunities, which can only come to fruition in the long run.

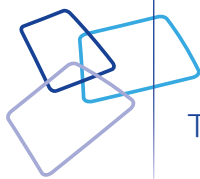
Habitat for Humanity, for instance, operates in the United States and overseas. With 1,300 local groups, it has a domestic budget of USD 1.5 billion and intervenes in 70 countries. It dedicates several hundreds of millions of dollars to housing and living conditions, which are issues that international priorities tend to sideline.³⁰ Deploying nearly one million volunteers (including Jimmy Carter) who regularly visit its building sites, Habitat for Humanity relays its actions through elected officials and often works with large main-street NGOs to ensure a local presence (Red Cross, Care, Salvation Army, Goodwill Industries, etc.). It receives very little international government funding yet works with USAID, PEPFAR, MCC and OPIC on some projects (energy efficiency, climate, microfinance, guarantees). Its future partnerships will be within the framework of decentralised cooperation, a shift that may be hastened by the arrival of D. Trump.

The large environmental NGOs, WWF, NRDC, Conservation International, the Nature Conservancy, the League of Conservation, Sierra Club, etc. are now full-fledged actors in the US development ecosystem. They operate on the international stage and in their different areas of expertise: advocacy, policy support, project financing. These NGOs have become pivotal actors in the international architecture of major negotiations thanks to their contacts with universities and their alliances with foundations. Their importance was visible at the Rio conferences and conventions, environmental conventions and the climate agreement, where they clearly supported the US secretary of state. They join forces to run major programmes with or without government backing, as evidenced by their action on the federal Clean Power Plan or the extension of biodiversity reserves. They are fervent proponents of volunteer initiatives for sustainable development such as those that liaise with local political leaders like Michael Bloomberg (New York) and Jerry Brown (California).

Foundations: a fast-growing model

Foundations that operate internationally are a distinctive feature of the US development ecosystem, given the extent to which they have influenced the aid sector since the first initiatives of the Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie and MacArthur

30 / <https://www.habitat.org/about/annual-reports-990s>.



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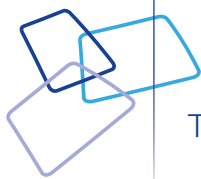
Foundations.

The indispensable Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BFMG), which now has donor status and intervenes internationally with actions mobilising USD 2.6 billion a year,³¹ is a case apart. It has recently recused its “foundation” status on account of its size, flexibility, responsibilities, voice and close partnerships with bilateral actors: USAID of course, but also DfID, the Global Fund, the World Bank and the African Development Bank. It is from ten to twenty times the size of any other foundation and able to influence the entire US and international ecosystems. In addition to funding projects and programmes, the foundation also plays a leading role in the funding of think tanks, advocacy networks, lobbies and development education networks. It is keen to invest in the area of communication to the general public. It has substantial clout vis-à-vis government and multilateral institutions: now serving as a moral compass, its financial firepower sets it on equal footing with states. Its ties with the US and British governments are appreciable. With worldwide bases in the capitals of the main donor countries, it is able to track ODA both directly and through the advocacy NGOs it funds. Invited to major world events, it has expanded its thinking to include security issues and is fostering its relations with the world of defence.

Since its creation, BFMG has aligned with government policies and the UN’s MDGs and deployed an arsenal of levers that have become its stock-in-trade, the purpose being to correct market failings through research and technology, financial innovation and partnerships. The foundation is determined to remain at the leading edge of thinking, with the priority set on human health, then animal health, then food security issues, economic models and incentives, etc. Cooperation with the business sector must prioritise market-based approaches and avoid distorting competition. It should offer poor countries and poor populations more reliable access to healthcare, advances in farming and economic opportunities. At international flagship events such as Davos, New York, the G20 or G7-8, Bill and Melinda Gates call on the corporate sector to invest and contribute to achieving the development objectives.

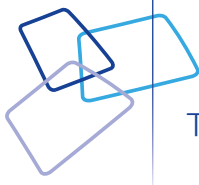
A precursor of the Gates Foundation, the United Nations Foundation is not part of the UN system. It was founded by billionaire Ted Turner, who had become exasperated at the United States’ attitude to the UN. He donated one billion dollars of his personal fortune to offset the back dues owed by United States to the UN,



and set up the United Nations Fund for International Partnerships, endowing it with USD 500 million. So far, the foundation has delivered USD 1.4 billion to support UN projects and aims to pursue its activity by marshalling new contributions from other foundations. The United Nations Foundation incubates and supports stakeholder coalitions, hosts international cooperation platforms, organises fundraising and heads numerous collaborative initiatives: the Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves, Family Planning 2020, the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data, Sustainable Energy for All, Every Women Every Child. It plays a pivotal role in fostering a strong relationship between Congress, the White House and United Nations agencies, and reaches out to public opinion through its Better World Campaign. In New York, it plays a support role in negotiations and creates ties between countries by organising “retreats”, informal negotiation seminars on development. The Stanley Foundation (Iowa) is another US foundation that promotes support for the United Nations (climate change, denuclearisation, human rights).

For decades, the Ford, Hewlett, Buffet, Walton, Soros, Packard, Moore, MacArthur, Rockefeller, Pew and Cargill Foundations as well as the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI) have all played a constant role in promoting an openness to the outside world and still stand as references. The Ford Foundation is socially engaged and promotes grassroots community action. The Rockefeller Foundation focuses on climate change and sustainable development, acts in the areas of urbanisation and supports resilient cities. The Pew Charitable Trust produces and analyses information and is a major knowledge hub for ocean conservation. The David and Lucile Packard Foundation is deeply involved in the fields of population and maternal and child health. CGI promotes issue-centred engagement and calls on private-sector actors to commit, act and achieve measurable results. The Open Society Foundations network created by G. Soros heads initiatives to promote democratic governance and open societies. The combined global budgets of the foundations (excluding BMGF) totalled USD 1.6 billion³² in 2014. With flexible tools to hand, the foundations are able to replace the federal government if need be, for instance, by reorienting existing programmes. However, they may lack constancy since, unlike government, they have no long-term financial obligations.

Some politicians create competition between these philanthropic foundations and government, which could lead the government to offload onto the foundations those issues that it no longer wants to tackle itself. This is a burning question regarding the current humanitarian decisions facing the government.



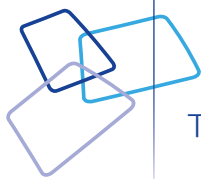
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d. The diversified role of business

The leading US corporates in the Fortune 500 list view international assistance with a favourable eye. Yet, at the outset, they were not wholly convinced as their prime goal was to expand their markets. They have nonetheless come to see assistance as a tool for stability and the rule of law, both of which are key business drivers. They have joined the USGLC coalition, which serves as their global spokesman on development questions, and also deal directly with Congress. The US Chamber of Commerce acts internationally through its Global Business Coalition to promote global policy cooperation, and companies communicate their corporate responsibility messaging via the WBCSD and the WEF. Many firms have entered into USAID development partnership agreements, and civil society actors have gradually drawn closer to the corporate sector. Over the last fifteen years, well-known names such as Coca Cola, General Electric, Microsoft, Cisco, Exxon Mobil, Intel, Pfizer, GSK, Procter & Gamble and Unilever have changed course and, in partnership with USAID, are now running major projects at the local or global level, which creates new spaces for networking and collaboration. This can propel actions in the right direction and forms a support base much like the business group for foreign assistance that President Obama had encouraged.

Yet, the panorama is somewhat contrasted since private-sector actors can bring their actions to bear in different ways: via their commercial interests and support (aeronautics industry) for the continuation of EXIM Bank and business promotion tools; through the pressure exerted by merchant marine carriers and agricultural exporters to maintain the food aid act, PL 480; through the development agreements that they implement for USAID (USD 3.6 billion/year³³); through their activities in the area of corporate and social responsibility (CSR), a concept that is better known in Europe and which US firms prefer to roll out under the name of “shared responsibility” (a vaguer concept encompassing all of a company’s activities); or through philanthropy via large foundations that create multiple international partnerships.

The for-profit actors that earn their living from USAID contracts have an important lobbying role. These are the international development contractors (IDCs), or the “Beltway bandits” as they are commonly called, being located inside the Washington ring road. As they implement a hefty portion of traditional

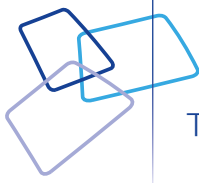


ODA funds, they adapt in line with policy changes. Chemonics, John Snow Inc., Tetra Tech, Creative Associates International, AECOM and others absorbed many of USAID's professionals when the agency underwent heavy staffing reductions. When the agency's operations were privatised, these IDCs provided support by setting up projects and alliances among actors to work on major programmes, and integrating subcontractors from the non-profit world. When USAID Administrator Raj Shah attempted to redirect the agency's funds to local beneficiaries in 2012, they set up the Council of International Development Companies to defend their interests. More worryingly, over the last ten years many of these firms have been taken over by large private military conglomerates (AECOM, Tetra Tech, DynCorp, L-3Communications), which are now able to roll out **an integrated military–development offer and make their living from conflict prevention, war, reconstruction and peace**. The size of these firms relative to a US agency subject to constraints may lead to multiple conflicts of interest (the case of Haiti has been amply documented), and to the risk of imbalance between the contracting authority and its contractors, while the beneficiaries' vital interests are sidelined. This privatisation of public action has been strongly denounced.³⁴

The world of Silicon Valley lives without interacting in any significant way with traditional ODA actors, even though close and growing contacts exist between Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon (GAFA), Microsoft and the White House and State Department. A private and innovative aid industry is flourishing, unsupervised by the world of official development assistance, and even uncoordinated with it.

Moreover, some businesses are questioning the benefits of international free trade and waving the flags of protectionism. In their view, the United States – unlike China and other countries – has written the rules of a game that offers them no rewards, especially since US presence is being challenged in countries seen as hostile to the United States. The subject of unfair market competition is an oft-recurring theme that US firms have endeavoured to address through the US–China strategic dialogue on aid. American firms no longer enjoy the support of the World Bank or multilateral organisations: overly expensive, they lost their place in the 1980s (infrastructure), the 1990s (facilities), and the 2000s (design and consultancy). For example, they have no contracts for the provision of pharmaceutical products, now in the hands of the UN prescribing agencies, which are promoting generic drugs. They are no longer allies of the international development finance complex as it no longer provides them with any direct

34 / cf. the book by Senator S. Whitehouse (Dem.), *Captured: The Corporate Infiltration of American Democracy*, 2017.



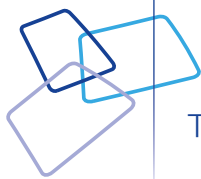
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benefits: for example, they are awarded only 1% of World Bank contracts. They do reap other indirect advantages, but this trend also partly explains why the models of US bilateral initiatives are meeting with success and support in the shape of large public-private coalitions such as Electrify Africa.

New actors and new ways of acting to support development

Initiatives are mushrooming thanks to a growing interest in international development questions. This has been spurred by a fascination with the new economy and by the promotion of a performance-based foreign aid system seeking a return on social investment, together with the idea of global responsibility encouraged by B. Gates at Davos. Demand from “millennial” consumers is driving changes in behaviour. Taking advantage of this momentum, new institutions for inclusive business have been created. This is a far cry from the conventional ecosystem comprising ODA, the UN, development banks and NGOs. The platforms designed for the major MDG, SDG and climate change challenges have served as vehicles for private-sector initiatives that have developed on a significant scale and count US firms among their stakeholders. The chairman of Bank of America has headed the Sustainable Energy for All executive committee; a host of financial companies are taking part in the Climate Investor Summits and contributing to the Paris Agreement’s voluntary initiatives pillar; and long-term investors such as pension funds and insurers are pulling their stakes out of the coal and hydrocarbon industries and looking to do more for sustainable infrastructure. Prompted by shareholder associations, strong corporate initiatives for social and environmental reporting are appearing and inevitably raising awareness – including an awareness of these firms’ responsibilities at international level. Production chains are scrutinised by consumers and major retailers (food for Starbucks and Disney, textiles, shoes, audio-visual equipment, but also gold and diamonds at Walmart) are making significant changes in order to have their value chains certified as virtuous (coffee, palm oil, tropical woods) and incorporate advances in sustainable technology (truck fleets).

Development is turning into a “project market” in which competition inevitably comes into play and where the competitive spirit and the drive for impact are what count most. The time has gone when government could be expected to launch major initiatives. Today, it is a matter of instigating initiatives and ensuring that they receive government support, hence USAID’s Global Development Lab initiatives to encourage and create networking between universities, innovation hubs and start-ups. In terms of financing, US partners abound, mainly thanks to online participatory financing platforms that raise substantial amounts of funding. For example, the highly successful “Give Directly” initiative offers people the chance to sponsor a corrugated iron roof for an individual



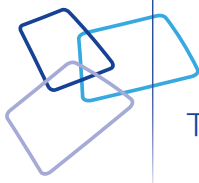
with no involvement of intermediaries. This is also the case of the “solutions” industry, the classic example being anti-mosquito nets, but many other technical and technological solutions are being promoted by myriad actors on global networks that often target Asia. Social innovation for development is also supported by universities, with Stanford, MIT, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Berkeley and Cornell leading the way.

This densely packed landscape is energised by the American spirit of initiative, the major changes induced by new technologies and the dynamism of universities, but also by the space left open by conservatism and difficulty of USAID to self-reform – to some extent, the agency has served as a “counter-model” (except in the more recent period). These private initiatives are taking up the baton of international US influence and becoming part of the “do-good” imaginary.

e. Public opinion, the media, opinion leaders

Public opinion – little-informed, little-engaged and little-heeded by policymakers

Public opinion in the United States is little-informed and little-educated on the subject of international relations, sometimes astonishingly so. Its primary source of news is television, but also these days the social networks. The needle swings between more or less isolationist positions depending on the international or domestic crises that occur. On development subjects, its thinking is above all compassionate and humanitarian. It grossly overestimates the amount of ODA spending (by 1–20 times) and traditionally mistrusts federal initiatives (“big government”). It is not hostile to the foreign aid channelled through multilateral institutions. The periodic and more in-depth opinion surveys by the University of Chicago or the Johns Hopkins University (PIPA) show that Americans are not averse to international assistance, and no compelling evidence substantiates the oft-cited differences between US opinion and European opinion. The findings of opinion surveys on foreign aid compiled by the OECD and its Development Centre are quite clear: public opinion did not fundamentally change over the course the 20th century, even during the Reagan years when foreign aid dropped to a record low. The majority of the public, albeit only marginally, (45–55%), remained favourable to development assistance, hostile to federal overspending, committed to poverty reduction for compassionate reasons, and concerned about the effectiveness of the actions undertaken. It is aware of the criticisms levelled against the institutions (mainly the World Bank), as well as the multifarious controversies disseminated by the media and, as a result, would not be averse to a reduction in foreign aid. It thus half-heartedly supports the idea that the United States has to assist developing countries, but it has a weak grasp of the

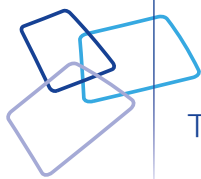


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concepts of economic development or international cooperation and feels more passionately about causes such as hunger, population, gender, the environment, the oceans and biodiversity, children, water, education – all causes to which the American public continues to donate.

The latest studies funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation are more precise. They show that public opinion divides into three equal cohorts: the hostile, the favourable, who rely on moral criteria, and the sceptics, who need convincing and view the idea of empowerment as promising. It is important to show that aid beneficiaries are active and making progress, and that the value of aid lies precisely in this progress; beneficiaries can be encouraged to act autonomously within their own environment. Private donations are not declining thanks to the contributions of new large donors, but the overall donor base has shrunk by 14% over ten years. Interestingly enough, the polarisations between the left and right around development issues have not come into play: all are aware of the evangelical right's proposal for a sweeping solidarity programme and the Democrats' gains on women's rights. Recently, there have been signs of new citizen mobilisation for grassroots resistance, triggered by the election of Donald Trump and akin to the militant energy of Vietnam War years. This could influence public opinion and awaken an interest in humanitarian causes both at home (the Meals on Wheels controversy) and internationally (what is the administration doing to respond to the calls around the "four African famines"?). The civic engagement fostered in universities and the non-profit world is characteristic of the United States, and these responsible, multi-sector social movements could well give rise to vibrant grassroots projects and political movements.

Migratory pressure is a familiar phenomenon able to sway public opinion towards support for development assistance. Americans still remember the wave of arrivals from a Central America steeped in civil war, heading for Washington and California (2.5 million Salvadorians) in the 1980s and successfully stabilised by massive aid investments in the region. Moreover, the natural collapses and overexploitation of natural resources that drive emigration are bolstering the arguments of environmental activists. Although public opinion may uphold and value a moral discourse, local interests still come first and solidarity is waning – also perhaps because religious practice is dwindling. Fuelled by particularly heated controversies on social networks, the immigration issue is driving a bigger wedge between urban and rural areas, between more liberal regions like California and the North-East, and the more traditional Centre and South. Growing social inequalities affect policymaking since many young people are unable to access higher education and being left behind. A whole raft of legitimate domestic issues (health, education, children, and housing)



thus crowd out international concerns.

The media: social networks are more effective than the traditional press

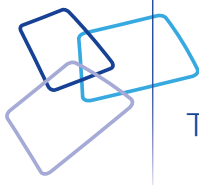
The media show scant interest in international subjects unless the content is sensational: humanitarian disasters, terrorism, etc. The major newspapers such as The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times nonetheless publish articles and editorials on strategic development issues. In recent times, they have been trying to remind their readers of the former consensus, praising bipartisanship and alternating between calls for greater accountability and constructive proposals.

Many websites opposed to foreign aid have an active communication strategy: America's Future, The Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute, Conservative Review, The America Enterprise Institute, etc. Their stock-in-trade is to denigrate the federal government from a very conservative standpoint and disseminate propaganda promoting a fierce isolationism. They argue that "the United States is being attacked in the United Nations by the very countries we are helping" and that this funding must therefore be stopped.³⁵ These critiques feed on a version of the national narrative that foregrounds the United States' independence vis-à-vis the rest of the world and on the fact that the country self-developed, under its own steam. It is a narrative that also reflects an acute anxiety about the growing interdependence between economies and societies, which is perceived as a threat to employment, business and Americans' quality of life. This sentiment is echoed in G.H.W. Bush's famous declaration before the Rio Earth Summit in 1992: "The American way of life is not up for negotiation. Period".

Some believe that a new message needs to be crafted and communicated around a few key common causes supported by the NGOs and on subjects that the public can easily understand. This would help to build a strong base vis-à-vis governments, through global campaigns similar to those of the early 2000s. The moment is opportune and there is no dearth of attention-grabbing topics: climate, cities, the circular economy, water, stability, the environment, soil restoration.

They point out that the celebrity world is actively engaged and could be usefully mobilised to create strong ripple effects. Sean Penn, Angelina Jolie, Leonardo DiCaprio, Robert Redford, Beyoncé, Matt Damon, Harrison Ford, Don Cheadle, George Clooney and others are influential spokespersons. They act as advocates and ambassadors for causes that civil society or the United Nations proposes to them and are able to interact effectively with their millions of followers on social networks.

³⁵ / See, for example, the controversy on aid to Pakistan in D. Markey (Council on Foreign Relations), "Stop Writing Pakistan Blank Checks", *Foreign Policy*, February, 2016.



f. The official message: "Aid for the American people"

The US government's discourse on development assistance references the domestic setting and the impact that foreign aid policy has on its citizens' lives. Aid needs to respond to the "global challenges facing America" and not those "facing the world". Aid is connected to the US situation and its food, health, environmental and political security. The issues of poverty, governance and justice need to be tackled both abroad and at home. Violence against women, the fight against HIV/AIDS, primary education, access to healthcare and justice are first and foremost national issues that help to tangibly frame development questions within the domestic context. They can be understood as being related to American influence rather than as specific foreign issues.

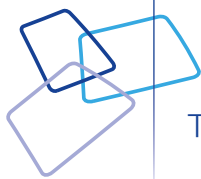
A United States that was confident of its global power has doubtless become less so since its military setbacks. The country is now aware that it can be targeted on its own soil, formerly presumed to be unassailable. Its knowledge of the world remains shallow, very shallow even, as is the case in most continent-sized countries. Forming a mental projection of the outside world is difficult, and often leads to clichés (cf. the Madagascar films). Faced with supposed threats, the United States declares that it has to take action, while the consensus asserts that military deployment and security measures will not suffice unless the causes of all types of risks are addressed. This vision is nuanced depending on different regions of the world, the Middle East being the country's uppermost concern, followed by Asia, Latin America and Africa.

USAID has no mandate to communicate to the general public or provide educational and awareness-raising programmes on development – which it had nonetheless been running since 1990. Government funding had dried up at the beginning of the Bush presidency, at the request of Congress (J. Helms), and been replaced by major efforts from the non-profits such as ONE, Global Citizen, World Vision, etc.

American communication on development is unique in the sense that it systematically messages on development impacts and objectives and, at the same time, on the effects for the American nation.

Its talking points do not focus on countries but on targeted populations and the people involved: development is "people-centred".

Traditional aid messaging no longer fits the bill and should be recrafted: the focus is now on investment, on acting together ("with" others), and the value of the idea



of solidarity has to be restored. At the same time, inspiring stories need to be built on themes that people can understand: Devex's tale of smart cities, for example.

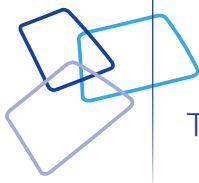
There is an urgent need to renew development discourse in the United States. In light of today's regressive trends, it is time to go beyond the defensive discourse centred on national security or moral imperative and choose to construct a flagship project like PEPFAR that could be built around sustainable infrastructure and climate action, for example, or empowerment and training, etc.

g. Think tanks, universities: a milieu teeming with intellectual innovation

US think tanks are world leaders in their field, and Washington D.C. concentrates world-class intellectual expertise on development questions.³⁶ The Center for Global Development (CGD – formerly CGdev), Brookings, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the World Resources Institute (WRI) are often front of stage, but a host of others are active including CSIS, IRI, or the Carnegie Council for International Peace. There are also large foundations with powerful intellectual resources: Pew in Atlanta, MacArthur in Chicago, Ford and Rockefeller in New York, and B. & M. Gates, which is an institution unto itself. In addition, politically engaged institutes are suddenly occupying more ground as opposition movements detrimental to the consensus are intensifying (on one side, Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, Cato Institute, the International Republican Institute and, on the other, the Center of American Progress). The think tanks are able to rely on the activities of universities in the Washington area, whose various institutes engage in in-depth reflection on global questions: the universities of Georgetown, George Washington, Johns Hopkins and Maryland, the American University, as well as universities specialising in security and defence.

In the development field, the forerunner was the Overseas Development Council established in 1969. This paved the way for the creation of the CGD, following its own closure in 2000. The CGD plays a pivotal role, buoyed by the aura of its founder and former president Nancy Birdsall and its highly reputed Commitment to Development Index. It is deeply engaged in thinking and research on development models, agency processes, promising innovations, structures to be changed. Its premises host ongoing debates open to all types of local and international discussion ecosystems.

36 / Cf. Table 3 in the Appendices.

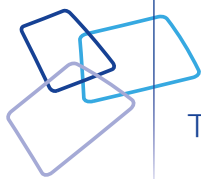


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These experts are actively recruited, sometimes from the major multilateral institutions (UN, World Bank, IDB, IMF), and capable of producing powerful advocacy for foreign aid and development financing, especially for sector-based and cross-cutting subjects. They are able to support international and US policymaking processes and provide global perspectives on questions of resources and the planet's viability (environment, biodiversity, climate). They interact with the whole spectrum of US stakeholders: the House and Senate, NGOs, academia, multilateral agencies, foundations, business. They are information-relayers, decrypters and analysts of situations, superb idea-builders and proposal-creators. By working with the think tanks, USAID has managed to fine-tune its frameworks for accountability and performance metrics. The think tanks have networks to hand as well as measurement and dissemination tools that help them to inform the dialogue with the administrations and prepare policy positions. They head programmes (the Brookings Africa Growth Initiative) and flagship initiatives (the CGD Commitment to Development Index) that serve as communication tools to reinforce the credibility of foreign aid policy. As they work with the country's governing elites and constantly invite them to exchange with intellectuals, experts and stakeholders, think tanks are often the place where transparency and pressures for a real accountability of public policy emerge. Since there are now numerous think tanks, competition comes into play and creates ongoing emulation. They have differing and often bipartisan opinions, expert knowledge and diverging strategies, which doubtless enables the government to keep its distance and stave off any excessive influence.

In recent years, think tanks have intervened in the international negotiations on sustainable development and climate change. After a brief spate of hostility towards the SDGs, they jumped on board and kept a close eye on the proceedings, lending their support and making sure that the US negotiators were playing a constructive role. They supported President Obama's efforts to modernise US foreign assistance and were among those who raised questions about continuing aid to Egypt following the 2013 military coup. They challenged the results of development assistance to Pakistan, and gave (to the Council on Foreign Relations) a reminder of G.W. Bush's position vis-à-vis P. Musharraf ("You are either with us or against us"), hoping to make aid more conditional on compliance with democratic principles. Other think tanks focus on countries at risk, in cases where establishing a functioning government would be preferable to insisting on democracy – especially as prioritising good governance would be less useful to US interests.

The conservative think tank, Heritage Foundation, strongly backs President Trump's official policy, particularly the cut to funding for international organisations. Its rhetoric focuses on the need to reduce wasteful spending and continue to protect national

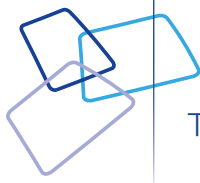


interests. The goal is to make sweeping government-wide cuts in order to balance the budget, but without laying a finger on defence. Allocation of US aid to international organisations now has to meet the requirement of being a “vital and necessary” (Schaefer, 2017) service rendered to US citizens. Following the example of the recent U-turn by DfID, which has withdrawn its funding for Unesco, the think tank is advocating a steep cut in the US contribution to international agencies – a stance that is relatively uncommon on the think tank landscape. The argument advanced is that the government should be managing taxpayers’ monies in a more responsible and transparent manner.

The university voices of Amartya Sen, Joseph Stiglitz, Jeffrey Sachs, Esther Duflo, Abhijit Banerjee, Tim Lovejoy and many others are heard worldwide, and sometimes better-known abroad than in the United States. But when it comes to development questions, it is the voices of Bill and Melinda Gates that are heard most in the media and the political world. The Gateses are helping to bolster the credibility of aid and impose the requirement for the evaluation of results. They are also helping to counter the endless criticisms from the right-wing against “white elephants”, money wasted and the like. Their insistence on scientific evidence is crucial and gives the think tanks whose livelihoods depend on this approach valuable tools to communicate their own discourses to policymakers.

Other figures are also taking the stage: Elon Musk, Al Gore, Carl Pope (on climate topics), or Mark Zuckerberg (on Internet access). Many of them have adopted a full-blown approach much like that of former presidents: B. Clinton on Haiti and the creation of the Clinton Global Initiative and J. Carter and his foundation to promote good governance, both of whom have continued their government action in the form of private initiatives. Financiers-cum-philanthropists like Michael Bloomberg and Warren Buffett are picking up the baton from the T. Turners and D. Rockefellers.

In recent times, USAID has successfully marshalled this energy and rolled out its Global Development Lab, which has created a network of 46 major universities working together to find solutions that promote social, economic, financial, technical, agricultural and health innovations. The universities have their own large laboratories, some of which are located overseas mainly in Asia and Latin America: Yale, MIT, Cornell, Stanford, Arizona State and Columbia all invest substantial resources in international sustainable development. They wield international influence through their myriad development programmes and experiments, which are in step with the American approach grounded on applied research and outreach.

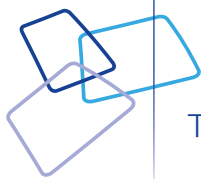


h. Washington D.C., the world's multilateral capital, and its influence on US policy

The World Bank and the IMF are two blocks away from the White House. On Pennsylvania Avenue development experts and stakeholders from all corners of the planet cross paths, and the US agencies (USAID, MCC, Peace Corps and OPIC) are a stone's throw away. How do these two worlds interact? There is a tacit understanding that the positions of president of the World Bank and the IMF's chief economist, who is second-in-command, are both nominated by the United States. It might even be said that it is the US Government that actually appoints the World Bank president, subject to the agreement of a handful of large emerging countries and provided there is no opposition from China and India, whereas officially he or she is elected by the Bank's Board of Executive Directors. The geographical proximity of the US Treasury is constantly felt, sometimes insidiously as its influence is over-interpreted by staff in the corridors and decision centres of these two Bretton Woods institutions. There is a constant toing and froing of staff assignments between the Treasury or State Department and the Bank, and these officials also defend government policies. The US agencies, USAID and MCC, along with the State Department and the Treasury, regularly furnish updates on all of the Bank's activities, region by region, country by country. As the saying at the Bank goes: "Who pays, says". Moreover, Congress can also impose its views, as it did on the subject of family planning, reproductive health and sexual rights under President Bush, and as it is again set to do on the same societal issues. The influence of Congress on the votes to reconstitute the IDA is decisive.

The choices made by P. Wolfowitz, J. Wolfensohn, R. Zoellick or J. Kim were the outcome of a political alliance with whichever United States president was in power. The close-knit relationship between J. Kim and Bill and Hillary Clinton led to his nomination as head of the Bank – which reflects a mode of governance that today might be challenged were it to be repeated. Yet, these special relationships are also useful for safeguarding the interests of the Bretton Woods institutions. The Bank is the mirror of a certain (specifically) American mind-set and many of its US and foreign collaborators graduated from the same university programmes.

The US Treasury is also adept at using the Bank and its conduits to communicate its vision and strategy and reinforce the positive effects for US industry (e.g. Caterpillar and formerly pharmaceuticals), plunging into openings in the private sector to respond to market failings (the "cascading" strategy). Yet, over the last thirty years, US firms have let their hold slip. They first lost infrastructure and facilities

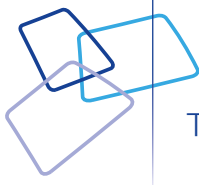


contracts and then consulting contracts to more competitive players from the large countries in the Global South. World Bank contracts implemented by private US contractors account for only 1%³⁷ of all Bank-funded contracts. This is one of the reasons that seems to be driving the private sector towards bilateral initiatives such as Power Africa.

On the other hand, the thousands of Washington-based development experts at the World Bank Group, the IDB and other international agencies or institutions (GEF, etc.) seem to have little impact on US positions on development policy. The Bank's intellectual influence on US politics is minimal and – somewhat like the Washington development ecosystem – the Bank remains in its own world, isolated from the rest of the United States.

i. Strongly mobilised elites

One tremendous advantage is that senior government officials and leaders of the major development-related institutions move around in line with changes in government: among two former USAID administrators, Raj Shah now heads the Rockefeller Foundation, while Gayle Smith, is currently president and CEO of ONE. Elisabeth Cousens, former deputy ambassador to the United Nations, has taken over the directorship of the United Nations Foundation. At the Gates Foundation, WRI and Brookings, we find former vice-presidents of the World Bank and IMF. And this mobility – from the State Department to USAID to contractors/firms to NGOs to Congress to foundations to think tanks, etc. – largely explains the continuity of policies that have survived changes in government – which is also an advantage when it comes to employment prospects! More fundamentally, this mobility helps to give the administration, agencies, Congress and society a shared vision of the United States' role in the world.



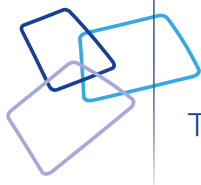
4. Donald Trump's presidency: uncertainty creeps in

a. *Cracks appear in the bipartisan consensus*

Ahead of the 2016 elections, the internal debate in the Washington ecosystem was intensifying in preparation for the next steps. All the think tanks in town were vying to produce proposals that would strengthen and speed up the upsurge of creativity, reform and institutional deepening. This was the case of the Global Development Council's last pre-election meeting at the White House in July 2016, where a new raft of arguments on the need for international development seems to have been advanced, riding on the growing wave of populist discourse that led to the election of Donald Trump. Yet, the election campaign did not bring to light any serious attacks on aid, despite the brutality of the foreign policy debate. In the Republican camp, there were radical proponents of a total halt to federal intervention (for example, Energy Secretary Rick Perry). Steve Bannon, former head of the far-right on-line Breitbart News and Donald Trump's chief of Strategy until August 2017, commented in 2014 that the West was experiencing a crisis whose roots lay in the erosion of Judeo-Christian values and in the state intervention to regulate capitalism, supported by an international co-optation of elites. In S. Bannon's view, D. Trump's accession to power and the rise of far-right parties in Europe are signs of a global middle-class revolution set to spread across all continents. For S. Bannon, poverty should be reduced mechanically through the conduct of firms that is based on Judeo-Christian values – and not by development assistance.

The bipartisan think tank, CGD, pointed out that the arguments for national security are less compelling; the rationale behind the assistance to Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan is called into question. Yet, the basic messages remain the same: international assistance works in the interests of the United States; it produces successes; US leadership is essential in the face of global threats, but it is no longer enough. At the end of 2016, after the congressional elections, USGLC reported that the 115th Congress would be full of "internationalists" and that the policy pursued over the last ten years could be continued.

The 2016 Republican Party's compact, which reprised G.W. Bush's discourse in preparation for the elections, argues that international assistance is an essential tool for conflict prevention and for building a global stability that can open markets to US interests, and reaffirms compassion for human suffering. This discourse, however, seems to be moving further away from the concerns of the American middle class, as the moral argument (of giving and sharing) and the United States' responsibilities on the world stage are being eroded. Inspiration needs to come from more recent



experiences and debates: the tsunami and relations with Indonesia, the worries about pandemics such as Ebola and Zika (“what counts is not the healthcare system in Dakar, but Ebola in Houston”), the economic advancement of women, the fight against human trafficking headed by white evangelical voters, and the opiate trade that is once again plaguing US youth. These themes could gradually complement the efforts to combat HIV/AIDS and malaria. The Republicans know that in order to stem the flows of migrants, development and stability are necessary, and that Africa could benefit from a political awareness of these questions.

The first months of D. Trump’s presidency have been uncertain and chaotic. Power seems to be split between the “insurrectionists”, keen to dismantle federal power and challenge everything, and the Republican institutionalists, who want change but with some degree of continuity. Trump’s campaign promises nonetheless inevitably come to the fore. The presidency is less ideological and populist than interested in making deals and transactions as proof that the US is winning. Yet, the Trump administration remains determined to reduce foreign aid in line with the slogan “America First”. From a practical angle, the lack of general public support for aid sets this policy up as an easy and likely scapegoat.

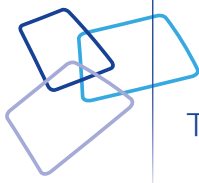
Some of the President’s entourage are ready to break the existing consensus on ODA and have opened a potentially explosive Pandora’s box. Hence, the presidential budget proposals to slash the State Department and foreign assistance budgets by 37%, which materialised barely two weeks later as a -28% cut.³⁸

The new president’s unpredictable character and the appointment of a new secretary of state whose background is in the oil business³⁹ make it hard to form any kind of prognosis. The president-elect’s declarations during his campaign were contradictory: the statements supporting development aid include: “We are a humanitarian nation... America will continue and continue forever to play the role of peacemaker. We will always help save lives and indeed humanity itself”, “if we don’t help countries facing disasters, then it would create bigger problems” and “the billions we spend on child survival, maternal and child health and food aid can and must do more to help impoverished nations become capable of taking care of themselves in the future.”⁴⁰ Under Bush and Obama, Vice-President Mike Pence backed PEPFAR, stating that “the United States has a moral obligation”, but conditioned funding to conservative positions on women’s rights. Some think tanks are putting out the idea that a large-scale crisis could influence Trump’s development policy. Just as the 11 September

38 / Source: *Washington Post*, “State Department’s 28 percent cuts hit foreign aid, UN and climate change”, 15/3/2017.

39 / ExxonMobil aims to be US champion of corporate social responsibility, notably in the area of primary education.

40 / Source: CGD.



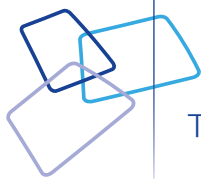
The United States

attacks heavily impacted Bush's policy, giving him a platform to brutally step up his foreign policy, a similar or humanitarian crisis might lead Trump to view development as an opportunity to be seized.

Although US foreign aid has benefited from a relatively strong bipartisan consensus for fifteen years, it could still become a divisive issue, despite the courageous stances taken by a handful of senators and representatives critical of D. Trump's presidency (M. Rubio, L. Graham, J. McCain). The Republican base has an anaemic commitment to development for political reasons, and there now remain very few truly internationalist Republican Congress members from the Rockefeller generation (who today would likely be Democrats!). The elected seats are increasingly disputed among members of the same party, and the right-wing surge showed its strength in the primaries.

Old patterns of foreign policy thinking from before the Bush administration are making their comeback, as the new teams' knowledge of the world is very flimsy. Security is seen through a narrow prism: The nation must be protected, terrorism and violence opposed. Pandemics spark fear, which points to the probable continuation of the PEPFAR and PMI initiatives. There is no intellectual bedrock, other than the extreme positions of Heritage Foundation, which sustains a negative mind-set feeding on simplistic and populist sentiment. The role of the federal government in supporting development assistance – a natural inclination in the European world – is not a given. In the development sector, a powerful movement regularly resurfaces encouraging private actors to stand in for the State, bring their expertise and financing, and create jobs.

Support for USAID's independence is waning among the Republican base. The advantage of public action overseas is under challenge, fuelling explicit demands for the disbanding of OPIC and the EXIM Bank. In environmental matters, key agencies for global issues are also being targeted: the EPA, the Fish and Wildlife Service and Forest Service, the National Parks, NASA programmes and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration programmes, etc. Appropriations for United Nations agencies and the Global Environment Facility are directly targeted as they are perceived as hostile to the United States, especially on climate issues, where the outlook is problematic (the transfer of the USD 300-million instalment pledged to the Green Climate Fund and due before the 28 April 2017 did not take place). The United Nations Population Fund, the UNFCCC and other humanitarian agencies will have to find other relays or undergo reform due to the shortfall of US financing. The WFP and UNICEF could escape the fallout, but UNDP could be hit.



b. Ambitions for reform persist among development aid experts

If we compare some of the pre- and post-election proposals put out by the think tanks (Brookings, CGD, etc.) and read between the lines, we can identify what characterises the US system. Among these, there are institutional, strategic and concrete proposals.

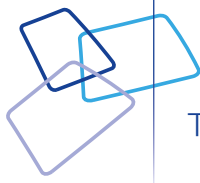
Among the proposals affecting institutions, we find **the swift appointment of the new USAID administrator** (with ministerial rank) and a second deputy in charge of budgetary matters. To guarantee better coordination between government institutions and within USAID, the appointment of a White House coordinator (useful for the health programmes, for example) could be envisaged, as well as a strengthened coordination role for the twenty-seven USAID agencies. USAID would gain in effectiveness if it enjoyed budgetary autonomy. Additionally, the creation of a global development bank able to influence the private sector is recommended, with MCC serving as the blueprint for its operational aspects.

Congress and civil society could also co-author a new global development strategy that would lead to the drafting of a new FAA. To be more effective, some programmes (e.g. HIV/AIDS) as well as geographic allocation strategies (Middle East, North Africa) could be overhauled. A tranche of around 10% of the Foreign Assistance budget could be usefully earmarked for impact investment; an evaluation of this investment could inform a review of the bilateral/multilateral distribution of financing and help to measure US influence in favour of global public goods. Some think tanks also recommend opening up markets to some of the least-developed countries and adopting an open controlled migration policy linked to aid and investment.

In substance, some think tanks are waiting for the launch of a flagship policy that focuses on refugees and women. In concrete terms, there is a stated desire to see the United States become the world leader of sustainable infrastructure and technologies, and to propose innovative financing such as advanced market commitments. An Economic Opportunity fund should be created for entrepreneurs, as well as programmes to combat deforestation. Power Africa must be reinforced.

c. The situation in spring 2017

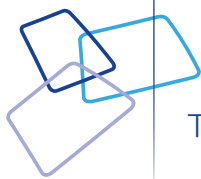
Congress sees that the State Department has a still fledgling administration, with the hundred key international assistance job positions still unfilled. It thus finds itself somewhat alone in the face of a rather abrupt political will and a secretary



of state who has scant involvement in these subjects. Development's best allies are retired General J. Mattis, secretary of defence, and National Security Adviser Lt. General H.R. McMaster, who have clear ideas on the importance of civilian aid. US Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley will be promoting women's issues and combating violence against girls. Other well-known names are cited: Dina Habib Powell, the deputy national security advisor for strategy (and former president of the Goldman Sachs Foundation and promoter of the 10,000 Women initiative), Ambassador Mark Green, who is being nominated to head USAID (former US ambassador to Dar-es-Salam, president of the International Republican Institute, former director of USGLC, MCC Board member, close to M. Pence, R. Priebus and P. Ryan, practicing Catholic...), amongst others. Yet, without an operational cross-departmental organisation, broad government positions cannot thrive as, in early 2017, instructions were still being issued by a small group at the White House. This situation of uncertainty could spill over into 2018.

Several signs indicate that relatively conventional initiatives may be put in place along the lines of the review-based model adopted by the Bush administration in 2000: Congress could coordinate a review of the international assistance apparatus to evaluate the effectiveness of its institutions. Multilateral agencies could see their missions reassessed and US financial commitments will have to demonstrate their "value for money" primarily in terms of US interests. Adam Lerrick, who helped to draft the Meltzer report, has been nominated as deputy under-secretary for international finance at the Treasury and is the bearer of the oft-quoted phrase from Prof Meltzer, "Capitalism without failure is like religion without sin". He opposes US aid for failed states, which may be a signal that should be heeded. In the drive for savings and the fight against waste and fraud, some token cuts will possibly be made to furnish elected representatives with a results-centred rhetoric for their constituencies. Stronger implementation of the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act could be promoted. Congress plans to invite Andrew Mitchell, a former British Conservative minister, to compare thoughts on the alternative but pro-aid experience of the Cameron government.

Many are harkening back to the first months of the Bush administration, when the same negative pressures were in place. These, however, were gradually replaced by a drive for "results", to the point that they created an ad-hoc institution (MCC) and built a rhetoric now adopted by the new Republican administration. This development can be explained in part by the critical moment of September 11, and the current Republican period may benefit from a similar momentum; the proponents of aid are citing the successes of the Bush administration to laud Republican leadership in this area.



The faith-based lobbies and those of the large very powerful NGOs have, moreover, already begun to exert heavy pressure on Congress. It is uncertain whether the administration's policy preferences will be left unscathed by such pressures as these forces also constitute, through the churches, a crucial locally based lobby for elected representatives. Support is already being sought from other partners for programmes that may be jeopardised by a rollback of state budget funding. The foundations are ready to take up the torch. Bill Gates has announced a USD 1-billion venture fund for clean energy.

At the World Bank, the US teams are anticipating increased pressure for a "return on investment" and are searching for ways to highlight how the US presence is advancing national interests; because there is a need to protect payment of US arrears (USD 700–800 million), the refinancing of IDA, and the Bank's possible increase in capital. The IFC could be hard hit. At the United Nations, the considerations may well be highly political; the rollback of positions in some affiliated organisations (e.g. the WFP) may be an irreversible move. Short-term decisions could thus threaten the United States' long-term interests in this thrust for a liberal international order.

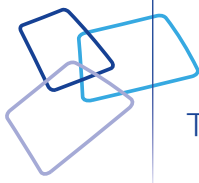
The congressional minority is nonetheless worried as the fallout from the first two months of the Trump presidency has been severe and the four-year presidential term heralds a difficult time ahead for foreign assistance policy. Ultimately, Congress cannot stand as sole guarantor of the continuity of US aid – this also needs to find support within society as a whole.

d. Positions in the new Congress

According to USCGL, many allies of the "internationalist platform" have been re-elected, enabling the bipartisan consensus on the United States' global leadership to hold. New women senators could help to build the consensus on international questions, as they seem better informed on issues of gender, for example. In the House, the allies of pro-development stances, notably in the various foreign affairs committees, have found their place again, but prudence still reigns with respect to actual policy stances and the balance of power.

e. The budget debate

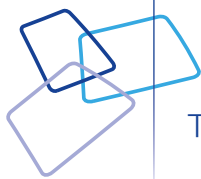
The first challenge is the budget negotiation and, here, the influential members of Congress heading the various foreign affairs committees are hard at work. These



include Republican Senators Lindsey Graham and Robert Corker, who will have to deal with their Democrat counterparts, S. Whitehouse, etc., as well as Senators Marco Rubio, John McCain, Tom Rooney and State and Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairman Hal Rogers, who introduced the appropriations bill in the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs.

Faced with the Presidency's devastating announcements – a 37% cut in the State's foreign aid budget, the planned disbanding of OPIC and EXIM Bank, the replacement of Voice of America's independent board, and various funding cuts for UN agencies and the World Bank (a USD 650 million reduction) –, the Republican congressional teams are holding a measured discourse. They have opposed the initial budget and the drastic cuts proposed by the White House, which is already backing off for want of support. They consider that the aid budget could even be scaled up as it is a pivotal component for national security – which is an aspect that needs to be explained to public opinion. For Republicans, it is clear that the lack of preventive investment in the area of development (Syria, Yemen) may cause countries to collapse and the solution of managing these countries' futures "through drones and special forces interventions" is not viable in the long run. The same reasoning holds for humanitarian crises such as famines: it is better for the United States to be present and deliver a US offering, rather than let other actors occupy the terrain. A "decent" level of funding has to be negotiated and maintained, on the understanding that **some tokens must be given to the executive branch**. Congress representatives are sensitive to mounting pressure from the generals, NGOs, businesses, churches, news articles by intellectuals, Bill Gates, Andrew Natsios (former USAID administrator), and Bush senior, and hear the vitriolic attacks from the Democratic and independent press that are fuelling the debate by focusing on humanitarian themes.

While some programmes can be saved, extremely tough discussions lie ahead on budget funding for the Economic Support Fund, which provides aid mainly to Pakistan and Egypt, as their governments are seen as unfriendly to US interests. The question is more about what military assistance will be promoted than about discussing education or health programmes. All told, humanitarian and development subjects are not central to the broader congressional debate on ensuring US influence and international stability. Very conservative voices remain active, for example, on the activities of the IMF, which has been refused a new contribution for the financial stability of Greece.



f. Sketching out a few scenarios

Three contrasted scenarios (plus one) are outlined below to help to clarify the debate.

The “X-factor”: destructive uncertainty prevails

The “America First” slogan takes priority and decisions that call into question public institutions and US financial contributions are made. USAID is again merged into the State Department, while OPIC and the EXIM Bank are dismantled. A panel proposes wide-sweeping reform of the multilateral architecture, notably financial institutions. US contributions to major programmes (e.g. climate change, humanitarian) are challenged. US influence brings on serious problems for the balance of the international consensus. Some United Nations agencies are doomed to disappear.

The budget and accounting factor predominates: US citizens must be given victories.

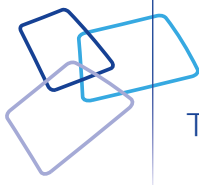
Voters expect symbolic measures that respond to criticisms of the priority given to domestic spending. All budgets and programmes are reviewed and cut back, with no fundamental challenge to instruments and resources. Congress capitulates and adopts a laissez-faire attitude; the only programmes that remain untouched are the global health and strategic programmes, while cross-cutting and sector-based activities disappear. The United States no longer commands leadership on international development policy and strategy. The reduction in resources for development is very steep, as aid programmes are harder hit than those for strategic international security, which are financed out of the same budget.

D. Trump’s administration is eager to enhance its image

A few popular subjects that enjoy support and convey an image of compassionate conservatism are identified. Businesses, churches and some NGOs partner these initiatives. Some possible themes are bioterrorism, modern slavery, the anti-corruption fight, land tenure law, and disasters (the handling of the “Four Famines” will be a test). The setting up of a flagship initiative is not impossible, especially if some crisis or other can afford it the desired legitimacy and visibility, and it may garner support (and budget), as was the case for G.W. Bush. Ivanka Trump may have a role to play in this.

The minister of Defense becomes the spokes-ministry for international development, which de facto becomes a sub-component of national security policy.

America’s message is re-constructed around greater freedom, enhanced economic



The United States

opportunities and the fight against obstacles to development: corruption, trafficking (arms, drugs), etc.

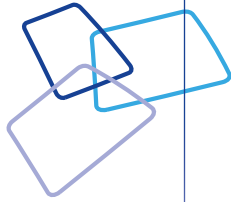
The resistance becomes organised: civil society enters into open conflict with the presidency and the administration

This extreme option is mentioned here given the citizen movements that are emerging across the United States (clashes on university campuses, the Pussy Hat marches, etc.). However, these have so far been much less powerful than the civil rights movements of the 1950s.





IV



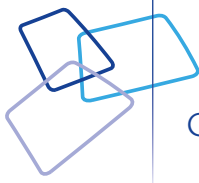
Germany

1. The German consensus on development aid: elites supported by an educated and engaged civil society

Germany, while aware of its economic success, seems to turn to the rest of the world to create a better global space for living. Since German social actors and the state have understood that there can be no lasting peace in an interconnected world where poverty persists, they are seeking, in a relatively consensual manner, to establish German leadership in a paradigm shift towards global sustainable development. Their wish is for a policy that is “better for the world, better for Germany”.

German leaders are very active on these questions, be it within Europe, the G7 or the G20 – all of which are arenas where Angela Merkel is pushing forward delivery of her global commitments on social justice. And this has enabled Germany to gain an influential position on the world stage. Supported by former Christian Democratic Union (CDU) President Horst Köhler (2004–2010) and Frank-Walter Steinmeier, her former minister for foreign affairs (2013–2017), A. Merkel has involved every one of her ministries without exception in the effort to achieve this international goal. She is disseminating the sustainable development blueprint not only to the Länder but also to partner countries, along with the arguments and means to translate this global paradigm shift into action. All of the parties in the Bundestag declare themselves to be pro-development, guided by the unswerving position and well-informed work of the parliamentary Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development. As a result, development is not a conflict-ridden sector hijacked by political game-playing, even though views diverge on the priorities and approaches to adopt.

Civil society is frequently consulted by elected officials. Its most committed actors are organised into a strong network of secular and faith-based NGOs that have firm roots in society, mainly through the churches, and form a powerful institutional bastion. German public opinion has discovered and supports a newly assumed foreign policy built on a bedrock of moral values. Support is especially strong for climate change issues, but also for interventions in response to humanitarian disasters (Haiti, Philippines). Moreover, it does not support the idea that development aid has to be justified by national interests, as the recent averted attempt to link



Germany

development aid to stemming migratory flows to Germany suggests. Although the migratory crisis has created a fresh argument for a balance between sustainability, stability and security or even the increased conditionality of aid, the fundamentals appear to be solid.

Businesses are not a determining factor, even though they are increasingly called on to contribute to and invest in solving the problems including the question of sustainability, which they are now integrating into their corporate strategies. The business world's recent interest in Africa is insufficiently coordinated with the development community, and creates a disruptive factor for the consensus on the policies to adopt: here, more efforts are required to bring visions closer together.

It is widely perceived in Germany that there is an increasing engagement with global issues and sustainable development. This lends an exceptional character to the current period, but is in line with a slow process begun fifteen years ago. The strength of this momentum has surprised and impressed the most senior levels of government.

Three lessons: societal engagement

Key 1: *A culture of global responsibility as a "moral duty", instilled in everyone at school and marked by a pronounced buy-in to sustainable development.*

Key 2: *The principles of development backed by private networks – associative, religious, political, institutional, intellectual, entrepreneurial, regional – in order to disseminate the German model, with no real ideological clashes.*

Key 3: *A public and private institutional system that is powerful and enduring; it has become more complex in recent years but offers new perspectives, and is capable of taking new global initiatives.*

2. A history of German ODA – marked by the will of political leaders active over the long term

a. A late start marked by reconstruction and reparation

Germany's foreign policy has been shaped by the consequences of World War II and the country's exclusion from the international scene. With no seat on the UN Security Council, Germany was rebuilt with the help of the Marshall Plan, the world's first large-scale development programme of the post-war years. This led to the creation of the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (Reconstruction and Loan Corporation – KfW). Strongly encouraged by the United States, German political and economic spheres organised themselves in the late 1950s to contribute to the economic and social development of developing countries. Although Germany was still paying off its Marshall Plan debt, it accepted the idea that all countries should assume part of the burden and used the American blueprint (e.g. the Peace Corps) to steer its action. The Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt – AA) was allocated funds to be injected into the multilateral development institutions (Bretton Woods, IDA, United Nations Development Programme, European Commission). At the time of the African independencies, there was talk of "moral obligation" as Germany was still mindful of the Berlin Conference (1884) and its consequences for the African continent. However, German industry's need for raw materials was not forgotten and received official backing in the Middle East, Turkey, Asia and, soon after, in French-speaking Africa and the Belgian Congo. German firms were given export credit guarantees and the government asked the owners of small and medium-sized companies to send one of their children abroad to set up subsidiaries of their firms. In 1955, the only Germany recognised as legitimate was that of Chancellor K. Adenauer and diplomatic relations with countries aligned with the German Democratic Republic (Cuba, Yugoslavia, Tanganyika) were severed (Hallstein doctrine).

In 1959, the government established the German Foundation for Developing Countries (DSE⁴¹), whose Board was shared by parliamentarians from all parties, government and civil society representatives. Its purpose was to export practical assistance from structures that possessed a wealth of know-how on agriculture, forestry, cooperatives, health, policing, the People's University model, and even river navigation techniques. Germany promoted technical and scientific cooperation



in the form of grants, exchanges and training, since debt-creating financial aid was frowned upon by a German public who had not forgotten the financial disasters of Weimar and the post-war years. The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation (BMZ) was set up in 1961 on already well-prepared ground: the Goethe Institute and party-affiliated foundations (some, like that created by the Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert, dated back to the early 19th century) were already active and working abroad in Germany's interests, and endowed with abundant resources jealously eyed by other countries. The ministry's staff included many "pro-poor" Catholic and Protestant militants. The ministry was steeped in the notion of reparation and the need for Germany to acknowledge its obligation to "pay back" (Voituriez, Vaillé and Bakkour, 2017) and anchor development in the idea of "working together" (*Zusammenarbeit*), although these new foreign activities were also intended to promote the benefits of Western aid in response to Soviet propaganda.

Under the grand (socialist-liberal) coalition governments of K.G. Kiesinger, W. Brandt and H. Schmidt, the Christian Socialist Erhard Eppler served as minister of economic cooperation (1968–1974), but finally resigned in protest against the cuts made to his budget. He had nonetheless laid the foundations for modern German cooperation policy, whose priorities were first directed eastwards. He was replaced by Egon Bahr (1974–1976), who inspired Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*. Bahr was followed by a succession of ministers from the Social Democratic Party (SPD), then two ministers from the Christian Social Union (CSU), Jürgen Warnke and Carl-Dieter Spranger, who remained in office nine and eight years respectively. In 1993, the word "development" was adjoined to the name of the BMZ.

During the 1990s, federal government cooperation was closely coordinated with the *Länder*, which were especially mobilised in favour of education and culture, as well as their business sectors. Joining forces with all political spheres, governmental or not, they worked to improve the shaping of globalisation. The Catholic Church, and later the Protestant Church, associated development with the duty to respond to the misery in the world. Environment and urbanisation became major concerns, while, in parallel, Germany was taking on greater responsibility in the international arena. The period of reunification (1989–1990) on the heels of the Communist collapse was not, however, favourable to increases in development assistance and ODA shrank. Whereas the United Kingdom and the Netherlands continued to focus exclusively on poverty reduction, the BMZ, with the Federal Ministry for the Environment (BMUB) as co-leader, was strongly influenced by the spirit of the Rio 92 Earth Summit and then the 2002 Johannesburg Sustainable Development Summit and their global sustainability objectives – although these had not been formulated

as quantitative targets. The BMZ's environmental leanings thus pre-date the major climate negotiations, and we understand why its policy did not line up with the discourses of J. Wolfensohn or T. Blair, although Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul (BMZ minister), who had links with Clare Short (DFID secretary of state) through the Utstein Group, later attempted to place more emphasis on poverty reduction.

In reality, almost 40%⁴² of official development assistance (1990–1996) was funnelled into the transitioning Eastern European countries, and large amounts of (non-ODA) funding flowed in the direction of the Soviet Union as part of the commitments arising from German reunification. In 1994, the powerful quadrilogue between the BMZ, political foundations, the churches and NGOs drew up a joint work programme to promote sustainable development in Germany and the Global South and safeguard the ODA budget. This was the beginning of a lasting alliance that was to form the political support base for development. At several G7 meetings, Chancellor Kohl pressed for a pilot programme in line with Rio 92 to preserve the rain forests in Brazil's Amazon Basin – a project that Germany ended up funding virtually alone. Yet, the chancellor seemed to show little interest in development matters and paid no visits to developing countries, even though he personally enjoyed an increasing international influence. Moreover, his government proved to be the main stumbling block to multilateral debt forgiveness for South countries. Even after World Bank President J. Wolfensohn made personal visits to Berlin and Paris – which furthered some initial work on moving towards the HIPC 1/HIPC 2 initiatives for heavily indebted poor countries – Germany lagged behind other Western countries, adopting a position that received some backing from various university circles and experts averse to official development assistance.

In the early 2000s, when German aid was flatlining at below 0.3% of GDP, the Germany of Gerhard Schröder decided to claim a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The Foreign Office, however, pointed up some adverse factors, including the lack of contributions to peacekeeping efforts and an insufficiently ambitious development policy, both of which were discrepant with the country's wealth. Ministerial departments were all called on to identify expenditures that could be reported as ODA, but this had little effect on the German statistics. Although there was scant enthusiasm for the subject, Germany's political elites seemed to realise that the country needed to substantively deepen its commitment if it aspired to international responsibilities; no mention was made of the 0.7%

target. Yet, rather than focus exclusively on poor countries, the German administration preferred to pursue its relations with the emerging economies and weigh up the global issues that these economies in particular brought to light.

Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, the new minister of economic cooperation and development (SPD), took office in 1998 under the Social Democrat red–green alliance and remained in government until 2005. She was instrumental in the adoption of the initiative, Poverty Reduction, A Global Responsibility: Programme of Action 2015, justifying this on the basis of the MDG 1 on poverty reduction, and continuously and relentlessly hammered the message home. New dynamics emerged within the parties to engage with these questions. It was in its role of opposition that the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) was to discover development. Yet, Chancellor Schröder gave scant backing to his minister, whom he appreciated little, particularly as he “hated” development assistance, deeming it “of minor importance”. He did, however, join a “big-tent” coalition alongside President B. Clinton, Pope John Paul II, the Dalai Lama, Mohammad Ali and singer Bono for the Jubilee 2000 debt cancellation campaign and pledged to allocate additional resources “as soon as the German economy permitted”, but nothing came of this. It was at the Cologne G8 on Finance in 1999 that the states committed to cancelling the USD 100 billion owed by poor countries to international institutions.

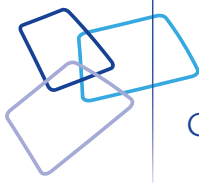
Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, often called “Red Heidi”, is an energetic and proud combatant whom A. Merkel kept in her first government. As a strong figure, she has left a lasting imprint on German development policy by heightening the sector’s visibility, partly thanks to her long track record (1998–2009) and her good working relations with Chancellor Merkel. In 1999 at the G7 Economic Summit, she called on civil society to bring its contribution to ending controversy and conflict. Moreover, the BMZ decided to allocate more than 10–12%⁴³ of its funding to German civil society. Despite the austerity policy for “German renewal” in 2001, H. Wieczorek-Zeul was the driving force behind the first sustainable, albeit modest wave of German aid. She promoted development policies designed to encourage developing countries to engage in structural measures for sustainable development. She relentlessly urged EU member states and the European Commission to step up their commitments, as Germany was unable to envision its engagement outside of the European framework. Moreover, the country had begun to commit itself at the multilateral level.

Inspired by her Christian convictions, A. Merkel turned development aid into a key topic, which added a further asset to the international leadership that she was gradually coming to embody, and took a large stride on the international stage compared to Chancellors Kohl and Schröder. She had pursued this policy unflinchingly since her first election, even though the SPD only half-heartedly defended it given its voters' lack of enthusiasm. The political consensus on development was thus fragile. Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, keen to build a "structured global policy" and sparred with Minister for Foreign Affairs Frank-Walter Steinmeier. She nonetheless carried off a raft of budget victories thanks to her strong SPD base and bolstered by support from the Greens and the Left (Die Linke, created in 2007); aid appropriations showed a continuous 5–8% annual growth, resulting in a 60% hike for KfW-Development from 2005 to 2010. This trend was favoured by the BMZ's eleven-year stretch under the same minister, by her constant engagement, her technical budgetary expertise and the international support she received at the Heiligendamm G8 Summit (2007), during which the requests for debt relief and funding for the fight against HIV/AIDS were to take a dramatic turn ("G8 – The world can't wait").

b. The contemporary period: Germany couples the theme of global responsibility with sustainable development to gain significant influence on the international stage

In 2005, A. Merkel's government identified various global issues that it wished to tackle through its development policy: the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the global efforts underway, and the first inflows of refugees following the collapse of the Soviet system. There was also an awareness (brought to the fore by the Afrika Verein business club) that new donors were arriving on the scene, notably China, which was perceived to be engaging in unfair competition practices with respect to German industry (2007). Strong signals were sent out in reaction to this (the Dalai Lama's visit to A. Merkel, 2007) and a raft of decisions was taken to deploy export assistance and correct the shortcomings of existing tools; environmental and climate questions were given precedence. Horst Köhler, formerly with the IMF and elected federal president in 2004, backed A. Merkel's view of Africa and her commitment to sustainable development in partnership with actors across the whole of German society.

Angela Merkel propelled a "holistic" vision of the world integrating all social and societal topics such as health, the environment, energy, training. She showed interest in the MDGs and later in the SDGs. But also at stake was the promotion of German values and the European model abroad. This internalisation of foreign policy shaped



a form of “global domestic policy” (Frank-Walter Steinmeier, 2008). Germany became more visibly involved in humanitarian issues, as was the case during the 2004 tsunami; in 2002, it engaged in civil reconstruction and police force training in Afghanistan, before later agreeing to send a military contingency – which sparked heated debate given that German public opinion is enduringly hostile to any military engagement abroad. In 2007, A. Merkel, alongside Chairman Kofi Annan, successfully hosted the conference for a second USD 10-billion replenishment of the Global Fund, a positioning that attracted wide attention in the German media and the international community.

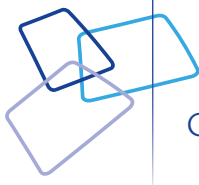
In Merkel’s second cabinet under a “black–yellow” CDU–FDP coalition (2009–2013), the development minister was liberal Dirk Niebel from the Free Democratic Party – a secular party that had campaigned for BMZ’s integration into the Foreign Office, while D. Niebel himself had advocated for the ministry’s liquidation! Making the best of the situation and driven by his political ambitions but with no real knowledge of international affairs, Niebel confounded expectations and went on to not only strengthen the ministry’s competencies and its embassy-based networks, but also to obtain increased budgets with the ever-present support of Angela Merkel. In this way, he sought to counter not only the harsh criticisms that particularly targeted the precedence he was giving to the private sector, but also the challenges from civil society, which finally managed to obtain an increase in the funding it received. D. Niebel embarked on a sweeping reform of aid structures so as to place them under more effective ministerial control. He saw through the merger of the cooperation agencies (excluding the financial agencies) to create the Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ – German Agency for International Cooperation) – a move that was to shake up entrenched factions. However, he abandoned the multilateral effort and showed less interest in the African Development Bank and the World Bank. He launched the first initiatives for development education and preferred to rely on a certain German and European realism to attenuate the ideological influence of the development experts of the time. Geographical priorities were broad-based: it was deemed important to intervene in middle-income countries in order to achieve results and build global partnerships around sustainability.

During Angela Merkel’s third government (2013–2017), the Coalition Treaty between the CDU/CSU and the SPD spawned the ambitious “Charter for the Future: One World, our responsibility” (2014). This called on a broad-based public dialogue process and aimed to influence both domestic and foreign policy. First showcased in 2014 to 3,000 young people –with the chancellor’s high-profile sponsorship – the charter has fuelled a fresh wave of attention on international development. It focuses on objectives for a sustainable economy and the respect of human rights. Its banner, “One World,

our responsibility”, underlines the interdependence of populations worldwide and the responsibility of each and every individual to work to the best of his or her ability towards a sustainable lifestyle. Here, Germany is insisting on its own duty as a developed country and a EU member country to promote the sustainability goals, including within the United Nations. The charter aims to inform citizens and raise their awareness of what links them very directly to the people who benefit from ODA in order to gain the German public’s support for government action in this field.

A. Merkel communicated her vision at the Elmau G7 Summit (2015), insisting heavily on the major issue of climate change, along with the SDGs, global health (replenishment of the GAVI Fund at Berlin, speech at the World Health Organization), gender and food security. The ministry was then entrusted to Dr Gerd Müller, a former parliamentary secretary of state for agriculture. Coming from a party (CSU, Bavaria) and sector that are a priori reticent to international cooperation, this new minister of Economic Cooperation has also been cast against type. But his religious commitment and his adhesion to conservative and liberal values have led him to take firm positions on human rights and social justice, two topics that are central to his discourse. More remarkably, he is also taking steps for the fair regulation of North-South markets in addition to his interest in the more traditional fields of agriculture and food security. Development budgets have been further increased without pronounced support from the SPD. Gerd Müller has also understood that he is in danger of seeing some of his resources transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, and has thus strongly committed to a policy for managing refugees in the countries of transit. He has also proposed to develop projects in support of employment and small companies, creating opportunities in the Maghreb, including Egypt, and has launched a “Marshall Plan” with Africa.

Given its global economic weight, Germany considers that it should assume leadership on global affairs, an idea bolstered by the desire for more policy coherence in the interests of the common good. Limited by the Bundestag, which puts the brake on foreign military interventions, the government has logically decided to prioritise other forms of action, and ODA thus serves as one of the touchstones of its level of commitment. All of the three ministers – Wieczorek-Zeul, Niebel and Müller – who have successively served under A. Merkel have consistently given development a more influential role



Opinion leaders, the churches and civil society have endorsed this posture, which became a major subject of national debate in 2015, the year when the migrant crisis was at its height. Consensus was reached between the political elites.

Sustainable development and the SDGs: questions cutting across all German government policies

Germany has been very present in the multilateral negotiations on sustainable development. The country is making a forceful case for the green economy and aspiring to become a world champion in this field thanks to the German firms engaged in the energy and ecological transition. This rests on a frame of mind shared by the Bundestag parties and society as a whole (notably after the Fukushima disaster), which recognises the need to transform economies in the areas of food, mobility, energy and climate and boils down to the idea that “we can no longer continue as before”. Germany is more at ease talking about overarching subjects than about poverty, which is only one piece of the problem. In 2016, Germany was eyeing leadership on the national and international implementation of the 2030 Agenda and the seventeen SDGs, which are well in tune with German development policy. In November 2016, the chancellor confirmed a new mandate for the German Council for Sustainable Development and, in January 2017, her National Sustainable Development Strategy (NSDS) was adopted, steered by Peter Altmaier, the head of the Federal Chancellery. The very elaborate institutional architecture in charge of its deployment involves all of the ministries, although civil society organisations and the parliamentary committees perceive it more as a joint effort between the BMZ and the BMUB. Their two ministers are the most deeply involved, but will also need to deal with their different political visions (CSU–SPD). Everyone is called on to act, and this includes actions to alleviate poverty at home. The NSDS also aims to enhance the dialogue between the main societal actors: businesses, trades unions, civil society, etc. Despite the initiatives taken by senior officials to communicate the stakes of the agenda to the parliamentary committees, the subjects are difficult to explain and have met with strong political hurdles on issues such as the German energy mix (and the place of coal). Each minister is called on to make headway in their own field and annual meetings are scheduled, as well as meetings every five and ten years, in addition to the July United Nations High Level Forum. The Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has taken this mandate on board and embedded the SDGs into its strategy, but the subject has found less resonance elsewhere. The BMZ has built its international strategic framework on the NSDS and the other federal ministries (Economic Affairs and Energy, Education and

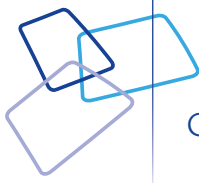
Research, Foreign Office) have been asked to deploy supporting international components. Germany participates in the special working group comprising nine heads of state (South Africa, Brazil, Timor-Leste, Colombia, Tunisia, Liberia, Sweden) to ensure implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

The BMZ is responsible for defending overall policy coherence at the Council of Ministers, which is a thorny task given the high degree of autonomy that the ministries enjoy over their own resources (*Ressortprinzip*). Only the Chancellery has the authority to make final decisions – up to a point; it is reaping the benefits of the new global paradigm of sustainable development that is gradually percolating through society, for example, in agriculture, which has the development minister's personal support.

A strong ethical vein runs through German politics and is visible in the now top-priority fight against poverty, which has found its mouthpiece in President Köhler, the churches and the development minister. This moral stance is mirrored by the renewed focus on national and European interests: "African development is good for us". Germany has embarked on some major cross-cutting policies.⁴⁴ The SDGs act as an engine and accelerator when it comes to justifying policy and are supported by specialist agencies and government institutions. Climate change is gaining importance, not only for bilateral but also for multilateral funding. Yet discussions tend to focus on domestic topics, which does mean that development issues can be placed centre stage in the public debate. The minister for Economic Cooperation and Development has made a stand in the media and engages in German domestic policy, taking up themes that strike a chord with the general public: workers' rights, the status of women, social justice or consumption – but this also runs the risk of "forgetting the requirements of partners in the South". He highlights the interdependence of German consumption and development in producer countries: "the way we dress, what we eat, how we live depend on countries outside Germany".

Spurred by its very active SPD mayor, Bonn is aspiring to become a major dynamic hub for international development institutions, with support from the Chancellor and the Foreign Office. The city is successfully attracting a good number of German organisations working mainly in the areas of education, volunteering, sustainability and the 2030 Agenda, as for example, GIZ and its new offices and

⁴⁴ / Women's rights and gender equality, financial and trade regulation, pro-business environment and CSR, climate and biodiversity; three special initiatives fast-tracked for greater flexibility, in addition to country programmes, were launched in 2014: the Middle East, refugees, hunger (ONE WORLD – No hunger).



little by little the United Nations (over 1,000 staff). Despite losing its bid to host the Green Climate Fund (GCF), the city is developing and establishing the International Hub for Sustainability, hoping to become the centre for the United Nations SDG Action Campaign. COP23, organised by Fiji and hosted in Bonn, will be another opportunity to consolidate local development-related infrastructure. Nonetheless, the real locus of power and decision-making is still in Berlin.

LHosting refugees: putting civil engagement into practice and the revival of the ODA debate

“Wir schaffen das” (We can do it), Angela Merkel’s declaration was an act of solitary that, in 2015–2016, led to the welcome of a large influx of refugees fleeing the Middle-Eastern crises (not forgetting that, in 2013, the Ministry of the Interior was preparing to generously host 1,200 Syrian refugees, the maximum number that the country could accommodate). What seems to be most contested is not the decision to welcome the refugees (far-right parties and groups aside), but rather the lack of consultation with German citizenry, Parliament and Germany’s European partners, and this is sometimes seen as an imprudent or rash move on the part of the chancellor. The policy debate on aid has suddenly intensified, exacerbated by the refugee crisis and the forthcoming 2017 elections. Citizens have discovered that far-away conflicts can indeed impact their everyday life. The ruling elite has understood that they have to adapt to these nascent anxieties, although on the whole Germany has been able to absorb the flow of newcomers without much upheaval notably thanks to the action of its municipalities, its cities and citizens and a buoyant resilient economy. A political discourse has now emerged about keeping young people in their home country through training and job-creation initiatives and purposeful investment in these countries’ human resources: BMZ is proposing actionable projects in Jordan, Libya and Syria. The debate on the conditionality of aid⁴⁵ has weighed in but has failed to give rise to any concrete decisions. The Bavarian CSU party is leading the fight on the limits not to be overstepped regarding the influx of refugees (“*Obergrenze*”, i.e. a ceiling set for the number of refugees allowed in – evocative of D. Trump’s “wall”), which is at odds with the position of G. Müller, who is also a member of the CSU.

The security–development debate is far from consensual and the ministers of Economic Development and Defence are keen to explore the subject further, doubtless in order to elaborate a position that will be subject to change. Germany has not yet found compelling grounds for the option of a security action beyond its borders and the interventions in Afghanistan and Mali still encounter the same

⁴⁵ / The interventions of SPD ministers seeking to make aid conditional on the countries of origin enforcing the agreements on the return of rejected asylum-seekers made headline news in the German press.

degree of opposition. Recourse to the much more “moral” approach of development assistance thus offers an easier solution, while migratory pressures greatly facilitate its implementation. The Foreign Office’s funding for the United Nations humanitarian agencies is a big step towards narrowing the UN’s shortfall. The haste with which this financing is being put in place nonetheless gives the impression of a spending race.

The budgetary effect: a hefty increase in funding not solely attributable to the budget surplus

Germany’s budget surplus is a decisive positive factor but does not explain why available resources are recycled into ODA. Ingeborg Schäuble, former president of the NGO Welthungerhilfe, has been a very active advocate for ODA and her husband, pro-austerity Minister Wolfgang Schäuble, backed the Tax on Financial Transactions and proposed a new Compact with Africa at the 2017 G20 summit. This compact is, however, to be rolled out in a format that differs from the traditional “BMZ + technical and financial cooperation” formula.

This increase in ODA resources is due to the additional appropriations allocated to the Foreign Office and the Ministry for the Environment and to the fact that 2030 Agenda resources have been split between the BMZ (an extra €1.13 billion in 2017) and the other ministries. This windfall has been shared out so as to forestall inter-departmental conflicts that nonetheless rise to the surface on projects jointly launched and managed by these ministries and which GIZ and KfW have to implement. Some attempts to include resources earmarked for the Ministry of Defence as ODA were, however, opposed by Parliament and a “Development and Diplomacy” package that excluded defence was adopted.

There has clearly been a massive increase in aid figures in terms of percentage, volume and quality, and ODA has practically doubled in recent years (in constant 2010 USD). This acceleration was announced by the German government in 2013, with German ODA rising from 0.38% to 0.52% of GNI (USD 14.2 billion in 2013; USD 18 billion in 2015) and representing a 25% increase between 2014 and 2015. A further increase is expected for 2018–2020.⁴⁶ Humanitarian aid to refugees on German territory (based on a yearly accounting system authorised by the OECD/DAC) has virtually doubled and ODA budgets have clearly been impacted by this expenditure, which not only includes the aid deployed in Germany but also in the initial host countries: Jordan, Turkey and Iraq. In fact, Germany would be prepared to forgo reporting a large share

of its domestic aid to refugees as ODA to the OECD/DAC, since German official development assistance has reached 0.7% of GNI. Finance Minister W. Schäuble explained that these budget increases were “in light of the ongoing humanitarian crises and growing challenges in the area of international climate protection financing.” In October 2016, the Chancellor travelled to Africa and promised resources to those able to manage their development virtuously. The ODA statistics already reported a 0.69% share of GNI in 2016, with a peak due to the factoring in of the first year’s costs of hosting the refugees. This is an impressive figure that will likely decline in the upcoming years. The many commitments and announcements are giving some signs that ongoing budgets will be reduced for fiscal year 2017 (budget appropriations freeze).

Africa becomes a government priority

In the Chancellery’s view, Germany has neglected Africa: there is a dearth of knowledge, effectiveness and on-the-ground results – a lack also on the part of the operators and German civil society. Chancellor Merkel remains sceptical about Africa’s potential and there is still deep concern about the threats of African migration (not Middle-Eastern) with respect to the flows of African migrants heading into Germany via Italy. In early 2017, the development minister deftly proposed implementing a new “Marshall Plan with Africa” rallying all the major German and European players. This aims to “go beyond the era of development assistance⁴⁷” and sets its sights on fair trade, private investment, local firms, job-creation. This new partnership with Africa for learning and development explains in its Plan that financing needs to be scaled up in light of a combination of factors: Africa’s demographic situation, its climate-related needs, its crises and its many internally displaced refugees. As a political tool that reprises the G20 agenda, it does not propose any new public-sector financing but seeks rather to leverage existing ODA for Africa to mobilise the actors involved. It also proposes to serve as a repository for future budgets geared to financing a coherent programme that its “Ministry of Africa” could implement. So, what is needed are short-term solutions that have rapid impact and appeal to public opinion, and Germany can contribute to this by training young people and creating jobs. Private firms must play their role, provided they are offered some security. This project has little chance of being followed up in its present form, as “it is not a German government project” or endorsed by the Foreign Office or Chancellery. It is nonetheless emblematic of a new future priority on Africa, and would help to centralise existing funds for the countries joining a “partnership for reform” (*Reformpartnerschaft*).

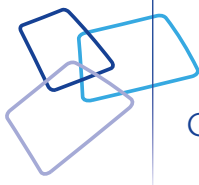
47 / Cf. “Africa and Europe – a new partnership for development, peace and a better future”, BMZ, 2017.

On the other hand, this Marshall Plan may well disappoint the expectations that it creates for the general public since investment and development aid for Africa certainly offer no guarantee of curbing the tide of immigration in the short run. The programme reprises some of the concepts developed under the Union for the Mediterranean initiative and seeks to stabilise migratory flows in line with the UNHCR approach, targeting actions in the Sahel countries, Nigeria, the Maghreb and Egypt.

In preparation for the G20 in Hamburg in July 2017 and at the express demand of Angela Merkel and her finance minister, Germany worked actively on a difficult proposal, the Compact with Africa, which seems more consensual and gives a preponderant role to the private sector. The debate is focused on how to accelerate the pace of private investment in Africa and on the ways in which government authorities could help such investment by analysing and mitigating risks in the countries concerned, the final goal being to integrate climate (a priority), development, investment, governance and trade. Globalisation must become a factor for progress to counter populism and protectionism. There is also the wish to address the demographic issue, but this is a topic that cannot be dealt within a G20 framework today.

In 2017, both the EU-Africa Summit, which could build on the Marshall Plan initiative, and the negotiations for renewal of the Cotonou Agreement are being closely followed by the chancellor. These will be landmark moments that could help cooperation with Africa to progress on all fronts and deploy a new form of development cooperation ensuring GIZ and KfW new resources for Africa. The Compact with Africa may turn out to be a more federating project than the Marshall Plan with Africa.

Germany is promoting a number of additional themes that have become its specialties. It is encouraging infrastructure financing and seeking to respond to globalised action by leveraging more private funds. It brings its influence to bear in the environmental debate with top experts such as Klaus Töpfer, Achim Steiner and Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, who shape the institutions that build the agenda for the major multilateral environmental agreements. Certainly, the Germans seem to show an almost cultural attachment, inspired by German Romanticism, to matters relating to nature, forests, and the knowledge and protection of biodiversity. The idea of shared responsibility and the concern for policy effectiveness are pivotal and explain why priority is given to monitoring and transparency mechanisms, including those in the corporate sector, where CSR and inclusive business models are



encouraged. The government is not only organising virtuous supply chains for textiles, palm oil, sustainable cocoa and fair trade – on which German actors are world leaders – but also building a global offer for the ecological transition.

Considering these different trends, there are now several aid “narratives” that German society has to square up: a sustainable world, the stabilisation of the refugee and migrant situation, and the new aid markets. The question is how can these objectives be translated into a modern and clearly focused policy

3. The public institutional and organisational framework: a dense network of highly organised actors able to cooperate

a. *The government framework*

Germany’s institutional framework for development assistance is stable and will not come under challenge: the BMZ is in charge of German development policy. There is no sign that the BMZ-AA merger once proposed by the liberal FDP party will materialise, although the subject is raised after each election during coalition negotiations. On the contrary, the existing configuration helps to balance out international actions whenever two opposing parties are building national coalitions. The Chancellery gives its backing to the international development strategy and national sustainable development strategy without intervening in the ministries’ internal affairs. It supports them, endeavours to coordinate their work and is responsible for the agenda and the Chancellery’s role in organised events.

The BMZ

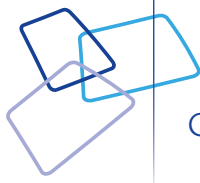
The BMZ is a small but full-fledged ministry and its minister is a member of the federal cabinet. In the overall structure of Germany’s federal government, the ministry ranks as the “second international ministry” and for the sake of political balance is traditionally assigned to the smaller coalition partner (left wing of the SPD, FDP, CSU). **Since 1999 only three individuals have held the position of minister (and only six since 1982, including one short term of office from 1987 to 1989).** As the post is a minor one with only a handful of political interlocutors – despite the attention it receives from the chancellor –, it fails to attract many candidates even though the BMZ now has the federal government’s second largest investment budget. Until some six years ago, the BMZ was absent from Germany’s political scene. It is only recently that the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development has gradually become more visible, open to German society, and active

on a much broader array of topics. Its present incumbent, whose sincere, authentic and popular way of talking on television has enabled him to create a dialogue, is a rare breed of politician with real charisma and a clear ability to address Germany's current affairs: he explains that climate change, terrorism and the refugee crisis are development subjects that have repercussions on the situation at home. He prefers on-the-ground contact in Germany, even if this costs him political influence in Berlin. His spontaneous approach raises questions in the ministry's departments, which sometimes struggle to keep abreast especially on subjects beyond the ministry's remit (sustainable consumption and production, initiative for the textile supply chain, urban and environmental issues). The minister "does not believe" in a cross-government approach, which he sees as hindering initiatives; he is eager to shake things up and forge ahead, using powerful movements as springboards (e.g. the G20), being sure of the German public's support. Significantly, he is keen to remain in office if Angela Merkel wins the 2017 elections and envisages changing the ministry's name to the "Ministry for Global Sustainability" or "for a Sustainable Future", turning it into an interdisciplinary, cross-cutting ministry – a profile that is little at odds with its current thematic activism. Although the ministry relies heavily on the financial and technical agencies, these are not considered to operate at the same level and are poorly integrated into policy initiatives (e.g. the Marshall Plan with Africa makes no mention of KfW or GIZ).

The Auswärtiges Amt

The Foreign Office (AA) aims to embody a development policy based on realism and German and EU interests. Solidarity and Christian values belong to the "old school", whereas the new school needs to have pragmatism as its cornerstone. In the AA's view, situations such as Syria, Libya, Iraq, South Sudan or Mali require a clear-cut response.⁴⁸ Development assistance has so far been operating in relative comfort and under an illusion. Disposing of no military option, Germany has had no choice but to fulfil its international obligations through adequate provision of other resources. This explains the country's attempts over the last two or three years to intervene upstream of crises to support, assist and stem the flow of migrants and create infrastructure such as roads and hospitals and ways of managing the refugees. All this is done in the national interest, which can be promoted without having to state it outright. It is not a matter of generosity, as stabilisation is in the

48 / The Foreign Office refers to the article by H. Védérine, published in *Le Monde*, 13 January 2017.



country's honest interest, given that it cannot welcome all of the world's poor onto its territory. And although the German people have shown immense generosity over a number of months, their attitudes are likely to change if the disorder increases – moreover, Egypt is threatening to open the door to migrant flows if it does not receive compensation. The AA considers that economic cooperation needs rethinking in order to modernise development assistance, which is currently spread too widely across multiple projects. This is a subject of debate between (and within) the SPD and the CDU, but the top priority is indubitably the issue of security. The AA is becoming an influential player. It is again focusing on Africa, which it had left in the lap of the BMZ, and deploying a strategy that it hopes will become global, including in the area of development. With fresh financial resources to hand, it can assert its influence through its coordinating role in the Committee for Humanitarian Affairs comprising 200 members including the BMZ and GIZ. The resources for this sector increased tenfold from 2013 to 2015 to reach 1.6 billion euros in 2016.⁴⁹

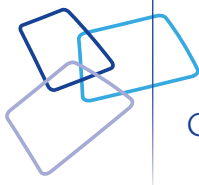
The AA is also convinced that the 2030 Agenda, debated at the G20 foreign ministers' meeting, offers an exceptional umbrella framework to reflect on what the G20 can collectively achieve and to define smart partnerships. This framework is a tool that needs to be sustained and can be used politically to muster the myriad energies present in civil society, businesses and new international cooperation. Argentina, who will be heading the G20 in 2018, should continue this momentum.

All of the other ministries have the right to operate internationally and deploy ODA funds. And while, in the past, it was the BMZ alone that provided the funds for the bulk of German aid, this is no longer totally the case. The Ministry for the Environment (BMUB) is active on climate and environmental issues (e.g. forests), the AA has taken up humanitarian issues, emergency aid and the stabilisation efforts that it coordinates, and the Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy also wants to play a part. The other ministries – Agriculture, Health, Family Affairs, Education, Labour and Social Affairs, have international remits and can challenge the BMZ on its themes and initiatives as well as its financial flows. Some humanitarian projects can be funded by either the AA or the BMZ: for instance, some BMZ-funded projects in South Sudan are humanitarian initiatives (Action Against Hunger). The stepping-up of humanitarian action, which is seeking additional funds, has had an impact on traditional German development assistance and is changing the "aid paradigm" – now a subject of intense debate among the actors involved. Added to this are the questions of gender and climate, which have led to projects innovatively co-financed

by the AA and the BMZ. Relations between the ministries are relatively good but, for decades, there have been frequent tensions between the Foreign Office and the BMZ, arbitrated by the Chancellery. The BMZ and the BMUB have worked together for many years and it is felt that more effective task-sharing would be in line: country strategies and nationally defined contributions are for the BMZ, while regional environmental questions fall to the BMUB. Each ministry is aware that a turning point has been reached, notably due to the global agenda for transformation and sustainable development, and underlying tensions exist between the two when it comes to carving out a place on the international stage.

In recent years, the relative fragmentation of German institutions has crystallised around two poles: one around **financial cooperation led by KfW**, which became the parent company of the German Investment and Development Company (DEG); and the other around **technical cooperation centred on GIZ**, which was created by the merger of several agencies: GTZ (technical assistance), InWent (training) and the Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (DED – German Development Service) (volunteer work). Although envisaged for a time, plans for a rapprochement or harmonisation, or even merger, between the financial and technical cooperation agencies seem to have been definitively shelved. These two large entities, KfW and GIZ, dominate the landscape and almost overshadow the BMZ, especially as they are widely listened to and consulted by Parliament and have an active lobby, GIZ being an expert in parliamentary influence. This lobbying is a key activity particularly for GIZ given its human resources (over 17,000 employees, including 5,500 German staff) and its field presence in over 130 countries; the BMZ cannot do without GIZ, but GIZ tries very actively to keep out of politics.

The relatively simple traditional architecture of the BMZ and its two implementing agencies (BMZ = GIZ + KfW) is now framed “on its left” by environmental and climate issues and sustainable consumption, and “on its right”, by stabilisation efforts and the management of migrant flows. Certainly, this landscape has become more complex as it now includes new ministerial actors and new initiatives and institutions designed to support the ministry’s broader priorities and growing budget resources. Despite the desire for harmonised and joint responses, collaboration between the BMZ (in Berlin and Bonn) and its two operators (in Frankfurt and Bonn) – and between the operators themselves – is sometimes difficult. Each entity follows its “own logic” even though attempts are made to smooth matters over by establishing direct contacts between structures and staff. The opening up to other ministries has suddenly spawned an official development assistance apparatus that is increasingly complex. To ensure its visibility in the media, the BMZ has introduced its Special Initiatives on food security, refugees, Syria, climate and energy, which it



intends to manage directly despite the absence of a well-established mechanism or certified procedures. These special programmes thus run the risk of seeing their effectiveness impaired. For actions no longer implemented by government agencies, the ministry is also promoting financing through calls for proposals from German actors. Any entity can submit a proposal: GIZ and KfW, of course, but also the churches, NGOs, foundations and small structures. The idea is that more competition and a greater diversity of actors are needed, and that the development world has to break out of the existing ecosystem. The existence of these new financing channels could make it necessary to review the processes and structures that implement them, possibly after the 2017 elections.

In 2012, BMZ set up “Engagement Global”, a new agency based in Bonn with a fast-growing budget of €300 million and a 450-strong staff.⁵⁰ Its mission involves reaching out to the German public and promoting their active involvement in development. It provides financial assistance to local authorities, parishes, youth groups, foundations and small NGOs to encourage more active participation in Germany and more volunteering and education projects for civil society; Engagement Global and GIZ are both authorised to carry out this type of activity. As an online platform, Engagement Global makes it easy for individuals wishing to engage in sustainable development to find federal government or local authority programmes that best match their profile, or even to propose their own initiatives by advising them on how to set up and clearly present their project. The platform assembles all key information, making it easily accessible and understandable, which greatly facilitates the decision to commit to sustainable development. The platform specifically targets children, teenagers and young adults, but all age groups are catered for. The emphasis is on acquiring new knowledge and skills coupled with action for development. In 2017, Engagement Global is promoting the Marshall Plan with Africa. As a political project, GIZ needs to show public opinion that it is producing results and has to address the complex task of dovetailing the long-term vision of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs. Communication on development assistance is heading in a new direction, strongly propelled by government (top-down).

More recently, in April 2016, the BMZ created the Agency for Business and Economic Development (AWE), whose remit is to help and advise small and medium-sized German companies (SMEs) on how to access markets in developing countries.

The BMZ’s monopoly over development assistance has de facto been challenged: the BMUB (environment), the AA, the Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of

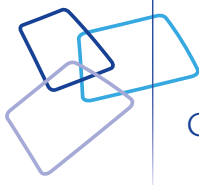
⁵⁰ / Source: BMZ.

Defence are all hurrying to tap into ODA resources and internalise activities. The BMZ's services are relatively unstructured when it comes to inter-ministerial organisation. The AA is developing its own services and tools to deal with aid for humanitarian and stabilisation purposes and is relying on United Nations agencies (50%), GIZ and KfW (40%), and NGOs (10%): it is becoming part of the development landscape, and the latest budget appropriations have been shared equally between the BMZ and the AA. In 2008–2009, 90% of climate-related resources were handled by the BMZ, but today's budget distribution is not the same. The Ministry for Economic Affairs does not wish to officially mix development aid and foreign trade as this could be detrimental to the integrity of ODA.

The NGOs consider that humanitarian programmes in crisis zones are inadequately funded and sometimes ineffective. In their view, the cost of their own security is underestimated and the duration of financing too short when it comes to long-run interventions.

The Federal Ministry of Finance plays no part in the reflection on development. It provides public guarantees for the KfW Group and the DEG, which procures it an international presence, but it has little interest in fragile states. It is the key decision-maker in budget negotiations and stands as a powerful hurdle that has to be surmounted.

The involvement of the **Ministry of Defence** and its contribution to stabilisation efforts, at the request of the Foreign Office, has imposed a new situation. Moreover, Defence Minister Ursula von der Leyen has taken on the issue of African migration. In an unprecedented joint initiative with the BMZ, the minister pointed out that security was an integral part of development assistance. Initiatives have thus been implemented in Jordan (44 armoured vehicles) and in Niger and Mali (650 troops and helicopters for the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali). In 2017 the Ministry of Defence is set to provide an additional €500 million to enhance stability, and the Foreign Office €400 million.⁵¹ German leaders are somewhat disappointed that the European initiative for capacity-building to support security and development (CBSD) is not moving forward, so Germany is proceeding alone. It is wondering whether France will be ready to contribute to balancing resources in these areas. The Ministry of Defence is working on the total separation of civilian and military programmes to avoid civilian intervention in the chains of command, although this would not preclude coordinated actions. At the Munich Security Conference (February 2017), a report supported by the Gates Foundation



and the German Development Institute (DIE) was promoted, advocating the principle of the “new German responsibility: the future of German and European development, foreign and security policy”.

GIZ is the world’s largest technical expertise agency with 17,000 staff and an impressive network of international influence. As the implementing agency for the BMZ, its cutting-edge tools and sizeable headcount enable it to act in support of the ministry. Its collegial management reflects the parliamentary representation of the different political parties. Its 5,550 German staff and technical experts (compared to the BMZ’s 1,025 staff in Germany) serve as a strong domestic sounding board for German development assistance. GIZ is financed by a technical cooperation budget line that is not restricted to funding actions in developing countries. It also provides policy support to the BMZ by building financial and technical scenarios for development policy, and serves as a think tank for strategic functions (e.g. via a support team liaising with the minister’s office and other government departments, as well as with private bodies and Europe). A global affairs department has been created (with 1,200 staff), which allows GIZ to produce intellectual output. However, this activity – often requested by the authorities – has been criticised by some for not being of world-class quality and partly confidential. The agency also has a consulting branch that intervenes on the market by responding to international and European tenders. As such it is in competition with NGOs and German institutions and consultants, which can prove somewhat problematic. To counter these criticisms, the agency is required to contract out 25–30% of its activity.⁵² **GIZ does not take positions on policy issues and its website, for instance, offers very little information. Hopefully, it will make a more open contribution to reflection and knowledge. But its role is fundamental.** This would give it a strong position vis-à-vis the ministry (small BMZ/large GIZ). Certainly, the ministry is finding it difficult to fully steer the agency’s activity – not least because the agency is shielded by its international reputation. GIZ could thus find itself in a position of having a de facto influence on the decisions of its supervisory ministry.

The funding for ODA and “beyond ODA”⁵³ mostly comes out of BMZ budgets, with the bulk going to KfW and GIZ (plus the UN, civil society, etc.), but the new resources are being distributed more widely. Interestingly, other ministries also sometimes use KfW and GIZ as operators and implementing agencies, particularly the BMUB, which manages the revenues from emissions trading and the appropriations for climate

⁵² / Ibid.

⁵³ / Aid that is not reportable as ODA; e.g. non-concessional finance and other resources (guarantees, equity, etc.) that are spent in Germany.

change. As a result, the two agencies can “play off” the different ministries. In addition, KfW and GIZ can help to create a posteriori coherence between their German mandators and their foreign partners with respect to interventions. What looks like an ideal situation nonetheless has its downside and the dispersion of German aid is coming under growing criticism.

KfW has officially withdrawn from the government’s strategic thinking, which is now left to the ministerial authorities.

Its status as a public financing institution also means that it is less aggressive and less commercially focused than its sister agency, GIZ. But it now has massive new resources: its project-financing budget has tripled and its leverage effects have had considerable impact. It remains in daily contact with the ministries working on development strategy: the BMZ, the BMUB, the Foreign Office and the Ministry for Economic Affairs. Aside from some specific topics (G20 preparation), there appears to be a lack of coherence and an inadequate circulation of information between the ministries.⁵⁴ As a result, the agency sometimes has no choice but to assume a coordinating function on their behalf. KfW produces simple, basic and useful information but is cognisant that its formerly relatively simple activity – basically technical and financial expertise on a stream of projects within a quality-based cycle – is becoming a much more complex. Financial interventions are now carried out in a wider setting, domestic political factors related to the environment weigh in, and external pressures are also imposing more elaborate systems (environment, climate, gender). The agency receives strong support from the BMZ, which encourages it to expand its business to include making the connection between climate and development, finding solutions for fragile states and migrants’ countries of origin, investing in sustainable development, building partnerships with lead players (India, Brazil, Morocco, Latin America), and deploying innovative instruments (guarantees). It provides input to thinking on strategic initiatives, such as its work on the feasibility of the GCF. The insistence on information and accountability is constant. Projects have to be mounted with the political authorities, who demand an intensive dialogue. Moreover, various German interests may tend to crowd out its partners’ interests as well as the agency’s own expertise. Reporting to the political authorities in Berlin is constant and hearings with the Bundestag’s Development Committee and Foreign Affairs Committee have become common practice. For BMZ, the agency’s direct relations with Parliament are a cause for concern, as the ministry would prefer to control its implementing agencies and act as their interface. The Ministry of Finance seems little involved.

54 / Cf. The BMUB developed an agricultural climate risk insurance instrument without informing the BMZ.



DEval, a new institution attached to the BMZ, is designed as an independent, transparent and scientific evaluation body that intervenes on strategy. Producing studies for the government and Bundestag, it had a difficult start following disagreements between the minister and its first management team about its degree of independence. DEval also intervenes on institutional subjects and methodology but does not evaluate projects, a task that is still the remit of KfW and GIZ. It seeks to encourage all of the actors to improve the scientific standard of German aid data and enhance the transparency of the public and private aid systems. DEval sets priority on improving the effectiveness of aid, which it deems too widely dispersed and overly diversified. It has an advisory board that includes parliamentarians and representatives from academia and civil society.

International and European institutions: Germany's attempts to change the game

Germany brings its strength to bear in the European institutions, which it actively defends: it always contributes to strategic decisions and presents its bilateral actions within the European framework. In recent years, the presence of an active and very committed cooperation minister, Gerd Müller, has helped to drive an abundance of European development initiatives. On the other hand, while Germany's substantial resources have made it a key co-funder of many European actions, the country also prefers to run these alone, sometimes at the highest level. One such recent case is the Facility for Refugees in Turkey resulting from the EU-Turkey agreement in February 2016, but also the "Madad" Trust Fund for Syria and the Fund for Colombia and, with France, the EU-Africa Valletta Summit on Migration and the resulting emergency trust fund. Through these trust funds, BMZ officials have prioritised a bilateral implementation of delegated EU funding, judging this approach to be better adapted and more responsive to crisis situations such as the sometimes impressive arrivals of asylum seekers from Syria, Pakistan and Afghanistan entering Europe via Turkey and Greece.

At the head of the European Investment Bank (EIB), German politician Werner Hoyer is working to extend financing actions outside the EU and implement the Economic Resilience Initiative to keep migrant flows on the doorsteps of Europe, alongside the German efforts. The Cotonou Agreement Investment Facility, run very largely by Germany (BMZ), is one of the only arenas for thematic debate (migration in 2015) within the EIB. In Brussels, Germany is actively using its presence and influence, but this produces a limited strategic effect as it has looser institutional ties with its agencies (compared to France). German presence on the different issues is ensured mainly through its agencies and banks (GIZ and KfW) and other relays,

notably the political foundations (e.g. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung) which run development fora.

Germany is also very present and active in the United Nations, where it promotes its priorities through its public and private actors.

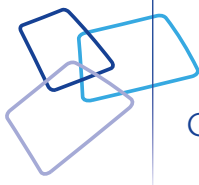
b. A parliament where development enjoys all-party backing

During the 1990s, parliamentarians across whole political spectrum supported German cooperation without much enthusiasm. They considered that little had been gained (for national firms) from the Lomé Convention and were sceptical about the effectiveness of European cooperation. Yet, as pragmatists, they conceded that development took time. The debate remained muted within the Bundestag's Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development.

We have already seen the extent to which political backing for the development agenda has fluctuated over the past twenty years. Although the parties may hold diverging views, they agree to support increases in resources, the BMZ's activity, the utility of aid, and a number of principles. These are defended by the Bundestag's ad hoc committee and guarantee the continuity of a German development policy that unites the political parties, the BMZ, civil society and expert institutes and agencies whatever the short-term ups and downs. The current grand coalition does not obstruct the chancellor on development policy given that the opposition strongly endorses it.

The Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development

The Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development enjoys less prestige than the Foreign Affairs Committee, whose members need no authorisation to travel. Over the last twenty years, development committee members have continued to support aid and an independent ministry – which they view as still weak – and garnered support for this position within their parties, election after election. Their consensus agrees on the need for a strong development assistance policy with sufficient resources to address all of the issues (poverty, environment, economy, stabilisation), and is remarkable in that it unites parties with sharply differing views. Some aspects of these positions are still debated among the parties: the economic partnership agreements (EPAs), migration, funding levels for NGOs, priority on Africa, budget financing or projects, aid instruments, the share of bilateral/multilateral aid, and so on, but they agree on the essential. However, development is a minor topic in the Bundestag and only appears in the final paragraphs of coalition



agreements and political programmes, which focus primarily on more contentious subjects. Greater divergences are visible on the question of whether Germany should have a military presence abroad, a subject that falls more under foreign affairs; when it comes to dealing with military crises, the debates are heated and provide opportunities to raise the issues of hunger and poverty. The question of trade is also strongly debated, notably with regard to the three EPAs signed by G. Müller under pressure from movements critical of the EU-backed transatlantic agreements.

The development committee's parliamentary members, often young and less seasoned, form a united front. They frequently make official trips together and these shared experiences create an esprit de corps. The Committees on Foreign Affairs, on Economic Affairs and Energy, and on Labour and Social Affairs are more sceptical. Given their similar policy stances, the development committee's parliamentary attachés thus act in concert to convince the members of the other committees, especially the Budget Committee, whose discourse seems to be constructive and proposes going beyond government budget proposals (e.g. for the Global Fund). Subjects on which everyone can join forces, such as the priority for Africa, need to be identified, even though the proposals made have failed to marshal unanimous support. The Bundestag struggles to keep pace with the many ministerial initiatives and is concerned about the conditions under which they are implemented – but it is unable to react in a timely manner. Parliamentarians feel that aid will not end any time soon given the challenges facing German society.

Close relations are maintained with the Parliamentary Advisory Council on Sustainable Development (which is not a committee). Germany's increasing presence on foreign soil, notably due to its stabilisation efforts, sparks parliamentary debate, as in the case of the Congo's "child soldiers". Over the last eighteen months, migration issues and the refugee crisis have dominated the debate: the members of the Committee are then heard as they offer another perspective for potential solutions. They are sensitive to the constant pressure from the NGOs and German churches, which are seen as highly competent and have ready access to the media. Resisting these actors is a difficult task, even though they propagate a somewhat "romanticised" view of the world. The committee members are also directly informed by GIZ and KfW. Opportunistic coalitions uniting the Greens, the Left, and the majority parties also coalesce; climate change and hosting refugees are probably the most consensual issues on which the CDU/SPD coalition can work together with the Greens.

However, Parliament's role is amplified by the presence of the **German political foundations**. Each of the political parties has an affiliated foundation and these constitute an exceptional relay for international influence and capturing the echoes of German policies around the world. Some were created many years ago: the foundations Friedrich Ebert (SPD, 1925), Konrad Adenauer (CDU, 1955), Friedrich Neumann (FDP, 1958) and Hans Seidel (CSU, 1967). And there are other more recent ones: the foundations Heinrich Böll (The Greens, 1984), and Rosa Luxemburg (Die Linke, 2000). They are amply financed by the BMZ (€280 million in 2016), with the funds being allocated via a distribution key proportional to their parties' parliamentary representation. They run a gamut of cooperation programmes focused on foreign elites and local and global governance issues. The foundations are required to spend 86% of their funds abroad and these must be reimbursed if not committed within the year. Fourteen per cent of the funding can be spent on internal administrative costs. A 12-member oversight committee appointed by the Chancellery provides guidance and evaluates the reports and programme execution of each foundation. The foundations have offices across the globe, are well-informed and in close communication with their parties, although these have no hand in their management. They provide parliamentarians with a permanent university, notably for development topics, and organise numerous debates, fora and venues for discussion and debate to inform the political dialogue. They also serve as think tanks, producing papers for small discussion groups to help policymakers reach decisions.

The conservatives (CDU and CSU) agree with the positions of the Green parties and the Left in favour of a strong development policy backed by hefty ODA resources. They support Minister Müller's idea for a renewed development policy based on a fresh vision that embeds global sustainability issues – the notion of "development assistance" being relegated to a lexicon from the past. The CDU, on the other hand, insists that German interests must be protected, without falling into the populist trap, and generally prefers bilateral action to multilateral channels. This position, which raises a number of debates on trade and the environment, also ties in to support for the German economy. There is an awareness that, in the past, support for German interests through ODA channels (projects in China) has had counterproductive effects, but international competition is seen to be asserting itself and there is now a wish to contribute solutions, for example, to the global energy transition. The CDU considers that the alliance between civil society organisations, the Left and the Greens operates on a mind-set based exclusively on personal values and commitment in total disregard of the world's reality. The party finds the criticisms against the minister's initiatives irritating but they realise that the methods used need to be overhauled and that a linkage must be established



between conflict prevention and crisis management (e.g. in Syria). At the CDU, there is the desire to help migrants, but also a reluctance to see them settle permanently in Germany – which means that the reasons they came need to be addressed. The Marshall Plan with Africa is seen as a promising idea and arouses the public's interest, and many of its recommendations could be further studied. At the same time, the weakness of European leadership in the area of development is deplored.

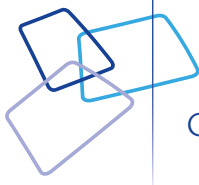
The liberal FDP, which no longer has seats in Parliament, is a secular middle-class party that tends to be hostile to the government's external action but, since Minister Niebel's achievements, it is not necessarily anti-ODA.

The **SPD** parliamentary group shies away from talking about its internal consensus as some of its representatives have recently come out in favour of increased aid conditionality, prompting reactions within the group. While firm support for the global SDG agenda is recognised, the view is that these goals still lack visibility and much still remains to be done to secure public approval of what is proposed. It considers that the BMZ's recent and mostly one-off initiatives do not dovetail with the SDG vision, with the efforts needed for democratic governance, or with the vision of solidarity that forms the bedrock of the development community. In any event, the outdated development cooperation model should be reconsidered and replaced by a global policy. The "Marshall Plan", viewed as "oversold, and very short-termist", will probably not be built in partnership with African institutions and focuses overly on Germany's domestic concerns. In the SPD's view, the G20's Compact with Africa is better designed. A "*soziale globale Strukturpolitik*" (a social and global structural policy) needs to be rolled out as the new cornerstone of development (akin to the overhaul of the textile supply chains to ensure a fairer sharing of value added). Long-term investment is recognised as necessary, but "we want to see results for the billions that are given". The party considers that there are too many contradictions between European trade policy and development aid, which is why they are worried to see the BMZ's position on these questions evolve in favour of a growth in trade and a call for the private-sector's greater involvement. Risk mitigation tools could lead to uncontrolled development aid at a time when the structural funds for capacity- and institution-building are being reduced, notably for Africa. Increased funding for development counts for little compared to the importance of putting in place favourable local conditions and sound institutions. The current development debate is distorted by the pressure of migration, which is instrumentalised in a political debate heated up by the upcoming elections. These ambiguities need to be eliminated, as the challenges facing Europe are ineluctably leading to entry barriers. It should thus be explained to all the political parties that

nothing will come of quick-fix responses (cf. the “big push”) as long as the root causes are not addressed. Multilateral dialogues should also be encouraged, propelled by the idea that the EU urgently needs to act.

One factor specific to Germany is the strength of the **Green Party**, which is firmly rooted in society and has a sizeable number of parliamentary seats, albeit in the opposition. The party is open to forming coalitions and, if need be, can even become an ally of the CSU, notably on subjects involving local development or an international vision. It plays a key role in bringing the sustainable development agenda onto the international table, highlighting that development is a global question undergirded by certain values and deserving of more justice. It supports the government’s ODA policy: its message focuses on the quality of aid and strongly opposes the inclusion in German statistics of the costs of the African Peace Facility or funding for refugees, as these expenditures should not legitimately qualify as ODA. Refugees and climate change require additional resources and the refugee crisis should not give grounds for challenging or deferring the paradigm shift in the global agenda. This should move forward at the multilateral level via a reformed United Nations. The agenda needs to engage all social actors including the private sector, which must demonstrate its social and environmental added value. The Greens have pushed for a parliamentary motion on the SDGs that has met with some success and provides for increased powers for the Committee on Sustainable Development, notably in view of promoting more coherent policies. They see the elections as an opportunity to foreground the questions of climate change, justice, values, the 2030 Agenda and peace. They support the principle of the Marshall Plan with Africa and appreciate its analysis but, like the Left, underline the inconsistencies in foreign policy.

For the German radical Left and its party **“Die Linke”**, nothing in German development policy has budged: the recent call for the private sector’s deeper engagement in Africa does no more than reprise the policy of the liberal minister, D. Niebel; it is based on free trade, commerce, amply funded development assistance, economic agreements and the rule of the market. Ties to dictators and dishonest politicians are still commonplace, including on the part of German business. Consequently, an alternative form of development needs to be devised – one based on the strengths of local civil societies, given that the military response in fragile countries is not sustainable. Die Linke also emphasises the compelling reports on inequality (Oxfam report) and the 800 million human beings still suffering from hunger even though global food production could feed the world three times over. The party points up the contradictions between the drive for sustainable development, environmental objectives and the unequal economic partnership



agreements that above all promote the exports of German and European multinationals and destroy local economies. What is needed is “fair trade not free trade”. The responses cannot come from the development minister (himself a proponent of more equity), but from the finance minister (and the G20). Die Linke emphasises that the ambition of the SDGs is to propose a paradigm shift. The arrival of the refugees is admittedly aggravating the political crisis but it is impossible to prevent people from moving as the world is now more connected and more informed. ODA thus needs to tackle these issues head on, invest more in African structures, stem the brain drain and promote effective job-creation: do EPAs really create employment? The Left is concerned about the risks posed by Germany’s funding of refugee camps in Turkey, the Middle East, Tunisia and Sudan, which could be described as new “concentration camps” and vulnerable to abuse. All told, one should not paint an ideal picture of German cooperation as this has not suddenly become virtuous simply because Germany is now able to fund it through budget surpluses.

Germany’s far-right party, the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) is currently not represented in the Bundestag but has a good chance of winning seats in the autumn elections. The party has so far shown no interest in development aid and it is not a target for their attacks. Its sole concern is government spending on home ground. Its direct political clout is weak, but the pressure it indirectly exerts on the other government parties (CDU and SPD) is appreciable – yet, they may overestimate its real influence. Members of the AfD feel that they are not represented and thus act against wind turbines and refugee camps. The AfD is concerned about the threats to incomes and security.

All of the parties are preparing their political literature for the 2017 campaign and mention of the 2030 Agenda remains a challenge.

c. Civil society partners: their influence and strategies

Civil society in Germany is highly organised and enjoys Parliament’s direct support. The foundations affiliated to the two main political parties are very active internationally and serve as relays for German influence, including in multilateral negotiations. These two Protestant and Catholic NGOs are automatically and voluntarily funded by citizens through their tax declarations and foster widespread citizen engagement. Civil society can be considered as institutionally organised, which facilitates a constructive ongoing dialogue with the authorities.

The Churches: essential actors providing key bridges between the state and the population

From the moral standpoint, the Catholic and Protestant Churches are the main civil society actors. They are strong, firmly anchored and institutionally organised. They play a pivotal role, including in foreign policy questions, and air their views in the political debate. They want greater coherence between development and foreign affairs and support German leadership on sustainable development. They uphold a vision promoting poverty reduction as poverty exacerbates conflict and based on their ethical values: all men are born equal and each must receive his share. The charitable aspect is of secondary concern. They back civil society in its defence of human rights and promote international development. They are actively engaged in behind-the-scenes diplomacy and publicly express themselves on substantive subjects under the double Catholic-Evangelical cap. More recently and to a lesser extent, the Muslim faith-based foundations and NGOs (Islamic Relief Germany) and the Red Crescent are active in the field of development assistance.

Since K. Adenauer (1949), the German churches, along with other sectors of society, have established a framework agreement that ensures them government financing and a stable relationship with the state authorities. This institutional funding allows them to run their development programmes with 75% of funds provided by BMZ and 25% of their own resources. A 1.5% share of the church tax (*Kirchensteuer*) is devoted to international aid.⁵⁵ As a result, they are the most ardent proponents of an independent economic cooperation and development ministry, which in their view is the only entity that can credibly defend a long-term approach and build up the necessary competencies. This stance seems to have gained the consensual approval of the German public and institutions. Government funding for the churches has substantially increased since 1998. Their own resources coupled with the church tax revenues finance many institutions and agencies, enabling these to implement concrete actions in Eastern Europe and developing countries. They maintain independent relations with their partners in the Global South and ensure that their projects are endorsed by the local episcopal hierarchies. The churches employ a large staff and are connected with many international networks. They are well aware that their situation is much more fortunate than that of their European or American colleagues.

The churches have close links with the political parties. There are traditional ties

⁵⁵ / Source: the German Bishops' Conference.



between the Catholic Church and the CDU and CSU, while the Protestant Church is closer to the SPD, although today this pattern is less relevant. The current leaders (A. Merkel, the pastor and former federal president J. Gauck, W. Schäuble, G. Müller) are all sensitive to these connections. The Greens also have religious acquaintances, as in the case of the minister-president of Baden-Württemberg and the party's federal co-chair. Political leaders are very much at ease with their church membership and some *Länder* reflect their religious attachments, either Catholic or Protestant or both.

The Protestant churches (federated under the Evangelical Church in Germany – EKD) run their activities mainly through the NGO, Brot für die Welt, which with its €250-million budget is the largest of all Protestant organisations. Its annual pre-Christmas donation campaign collects €65 million, and its revenues are still growing.⁵⁶ The development activities of the Catholic groups Misereor, Kindermissionswerk, Caritas, etc. are run in partnership with other organisations and contribute to the German development movement. Added to this is a broad array of initiatives supported by large locally based networks.

The churches engage in several types of activity:

- Project implementation: the funding from the Catholic Church alone amounts to over €500 million a year.
- Lobbying: the Catholic Parliamentary Office plays an important role and transmits the German bishops' views to the Bundestag and the government, notably to the Foreign Office. The Joint Conference, Church and Development (Protestants and Catholics) lays the ground for joint action. The faith-based NGOs also have their personal contacts and are structured around the Central Committee of German Catholics, which interfaces with the German Bishops' Conference.
- Doctrine and positions: the Development Committee of the German Bishops' Conference produces guidelines for the church actors. The Catholic Peace and Justice Commission, with its capacities for reflection and proposals, engages a political dialogue chiefly on human rights, the fight against the arms trade and support for Africa. These contributions have a strong impact and sometimes lead to legislative proposals.
- Relays at the parish and diocese level: many grassroots actions integrating development matters are undertaken, notably when annual church events are

held: the Catholic days (Suche Frieden in 2018), the Protestant Church Day (Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag), which rallied 200,000 people in May 2017 with debates on the SDGs and the idea that Germany is also a developing country, and commemorations (the Reformation Jubilee in reference to Martin Luther in 2017). They back popular movements and fair trade and use these events to bring development issues to the public's attention.

The support that the churches gave to G. Müller's Marshall Plan (at his request) sparked a number of criticisms in the blogosphere, but is indicative of the close ties between the churches and the Ministry.

The NGOs: autonomous and highly organised, they produce a critical analysis of government action but work in close cooperation with the authorities

Development NGOs in Germany have gained in strength over the last ten years. They form a stable ecosystem that is relatively competitive, well-funded, and one of the mainstays of official development policy. They provide the government with a political space. Unlike elsewhere, there is no strict dividing line between humanitarian NGOs and development NGOs, which means that they escape the brunt of any budget clashes between the BMZ and the Foreign Office. It also means that they have the capacity to work along the full stretch of the humanitarian-development continuum and keep within the context of the SDGs. Their approaches are more integrated than those of government actors. They receive less funding than the churches but the BMZ purposefully finances them so as to bolster the German development community. Volunteering is very much alive. The two groups of Catholic and Protestant NGOs play a key role vis-à-vis Parliament and the authorities and account for two-thirds of development NGOs. They enjoy massive support, even from non-churchgoers: the Church and the NGOs act together. They have been joined by the more recently created secular NGOs, whose non-confessional character gives them considerable legitimacy in the eyes of some of the German public. Among these secular NGOs, some are based internationally and seeking a sound financial footing in Germany. Deutsche Welthungerhilfe, Médecins sans Frontières, Action contre la Faim, Care, World Vision, Islamic Relief, and Plan International are also expanding. The French NGOs established in Germany help to foster the efforts for a French-German rapprochement. German civil society is a very active minority, independent, highly organised and with its own resources. It would survive even if its very hefty public funding was called into question. It elaborates a consensual discourse on a fair globalisation. The NGOs are less politicised than their predecessors: in order to



act and deliver social services, they are now at the forefront of many technical coalitions such as SuSanA (Sustainable Sanitation Alliance) or the WASH network. Several variously specialised German NGO groups are capable of producing studies and common press releases, which helps to bolster their influence vis-à-vis the German government.

The long-standing Third-World movements (such as Terre des Hommes) are very weak and focus on the protection of children. The militant solidarity NGOs of the 1980s–90s have disappeared, while the NGOs defending human rights have grown smaller.

Environmental NGOs have grouped together on the platforms Deutscher Naturschutzring and Forum Umwelt, which are very actively promoting sustainable development – as are the development NGOs that they work with in the Forum on Environment and Development and the Climate Alliance. WWF (270 staff and a €66-million annual budget, including €15 million public funding),⁵⁷ BUND (Friends of the Earth) and NABU (Birdlife). They all put in tenders for financing from BMUB and BMZ schemes (notably, the International Climate Initiative) and the “bengo” budget line, as well as from DEVCO, where German NGOs compete with third-country actors. They join forces to strengthen their lobbying for biodiversity, climate change, energy, European affairs, oceans or agriculture. Reputed as a biodiversity specialist, WWF has now engaged in sustainable lifestyles, where the key issues are those that adversely impact populations – food crises, climate change, ecosystem degradation. The NGOs work with the government agencies (e.g. KfW and WWF in the Congo) and make use of their international networks.

VENRO, a coalition of German NGOs, was created tardily in 1995 and serves as an umbrella organisation for some 120 humanitarian and development NGOs. It receives strong government support (BMZ and Foreign Office) and espouses government policy stances. Together, the government and VENRO function in a quasi-partnership logic and the coalition is in permanent contact with the ministerial departments, the minister’s office, and the Bundestag. It also has access to the chancellor, who is respected for her positions and commitment. There is no institutional forum grouping the NGOs and government: relations are fluid and ongoing, which seems to suffice, but VENRO is delighted with the new forum on sustainable development strategy that is being set up. The coalition is able to

57 / Source: WWF

take a critical standpoint yet, at the same time, display the BMZ logo at its events. It is seeking to extend its influence in other ministries (Agriculture, Economic Affairs) but finding this more difficult. It works closely with environmental, social and human rights NGOs and with the trades unions and consumer associations, which have formed a “coalition of civil society for sustainable development” since a landmark Berlin conference in 2016 (H. Spielmans, VENRO). VENRO also has ties with the private sector. It has become highly professionalised over the last ten years and its positions are defined by its federal council comprising eleven elected members, with input from fourteen permanent working groups. It intervenes on federal budget procedures and allocation, the preparation of elections and the G20 regarding development policy issues (by publishing policy papers).

The non-governmental development community identifies with the national policy discourse, which is aligned with the changes in global priorities. While the official discourse is deemed politically acceptable, concerns persist about the proliferation and coherence of initiatives as well as the increasing budgets, whose priority targets are questionable: poverty reduction seems to be the “poor relation” compared to the climate-related and environmental targets and the refugee issue. There are worries that funding may be reduced just after 2017 – which, as the G20 year, means that good behaviour needs to be observed. The development minister’s communication campaigns generally come under criticism. While commending the overall positive results of his 2017–2020 strategy, VENRO denounces the lack of coherence in the government’s foreign activities (arms delivery to conflict zones), and advocates a more multilateral approach to implementing development policy.

Berlin entertains the ambition of becoming a global NGO hub. It already hosts Transparency International and the International Civil Society Centre. The latter is a strategic advisor for large international civil society organisations (CSOs) and helps them to interconnect, share their know-how and information more easily and launch joint projects.

The philanthropic milieu in Germany has a strong capacity to self-organise, which enables it to weigh in on the international sustainable development debate. This was the case at the F20 Summit held in 2017 at the initiative of German foundations, with the presence of Chinese and Argentinian foundations (due to the G20’s past and future presidencies). The foundations insist on the need for civil society to play a greater role in reaching the end-goal of a zero-carbon economy and they have thus shared their public policy analyses to produce recommendations for the G20 leaders.



The Don Bosco Foundation is of a different hue. It builds schools and training centres in liaison with German industry, and constitutes a very active model that garners considerable support.

The trades unions seem little mobilised on the subject of development aid.

Business: a rather small lobby, but with a presence open to the world

The German business community is not dependent on the government's development assistance policy. Yet, it is not indifferent to the policy being pursued and has shown some initiative, for example, in the field of solar energy for Africa. The recently proposed Marshall Plan with Africa is shored up by an economic approach involving investment from German industry. Firms are well-aware of Africa's growing population and the emergence of an affluent middle class, as well as the continent's potential as a springboard into Asian markets. Yet the sector's traditional priorities lie elsewhere – in Asia and the OECD countries. It should be pointed out that German firms are not averse to the influx of migrants.

Contrary to what outsiders perceive, the German industrial and economic lobbies do not seem to have much influence on government aid policy. Their calls to the government for resources are outnumbered by the calls for them to do more. This was particularly the case during the tenure of the roundly criticised minister, D. Niebel, and then more recently under Minister G. Müller. Still smarting from the initiatives targeting the textile industry (Partnership for Sustainable Textiles, Clean Clothes Campaign) launched by G. Müller – who finally managed to bring the unwilling actors together –, German businesses have decided to rely on their own approach. Their proposals for South Africa and particularly the cocoa industry are under discussion – the dialogue seems more constructive and a common language appears to be emerging with government on what is "feasible".

However, the business community traditionally engages little in development and does not ask to benefit from development aid policies, which in reality have only a marginal impact on Germany's foreign trade. In fact, the community already has its own very substantial leverage at the international level. The role of the Federation of German Industries (Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie – BDI) and Afrika Verein is to "wake up" opportunities and both organisations have been supporting the deployment of German industry since the early 2000s. The overriding objective is to counter Chinese firms with their turnkey projects and ultimately obtain a revision of procurement terms with the KfW. German firms want a level playing field with companies that receive support from their governments (e.g. China, Japan, South

Korea). No one, however, seems to be demanding a return to tied aid; its red-tape procedures are poorly understood and neither is it supported by KfW. On the other hand, it is clear that German firms (particularly *Mittelstand* companies – i.e. SMEs) and European firms need to cooperate with the private sectors in developing countries, notably in Africa, and in emerging countries. This cooperation could evolve along the lines of what has already been realised with partners in Asia's developing countries, particularly through increased collaboration with the Frankfurt-based European Representative Office of the Asian Development Bank. The Sub-Saharan Africa Initiative of German Business (SAFRI) responds to private-sector demand by bringing together consular organisations (BDI, Afrika Verein, chambers of commerce, industry and services) and the authorities. SAFRI organises the high-level German-African Business Summit (GABS), first launched in Berlin in 2015, and aims to improve the business environment for firms established in the region and identify business opportunities. E-Konzern, an informal group of thirty large firms supporting sustainable development, is the government's interlocutor for the NSDS and BMUB and very committed to the pillars of voluntary environmental action to combat climate change. The SDGs and the green economy have offered German firms a market in Europe, the United States and emerging countries. The time has now come to set the priority on Africa and Latin America. German firms are keen to participate in the global partnership for sustainable development, first of all by stepping into emerging-country markets: they are taking initiatives as, for example, the creation of a working group with the BMZ for implementation of the SDGs.

More recently, former German President Horst Köhler, – previously at the IMF and highly committed to a development assistance policy supported by civil society – has become a staunch proponent of a stronger partnership between German firms and Africa. He is now an advocate for the *Mittelstand* companies, which need government support to help them mitigate their risks, become established locally, and contribute to development. Hence, the creation of the Agentur für Wirtschaft und Entwicklung (AWE – Agency for Business and Economic Development). This assistance implies that infrastructure has to be put in place. The Addis Ababa Action Agenda, which lays strong emphasis on the private sector, has met with positive reactions: the messages promoting joint public-private efforts for greater leverage effects are clearly understood by both public and private actors. Germany is promoting its *Paketlösungen* (comprehensive package deals), which associate several firms in areas such as energy infrastructure and professional training. The BDI asserts that traditional project development aid is unable to make full use of its allocated funds and that even "GIZ does not know what to do with the appropriations it receives". Logically, therefore, the private sector should step in as it alone has the capacity to work on a large enough



scale and create jobs at lesser cost. Yet, so far, the private sector's involvement seems relatively modest, which highlights the need to encourage more efforts in this direction. Working groups are being set up with ministries, NGOs, chambers of industry, the BDI and GIZ to address specific subjects (e.g. human rights or digitalisation) or to explore ways in which the SDGs can translate into corporate strategies that go further than CSR.

This is one of the rationales underpinning the Compact with Africa presented at the 2017 G20 with the backing of four federal ministries: Finance, Economic Cooperation, Economic Affairs and the Foreign Office. Minister Müller has worked hard to bring German firms on board by showing them that this new framework signifies new business opportunities.

Many German firms are creating or overhauling their corporate responsibility schemes and engaging in international actions (the healthcare company Merck and its donations to the fight against bilharziasis⁵⁸). These initiatives have also been spurred by the scandals stemming from unchecked globalisation and non-compliance with environmental standards (Rana Plaza, VW). As there is no German law governing corporate responsibility (equivalent to the French Law on New Economic Regulations), industrial federations are left to regulate themselves. In addition to the German group in the United Nations Global Compact and E-Konzern, a new generation of managers is keen to operate differently by fostering contacts with civil society through participatory dialogue and joint action. Some firms have a genuine desire – more so than their federations and associations – to contribute to the 2030 Agenda and senior managers from the major German groups have integrated this fact, which is likely to impact the core of their activities.

The debate on Germany's foreign trade has not integrated these notions of responsibility and A. Merkel's focus is on defending free trade, which she considers to be under threat. With advice from the BDI and German universities, some firms are studying how they can best step up their industrial investment in Africa, their prime targets being South Africa, Morocco, Ethiopia and Kenya. The credit insurance company Hermès launched operations in sub-Saharan Africa in 2014, while the insurer Allianz is investing €500 million⁵⁹ in African infrastructure projects through an IFC leverage instrument, and Siemens is establishing its presence in East Africa.

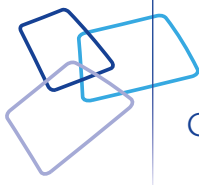
Steered by GIZ and research and technology centres, the "Made in Germany" concept

⁵⁸ / A tropical parasitic disease.

⁵⁹ / Source: BDI.

has become “Made with Germany”. GIZ has embarked on a drive to mobilise the private sector. It has defined an agenda that comes up for discussion in its Private Sector Advisory Board twice a year, and also provides business support programmes such as the Fit for Partnership with Germany and Global Business Exchange (GloBus) programmes. The latter has launched several remarkable initiatives: ExperTS, working with the German chambers of commerce, is in charge of promoting business relations and foreign partnerships in Germany and abroad; the DC Scout programme with its network of “40 development cooperation scouts” advises German companies on the support services available for development-related investment. This network has been built with the DEG, a sector-based support scheme that identifies financing requests in South countries and which is also used in the German foundations. The public-private partnership programme (DeveloPPP.de), which works with the DEG, enables Germany’s private sector to submit project proposals for co-financing and for operational and “shared-value” CSR actions: youth employment, inclusion of marginalised populations, social infrastructure, sustainable production (with major German retailers Lidl, REWE, etc.) based on entrepreneurial approaches. French global businesses (Danone, Total...) have also used the programme. Since 1999, €1 billion (1.7% of the GIZ budget) has been committed to these projects, with 60%⁶⁰ of the funds provided by the private sector. The experience acquired has made it possible to go even further: the innovation initiative, Lab of Tomorrow, has developed very effective tools to promote new ideas and prototype business solutions that require very few resources for travel, research, hackathons, etc., and can serve as business development paths for firms. Interestingly, GIZ was purposefully created as a company rather than as a government department, as this gives the agency considerable flexibility to work with the private sector; this status is totally accepted by its staff and apparently raises no ideological discussions since any risk to the company’s reputation is limited by safeguard clauses (“do no harm, no greenwashing, no product promotion, do global sustainability”). According to GIZ, the results are very convincing and backed up by many examples: the traceability of the cashew and cocoa value chains in collaboration with SAP Research, jobs and training with Daimler, and climate insurance with AllianzRe and MunichRe. Entrepreneurs are also beginning to join the conversation as, for example, Hamburg-based Michael Otto, whose foundations (notably Foundation 2°C) are taking action to support African cotton producers, or the multinational cooperative REWE, as well as Lidl, Adidas, Puma and C&A, which are introducing stringent controls for their product sourcing.

60 / Source: BDI.



In Germany, the subject of consumption has stimulated a host of initiatives encouraged by the BMZ. One example is the programme to assist municipalities with their procurement processes. This introduces standards for social inclusion, consumption and the sustainable production of the supplies purchased by municipalities. The same logic is used for the procurement of German police uniforms and for multi-actor platform projects (similar to the World Commission on Dams) that address imported products such as coltan or palm oil. The debate sparked by the ongoing reviews of the Economic Partnership Agreements between Europe and Africa and the discussions on various sectors and markets show that efforts are being made to protect African producers and ensure a coherence between trade and development (e.g. dairy products in West Africa, with Misereor). With BMZ funding, GIZ has taken up the question of sustainable consumption, which enables it to address a broad-based public. Its online system enables the management and checking of sustainability certificates. The highly industrialised and export-oriented (meat, milk) agricultural sector is under pressure due to the demand for a new production model linking South and North producers: organic farming, local production and the protection of family farms, decarbonisation (cf. European grants linked to decarbonisation). A court case brought by a Peruvian farmer against the energy company RWE to obtain compensation for the melting of Peruvian glaciers was covered widely by the media.

Local authorities and the *Länder*, mobilised to gain stronger footing among the German public

With the exception of the *Länder*, local authorities engage in few international-level activities.

Following the “One World, our responsibility” charter, Gerd Müller completed a Tour for the Future, visiting the sixteen *Länder* to create a support base geared at mobilising German cities and encouraging the deployment of local sustainable development strategies. The actions engaged by local associations have now become a municipal affair with special funds being set up for the mayors. GIZ organised a road show to publicise the idea of municipal partnerships for development and now heads the Connective Cities initiative.

The *Länder* are able to pursue a relatively autonomous development cooperation policy. For example, in 2016, the Bavarian State Ministry for European Affairs implemented a development aid programme endowed with €20 million destined for those countries whose emigration has had the strongest impact on the Land. Baden-Württemberg has launched a GIZ-run programme enabling Malaysian engineering students to study in its universities. This decentralised cooperation is

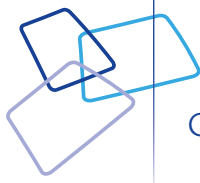
boosted by initiatives such as Engagement Global, which organises seminars across Germany and is working to grow a network of local authorities active in the area of development.

d. Public opinion: well-informed, educated and driven by the young generations towards greater engagement

Public opinion is essentially focused on domestic topics. We know, however, that attitudes have been deeply in favour of pro-poor aid and development since the first surveys were conducted forty years ago. This is the case in the private sphere, where donations are very sustained, and in the sphere of public development policy. There are no deep political cleavages: on the Right, the concern is for effectiveness, while the Left rejects the idea of aid to corrupt systems. Since the 19th century, public opinion has been characterised by a longstanding German tradition that bears a missionary and associative stamp and involves personal commitment (OECD, 2000). This changed after Germany's reunification. Despite the GDR's legacy of international solidarity, the east of the unified country became less engaged due to its own economic difficulties. In the 1980s and 1990s, there came a growing movement for social justice and development. But public support, and press converge, waned in the late 1990s on account of the massive arrival of asylum seekers and refugees from Eastern Europe. The Germans place greater emphasis on personal initiative and continue to donate large amounts individually. This generally favourable opinion was very much at variance with the low level of Germany's official development aid, which lagged behind that of the international community until the early 2000s. The gap between what the public perceives and what is actually done has now narrowed as government budgets have caught up.

While German public opinion overwhelmingly supported celebrities such as the singer Bono and his appeals to help sub-Saharan Africa's famine, the public debate was inexistent during the 1990s and only began to stir with the 1999 G8 Summit and the massive campaigns accompanying it. The debate was confined to the government and the NGOs campaigning for debt cancellation, who as a result obtained concrete recompense in the form of a substantial increase in their budgets. The campaigns for debt relief in 1999, for an increase in the ODA budget in 2000, and for the enforcement of the Tobin Tax in 2001 all had an impact, and the anti-globalisation movements attracted wide attention. A new political generation more open to the idea of aid appeared on the scene and helped to broaden public interest in the question.

The federal government gradually stepped up its actions to educate the public



on development, relying on initiatives by NGOs and faith-based movements, notably Misereor and Brot für die Welt. The *Länder* established development cooperation foundations that federated different sectors of society (civil society, companies, universities) to enhance development education. Activism grew and local engagement increased substantially. In tandem, campaigns for fair trade were launched and “Fair Trade” initiatives flourished: the World Fair Trade Organization was founded in Berlin (1987).

Later, large and violent protests against globalisation had a widespread impact. The Heiligendamm G8, where G.W. Bush and A. Merkel clashed over climate change (*Die Zeit* headlined “Sturm über Heiligendamm”, 31 May 2007), saw one of Germany’s largest post-war protests. The petition, Your Voice against Poverty, collected 1.4 million signatures at the Rostock concert organised by VENRO, Bono, Bob Geldof, Wim Wenders, Herbert Grönemeyer and others, who pressured the chancellor to increase the announced €700 million of additional aid for the MDGs; the MDG halfway mark was celebrated and this mobilisation faithfully reflected German public opinion.

The opinion polls of the time (2000) converge – the German public’s attitudes were largely in favour of development aid (75% of favourable opinions) and wanted the country to give aid to poor countries. A strong negative feeling, albeit from a minority, existed regarding the effectiveness of this aid, but the public nonetheless accepted – resignedly – that aid was the only solution to a situation of persistent poverty. There was a realisation that aid could not accomplish miracles and that market forces were more powerful.

The impact of the different shocks of 2007, including the food crisis and on its heels the financial crisis, regorganised the NGOs and raised public awareness that a finger was being pointed at the responsibility of Global North countries. The interconnection between German society, consumption and the situation in the Global South became more apparent. Environmental organisations made considerable headway and forged closer ties with development NGOs. The Green Week established the linkage between agricultural subsidies, German consumption and the agri-business in Africa.

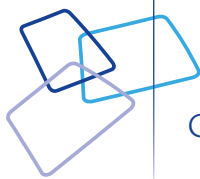
In more recent years, young Germans have bought into the idea of global sustainable development through the One World project. They are educated at school and university on the development–environment–climate nexus, which is included in their curricula, and are motivated to participate in the new German awakening. They now have the chance to become personally engaged, at home and abroad, and seize on many meaningful job opportunities that can bring

personal benefits to their careers. Public opinion, however, is still barely affected by the concept of a paradigm shift and the SDGs as these remain little-known subjects. The notion of interdependence is making progress, as is the idea that “we can all help each other”, and the churches are contributing to these increasingly structured debates.

Student associations committed to sustainable development are not necessarily partisan. They are however highly politicised (e.g. the Campus Grün at the University of Cologne) and work closely with other associations in their own university or on other campuses that are likely to share some of their convictions. Their generally high level of organisation enables them to circulate information rapidly from one campus to another and take a stance on questions arising at the other end of the country. The underlying idea is that the issues encountered by a few in fact concern everyone – which also gives them more weight vis-à-vis the university authorities. Some show an exemplary capacity to work democratically, using fine-tuned techniques for sharing speaking time or allocating tasks. They thus combine overall objectives focused on sustainable development with an efficient and coherent internal functioning, and with the forceful idea that the principle of democracy goes hand in hand with sustainability.

Volunteering is very much alive and deserves recognition. BMZ financing, encouraged by the Chancellor, has been used to create jobs that have multiplier effects on development policy (*Entwicklungspolitikmultiplikatoren*). These facilitate the dialogue and local actions of many small groups of volunteers, and engage parishes and municipalities that are building local solidarity-focused policies. Retired and young people join volunteer networks asking: “what can I do, personally?”. Women are keen to take up A. Merkel’s challenge by teaching German to refugees and trying to prevent the formation of small hubs of radicalism. People are realising that all this will take time. Civil society is focusing on local initiatives or projects that make it possible to act and change models more rapidly and practically: they shun the traditional parties, which they see as disconnected from today’s world.

Over the last three years, the public debate has been largely fostered by the minister for Economic Development, supported by the chancellor, through his many flagship initiatives and explanations of what the government is doing. The Engagement Global initiative has enabled Minister Müller and the BMZ to set up local relays with schools, NGOs, municipal bodies and the *Länder*. To this end, the ministry launched the Tour for the Future in support of development, which in 2015–2016 visited the sixteen *Länder*. The Tour’s events included discussions



on development subjects and specific themes (protecting the oceans, Africa), with the participation of young people and support from the mayors and local officials. The growing number of conferences, parliamentary debates and Bonn-based events – a city keen to become the capital of international sustainable development – all help to energise the engagement of public opinion and its leaders. Around 20–30% of the population self-declares that they are very well informed and aware.⁶¹ This represents a very large group that forms a solid and enduring base of support. Although the Germans remain altruistic, there is a growing but moderate preoccupation with individual interests.

Public opinion needs to be infused with a desire to prioritise shared and beneficial concrete actions instead of focusing on alarming issues: climate change, sustainability, terrorism, security, the refugee crisis, pandemics. Following the Rana Plaza tragedy in 2013, the Minister of Economic Cooperation took up the subject of textile value chains, expanding the already ongoing debates on food security. He addressed the German public directly, questioning them on their consumption habits: “Is buying a tee-shirt for €1 ethical?”. He also explained the need to work across all levels of society, value chains and standards. German industry is feeling somewhat pressured by consumers, who have been mobilised by specific political circumstances. However, the analysis has perhaps been confounded by recent events, as the political change in Washington is turning some movements that were defending local markets into apostles of international trade.

Ecology is also strongly rooted in society mainly thanks to the Green Party, which is institutionalised and very present at the grassroots level; the discourse of global sustainability that it promotes reaches nearly 50% of German citizens, notably those able to afford organic or fair-trade products, etc. Climate change is not called into question but stated as fact and this is leading to greater support for issues such as the small islands threatened by rising sea levels. The Greens’ discourse is close to the Catholics’ and produces a strong impact on citizens. The offspring of the anti-nuclear activists feel themselves to be strong, capable of changing society and confident that they occupy an important place in society.

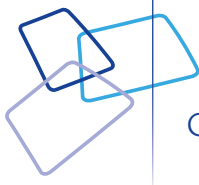
German society has changed markedly over the last twenty years. The realisation has dawned that all domains are interlinked, be it development, trade or climate change. There is no laying blame on other people or on political decisions. Each individual has to make his or her contribution to the necessary changes. The Ebola epidemic made it clear to Germany that healthcare systems need to be

61 / Source: OECD.

built, vaccination campaigns supported, education rolled out and research promoted, and is a good example of how such issues become globalised. The migration crisis poses the question of stability, education and training in the migrants' countries of origin, employment and local development opportunities, including in non-poor countries. These two crises have been eye-openers. The situation in Africa and the Middle East needs to be improved if the huge inflows of people to Germany are to be avoided. Yet, public opinion accepts the idea of hosting refugees, as the Germans remember that many of them were themselves refugees in the post-war years and before reunification. Even though weaknesses may appear in the consensus, the moral contract to welcome immigrants seems secure.

A pronounced gap is seen between what public opinion wants – disinterested aid for the poorest people and countries – and the increasing sophistication of German aid, both public and private, which addresses overarching subjects. The reality of aid is far from simple: there is a high degree of frustration, even a kind of perplexity, with the apparent gap between the multilateral advances and machinery of international systems (including financial systems), on the one hand, and the changes that are actually happening, on the other. The subject of climate change is a powerful lever for persuading public opinion to buy in to the idea of investing additional resources. The notion that we need to develop together is gaining ground. The fact that global inequality creates instability is now better known.

Of course, an answer needs to be given to a public opinion wondering why there has been no fundamental change in the situation of certain countries that have been receiving aid for some sixty years – thus making the connection between global development and the influx of refugees. The media and politicians also want to know more about the effectiveness of German development assistance in Africa and are questioning the reasons for failures. They want to see tangible results and are asking whether a change of methods is not required. This gentle pressure for impact is respectable and transcends the ongoing debates among specialists. Remarkably, public television is giving a higher profile to the debate on aid. Although Germans agree on the need to combat poverty and climate change, some are reluctant to pay the price as, for example, those who refuse to have wind turbines “in their back yard”. On the other hand, there is a strong demand to participate in government initiatives (e.g. the Marshall Plan), which need to be implemented immediately with no shilly-shallying. The idea that solving the problems requires investment is commonly shared, as is the very present concept of “*mitmachen*” (i.e. to participate or contribute). Society has



a strong demand for visible and swift results and needs to feel that something is moving, that the fights will come to an end, and that rebuilding is possible. And the generally accepted increases in German aid mean that results are necessary or support will dwindle.

The aftermath of the Berlin terrorist attack sparked a widespread controversy that receded for want of support from A. Merkel and Minister of Finance W. Schaüble, who backed G. Müller, and from Horst Köhler, who emphasised the dangers of wrongly conflating the various issues. Some ministers (Interior, Justice) were keen to impose sanctions and limit development aid to those countries that had signed and respected deportation agreements. There was general acceptance of the idea of hosting refugees in danger, but not economic migrants. The minister of Economic Cooperation and Development was initially alone in opposing this proposal, but he was later vociferously backed by the churches and NGOs. He argued that it was made no sense to halt the vocational training programmes in Tunisia or schooling for girls in Nigeria. Everyone joined in the debate – networks, political parties, activists and academics. Dirk Messner, the highly respected director of the German Development Institute (DIE), was the only one to announce that he was not hostile to this approach, a stance that sowed the seeds of doubt within his own organisation. The development debate became a debate about domestic policy. With the rightward shift in the political discourse, particularly in the run-up to the elections, and AfD's pressure on other parties, there is a danger of creating a rift with a public opinion whose principles in favour of aid remain steadfast..

4. Communication and thinking that insist on the commonalities between domestic and international problems

a. *Communication by the public sector*

What began in 2005 as public relations for development had by 2016 turned into a much more elaborate affair. The Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development implemented a powerful communication tool. Germany has seen itself become a staunch actor for the international agenda, reflecting the German public's growing awareness. The BMZ targets young people, schools and universities. The message fits perfectly with German traditions: everyone can do something at their own level, which explains the revival (in the 1980s) of engagement in questions of sustainable consumption. The Germans look at their daily life and understand the effects of climate change on poor countries; they are keen to treat to the causes

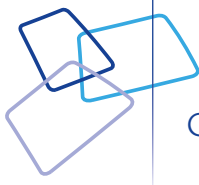
of migration and have a concrete view of sustainable development. These messages are more robust and understandable than those on agriculture or the conventional messages on development. As far as crises are concerned, the minister is messaging on the forgotten crises: “*nicht vergessen*” (don’t forget) (Yemen, Colombia, Somalia).

With this richer content, public sector communication is changing. The change is also apparent in institutions such as KfW, which for the first time is associating its domestic communication with communication on its international activities. It lays emphasis on the global vision required for tackling problems: digital technology at home and abroad through its telemedicine project, or migration and infrastructure at home and abroad. Its purpose is to show not only the effective management of available resources through concrete projects, but also the proximity between German citizens’ concerns and issues and those elsewhere. Development abroad means a better life in Germany, but putting German interests too conspicuously into the foreground has not garnered outright support.

GLZ deploys educational initiatives and supports the efforts of the BMZ. It also has to react to the opinions of citizens and elected officials who are less interested in knowing what resources have been used than how many jobs these resources have actually created, particularly through the traditional vocational training programmes. As the imperative is to show that things are working, reporting needs to be strengthened. The agency informs the public debate and is laying the ground for the future of aid (Forum for the Future). The added challenge is to reshape communication for a public that has been “fed for forty years on UNICEF brochures” and is thus out of step with the messaging now being promoted. It has to be explained little by little that there may be a shared benefit in seeing Africa develop and “keep its young people at home”.

b. The rather aloof media is gradually waking up

Journalists have given scant coverage to development aid, which reflects a tradition of relative disinterest in the subject, propagated by university elites. The media have no networks of correspondents in Africa and give little visibility to the continent’s advances: the recognition of local actors and Africa’s own vision and achievements. What is lacking is a good story on successful development. The international public broadcaster, Deutsche Welle, is a political tool whose mission is to support international policy for the purposes of influence and development. With the Chancellery’s support, the broadcaster is expanding its service into East Europe and Africa, entering the digital world and firming up against the threats of a racist and



anti-migrant discourse. It is only recently, since the refugee crisis, that analyses and reportages on the migrants' fragile and crisis-stricken countries of origin are being shown on television.

Media experts are concerned above all about the high-speed propagation of disinformation and the messages of untruths and hate that are flourishing on the Internet and influencing opinion. The right-wing and far-right social networks are highly organised and making themselves heard. The information war has begun and there is worry about upholding democratic values, including those that make it possible to explain a policy of openness and international aid. The debate on Germany's funding of refugee camps in Turkey, Greece, Jordan and Lebanon is potentially explosive, especially as the absence of European solidarity is resented. Intellectuals are expressing themselves in the press and a right-wing movement seems to be emerging, which is a new phenomenon. Some conservative newspapers such as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* are contesting and criticising the increase in aid to Africa.

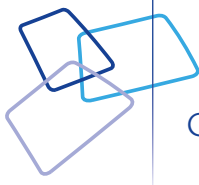
c. The academic world: understudied, development aid is beginning to interest German researchers

Contrary to what has happened in the United Kingdom, the financial flows of German cooperation have not led to a global German intellectual influence on development matters. In this respect, the country seems to be lagging behind. Could it be that the German language is a stumbling block to the international dissemination of the country's strategic and political thinking on development? It should also be remembered that Germany has no academic tradition linked to its colonial past, as do France, the United Kingdom and Portugal. Development academics are thus less numerous and less "audible" except on environmental, climate-related and overarching subjects. Experts and researchers in these fields have been brought together by large world-class institutes such as the Institute for Advanced Sustainability (IASS) or the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research (PIK). University campuses include the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) based in Hamburg and member of the Leibniz Association, Göttingen University, the Kiel-based Institute for the World Economy and... the University of Zurich (Switzerland). There is also the network of development economists active in Germany and elsewhere, etc. Development models are being challenged by many philosophers and sociologists, including Harald Welzer, who advocates resisting the Western mode of consumption and replacing it with choices based on happiness and future viability.

While it has been impossible for us comprehensively review German publications on development assistance, some critical voices can be heard deploring the absence of debate on a German development assistance policy that appears to rely on a great deal of communication, an inter-ministerial “beauty contest” and individual appetites. Some members of German academia are asking questions such as: what is the real situation of aid when it is being used to camouflage paramilitary actions? What messages are being communicated about expectations that cannot be met with the resources allocated? What share of additional aid is actually spent on poor countries and how is the total aid/programmable aid ratio changing as budgets increase? It is also underlined that development is a long-term affair and that what counts above all is national capacity-building and the quality of partners. Some claim that training young people who will in any case seek employment away from their home country simply shifts the problems to some future time. That grants are not necessarily better than loans as the latter help to develop a private sector. Promoting poorly designed public-private partnerships based on poor countries’ indebtedness is a heresy. Using ODA to tackle climate issues also prompts questions: why should developing countries pay for the environmental damage inflicted by rich countries? Although global research is now tighter-knit and defies borders, developing countries seem to be studied as objects detached from Germany. Germany has no development priorities. It seems to be dithering, to lack constancy. It is time to move thinking forward and push intellectual comfort zones into becoming real action plans.

Academic research on development is scattered across different universities: Mainz, Leipzig, Duisburg, and the Berlin-based School of Governance. It appears to be catching up with international research thanks to the growing interest in development subjects, and around a dozen professors are now active in the domain. Yet, the research community does not interface with the political world. The presidents of the eighteen large universities participate in their institutions’ international activities with universities in developing countries and serve as relays for their local parliamentarians. Fifteen other universities of applied science are associated with international training and development actions. Their alumni are well-organised and form a network that is present in foundations, churches and GIZ. In 2016, the German university system dedicated substantial resources to hosting and integrating 6,000 refugees.

Faith-based universities also play a role and the church funds scholarships to train German leaders mainly on development subjects.



Germany

The Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)

DIE, the German Development Institute, needs to be dealt with separately. Under the leadership of Dirk Messner, the institute has grown from 24 to 120 researchers and serves as a professional global development academy for all leaders and staff from the BMZ and its agencies, the NGO community and interested networks. DIE is a member of many international networks (e.g. the Sustainable Development Solutions Network – SDSN). It offers clear and reliable support to the government and its ministries, Parliament and civil society on policymaking matters, but runs its activities independently. Should doubts or disagreements arise, it can intervene to propose various other policy options to the government. It keeps a constant eye on the policy agenda and can nimbly align its activities with current priorities; it is often consulted directly (without the administration's intervention), even by the Chancellery, in a fluid approach that may include confidential brainstorming sessions, and deeply regrets being confined to Bonn. DIE, along with Paul Collier and the consulting firm MacKinsey, is contributing to the government's reflection on the Compact with Africa in preparation for the G20.

The German Academic Exchange Service (Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst – DAAD) is a highly organised autonomous structure that manages some €55 million a year for university exchanges with developing countries, shared equally between scholarships and projects. It has set up international Master's degrees on subjects targeting global development priorities: academic network hubs (water, public health, food security), Licences in the SDGs, and university partnerships. Although the DAAD is financed by the BMZ, the projects and scholarships are selected independently on the basis of academic criteria. The BMZ strongly urges universities to discriminate positively in favour of the less well-endowed countries and disadvantaged groups and is leading the drive for partnerships based on South solutions.

5. Prospects for 2017: leaders express their will to boost the trend towards higher ODA

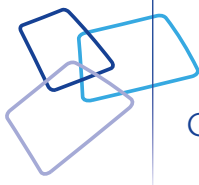
In 2017, preparation for the German elections is opening up the debates described above. There is little point in making predictions. AfD's populism is casting a heavy shadow on the country's political sentiment, and it is impossible to foresee whether this will impact development policy. At this stage, the subject holds no interest for the far right: some of the party's members back the idea of aid to refugees in their country of origin, which could give development policy another anchor. Public

opinion is more volatile, creating a degree of uncertainty, especially as German history is present in everyone's mind. Yet, as long as the economy is stable and German citizens feel that their future is safe (80% of the public⁶²), the general sentiment is that German development policy is not likely to change much.

The administrations feel that the time has come to focus on accelerating the implementation of the multilateral decisions made in 2015, despite the setbacks in Europe and the United States – indeed, the year 2016 marked a worrying step backwards. And Europe must do more. Society as a whole is very keen for Germany to take up international leadership, notably on climate change and relations with the Maghreb and Africa – which is reassuring for A. Merkel, W. Schäuble, the present government and, most likely, for the challenger, Martin Schulz: this support for development policy is thus an advantage. The global agenda means that a strong policy can be pursued, which implies being able to show positive results, especially in the countries currently targeted: the Maghreb countries, Syria and Lebanon. One priority that may call for rapid action is the need to find closer political partnerships, notably with France, who is a pivotal and essential partner particularly for the Compact with Africa.

Brexit will entail sweeping changes: can France step in as a substitute in the bilateral German-British programmes if these are jeopardised? With what financial or technical resources? How can positions on strongly diverging issues, notably in the area of EU policies, be brought closer together? France is envied for its ability to come up with solutions for some countries, then bring others on board without having to put up much funding. On the other hand, the budgetary disconnect between France and Germany with respect to ODA (and many other matters) is problematic, and the dialogue is becoming increasingly difficult as expectations are disproportionate, and France is not forthcoming. The non-respect of commitments in many areas may create problems for France: the increase in Germany's ODA budget, even though it is set to flatline for 2017–2018, is leading to a worrisome situation. Germany is not planning to act alone, but wants to play its part alongside France and Europe in building a regulated globalisation that supports human rights and respects the limits of the planet.

Moreover, one senses that Minister G. Müller, "who wants to state the truth openly on the various issues", is keen to retain his job, since this would give high visibility to his party. He has plans to develop his ministry, making it into a central instrument



Germany

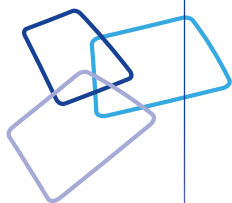
for a new globalisation; it would also integrate the SDGs, thus ensuring overall policy coherence, and head a massive investment plan for Africa to be discussed at the G20. The BMZ could thus move up the ministerial hierarchy. Depending on the confrontation that may be exacerbated at the G20 given that the Left and social activists expect a relatively robust mobilisation despite civil society's waning commitment compared to the early 2000s, responses for greater equity in international relations could be found.

A reflection has begun for an overhaul of international development policies in a fast-changing world. There are fewer poor countries and more emerging ones, fewer active governments and a greater diversity of legitimate actors. The discussion on what will happen beyond aid is of key importance. The juxtaposition of policies on development, climate change and human rights, along with the failure to challenge the old North–South reflexes, is no longer good enough: new partnerships need to be conceptualised for a project of transformation. There are strong but difficult partners who know what they want and who no longer agree to have ready-made solutions imposed on them. Global public goods involve many actors with whom collaborative action is necessary. Fragile and destabilised countries have specific needs to which responses have not yet been found. Sustainable development cooperation must be transformed on these bases: a re-invention of concepts, the language of international cooperation, impactful models and tools, a subject that Germany could drive forward within the G7.





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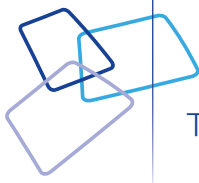
The United Kingdom

1. The British consensus: all agree on the fight against poverty

According to some observers, the current consensus has been nurtured since the 1960s by the existence of a ministerial department that became fully independent in 1997. It has gradually built itself up thanks to broad-based citizen support and has not veered from its poverty reduction objectives (for both countries and communities) while at the same time paying keen attention to results. The department has successfully worked with cooperation stakeholders and dovetailed security and sustainable development, short-term and long-term interests to the benefit of poor countries; a department that aims above all to impose a sustained, clear-cut and simple line of action – the fight against the root causes of poverty. Public opinion accepts that this mission can be effectively executed by the government, and the DfID holds a special place in the national subconscious.

The consensus also rests on a historical conviction and geography. The United Kingdom is an island that needs an international status and outward-looking perspective to affirm a global presence, which is a positioning backed by its elites. This may explain why aid is seen as “a successful and effective way of projecting UK influence and values” (O. Barder, CGD). In the view of a Conservative member of parliament (MP), it is morally right for the United Kingdom to support peoples in difficulty, but public opinion also has to be assured that the aid delivered is worthwhile.

In recent years, the leadership of prime ministers Gordon Brown and David Cameron, after that of Tony Blair, has been remarkable. It was bolstered by major multilateral waymarks such as the Gleneagles G8, the MDG agreements, the debate on the new post-2015 agenda and the COPs after Rio, Kyoto and Copenhagen. These leaders made development assistance the mainstay of the United Kingdom’s role on the international stage, binding together an ethical concern, public morals and “Britishness”. This has found an echo in private sponsorship: the Prince of Wales’s charitable foundations, large institutional charities, the musicians Bono and Bob Geldof, both active on the British scene, and businessmen Richard Branson (Virgin) and Paul Polman (Unilever), who have a common vision of development and think nothing of giving of themselves to mobilise international opinion. Aid is thus, in the words of Clare Short, a “noble” value.



The United Kingdom

Civil society plays a decisive role. It organised mobilisation for the Jubilee and Make Poverty History campaigns in the 2000s, which had themselves been seeded by the 1980s' campaigns (Band Aid). These have produced several generations of activists and members of NGOs, think tanks, universities and institutions. For some ten years now, and in a very professional manner, NGOs have brought constant pressure to bear on MPs and on their constituencies. Focusing on ODA, their aim has been to anchor support for humanitarian aid in public opinion – for the most part, a centrist and progressive public (New Labour) – by promoting the idea of “doing good”. Their influential means are relayed through multiple channels and weigh in on policymakers, who are deluged with information from a very abundant ecosystem of militants, experts and academics.

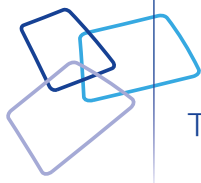
However, since the 0.7% target was reached, the dialogue with citizens seems to have closed down again and the threads linking government and civil society are wearing thin, opening the way to a possible unravelling of the consensus. Cracks are appearing in public support and extremism could thrive in the shadow of the very recent Brexit. This means that an inclusive message that also addresses the young generations urgently needs to be crafted.

Three lessons: a political will

Key 1: *A longstanding, highly committed and bipartisan political leadership.*

Key 2: *A well-organised and well-equipped Parliament that is amply informed by the ecosystem and impelled by a civil society with locally rooted support.*

Key 3: *An effective government development institution, approved by public opinion and now an international reference.*

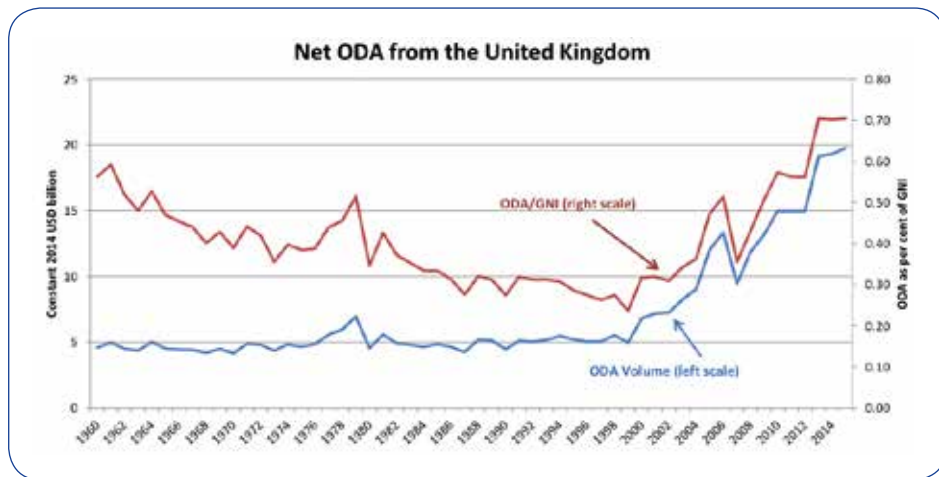


2. History of aid and changes in public policy

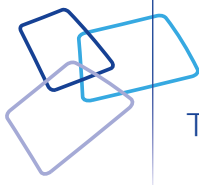
a. Origins

The United Kingdom's journey through the ODA landscape has been particularly impressive over the past twenty years, although it was built upon a more distant history whose course was only disturbed during Margaret Thatcher's administration. The OECD table below clearly shows how the history of British ODA has played out.

Figure 2: UK net ODA trends in volume (USD billion) and share of GNI (%), 1960–2014, OECD



The Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) was established in 1964 under Harold Wilson. It inherited the traditional colonial legacy of the 1929 Colonial Development Act passed to ensure that the colonial economy served the interests of the United Kingdom, and the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945 geared to promoting the colonies' development (public works, agriculture, social services) and brought in following social unrest in some of the colonies. In 1947, the Labour government set up the Colonial (later Commonwealth) Development Corporation to promote development through greater use of the colonies' natural resources. In the post-war years, the success of the Marshall Plan and the idea of economic cooperation exerted a powerful influence on the Colonial Office and the Overseas Development Administration (ODA – the former ODM



The United Kingdom

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renamed under the Conservatives). The ODA absorbed many experts from the Colonial Office, which was downsized as a result of decolonisation. In 1958, the ODA opened its doors to non-Commonwealth countries and implemented “settlement packages” to support the independencies.

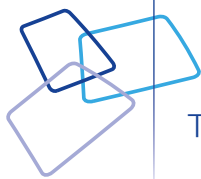
Over fifteen years of changes in political leadership (Wilson, Heath, Wilson, Callaghan, 1964-1979), the ODA was most often attached to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), depending on the period. It nonetheless gradually became a ministry in its own right under the Labour governments: the Ministry of Overseas Development. Under Thatcher, however, it again became the ODA serving as a functional wing of the FCO. It combined two philosophies: a post-colonial paternalism and a Third-Worldist idealism underpinned by the idea that aid was a moral duty and had to lead to long-term development serving the interests of the United Kingdom, mainly through what was essentially tied aid. However, in 1965, hefty cuts were made to the aid budget for want of political support. Although it was recognised that the United Kingdom had a special responsibility on account of its colonial past, this produced no feeling of repentance; the question was rather one of asserting a global role.

When the Labour Party returned to office in 1974, the White Paper, *The Changing Emphasis of Britain’s Aid Policies* (1975), marked the first significant policy shift in favour of “not only the poorest countries but the poorest people in those countries” and gave staunch recognition to multilateral efforts. The focus was on poverty reduction and hunger (influenced by Africa’s famines and the droughts in Biafra, Sahel and Ethiopia in 1967–73), along with a keen interest in agriculture and the regulation of population growth. The projects involved infrastructure, the productive sector and good governance.

Economic pressure on aid intensified with the adoption of the Aid and Trade Provision (1977), which instituted tied aid and introduced guaranteed mixed credits so as to align with the advances made by French instruments in countries within the British sphere of influence (notably, Kenya). Middle-income countries thus became new targets for aid and commercial interests rose to the fore. With a rate of 0.51% ODA/GNI, British development assistance became a model student for the OECD’s DAC.

The arrival of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 toppled this fine construction. The Thatcher years (1979–1990) are considered as a “lost decade” for development. The development assistance budget was halved (0.27%/GNI in 1990⁶³), causing the relative share of multilateral aid to increase due to British obligations. London’s aid

63 / Source: OECD.

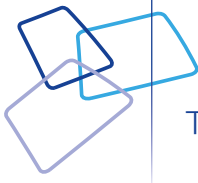


became subject to political and commercial priorities, although the current account recovery facilitated by North Sea oil revenues did lift some of the pressure off tied aid: the fraction of ODA linked to the procurement of goods and services was no more than 15%⁶⁴ in 1996. Cooperation personnel disappeared in 1990. Yet, public opinion was sensitive to the widely communicated messaging of Bob Geldof and his friends to raise funds for the famine-stricken Ethiopian populations, while the 1984 Band Aid disc and the 1985 Live Aid concert became planetary successes (a 70,000-strong audience at Wembley Stadium on 13 July 1985 and 1.5 billion televiewers) and prepared public opinion for the future key agreement at Gleneagles in support of Africa twenty years later. The fall of the Berlin Wall led to greater emphasis on good governance and the promotion of democracy and marked the end of the Cold War's thirty-year-long influence on aid allocations. In 1989, Margaret Thatcher was nonetheless the first leader of an industrialised country to intervene in support of the fight against climate change at the United Nations and to link this up with international aid to poor countries. She also promoted the future UN climate convention of 1992 and the role of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

In 1991, Prime Minister John Major, who had briefly worked in Nigeria, confirmed Lynda Chalker as Minister of State for Overseas Development and Africa within the FCO, the office that she had held under the previous Thatcher administration. Thanks to more resolute support from Douglas Hurd, the head of foreign affairs, and a more favourable economic environment, she continued to rebuild British development policy until 1997. The end of the Cold War gave development aid greater latitude to exist outside of political and commercial strategies. The aim was to stabilise countries economically and politically and roll out health and education programmes on behalf of states unable to assume these tasks themselves. The idea was to draw on the good governance results achieved in Central and Eastern Europe and apply the same approach to developing countries. Although a certain "aid fatigue" and "compassion fatigue" were affecting political leaders, NGO budgets were on the rise thanks to private donations – the amounts were skyrocketing and public opinion remained favourable overall. The Freddy Mercury tribute concert for HIV/AIDS awareness at Wembley in 1992 was a resounding societal success and mobilised substantial funds for international research and public information on HIV/AIDS. Yet, this level of mobilisation had not been primed by any public debate.

Grassroots communication on development is a cultural hallmark of the British consensus.

Sustainable development made its way into the British government's development assistance policy under the influence of the Brundtland Commission's report (1987), which promoted reference to the environment and sustainable development.



International cooperation to tackle poverty and crises was developed with multiple partners, notably the multilaterals, under the influence of the OECD/DAC (OECD, 1996). The DAC had a seminal impact on new aid strategies through its invention of the idea, initiated by Japan, of “international development goals” to be achieved by 2015. It was during this period that the Overseas Development Administration was bolstered and more transparent mechanisms and evaluation standards were adopted, notably following the serious scandal of the Malaysian Pergau Dam project (1994): it emerged that an unwilling ODA had been obliged to respond to the Foreign Office’s demand for development aid funding, implicating it in a major corruption operation intended, moreover, to mask an arms deal. After an NGO had pushed for a judicial review, the High Court ruled that the operation was in violation of the 1980 Overseas Development Act, as the project brought no benefit to the development of the Malaysian people. **The political parties then became convinced of the need to rid UK aid policy of commercial dynamics.**

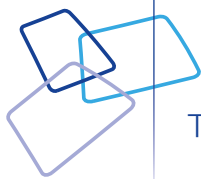
In the ranks of the opposition, Clare Short, then shadow secretary of state for overseas development, was deeply involved and lent an ear to civil society. With support from Sussex University’s Institute of Development Studies (IDS), she drafted the Labour Party manifesto, taking her cue from the Scandinavian models that she had been studying and holding successful regional consultations. The manifesto proposed a very ambitious, coherent policy to re-instate British development assistance in line with OECD targets and prepared Labour for its accession to power.

b. Recent years

The creation of an independent department of state

With Tony Blair (1997) and Gordon Brown (2007) – two Labour prime ministers who successfully used their political clout to support international development policy and wished to “do good” (they had “international development in their DNA”, K. Watkins, Save the Children UK) – and later David Cameron (2010), the **British prime ministers of the last twenty years built up their international image by making poverty reduction** a national priority and their personal calling card. **They were able to count on the forcefulness and commitment of their international development state secretaries (Clare Short, Hillary Benn and Andrew Mitchell)**, who managed to mobilise public opinion and MPs around their cause. Encouraged by supportive civil society organisations, the general public were receptive to their messages.

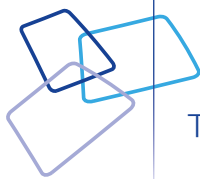
In 1997, although initially averse to the idea, Tony Blair created the first independent portfolio for a secretary of state at the Department for International Development



and appointed Clare Short, who had argued for its separation from the Foreign Office. Her many years of stewardship (1997–2003) were instrumental in building the foundations of current development policy. The prime minister created DfID, basing its administrative functioning on the former ODA and giving it budgetary responsibility: DfID was thus at the same time a state department and an executing agency. He also set up an expert parliamentary committee, the Select Committee on International Development, which was to play a decisive role in future years. Clare Short thus became the secretary of state for development, “development” being a notion with a broad sweep encompassing all subjects that impacted development: trade, export credits, debt, agriculture, drug-trafficking, gender, migration, culture. She gradually established her leadership and communicated with other departments on topics that went beyond international development and aid allocation. The Foreign Office, which little appreciated her, and the Department of Trade and Industry were forced to align on a discourse of policy coherence in support of poverty reduction. A particularly good relationship was forged with the chancellor of the exchequer. **A lasting alliance between the functions of prime minister, chancellor of the exchequer and development secretary was sealed, giving policy the resources that it needed and based on strong support from Parliament from 1997 to 2016.**

As a member of the cabinet, Clare Short had weekly dealings with her government colleagues and built for herself a space that commanded respect due to her political strength and her way of working with the prime minister and the chancellor of the exchequer, sometimes in a competitive emulation. She worked closely with the Utstein Group alongside Heidemarie Wieszorek-Zeul (Germany) and Hilde Frafjord Johnson (Norway), with whom she prepared international stances on poverty reduction. Clare Short gradually rolled out her strategy vis-à-vis the Foreign Office, determined to gain the “freedom to think”. She encouraged public opinion to mobilise in support of just causes, climate change, sustainable development and support for future generations, by playing on values: “everyone wants to be noble”.⁶⁵ The prime minister was satisfied as development assistance was commanding increasing respect and public aid policy was proving popular: official development assistance lost its “leftist” positioning and became viewed as morally worthy across the entire political spectrum. Clare Short’s resignation in protest against the British engagement in Iraq caused quite a stir. Considered by the OECD to be the most effective leader of “the golden age of aid from 1997 to 2006”, she was replaced by Hillary Benn.

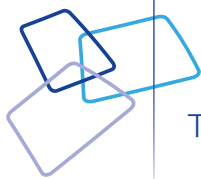
⁶⁵ / Claire Short, personal communication.



Civil society's emulation strengthens the development institutions

British influence also had a strong impact on the Millennium Development Goals, launched by the United Nations in 2000, thanks to the interventions of Richard Manning and Mark Malloch-Brown, future UNDP administrator and minister of state (2007) under Gordon Brown. The international faith-based Catholic–Anglican coalition, Jubilee 2000, launched in 1996, shone the spotlight on development stars such as Bono and Bob Geldof with the Drop the Debt campaign; it also created a personal relationship between Tony Blair (a practising Catholic), Gordon Brown and Bono, which later led the singer to establish ties between T. Blair and G.W. Bush on the issue of poor countries' debt relief.

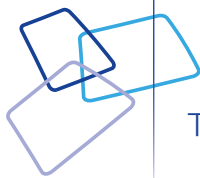
The 1997 and 2000 White Papers were the first in a long series of “founding” documents published under the umbrella title, *Eliminating world poverty*. Through slightly different prisms, these conveyed a steady discourse on what contributed to improving people's lives. This series was discontinued in 2010, making way for the multilateral and bilateral development reviews and the UKaid Strategy, a cross-cutting strategy prioritised by the Cameron and May administrations. The *Eliminating world poverty* series defined a plausible objective as it made a strong, appealing and memorable reference to the MDGs. Countries should be virtuous and pursue ambitious social policies to benefit their populations (including women, whose rights were to be defended in priority): social sectors such as infrastructure and agriculture should thus be given precedence over productive sectors. Trade and market forces are positive and the private sector and civil society need to be encouraged. Development aid is a “moral” duty that must be supported by international partnerships, which explains budgetary support. The planet's sustainable development is a priority, which means that the objectives of the Rio 92 Conventions and the Kyoto Protocol (1997) are to be taken on board. Globalisation could be the answer to reducing poverty and achieving the MDGs if accompanied by trade liberalisation, and investment and financing for poor countries encouraged. It is a matter of shared interest (interdependence) as poverty is an aggravating factor for health and social risks (drugs, criminality, HIV/AIDS pandemics), and conflict. The root causes of extreme poverty thus have to be tackled. Strong institutions need to be built through collaborative action involving all of the donors, which raises the need to reform the international UN and Bretton Woods institutions in line with these same objectives. These messages were cascaded down to the public through various channels – the churches, associations, schools, diaspora groups, and the Crown.



In 2002 and 2006, two International Development acts were passed by Parliament with a focus on poverty reduction, global public goods, transparency and reporting. **The first defined a legal framework for DfID, prohibiting it from acting outside of its poverty reduction remit** (the single purpose of aid). British national interest was not the purpose of aid, and the removal of tied aid in the 1997 and 2000 White Papers (mixed credits) sparked little reaction. The first act encompassed the overseas territories, humanitarian assistance for natural disasters (DfID's CHASE and ACHU) and gave DfID responsibility for relations with the multilateral development banks. Influenced by the context of mounting terrorism (and British engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq alongside the United States), the second act underlined the need for good governance and shared responsibility for poverty reduction. Governments should work to create stability and security to protect populations from violence. The three ministries (International Development, Foreign Office, and Defence) organised joint Conflict Prevention Pools. The 2006 White Paper that accompanied the act included, for the first time, a chapter on peace and security. International assistance was to strengthen institutions that ensured effective security, leading to substantial stabilisation budgets for Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, although these were to have mandatory limits (the 90/10 rule reserves 90% of DfID's resources for LDCs). Policy coherence (trade, agriculture) was crucial to enhancing effectiveness, although economic interests often prevailed (the Department of Trade's White Paper: Making globalisation a force for good, 2004). Partnership was encouraged in lieu of "conditionality". Multilateral action was bolstered through adroitly handled government diplomacy.

At the turn of the millennium, T. Blair turned his interest to Africa, which led to the laborious creation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the **Commission on Africa**, composed of ten members who crafted the basic contents of the decisions for the 2005 G8. Public pressure weighed in, stirred up by singer Bob Geldof and his trips to Ethiopia, where war had once again brought on famine.

In July 2005, Tony Blair, at the time also President of the European Council, was the "hero" of the **Gleneagles G8**, which had placed African development and climate change high on the agenda. Gleneagles enabled all of the UK political parties to rally together around the international agenda and the idea that one could do good through development. Protests like those at Seattle (1999) and Genoa (2001), still fresh in people's minds, also had to be avoided. The G8 Summit endorsed multilateral debt cancellation and commitments to aid for Africa under pressure from the massive campaign by the trades unions and the mainly faith-based NGOs; BOND,



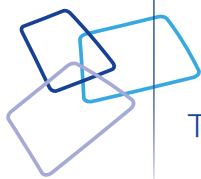
BOAG (British Overseas Aid Group) and UKAN (UK Aid Network) were very involved. The **Make Poverty History** coalition (2005) grouping 154 organisations, the march on Edinburgh (225,000 people) and the Live 8 concert given by the singer Bono and others mobilised thousands of activists from previous debt relief campaigns: debt cancellation, priority on poverty reduction, less unfair world trade. This conjunction of events drew the government closer to the NGOs, to the point that the ties between Oxfam and New Labour raised criticism from some quarters.

Building the 0.7% and its consequences for British official development assistance

Several different steps led to the passage of the British law for an ODA budget fixed at 0.7% of GNI:

- regular budget increases under the Labour governments, which took the necessary steps to attain the 0.7%,
- the Conservative Party had shifted to a pro-ODA stance while in the opposition,
- the Conservatives' drive to "detoxify" their party once it had come to power,
- the increasingly technical aspect of ODA due to the MDGs, which shielded aid from the political debate,
- an unexpected legislative initiative, which came about on already-won ground.

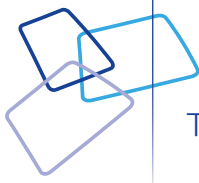
The Gleneagles period was opportune and the DfID teams were well-staffed and professionalised. The Treasury's departments engaged in innovative financing and new instruments were developed: the IFFIm, then GAVI in 2003. There was real cross-government support and the DfID and Treasury teams worked in concert. The Labour Party accepted the principle of the target of 0.7% of GNI: between 1999 and 2006, the budget rose from 0.24% to 0.51% of GNI⁶⁶ due to the impact of aid appropriations for Iraq. The efforts to increase the aid budget and the Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development (2002) led to a more strategic approach, and 2006 saw the publication of a roadmap aimed at reaching the 0.7% target by 2013 (two years ahead of the OECD's recommended timeline). After a drop to 0.36% in 2007, Gordon Brown and Hillary Benn reversed the trend to reach 0.56% in 2010. This provided the basis for the following rise set out in



the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework, which guaranteed the stepwise achievement of 0.7% in line with a multi-year calendar. Development education and communication were extended, along with a greater drive for transparency.

DfID reaped the benefits of the Gleneagles momentum and put the decisions made into practice, giving British influence greater reach. From 2007, Gordon Brown implemented the budget increases and financed vertical funds, notably the education fund. He intervened personally and imposed the subject of development in cabinet meetings: he was especially keen to hasten the achievement of the MDGs and the number of target countries was reduced to twenty-two, mostly LDCs. He also created the Committee on Development Impact and, together with Hillary Benn, reformed DfID to place emphasis on performance (Corporate Performance Framework): DfID published its “Blue Book”, which provided a blueprint for budget implementation procedures. The treatment of the debt was put into action and, at the same time, the necessary instruments were created (HIPC initiatives; Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper). ODA was broadened to include the fight against climate change, global public goods, security and trade. The “DfID republic” was dominant. The United Kingdom was thus able to use its virtuous position to lecture the world – which sometimes irritated its partners – and to influence the global discourse on development.

In the opposition, the Conservative Party’s manifesto had raised no challenge to the Labour Party’s achievements and acknowledged the value of British aid. Launched in 2007, the Umubano Project had been sending Conservative MPs and sympathisers to Rwanda and Sierra Leone every summer for immersion in development projects. Encouraged by Michael Howard, who raised the Conservatives’ awareness of development aid, the party approved the idea of reaching the 0.7% target by 2013 and announced the ring-fencing of budgets for DfID and the National Health Service (NHS), thus reassuring public opinion on two of its iconic issues. The aid consensus had trickled across from left to right. David Cameron became personally engaged, embodying a relatively “old-school” vision of aid that was compassionate and leant towards Christian values. He emphasised the positive message of development aid, which reflected the subconscious value of the “decency that lay in Britishness”. He courageously sold this idea to his MPs, at the same time confirming that DfID would continue as an independent ministry. The party realised that DfID could serve as an institution for celebrating the pride of being British, which was a far cry from the rebuff the department had received during the Thatcher years (cf. the Pergau dam scandal in Malaysia).



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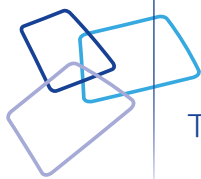
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Seeking agreement on official development assistance

In 2010, as the new Tory prime minister, D. Cameron was determined to promote a positive image of the Conservative Party. He followed the advice of Theresa May, who wanted to “detoxify” and transform the “nasty party” and re-boost its standing in public opinion. D. Cameron seized on the 0.7% target as something that could enhance the party’s image, particularly as he saw that civil society was becoming actively engaged in the constituencies, and even with MPs in his own party. He made promises in favour of the environment and the fight against climate change and paid a symbolic visit to the Arctic. Moreover, he had a coalition agreement with the Liberal Democrats, who supported international cooperation. And, not least, public expenditure was on the rise, the economic situation of the United Kingdom was improving, and he was able to count on the Treasury. Not only did he maintain the existing budget, but also pushed for an increase in order to reach the 0.7%. He saw this as a symbol of social liberalism, of a softer more encompassing society that could counterbalance his austerity policy, in the same vein as the future legislation authorising same-sex marriage in 2013–2014.

These factors enabled him to **spare DfID (and the NHS) the austerity of his domestic policy in 2010, in agreement with Chancellor George Osborne, who espoused this political objective.** International Development Secretary Andrew Mitchell – who had served in the army, volunteered in Rwanda, fought David Cameron within the Tory party and headed the group, Conservative Friends of International Development – became a fervent supporter of DfID. He promoted a discourse of aid effectiveness and very strongly and credibly encouraged the involvement of Conservative MPs, for example, by taking them on field trips. Andrew Mitchell opened his door to the NGOs and established a positive dialogue with them. Chancellor G. Osborne understood that by supporting this policy, he could acquire a certain leadership at little cost and ensure the goodwill of the Tory Party’s left-wing. He lifted development assistance out of the “charity box”, asserting that ODA helped to make for a safer world. In 2011, he created the Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI), an independent evaluation body reporting to Parliament, which complemented DfID’s numerous other accountability tools. He ensured “value for money” – an omnipresent expression – while also foregrounding the interest and mutual benefits for the UK’s security and economy. Development assistance policy and DfID’s objectives took a new turn: there was a visible drive for economic development, a priority on the advancement of women and girls, and the roll-out of efforts to fight corruption and address security in fragile countries. The UKaid logo⁶⁷ became the hallmark of the British government, guaranteeing transparency and information. In 2010, to soothe public opinion, it was decided that the development communication

67 / Cf. Article in *The Telegraph*: “DFID adopting new UKaid logo to highlight Britain’s work” (6 July 2009).

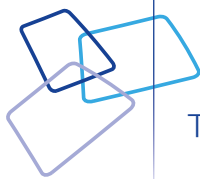


and education activities run by the Development Awareness Fund would be terminated, as the secretary of state for development was reluctant to fund these if all they produced were clashes with active civil society lobbies!

On the request of UN Secretary-General Ban-Ki Moon, David Cameron co-chaired the 2014 United Nations High-Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, together with Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Indonesian President S.B. Yudhoyono. Here, he imposed a focus on extreme poverty alleviation, which enabled him to assert an international posture on development issues.

Since 2005, D. Cameron had been promoting the “golden thread” theory based on a qualitative approach to cooperation. As he said in his speech at New York University in 2015, “stop speaking about the quantity of aid we give, important as it is, and start talking about what I call the ‘golden thread’, which is you only get real long-term development through aid if there is also a golden thread of stable government, lack of corruption, human rights, the rule of law, transparent information”. The prime minister asked DfID to work more through a whole-government approach and enhanced the development secretary’s political clout in all decisions by making the minister’s signature mandatory for all development agreements exceeding £5 million. This ensured that the United Kingdom was “getting value for money”. The geographical scope of intervention was reduced and the number of recipient countries halved (to 28 countries). The United Kingdom withdrew aid from countries such as India and South Africa (at least in principle, as plans to use other replacement instruments were afoot), which caused a great stir. The CDC Group (formerly the Commonwealth Development Corporation) was restructured around a public service mission that better fitted DfID’s priorities. Additional resources were allocated to multilateral efforts, notably thanks to a doubling of the contribution to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (2012) – a symbolic decision that failed to garner support in Conservative circles.

The alignment with UN development objectives came about very gradually and initially sparked opposition from the government. The terminology of the Sustainable Development Goals during the SDG negotiations drew a somewhat negative reaction from D. Cameron. He travelled to New York to explain his position to the negotiators, promoting a so-called “MDG+” strategy focused on poverty reduction. George Osborne, like Bill Gates, was in favour of the fight against malaria and sensitive to the moral argument. In fact, the MDGs were reassuring for the Conservatives, as they gave poverty reduction clearer, more

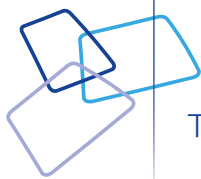


precise and apolitical objectives than did the SDGs. DfID was in its proper place: a middle-ranking ministry with a well-functioning administration, an active seat in the Cabinet and a remit centred on poverty reduction.

This recent period was marked by intense political activity in London around the development question accompanying the multilateral debate. Twelve parliamentary debates, thirty-two ministerial hearings and the creation of a parliamentary committee on the SDGs attest to the commitment of the political actors. Yet, the debate barely touched on the volume of aid and the 0.7% target. The focus was much more on the effectiveness of aid and the implementation tools to be used. Two new acts on international development were passed: one on gender equality (2014), **the other being the founding 2015 Act that enshrined the 0.7% ODA/GNI target in law and which made the United Kingdom the first (and, until Germany's more recent achievement, the sole) G7 member to comply with the international ODA objectives.** The 0.7% Act is to a certain extent the result of happenstance: it initially appeared as a private members' bill tabled by the Scottish Liberal Democrat MP Michael Moore, a former international development spokesman. As this type of bill usually comes to nothing, its success took everyone by surprise. When it came up for debate in Parliament, it had the good fortune to garner government support ("We can only agree", Andrew Mitchell, former state secretary) and was unanimously voted in: this was the outcome of a sustained ten-year-long commitment of the entire ecosystem of politicians, civil society, Parliament and think tanks to this objective.

The new 2015 aid strategy

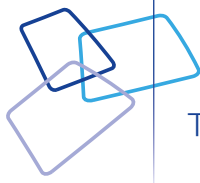
In 2015, for the first time, a UK development strategy was finalised, driven by George Osborne and to a lesser extent by Secretary of State for International Development Justine Greening, who was in charge of all government aid. The commitment of the 2015 Spending Review was clear and compared the government's defence obligations (2% of GNI) with those for development, which were to reach 0.7% of GNI after a budgetary review (2015 Spending Review). The new approach reconciled national interest, altruism (through DfID's remit), prosperity and crisis response. It was based on the global challenges of tackling the underlying causes of migration, pandemics, terrorism, climate change, on the "promises" made to the poor, and on the declaration that international development must be at the heart of foreign and security policies. It outlined four goals:



- peace and governance,
- resilience and response to crises,
- economic prosperity,
- basic needs and the fight against extreme poverty, prioritising the rights of women and girls.

The Conservative Party manifesto (2015) listed over thirty ambitious measures. It clearly stated that “no one will be left behind”, but that this was to be achieved through efficiency, a green economy as an enabler of the SDGs, and the mobilisation of capital markets (and London’s financial market).

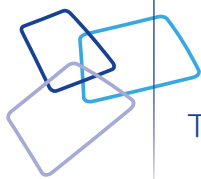
Concrete decisions were made: 50% of DfID’s budget was to be spent on vulnerable countries (LDCs). DfID’s powerful influence was nonetheless reined in and new dedicated funds geared to private investment were channelled into middle-income and emerging countries via DfID, the CDC and other government departments. All budgetary support was halted on the pretext of the drive for aid effectiveness; British aid’s target countries were deemed ill-suited to this type of aid given their levels of corruption. Cross-departmental funds were either created or strengthened: the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (£1.3 billion by 2020) coordinated by the National Security Council; the Ross Fund for global public health (an annual £1 billion); the Prosperity Fund (£1.3 billion over five years, steered by the National Security Council); climate commitments (£5.8 billion over five years); and the commitment to the Energy Africa initiative. The CDC Group underwent a first recapitalisation by DfID in 2015 (£735 million), ahead of the 2017 Commonwealth Development Corporation Bill, which authorised the investment bank to scale up its investments. The Global Challenge Research Fund (£1.5 billion for UK science), which was a follow-up to the Grand Challenges conference (London, 2016) hosted by the Bill & Melinda Gates and Richard Branson Foundations, planned to devote £390 million to innovation and technology-sharing in the health, child and humanitarian sectors. The other challenge funds were continued. DfID was called on to make in-house reforms and become an innovation hub and a transparent institution. It was instructed to implement the new government guidelines for inclusive growth, climate and gender; new financing instruments were to be used and the influence of Sir Ronald Cohen’s “impact investment” made itself felt. As of 2014, the policy on refugees became increasingly restrictive despite what was happening on the Continent and funds were channelled into keeping vulnerable populations in neighbouring countries.⁶⁸



As a result, **the ODA budget was no longer exclusively managed by DfID**. The department now received only 80–75% of aid budget appropriations, the rest being shared among other government departments: the FCO, the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (BEIS: energy, climate, research), and the Ministry of Defence (MoD) – which created a risk of lesser effectiveness. These new funds, often cross-competing, did not dispose of the same management guarantees as the excellent ones in place at DfID. DfID's 2016 Civil Society Partnership Review created a new centralised financing system that foresaw a continued rise in resources earmarked for development through NGOs, volunteering and partnerships. Humanitarian action remained a key priority for DfID with respect to the UN's humanitarian agencies, and the department led the way at the London Conference on Supporting Syria (February 2016).

Since July 2016, the new prime minister, Theresa May, has been under strong pressure from the “Brexiters” and the more conservative elements of her majority. International development policy is now being challenged, notably by the tabloids, which branded it as the new scapegoat during the Brexit referendum campaign. Some MPs – Labour and Tory – are less convinced by DfID's activities and now voicing various criticisms. Theresa May has nonetheless integrated development aid and the 0.7% into her vision of a “Global Britain”. Priti Patel, the new secretary of state for international development and a long-time opponent of DfID, is keen to prioritise national interests and the private sector in line with a very traditional conception of support for foreign trade. Important decisions have been made to boost the CDC Group (a commitment capacity of £1.5 billion by 2020, “doing good without losing money”,⁶⁹ according to CDC Chairman G. Wrigley), with the priority set on Africa. Despite DfID's in-house reforms, and notably with the arrival of cross-departmental experts who are less competent on development subjects, the department is under strong pressure to ensure that its still hefty budgets can be managed with fewer human resources, in a setting where each wrong move is liable to elicit strong criticism from the media and political circles.

⁶⁹ / Cf. “Over 50 years ago Lord Reith, the then Chair of CDC, came up with the maxim that CDC was all about ‘doing good without losing money’”, House of Commons International Development Committee, *The Future of CDC*, Fifth Report of Session 2010–2011 (2011)

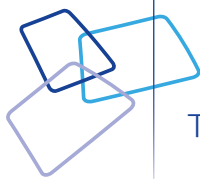


3. The administrations and Parliament – British actors with democratic control over ODA

a. *The institutional framework of government departments: an efficient centralisation of development aid, which nonetheless impedes interaction with other partners*

It was thanks to Clare Short that development gained a central place in government. Today, DfID is viewed as a “medium department”, meaning it is of middle-level importance (in comparison, the German BMZ ranks a little lower on the ministerial ladder). DfID, however, has a singular place among the development institutions, to the point that it has almost become an international institution in itself, at least with respect to the culture that its officials have acquired over their many years of experience; their aim is to “implement the DfID policy, and not the policy of the United Kingdom”. DfID exports its model, which is copied by emerging countries, while its various bodies, its functioning and modes of action influence the international development community, including the United States. Its clearly stated development ideology has helped to extend its reputation beyond the borders of the United Kingdom. This has earned it a number of critiques from civil society especially in recent years, as it is accused of a certain arrogance for wanting to work only with large partners; for maintaining close ties with the World Bank, which receives a large amount of DfID funds; for giving priority to large-scale projects; and a for the relative lack of transparency in its management. On the other hand, its image as a competent and well-supervised institution able to measure its results has proven useful in its dealings with public opinion and the senior civil service.

The fact that C. Short was given an independent cabinet ministry also gave her access to the chancellor of the exchequer and Parliament’s frontbenchers. Though DfID was created by a Labour government and led by a woman from the party’s left wing, some hold that the department shares a relatively liberal and market-oriented vision of development. On this count, DfID’s close ties with the Treasury could be explained by the fact that many of its top-ranking officials are economists who support an overall liberalisation of the United Kingdom. These work in concert with the Treasury against the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign Office, both bastions of an establishment mind-set with nationalistic and protectionist views. This DfID–Treasury alliance was clearly visible in the tacit agreement between Clare Short and Gordon Brown to increase appropriations for DfID, and is still apparent in the joint drafting of the UKaid strategy by DfID and the Treasury. This co-authorship is also attributable to the fact that today DfID implements only around 80% of ODA; had DfID been the sole author



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of the approach, this would not have fully reflected the government's aid strategy – hence, the Treasury's involvement. G. Osborne also seems to realise that public opinion is more and more critical of development aid, which may have encouraged his preference to systematically work with mixed DfID–Treasury teams.

DfID controls the main ODA budget lines: development and humanitarian aid, budget support, European Union funds, multilateral grants, etc. – which accounts for its effectiveness.

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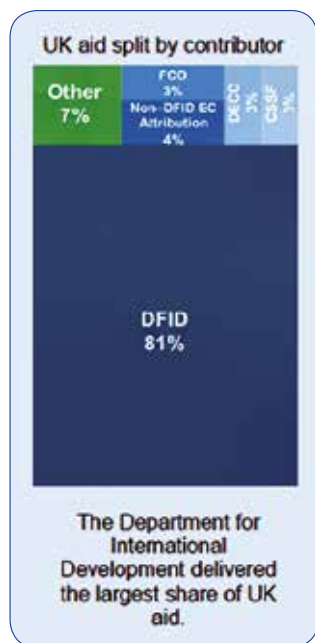
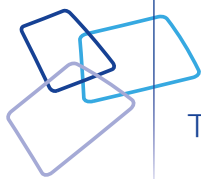


Figure 3: Distribution of British aid split by contributor

The policy line initiated by Clare Short to make a clear-cut separation between ODA and foreign affairs has not been challenged. This may sometimes lead DfID to wilfully ignore the actions of the other government departments operating abroad. It is in any case striking to see that DfID's resources give it an unmistakeable superiority compared to the Foreign Office when it comes to interacting locally with foreign actors. The Department of State for International Development is often viewed as a partner in its own right, and "almost" identified as separate from the British government. The careers of DfID civil servants wend a very seamless path between NGOs, research and the department, although its senior managers have mostly been in office for a good few years, if not for their entire career. Apart from resources, there is another significant difference between the Foreign Office's and DfID's core purposes, which is reflected in their

distinct departmental cultures. Whereas the former aims to extend influence and defend the United Kingdom's interests in the world, the latter aims to assist poor populations, who are considered to be clients or users of its services.

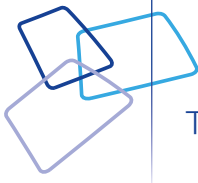
The aid budget for the other government departments has increased over the last two years, without however encroaching on DfID's budget. In fact, in addition to DfID's annual gross £9-billion aid budget, GNI growth between 2015 and 2016 has made it possible to step up the budgets of the other departments involved in international cooperation. These departments can use their envelopes for different purposes, whereas DfID-managed development aid is concentrated on the poverty



reduction in poor and fragile countries. This helps to consolidate a staunch support base for the development community, which is hostile to any return to aid driven by trade and commerce. Those who fear that DfID's relative positioning may shrink also fear that the focus on poverty will be weakened. In fact, the intervention of other government departments has led not only to a broader palette of geographical targets, notably the emerging countries, but also to a more complex system, which jeopardises many years of effort by the British authorities. In some ways, the United Kingdom is becoming more like its peers! Moreover, the other departments are criticised for their lack of culture in development matters, and their inadequate transparency and management skills ("good diplomats, but useless with money"). They are accused of using aid more loosely, for instance, to offset deficits in university budgets or to support businesses abroad, mostly via contracts that are not subject to oversight by DfID experts. Four main funds managed by the National Security Advisor and a cross-Whitehall committee are available to government departments whose projects meet the ODA criteria. Naturally, there is competition between the departments. They submit their projects to the Treasury, which also has decision-making power over ODA allocations; the current trend favours expenditure on health, renewable energy and research. The Home Office also receives a substantial share of ODA for its projects related to refugees.

Although the aid budget is increasingly shared among different government departments (20–25% of the 0.7% of GNI), cross-government cooperation does not seem to have increased, as might have been hoped. People still refer to "The Republic of DfID" and describe the department as impervious to cross-departmental exchanges. DfID is concerned about this new distribution of aid, viewed as more favourable to national interests but more likely to open the door to poor decisions and ill-designed development initiatives – which could endanger the whole ODA edifice. Some consider that DfID's decisions are much more political than before. Within the department, voices are being raised against various changes in a difficult context where cuts to administrative budgets and staff numbers have not left DfID unscathed, even though operational aid budgets have risen by 30% a year.

However, some processes do exist whereby DfID engages with other government departments. For example, country teams have been set up. One team includes the Foreign Office and DfID and brings together political analysts and ODA experts in order to address questions on North Africa. The Foreign Office and DfID are kept informed as they attend the meetings of various other departments. Defence Engagement is a strategic government tool that convenes all bodies involved in conflict prevention or management. DfID is present as it is largely responsible for

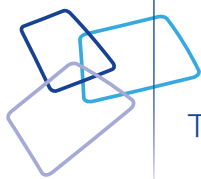


managing the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund together with the Ministry of Defence. DfID, the Foreign Office and the MoD thus meet within a common framework. It should be noted that, contrary to other cross-government units that are created when cross-departmental work is deemed necessary, those involving DfID are not permanent and have variable leases of life. Cross-departmental cooperation in this domain seems to work more effectively when it comes to implementation. It is within these cross-government hubs that the concept of national interest is crafted, and where the highest-ranking cabinet ministries can put forward their analyses and draw lessons from early stabilisation programmes (Afghanistan).

The radical overhaul of the CDC launched under Andrew Mitchell will give the group a more visible role within the British aid system. At the initiative of Secretary of State Priti Patel, the CDC's commitment capacity has been significantly boosted (3 or 4 times greater) and now absorbs around 4.3% of the ODA budget. Harshly criticised, including by the National Audit Office, for its positions in support of emerging countries, its lack of commitment to poverty reduction and its ties to the private sector, the CDC is closely scrutinised by Parliament, the media and civil society as, in their view, **government aid cannot be used for profit-making**. Undoubtedly, under the current Tory government, the CDC can offer British ODA an additional asset in terms of modernity and influence, providing that it is willing and able to take additional risks in support of poor countries in Africa and South Asia, and position itself on the issue of job-creation.

0.7%: a totemic institution

We should also mention **the quasi-institutional status of the 0.7% rule**. Enshrined in the 2015 Official Development Assistance Act, the 0.7% target dominated the public debate for over ten years. Now that the target has been reached, adhering to it is becoming problematic in the current political and fiscal climate (see below). As a result, spending obligations and last-minute adjustments leading to slippages are detracting from the intended image of the transparency and probity of aid – which may cause misunderstandings in public opinion. The 0.7% rule seems to focus the debate on a totem-like, legally enshrined number instead of highlighting the actions undertaken and the results achieved. It also runs the risk of limiting the conversation to the volume of commitments. Fuelled by this excessive concern for figures – which make for an easy target –, the media debates provide the press with polemical fodder and could be dangerous if they open breaches in the public's trust. One of the Treasury's proposals for managing the aid budget is to cap DfID's ODA budget at £9 billion and allow the amounts allocated to the other government departments to vary



in line with GDP. In theory, this offers DfID some security, although exposing an increasing share of ODA appropriations to cross-departmental competition would undermine the soundness of this budgetary framework.

CDC: a change of scale

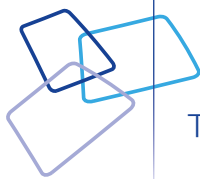
The CDC, originally the Colonial (then Commonwealth) Development Corporation, was created to promote investment in the colonies. After having its activity extended to other parts of the globe and later becoming a public-private partnership, it again became a fully state-owned body in 1999. In 2011, it was restructured as a central instrument for British aid. Its functioning is deemed less transparent than DfID's; its executives' salaries border on those in the banking sector and are under challenge; its contribution to poverty reduction is being questioned (e.g. its financing of high-end property developments abroad was denounced by an article in *The Guardian* in 2014); and its commitments to emerging economies such as China in various high-profit sectors are strongly criticised by the Left.

Yet, the present Conservative government has judged it necessary to increase the CDC's investment capacity, set to rise to £6 billion by 2018 and £12 billion by 2020. Given the group's lack of transparency, these announcements have understandably sparked critical reactions from civil society and on the left of the political spectrum. There is nonetheless an increasingly strong drive to step up private-sector involvement in development policy.

b. The parliamentary institutional framework: a well-informed and consensual pillar

The role of the British Parliament is fundamental in building the consensus. This institutional and political system is particularly sophisticated. MPs (House of Commons) and peers (House of Lords) hold the power within government. The department includes a secretary of state, a minister of state and a number of under-secretaries of state who assist him (her), one of whom is in charge of relations with the House of Commons. Together with the secretary of state, they govern the fate of international development policy and DfID. The number of high-level political appointees, mostly MPs, working with the DFID secretary of state, is quite remarkable as they are in a position to act jointly in the direction of the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

Parliament is kept informed of the work of the House of Commons' select International Development Committee. Each government department has a select committee, and

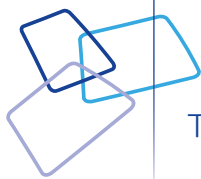


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the parliamentary committee for development was thus only set up once DfID had become an independent government department. Committee membership is based on the relative representation of the parties in the House of Commons: in June 2017, there were six Conservative members, four Labour and one from the Scottish National Party. It convenes up to four times a week. With a permanent ten-strong team and an ad-hoc parliamentary secretary, the committee's thoroughgoing work guides and leads the political and public debate. Chaired for many years by the Liberal Democrat Lord Malcolm Bruce, then by a Labour MP, the development committee works on difficult subjects, orders inquiries and creates concerted thinking in Parliament – its members have shared a favourable opinion on ODA since 1998 (repeatedly reported in OECD/DAC surveys). The International Development Committee monitors DfID spending through its in-depth investigative work. Parliamentary committee reports are judged to be of high quality. If the state secretary shows a particular interest in a country, it is visited by the committee members. The members collect written evidence, factual elements and oral evidence from witnesses, who take part in parliamentary hearings alongside experts holding differing views, and each case may require as many as six hearings. DfID and the Exchequer representatives are convened before the report is finalised. Recommendations are then published: these may hinge on structure, methodology, or an item on the agenda of parliamentary debates. The government has to respond within two months.

The committee released a highly critical report in early 2017 mentioning the UK's implementation of the SDGs at home and abroad. It questions whether the new British instruments (CDC, Prosperity Fund) are in line with the SDG targets and how they dovetail with a poverty reduction objective for poor and fragile countries. The committee also mentions the question of policy coherence, referring to the gap between the objectives of tax cooperation and practices in the City of London and British overseas territories. It encourages corporate initiatives in favour of the SDGs, calls for support and requests increased investment for multilateral institutions.

It proposes that the SDGs be embedded in all departmental action plans and that a formal cross-government mechanism comprising secretaries of state and ministers be set up at the highest level of government under the authority of the Cabinet Office, thus removing the SDG portfolio from DfID's remit, with a view to enhancing the coherence of cross-government approaches and preparing national reports. To this end, it recommends that DfID draft a report on international development with respect to the 2030 Agenda to link up current action on the overall objectives approved by the United Kingdom. This would enable all the different areas of work accomplished (the multilateral, bilateral and civil society partnership reviews) to be

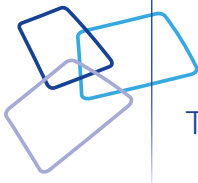


consolidated within a single document in compliance with the 2030 Agenda. It also recommends that the Development Acts of 2002, 2006, 2014 and 2015 be consolidated into a single act.

Its future work programme is defined by the SDG framework: the committee's report now underway focuses on SDG 4 (education). In March 2017, the committee submitted a seventh report on aid allocation, confirmed the 0.7% commitment, supported the quality of DfID's work and asked the department to continue providing a high quality of work without reducing its commitments. It stated its disagreement with the criticisms from the press and asked DfID to launch a more proactive communication strategy to counter these attacks. Finally, it enjoins the government to respect the primary purpose of British aid, which is poverty reduction, over and above the global challenges of national security.

Parliament uses the 2006 International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Act to carry out a widely scoped mission: evaluate expenditure, monitor institutions (DfID), formulate policy and evaluate and monitor activities. No less than two thousand parliamentary questions are produced each year, to which the government has to respond within five to ten days. Questions on development are scheduled each month in Parliament and asked just before the prime minister's question time, which affords the subject high visibility. The committee exercises soft power, with no direct impact on government policy. In addition, the organisation of the select committee gives MPs the opportunity to meet the state secretary in private sessions. This allows them to ask additional questions without the risk of embarrassment that could arise during an open session of questions to the government. More sensitive issues can be discussed and the committee can use these private sessions to check information directly with the secretary of state.

Over thirty MPs closely follow foreign affairs and development matters. They are often solicited by civil society and NGOs, who provide them with informational material, or by citizens mainly mobilised by the churches. The NGOs believe that a new generation of informed MPs needs to be built. The consensus on the 0.7% seems to be deeply anchored in Parliament, where some claim that this legislation could still muster at least five hundred favourable votes across all parties (except for UKIP, which is keen to abolish both the 0.7% and DfID but has only one House of Commons seat out of 650). A government petition entitled "Stop spending a fixed 0.7 per cent slice of our national wealth on Foreign Aid" gathered many more than the required 100,000 signatures and was debated in Parliament on 16 June 2016, but no MP gave their backing to the motion.



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In the House of Lords, the Intergovernmental Organisations Committee completes the parliamentary system, examining “contemporary issues of international policy”. In addition, each party has its own “group of friends of international development”.

To round off, since 2011, the Independent Commission on Aid Impact (ICAI) has significantly strengthened parliamentary involvement, as it produces (“and meticulously examines”, Mikaela Gavvas, ODI) for the select committees – independently and with the utmost concern for transparency – evaluations of the impact, performance and lessons of ODA strategies, programmes and projects run by DfID and other government departments (Department of Energy and Climate Change, FCO). These are long, “boring” and prudent documents that lend credibility to policy, even when they advance critical recommendations. ICAI is able to take the liberty of asking prickly questions about the capacity for self-questioning or about priorities that need reviewing or strengthening. According to MPs, DfID is the government’s most scrutinised institution and, when polemics break out, the debates maintain a degree of serenity. ICAI could gradually broaden its purview to include scrutinising the activities of other government departments or the “challenge funds”, and call for reform.

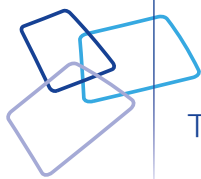
Political parties: quite similar discourses, which differ in their arguments for development aid rather than on the principle itself

Conservative Party

The Conservative Party underlines that it is important for the United Kingdom to remain open to the world in order to maintain its global influence, combining national interests and a moral duty with regard to ODA. Its 2015 election manifesto advances three main arguments in support of aid: it helps to prevent failing states from becoming havens for terrorist organisations; it guarantees a foreign market for UK exports; and it reduces migratory pressures. However, among the examples of its actions, health and humanitarian subjects take precedence, and the country’s lead role in defending women’s rights and fighting sexual violence in conflict zones is foregrounded. The party also commits to keeping DfID as an independent department and ODA at 0.7% of GNI, as well as tripling the International Citizen Service in size and doubling the AidMatch scheme.

Labour Party

The Labour Party views the importance of ODA from a slightly different angle, underlining that the United Kingdom cannot tackle today’s transnational threats by



itself: this means not only cooperating with developing countries but also mobilising multilateral channels (UN, EU, etc.). Its 2015 manifesto also emphasises the need to assist the most vulnerable (women and children) and to combat violence and health risks. Its discourse integrates the SDG framework and insists on the need for cooperation between development actors: private companies as well as governments, which need educating and strengthening.

Liberal Democrats

The LibDems propose a more integrated vision of global development aid issues: they take the SDG framework and the OECD's definition of ODA to advocate a sustainable development that is consistent with environmental challenges and based on a whole-government approach.

Scottish National Party (SNP)

The SNP's position is interesting as Scotland has its own International Development Fund over which it has full authority: although its allocation amounts to only £9 million, it nonetheless allows the party to act in those areas it considers a priority. The focus is first on the family, then humanitarian needs. Its 2015 manifesto points out that many Scottish nationals are settled abroad, which is an effective way of alluding to interdependence, seen by the party as one of the foundations of ODA.

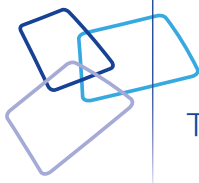
Green Party

The UK Greens advocate for the share of GNI earmarked for ODA to be increased to 1%. They foreground women's rights and base their case for development policy on cross-country interdependence: a decision in the United Kingdom has repercussions on other countries.

c. British soft power or how the United Kingdom uses ODA for influence

Observers consider British actors to be past masters at influencing and impacting development thinking and initiatives. Their influence strategy is directed at international institutions, the UN, Bretton Woods institutions, and multilateral and regional banks, and gives the British system a firm standing in the eyes of the elites. It is also an asset with respect to the British public, who feel that the country extends its influence beyond the resources deployed.

As a result, DfID plays a pivotal role in Brussels. Together with France, the two countries orient Community positions and strategies. DfID is able to rally the small



Scandinavian and Benelux countries to its positions. More flexible and better funded than the other European Cooperation ministries, it is also able to react quickly to crisis situations and create a ripple effect on its partners in Brussels. Similarly, the European Think Tanks Group is dominated by ODI.

The British NGOs have a strong presence on the international scene, except perhaps in the field of humanitarian health. They are active in every corner of the multilateral and European halls of influence. In Brussels and New York aid conferences, they stand as the permanent guardians of the principles and integrity of ODA, protecting its goals and modalities against any hi-jacking.

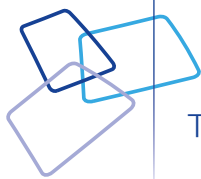
4. Role and influence of the British government's partners.

a. The NGOs: a local footing that enables them to engage the public over the long term

The legislation on the 0.7% of GNI was seen as a veritable triumph by the development NGOs. In the Conservative government's view, this victory should have brought NGOs' political lobbying to a close. The firm stance that DfID took towards NGOs can also be explained by the negative effects of NGO campaigns, which stoked doubts about aid effectiveness and the extent of corruption and called the government's efforts into question. The message of policy coherence, "Fight poverty effectively", was a dominant note in the agreement between the NGOs, civil society and the government. This distance between the NGOs and DfID was not new. Clare Short, at the beginning of her office, had considered that British NGOs were failing to address issues on the necessary scale: for her, funding them was "a short term political distraction" (Barder, 2005)!

NGO-government relations have gradually improved with the introduction of multi-year contracts for NGO funding, but a feeling of unease and a lack of communication persists between the administration and civil society. Today, DfID favours funding for small local NGOs to the detriment of the well-established (over-powerful?) NGOs, which now find themselves in difficulty. Many work contacts and personal relationships make collaboration possible, but the NGOs regret that there is no longer any formal consultative system for dialogue with the government, notably at the level of high-ranking officials. Be that as it may, British NGOs are some of the best-funded in the world: in 2011, 19% of the total ODA budget transited through NGOs.⁷⁰

British NGOs also have larger campaign and advocacy budgets than their European counterparts. Historically, they have run dynamic campaigns targeting both the

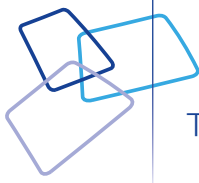


general public and political elites to raise awareness of the stakes of development aid. This was visible in the seminal campaigns such as Jubilee's Band Aid, Make Poverty History or during the Gleneagles Summit. DfID's accession to administrative and political autonomy was a moment that coincided with the debt relief campaign and the creation of many NGOs and platforms (Bond, 1993; Oxfam International, 1995), although some date back even further (some to World War II –Christian Aid in 1941 and Oxfam in 1942). In addition, public opinion is massively mobilised by charities and the churches, which are very committed to the 0.7% target.

For fifteen years, their strategy has been to influence party leaders and key MPs, with attempts to intensify pressure on MPs **by also campaigning at the local level**. In Priti Patel's constituency, there is a dense network of activists who provide information and very successfully encourage engagement in schools, local districts, parishes, like the Catholic NGO, CAFOD: **the NGOs have managed to create bipartisan support for development**. The reach of British NGOs is also attributable to their "high-street" presence: some, such as Oxfam with its highly decentralised structure, Christian Aid, Save the Children and MSF, have premises or shops on the high street of many small towns, which gives them a familiar presence and creates trust with local communities without fuelling an anti-elite discourse. The annual Comic Relief campaign, which gives half of the donations it receives to international NGO projects, is a splendid communication tool: everyone remembers wearing the "red nose" as a sign of solidarity. Giving is also encouraged by the national lottery, Camelot, which distributes £30 million⁷¹ each week to "good causes". It encourages giving through a strong communication strategy and the donations offered by Camelot to the aid NGOs are attractive. Oxfam has invited personalities from developing countries to the United Kingdom to foster dialogue with the British public on how aid works, as citizens actually know little about the subject.

Donating has been reshaped to give donors new ways of referring to their gifts: NGOs have understood the role of social networks and people's desire that their good deeds be visible. This has led NGOs to insist on the traces of an individual's act of giving and the impact of their donation on the ground. The slogan for NGOs and government alike is "Value for money". This does, however, pose a problem for NGOs, as this degree of accountability compels them to run projects that can be evaluated on their results. This means that it is more difficult to implement long-term actions, intervene in ongoing conflict situations or provide institutional support, for example, which can only be evaluated in terms of reducing political risks at the domestic level (e.g. British action for the Palestinians).

⁷¹ /Source: Camelot, <http://www.camelotgroup.co.uk..>



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As NGOs have seen a drastic ebb in public support for development aid, the question arises of what direction should now be given to the debate: should the strong charity-based emphasis be continued or more focus placed on the strategic and security benefits that seem to interest a growing number of citizens? For instance, a strategy for managing the migrant crisis has so far not been discussed in the United Kingdom, contrary what has happened in Germany. The NGOs are struggling to attract ever more donations and realise that the United Kingdom's role of international leader no longer serves as an argument: the time has come for moderation and "We have to do our bit and no more" has become the new mantra.

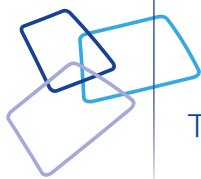
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Seeking agreement on official development assistance

Brexit was a shock for the NGOs. They see this as a pivotal time for British civil society and consider that the referendum has already radically modified the NGO landscape. They are now seeking to formulate a unifying discourse around a United Kingdom that is visibly trying to redefine its place in the world. They are also attempting to reach new audiences through revamped campaigns, and to more effectively involve the private sector in their projects, including local businesses as opposed to large multinationals, who are suspected of having ties to the world of elites and are far-removed from grassroots interests. Development civil society fears that, if Brexit pushes the United Kingdom onto a more insular and less global path, then British donations may go to NGOs active on home ground rather than to development NGOs. Some international NGOs such as WaterAid have already seen an erosion of their regular support base, with a drop of 40% over three years. Given the anti-ODA attacks by a part of the British press, some NGOs are even reconsidering their communication campaigns in the United Kingdom and thinking of directing them more towards French and German audiences. In their view, they should not wear themselves out trying to convince a now sated British public of the merits of their action.

Other organisations, on the contrary, believe that they need to engage more strongly with the United Kingdom. They realise that they were barely audible on the question of the UK's membership of the European Union and had failed to mount a compelling argument to support continuing this membership. They feel that they now have a still greater responsibility and duty to defend and maintain development aid. One of their methods is to lobby journalists and editors in order to tackle the underlying reasons for the attacks by the press; certainly, the media are insufficiently informed on development subjects, as are the MPs, who are influenced by their rhetoric.

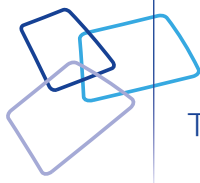
While these attacks come from the so-called right-wing press and although NGOs often have closer ties to Labour, many development NGOs are headed by



establishment conservatives, or enjoy such staunch support that political stripes have lost their importance. Oxfam, CAFOD, Christian Aid and Save the Children thus find as much resonance on the right as on the left of the political spectrum. This positioning allows them to work across partisan divides. Oxfam has direct access to the department of state and can thus pass its messages to the state secretary's office. The NGOs have a real political know-how enabling them to move around the different circles. Thanks to the revolving door between NGOs and the government administration, whose officials – including senior staff – can come and go, there are always civil society allies in the department who are cognisant of the benefits to be had from close ties with development organisations.

To respond to waning public support and media attacks, the British Overseas NGOs for Development (Bond) platform has recently brought together 45 NGO directors and various academics in order to define a new discourse on aid and counter any future threats to ODA. Bond federates 450 organisations of varying size and with different levels of expertise, and the coordination between the NGOs seems relatively effective. As a networked hub, it gives development NGOs more legitimacy than they would have were they to act individually. DfID funds NGO networks with this in mind; but coordination is nonetheless cumbersome and some NGOs continue to act alone.

Civil society organisations focused on environmental issues set little store on development. The largest internationally active NGOs do, however, try to dovetail the two aspects (joint WWF and Christian Aid initiatives), as in the approaches advocated by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) or the sustainable development thinking driven by academic institutions (LSE). Now that sustainability has been integrated into the government agenda via the SDGs, WWF has been able to embed climate change into development. Yet, environmental NGOs are sometimes critical of DfID, especially as the department is in charge of the British climate funding that resulted from the Paris Agreement. By integrating environmental questions into development policy, DfID does not seem to be pursuing a genuine environmental and climate policy that receives specific appropriations (these NGOs generally think that the British government has not done enough to integrate the SDGs into its development policy). WWF and other NGOs launched an open letter (published in *The Times*) signed by 84 major firms operating in the United Kingdom to draw the government's attention to the sustainable dimension of development, as they reasoned that the Conservative government would be more receptive to calls from the private sector.



In recent years, NGOs have felt that the government is taking them less seriously, even though DfID still recognises Bond as an interlocutor, and that they are no longer consulted on strategy. They were seemingly more cosseted by DfID at the time when the department was under the constant threat of budget cuts; in those years, civil society was seen as a crucial mainstay for the department. Now that this threat has been lifted, NGOs are seen more as one ally among others. The distance that has set in between the NGOs and DfID has led some civil society representatives to conclude that preserving ODA is in fact not such an important priority for the department's officials.

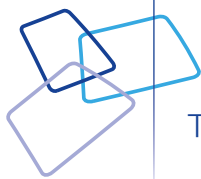
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b. Think tanks and foundations: a strong capacity to inform and influence policymakers

British think tanks play a major role in informing and influencing development questions.⁷² They are engaged in large, sometimes bilateral, partnerships. They survive on their own resources, which come partly from private sponsors and contracts, notably with DfID. ODI has an impressive 250-strong staff and a £40 million budget derived from 700 contracts. Its headcount has risen by an annual 15% in recent years. Simon Maxwell, former director of ODI, insists on the importance of communication: a think tank is not simply a place for research but also, and above all, a place of influence – it should not segue into a consulting firm or an NGO. In his view, it is important to reach the core of political institutions, gain effective access to decision-makers and strengthen the epistemic community working on development questions: A think tank, for instance, should be a terrain for encounters between NGOs, United Nations directors, senior civil servants and business leaders. It should be noted that as DfID is not authorised to conduct its own opinion polls, it relies on the surveys provided by think tanks or foundations such as those supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

Fellowship schemes such as those offered by ODI also have real impact.

Under the Queen's patronage, Chatham House is a forum whose primary aim is to consult a broad base of actors in the field and encourage them to work together, unlike DfID, which only engages at the grassroots level through the NGOs that it funds. Although Chatham House cannot officially engage in lobbying, its staff unofficially seek to inform and thereby influence policymakers. The organisation's



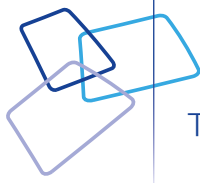
three directors each belong to a different political party (Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrats), which guarantees that the studies produced encompass the political orientations of Labour's left wing through to the Tories' right wing.

The American Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation has chosen London as its European headquarters. It helps to consolidate cross-party consensus on development aid by organising field missions to sensitise key politicians to these questions. This costly but effective method gives them an in situ immersion and helps them understand the stakes of the development debate. The foundation tries to use spokespeople that are not NGO directors and calls, for example, on former army staff or business leaders. Sharing DfID's vision of poverty reduction, it also gives the department considerable support, notably for communication to the general public. It also engages in a host of activities that are co-financed by British institutions.

Many other international foundations are based in London: AKDN (Aga Khan Development Network) and the foundations of the Prince of Wales, Mo Ibrahim, Ellen MacArthur, etc. Most major companies also run charities of different types.

c. Universities: the drivers of a growing generational awareness

The British academic community has a world-class reputation on development subjects. Paul Collier, Nicolas Stern, William Easterly and many others are fine examples of British excellence in the historical understanding of developing countries, derived from the colonial era, and global questions. Faculties specialised in international development have mushroomed in recent years, the foremost being the London School of Economics and the universities of Manchester, Cambridge, Birmingham, Oxford, Sussex University's IDS, and the universities of East Anglia and Surrey. Imperial College and the tropical medicine faculties (at London and Liverpool universities) are important research centres for development subjects. They help to enhance the quality of a pro-aid ecosystem, feeding the think tanks with experts and skills. Some landmark books have become best sellers: *Does Aid Work?* by Robert H. Cassen (1986), *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* by Roger C. Riddell (2006), *Is Aid Oil?* and *The Bottom Billion* by Paul Collier (2006 and 2007), *The White Man's Burden* by William Easterly (2007), *Dead Aid* by Dambisa Moyo (2009), *The Economics of Climate Change* by Nicholas Stern, *Prosperity Without Growth* by Tim Jackson (2009),



or Inequality by Anthony B. Atkinson (2015). London and Oxford are highly influential centres for international development.

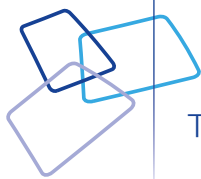
Even if the academic world seems to have scant influence on development aid policy, the Fellowship Scheme set up by ODI has sent many young postgraduates to work in developing countries for one or two years and has lastingly marked a generation. British research on development questions is dynamic and influential as it contributes to defining concepts that then migrate into the policymakers' discourses. Certainly, the use that is made of words is of course important: it is not the same policy if we call it "aid" or "cooperation". It should also be pointed out that the salience given to development research means that development aid policy is subject to much more analysis in the United Kingdom than in Germany or France. DfID has also tried to infiltrate the national school curriculum, and propose higher education courses on development, which are initially always dovetailed with other specialisations. The aim here is not to train development experts but to lead the young generations to reflect on these global questions. The many university courses on development have made the subject so popular that candidates in the civil service general examination very often marked DfID as their first choice over the period 2000–2010.

DfID also allows for ODA allocations to development-related research carried out in the United Kingdom. This gives doctoral students and researchers an incentive to focus their work on international development.

Furthermore, DfID's research director managed to obtain a fixed percentage of the department's budget specifically for this activity: the research envelope has so far benefited from regular increases in line with those of the ODA budget. New financial instruments (Ross Fund and Challenge Research Fund) have given fresh impetus to research on development subjects. DfID also has an in-house chief scientific advisor, who advises the minister on scientific matters, facilitates cross-government work and handles relations with the academic world. There is thus an interface connecting academia with government policymaking.

d. The business world takes up the SDGs

The United Kingdom hosts the headquarters of numerous companies, multinationals and finance institutions that have engaged in international sustainable development. They contribute to British business and British soft power launched in 2004 by T. Blair: "Business fights poverty", which was taken up by the United Nations within the Business Call to Action (UNDP) and the Global Compact. This



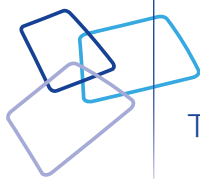
is a tradition that has been encouraged by the government with varying degrees of success. The companies join stakeholder coalitions and high-profile initiatives, and roll out new concepts that help to drive the momentum of the London business community. In addition, think tanks and universities also play their part. IIED and the International Sustainability Unit are both active on these questions; Cambridge University runs the Institute for Sustainability Leadership, which proposes tailor-made strategies and leadership training for companies keen to orient their action towards sustainable development.

Business leaders have become a mouthpiece for development: Richard Branson (Virgin), Paul Polman (Unilever), Mark Wilson (Aviva), Hendrik du Toit (Investec), Richard Edelman (Edelman), investor Jeremy Grantham (GMO), Canadian Jeff Skoll (eBay then the Skoll Foundation), James Murdoch (Sky, via the Quadrivium Foundation), singer Martin Smith, among others. Some position themselves on sustainable development objectives, whilst others promote and invest in alternative solutions, pointing out that these are also promising investments. As P. Polman has commented: “Ultimately, we need system change – the very nature of capitalism: what it means to be a consumer – to be a citizen. And to achieve this change, we must work in coalition. After all, business cannot stay on the side-lines of a system that gives them life in the first place.”⁷³

The United Nations Global Compact, a network of companies working to integrate the SDGs into their strategy, includes just over eighty UK members. Each month, an event is organised in the United Kingdom (most often in London).

Some of the big UK-based corporates that have taken the Paris Agreement’s SDGs on board are responsible actors (i.e., comply with the Principles of Responsible Investment and the Environmental, Social and Governance rules) and invest in global development projects, recognising that the world is changing. It is now time to act and inspire the trust of local communities, and deploy economic models that take the long term into account. They are members of the Business & Sustainable Development Commission, chaired by Mark Malloch-Brown, former minister in G. Brown’s administration. This aims to rally 1,000 companies and encourage them to internalise the SDGs in their strategy. The commission’s “Better Business, Better World” report (February 2017) states its will to act globally, promote innovative solutions (ITCs, energy, food, sanitation) that are more effective than those of traditional development agencies, invest in sustainable models, bring financial leverage tools to bear, and establish partnerships.

Some, such as Sedex, Verco, Aviva, Vodafone, have just joined with WWF in a call



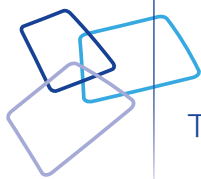
The United Kingdom

to the British government to implement the SDGs. Unilever, for instance, launched a programme in 2015 targeting communities in Bihar as part of its Domestos Toilet Academies initiative. This programme has been expanded by the Toilet Board Coalition, and the Transform programme, both in favour of Africa. Innovative partnerships are being promoted between companies (Unilever, Microsoft, Marks & Spencer, Vodafone) and DfID, with support from NGOs (Save the Children, Oxfam) in charge of guaranteeing additional benefits for development: these bring together public and private funds, products, private trademarks and services, technology, experiments, and thereafter commercial expansion of the projects. In the water sector, the NGO WaterAid is actively working with companies and relies on two main partners, the H&M Foundation and HSBC Bank. R. Branson has also set up the Carbon War Room, a non-profit that proposes solutions to firms seeking to reduce their carbon emissions. Cadbury has rolled out its Cocoa Partnership, and is helping to further a fair-trade industry that represents annual sales of £2 billion. The partnerships between NGOs and companies are growing, supported by academia and the think tanks (IIED, ODI), even though these formats sometimes appear excessively complicated for the firms.

Some financial firms, such as the Aviva insurance company, and corporate foundations (Shell, BT, etc.) give priority to actions with a twofold scope, environmental and humanitarian. They have introduced a natural capital accounting approach (water, forest, biodiversity, carbon), and are divesting from high-emitting industries (Montreal Carbon Pledge). Others communicate on these issues through publicly known patrons such as R. Branson, who is taking part in the campaign for solar energy in Africa (Energy Africa coalition).

The new economy is very much alive in the United Kingdom and new ways of donating and contributing now complement the traditional aid practices of charities and foundations, launched partly by David Cameron's Big Society project, which has encouraged the social economy: Sir Ronald Cohen's impact investment, social impact bonds, social funds, patient capital and inclusive business are all concepts and tools developed in London.

The Conservative government has been keen to give the private sector and economic development a more important place at the international table. To this end, it has taken several initiatives, including the 2016 creation of the Prosperity Fund, which is managed across government departments and under the authority of the National Security Commission. The fund involves the FCO and the Treasury, with DfID's support, and aims to promote local economic growth primarily in middle-income

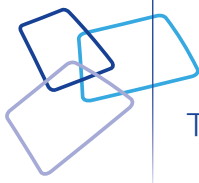


and emerging countries (Asia, Latin America), while also promoting British business. DfID also runs new programmes focused on the private sector in view of bringing together domestic actors. The CDC, which is set to significantly gain in strength, will also serve as a tool for British companies' offerings, with its target set on Africa. The discourse of Secretary of State Priti Patel, who espouses the traditional concepts of foreign trade promotion and is apparently ready to change the OECD's ODA rules, seems out of kilter with the initiatives of the UK's private sector, which has a more ambitious vision. Major groups, for instance, are turning towards other partners such as the Scandinavian countries, the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank to push forward their global development strategies. And the SMEs are absent from this government strategy. DfID's efforts to push companies into becoming "development operators" are having little success, as they fail to fit the private sector's criteria for action. As elsewhere, private consultants (e.g. Adam Smith International, Crown Agents) and other actors linked to American IDCs are present in DfID's orbit, and the department relies heavily on a number of these firms to implement its projects.

5. Communication and the media: constructive and polemical criticism

DfID is one of the most scrutinised and evaluated government departments in the United Kingdom. Even though it is reputed for its transparency and effective external evaluation system, this level of scrutiny forcibly generates reports that can trigger criticism of the department's use of funds. In recent months, the British tabloids have systematically seized on these reports to bolster their attacks on official development assistance. Yet, the simple fact seems to be that a degree of transparency inevitably leads to controversy. According to some, the consequences of such controversy depend on the maturity of an institution; in light of the attacks against the DfID and their echoes, it would seem that the British development institutions are still vulnerable.

Part of the British press is particularly virulent against development aid: negative articles are published by *The Daily Mail*, then *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*. Sensational headlines have multiplied (*The Daily Mail*: "Britain's aid fuels corruption") and questions are being asked as to whether or not this hostile campaign is orchestrated. During February and March 2017, there was one polemical article a week on ODA, particularly in the conservative-leaning press.



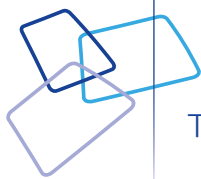
The United Kingdom

Newspapers and magazines with an economic focus such as the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* put a strong spotlight on international questions and express liberal positions that are sometimes critical of – but interested in – the aid market; but they address only an elite audience. *The Guardian* (left-leaning) is an exception among the British newspapers as it publishes a section whose primary focus is on sustainable development. This reporting is facilitated through hefty funding from the Gates Foundation – but most likely interests no more than a limited circle of dedicated readers. Today, it seems that climate change is again being challenged by some newspapers.

Interestingly, the mainstream press gives little coverage to development subjects, and the often-controversial topics covered target funding that is not in fact from DfID's budget. Their critiques sometimes lack consistency: at times, *The Daily Mail* criticises the DfID-funded ecosystem of consultants with attacks on the so-called parasitic middlemen that intervene between donor and recipient, while, at other times, it takes issue with the practice of direct aid transfers.

A nuance needs to be made, however, regarding *The Daily Mail's* influence in the United Kingdom: the newspaper has a readership of 400,000, whereas there are four million occasional donors to development aid (the UK Giving Report 2015 estimates individual donations to international aid at £1.1 billion). As for DfID, all of its development communication efforts were abandoned in 2010–2011 at the request of Conservative ministers.

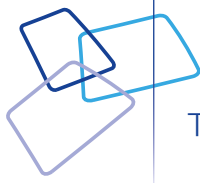
The department favours crisis communication and is aware that it needs reinforced teams to respond to these new attacks and build up support by directing its communication efforts towards the public at the margins: those who are neither strongly in favour of development nor really hostile. It has three main strands of communication: healthcare, humanitarian interventions (which are given positive press by *The Daily Mail*) and economic development. The purpose is twofold: to communicate on subjects on which the British public self-identify or feel compassionate and, in parallel, to counter press attacks in real time via a diversity of media, rather than by relying simply on the DfID's own website. It also relies on advocacy NGOs (e.g. ONE). Civil society has played a highly critical role in the media debate, but times are changing and it is felt that a strategic reflection is now called for to rethink how government and NGOs' external communication strategies can be linked up.



A partnership exists between the BBC and the development NGOs that form the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC): when faced with an ongoing international crisis, the DEC asks the BBC to broadcast an appeal on all its channels to inform the public massively about a crisis situation. This system is nonetheless judged to be too sluggish.

Now that development aid objectives have evolved towards the SDGs, the actors know that a broader dialogue with the public is necessary so that global SDGs (covering all countries, rich, emerging and poor) and local SDGs strike a balance with national interest. This has led Parliament to request a communication campaign in this direction. The climate agreement has sparked greater reflection on how to communicate on financial commitments so as to avoid eroding support. Given the emerging signs of isolationism, concerns about the changes induced by globalisation also need to be integrated. Ultimately, it is felt that expanding development aid to include sustainable development, increased private-sector funding and participation, innovative and risk financing and multilateral approaches – all of which are more sophisticated arrangements – tends to weaken the link with solidarity issues (humanitarian, human rights, infant nutrition, gender, decent work, primary education, etc.). Positive experiences involving the British government and others should also be highlighted: management of the Ebola pandemic, exit from the crises in Sierra Leone, the Balkans and Somalia, climate coalitions, and fair-trade initiatives. The opening up to other government actors, including European and multilateral players, also helps to convey positive messages. Public opinion is ready to accept aid that works and comes up with solutions. It is also sensitive to the notion of effectiveness, which ensures that money is well spent. Public enthusiasm can be triggered by concrete initiatives. The public also wants to see their interests protected, hence a messaging that balances altruism and individual interest. If these messages are to be combined with other more complex ones – some of which call on deep-rooted values and more directly tangible objectives (fight against climate change, halt migrations) –, a consistent message would need to be recrafted, but this is currently not forthcoming (Andrew Norton, IIED director). There are thus avenues of communication that still need to be explored.

Consumer-backed campaigns also play a key role by pointing up the ethical aspect of making a purchase.



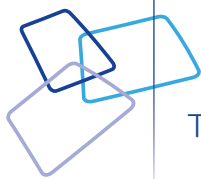
6. Public opinion: between mobilisation and lassitude

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the development aid debate was a lively one, animated by the energetic campaigns against poverty and for the abolition of anti-personnel mines (1996–97), debt cancellation (Jubilee 2000), and children’s education (the Queen’s Jubilee, 2002). The NGO-led campaigns rested on a weighty tradition: Hungry for Change (1984). Widespread communication on development organised by the churches, popular education movements and NGOs created fertile ground for new coalitions often supported by the media (notably, Comic Relief’s annual television evening) and a host of celebrities (see above). The period also saw the emergence of new initiatives by associations and other groups: One World International, the Development Education Association, Oxfam, which organises public information and education, and DATA (Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa) later merged with ONE.

The level of aid’s popularity, as measured by various opinion polls, is stable and robust: a 2000 survey (OECD) shows that attitudes have remained 70–85% in favour of aid since the 1970s, with no drop-off during the Thatcher–Major years 1979–93 (which saw the halving of aid and “aid fatigue”). Public opinion is grounded mainly in moral and humanitarian considerations, and – remarkably – the success of opinion-making campaigns seems largely due to the demand for more justice rather than to compassion-based arguments. The idea of justice was taken up again ten years later by the slogans “Social Justice” or “Climate Justice”. This success was also due to the proposal for a “simple solution”, such as debt cancellation. These campaigns have marked a whole generation and fuelled young people’s passion and engagement.

The academic literature, however, reaches no firm conclusion on the real impact of opinion campaigns (Martin, 2007), or on the correlation between the level of ODA and the public’s buy-in. It is thus more a question of having the impression of a positive impact in light of the positive results, public opinion generally being little aware of the situation in developing countries and often fed with televised news of disasters and crises.

In recent years, public opinion has come to recognise that the question is increasingly linked to the United Kingdom’s own interests (trade, stability, controlling pandemics, environmental protection). However, it considers this aspect to be less important than the moral imperative, rooted in values that are also conservative. Opinion

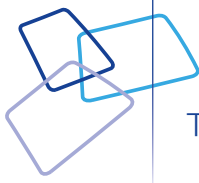


leaders understand that priority needs to be given to long-term development, education and health – in other words, eliminating the root causes of poverty – rather than to short-term assistance (food aid, etc.). The general public remains strongly influenced by the many visuals showing poverty, child abuse, violence or hunger. These play on emotion but run the risk of heightening a feeling of powerlessness in the face of a distress that shows no sign of disappearing. In the public's view, the problems of climate change and migration have no obvious link to poverty reduction and seem insoluble, whereas poverty can be alleviated. Poverty reduction inspires confidence in aid, as it is possible to take action.

An in-depth study, “Views on Overseas Aid” (2016) funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation reports that many British citizens have no particularly fixed opinion on development aid and are likely to change their mind depending on the content of the message communicated. While the Foundation identified that more people supported development aid than opposed it, those who responded in favour of an increase in the ODA budget were in the minority. DfID considers that the number of people only marginally engaged is high, estimating this at three-quarters of the population.

Moreover, the study shows that messaging on positive subjects is better perceived; the field of health is more likely to prompt support than security, which is not intuitively perceived as being connected with aid.

Several signs indicate that today public support is shallower. The category of population traditionally strongly engaged, the centre-right middle class, now seems less inclined to donate and some NGOs are feeling a downward pressure on their formerly stable resources. But signs of renewal are visible and new generations of donors are using the social networks. New sources of support are emerging.



7. Post-Brexit scenarios

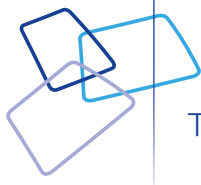
a. An inward-looking UK

Brexit largely dominates the current debate, to the point that any public policy debate is seen through this prism. While events on the other side of the Atlantic find a strong resonance in the United Kingdom, the most radical scenario presents Brexit as the first piece in a vast chain reaction: “climate change scepticism” is emerging on the British landscape, and development aid seems to be the new target for the UKIP party and its supporters. Indeed, the image of an elite pursuing its own global project without taking into account the expectations of British citizens can be easily transposed to development assistance policy. Although the attacks come from a minor fraction of the political landscape, the Conservative Party’s 2016 victory has prolonged the debate around aid. Given the public’s waning support for aid and now that DfID is headed by Priti Patel – a political figure who has openly criticised development aid –, any increase in the aid budget seems to be ruled out. For some, the sole remaining option would be to decrease it and, for the most pessimistic, this would be down to its 1990s levels. Weakness and tensions in the Conservative leadership also contribute to the fragility of the ODA budget, which is currently defended by the most committed members of the Labour party and the LibDems.

Yet, if researchers Todd Moss and Scott Morris are to be believed, the best political configuration in the United States for an increased development aid budget would be a ruling Republican party; following their arguments, which underline the driving role of Christian values, the continuation of a Conservative government should not pose a threat to the 0.7%. On the other hand, it could be that, were the 0.7% to be maintained, the DAC’s framework definition would be called into question. This would open the way to a much more flexible definition of ODA-reportable spending. The Treasury, however, foresees a post-Brexit decline in GNI, which would automatically lead to a fall in the real volume of ODA, which is based on this figure.

b. An outward-looking UK

It may be that the Brexit phenomenon will prove favourable to a relaunch of British official development assistance. Some Brexiters argue that the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the European Union will promote the country’s opening up to the world and a more global orientation free from regional constraints, thanks to the “Global Britain” project promoted by Theresa May at the United Nations in September 2016: “The United Kingdom has always been an outward-facing, global



The United Kingdom

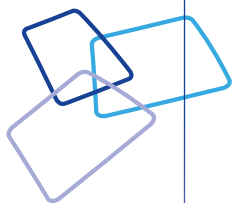
partner at the heart of international efforts to secure peace and prosperity for all our people...And that is how we will remain. For when the British people voted to leave the EU, they did not vote to turn inwards or walk away from any of our partners in the world." Once outside the EU, the UK's low-cost development assistance policy seems to be one of the only soft power instruments able to maintain the country's global presence in future years, along with trade and military cooperation. Aid could be used as a tool to clinch the trade agreements that the United Kingdom will have to sign to replace those of the EU. It might thus be tempting to increasingly link aid with support for foreign trade.

Brexit could thus be a unique opportunity to rethink the "development aid narrative", shifting to a less elitist discourse that is closer to the man in the street, who remains generous on the whole, but who is shocked by the overall inward-looking turn of events and for whom arguments more in tune with his preoccupations need to be found. Development has to escape from the bubble of "The Guardian readers", the "pink liberals", the agitators of the debate on climate change, the advocates of a well-identified DfID ideology who are certain of their reasoning: "We will levy taxes to finance a government policy that we will implement, without telling you about it, and with no confrontation or dialogue with society". This scenario gives one the feeling that the old model must be revised, or otherwise disappear.





VI



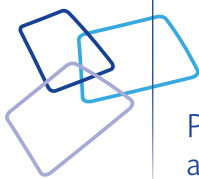
Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

1. Comparison with other countries

Is it possible to draw on the German, British and US case studies and identify points to ponder for the French situation? It would be useful to make a comprehensive study of official development assistance in France, as the present report has done for other countries, to analyse the French factors for consensus-building and pinpoint keys for understanding and recommendations. This exercise, prepared and drafted with the stakeholders, would doubtless arrive at conclusions on courses of action for French public authorities and on possible avenues for collaboration. An outsider view of the French consensus on aid would also be useful, be it that of allies and stakeholders of ODA policy or aid beneficiaries and partners.

This report, which is limited to describing the three countries studied (the United States, Germany, United Kingdom), draws points of cross-comparison and lessons, and naturally leads to a few concrete comments concerning the French case.

Needless to say, each country has its own specific comparative advantages, institutions and permanent features, which means that a direct transposition of any one aspect of the German, British or US consensus onto the French situation is unfeasible. For the author of this report, it seems vital to recall that, without a broad consensus across parties, government and Parliament, development policy cannot deliver impact or be effectively deployed. To our mind, this consensus must be a priority and serve as a building block for an agreement between all concerned on the objectives, messages, instruments and the means employed. In light of what was gathered from over a hundred interviews, **the international community represented by those we spoke to is expecting France to assume a renewed leadership role on global development policies both in Europe and worldwide**, in what is now a less buoyant global context. Yet, the French consensus is still fragile and needs to be given renewed attention.



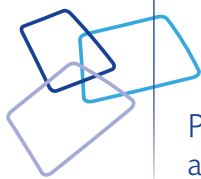
Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

Table 2: Summary of the lessons of the comparative study

	Germany	United Kingdom	United States
Political leadership	Strong, at the highest level	Strong, at the highest level	Relatively strong
Quality of institutional communication	Weak, improving	Formerly strong, weakening	Weak
Underpinnings of the discourse	Sound, have become complex	Clear	Relatively clear
Role of Parliament	Involved	Very involved	Strongly involved
Position of political parties	Overall agreement on the basics	Overall agreement on objectives, with nuances	All-party action (2000–2016), in the framework of national security policy
Stakeholder engagement	Very high	Very high	High, actors' increasing autonomy vis-à-vis Government
Institutional framework	Sound and sustained, but increasingly complex	Sound, but more fragile	Gradually improving, but many initiatives not completed

The cross-country comparison table from Chapter 2 is again given here so that the key characteristics of the three countries studied can serve as a basis for reflection and inspiration. It can be used as a starting point for the debate on which directions the public and private institutions could take in the medium run. We leave it to the reader to add observations and comments in the “France column”.

This table enables us to characterise the details of the development aid consensus in each of the three countries. Although each has its specificities, the countries display at least four or five criteria assessed as good or very good, albeit through a subjective prism. France does not dispose of an equally favourable overall framework and, at first glance, does not attain as many points of excellence.



2. Lessons from the US, Germany and the UK: which are relevant to France?

Table 2 below recalls the nine key lessons drawn from each country study. Obviously, these characteristics cannot be transposed directly onto the French situation. Yet, the exercise could inspire reflection, and everyone can contribute useful observations to verify whether the nine keys identified by the mission could be relevant to the French case. Among the keys that stand out we find the engagement of the political and parliamentary authorities (United States, United Kingdom), the strength of engagement from society and its actors (Germany, United States, United Kingdom) and the quality of institutions, a criterion common to all of the countries studied.

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Table 2: Summary of the lessons of the comparative study

United States: a difficult global leadership	Observations: France
Key 1: Republican and Democratic leaders have been allies since the New Deal and retain their control over the US institutions that have international influence.	
Key 2: A civil, intellectual and entrepreneurial society with a powerful influence on international subjects, but little foothold in public opinion; it also keeps its distance from public action.	
Key 3: A reasoned linkage between aid and diplomacy, aid and defence/security, driven by the search for global leadership and reliant on major initiatives that the presidents support personally as part of their political legacy.	
Germany: societal engagement	
Key 1: A culture of global responsibility as a “moral duty”, instilled in everyone at school and marked by a pronounced buy-in to sustainable development.	
Key 2: The principles of development backed by private networks – associative, religious, political, institutional, intellectual, entrepreneurial, regional – in order to disseminate the German model, with no real ideological clashes.	
Key 3: A public and private institutional system that is powerful and enduring; it has become more complex in recent years but offers new perspectives, and is capable of taking new global initiatives.	



Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

United Kingdom: a political will

Observations:
France

Key 1: A longstanding, highly committed and bipartisan political leadership.

Key 2: A well-organised and well-equipped Parliament that is amply informed by the ecosystem and impelled by a civil society with locally rooted support.

Key 3: An effective government development institution, approved by public opinion and now an international reference.

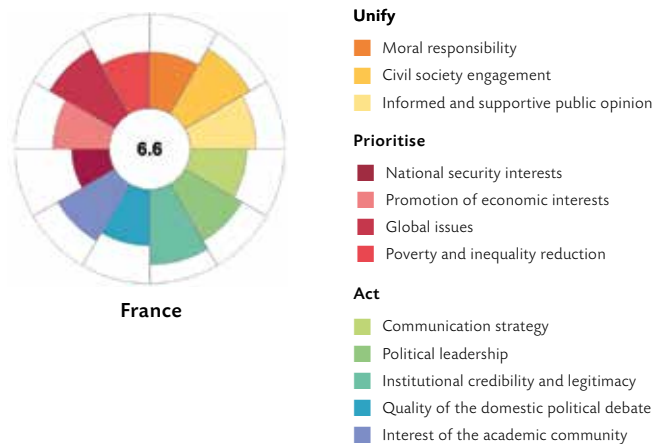
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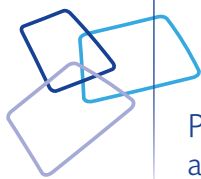
If France were to pinpoint three keys applicable to its own development policy, they would doubtless not match those given in Table 2 above. Identifying these – an exercise that could usefully be carried out by the collaborative study mentioned above – would help to draw some relevant lessons, which in turn could give rise to proposals in view of reinforcing or correcting these keys.

3. The French consensus indicator

The consensus indicator that has been developed (cf. Chapters 1 and 2, Appendix 3) is a work tool designed to facilitate reflection, and one that would merit deeper exploration. At this stage, the tool is experimental and now requires methodological validation. The author has applied the indicator to the French situation for the latter MDG years (2010–2015) and the results are displayed in the rosette below:

Consensus indicator 2: Latter MDG years





Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

The indicator rosette applied to France shows the scores – subjectively attributed – for each of the twelve consensus-building factors and produces an overall score that is lower than those of the three countries studied for the periods in question. In particular, we see the low-to-average scores for some of the criteria (moral responsibility, public opinion, government communication, academic community, national security), and some outstanding strong points (public goods, credibility of institutions). This exercise could be transposed to the year 2017 and serve as a subject of debate among the actors in order to obtain more precision and findings grounded on a broader-based evaluation panel.

It is nonetheless useful to establish a menu of concrete proposals for each of the identified categories. The suggestions given below, prepared with no concertation and under the sole responsibility of the mission's author, are based on observations and impressions drawn from the country studies. They do not take into account the current status of ongoing projects or initiatives that may fully answer the questions asked. The aim is rather to give orientations, not ranked in order of priority, that could be initiated by various public and private leaders of the development aid ecosystem in France, and which could also be applied to different categories of actors.

a. Unify

Moral responsibility

- ▶ Initiate, with the French intelligentsia, civil and religious authorities, academia and the media, an intellectual debate that could raise questions for the authorities and offer the French public a sharper perception of the world, its humanity, its interdependence and a collective responsibility for the future. Propose, for example, a periodic international forum in Paris to deepen and drive thinking on development aid, which could then inform discourses and positions, and clarify the future and the collective imagination. Share these reflections widely with the international community.
- ▶ Assess the interest of clearly promoting the values of fraternity and solidarity in the messaging communicated by the actors and policies.

Civil society engagement

- ▶ Engage a more fluid dialogue with civil society on sustainable international development, giving a broad voice to the stakeholders in balance with the voice of public institutions. Signals could be given that a jointly built dialogue is being sought, over a legislative mandate, to accompany the main thrusts of a development policy that would set objectives.

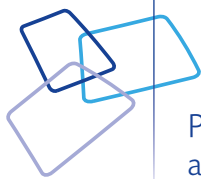


Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

- Identify the ways and means for transparent collaboration on thinking, strategies, programmes and new initiatives, as well as on accountability mechanisms between the government, its institutions and the stakeholders, to reduce the barriers separating the actors and enable a collective agreement to be reached on shared objectives.
- Better integrate the stakeholders into projects, by increasing funding for civil society actors in France and by launching partnerships conducive to joint initiatives, leveraging effects and greater ties with actors in countries benefiting from cooperation policy.
- Propose to NGO/SCO actors that they undertake a comprehensive review of their organisation, their membership of international networks, their strengths and weaknesses, and the framework underlying their relations with the other actors in French society: Parliament and the political sphere, businesses, academia and think tanks, local and regional government, the media.
- Envision with the actors the creation an independent and non-partisan platform that brings together all the actors supporting official development assistance policy.

Public opinion

- Better understand what public opinion expects of public and private development aid, identify the different target populations, and build a positive and tailored messaging that can be taken up by the different actors.
- Link public support with domestic references so as to anchor development topics in a context close to the concerns of the French public, which means rethinking the messages that focus on universal and partnership-based development.
- Associate media and social network operators with the messaging on development, and use these as vehicles to promote local individual and collective initiatives.
- Resume discussions with state education institutions about integrating international development subjects into the curricula and educational activities. Make this a theme of national cohesion.



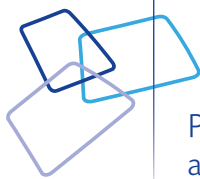
b. Act

Communication and influence

- Relaunch a global communication initiative bringing together European and other donors alongside communication experts (pro bono agencies) to jointly work on development questions. This initiative could be backed by governments, multilateral institutions and civil society, and would roll out a message in the same vein as “A world in common”.
- Craft a message for French development aid that is jargon-free, rejuvenated, rid of instrument-based and technical concepts, and anchored in the reality of the actions carried out by France and its actors.
- Involve stakeholders in producing the communication message.
- Give French messaging an international influence in the circles of aid, solidarity, global diplomacy and strategic affairs, finance and investment, the economy and social responsibility.

Political leadership

- Train, inform and encourage more members of parliament (notably the newly elected generation) on questions of sustainable international development, with regular training in the field and dialogue-enabling contacts while, at the same time, ensuring that actions by France and its partners are monitored.
- Help to build a parliamentary steering body for government ODA policy to enable monitoring and dialogue on matters of strategy, policy, alliances and partnerships. This would be involved in budgetary questions and in maintaining the integrity of France’s objectives. Promote an independent and transparent evaluation by Parliament in view of greater commitment, which is an integral part of deploying a strengthened public policy.
- Promote a leader over a 5-year term who is able to federate Foreign Affairs, Finance and the Budget, Ecology and Sustainable Development and Defence, and embody international development worldwide, and over the long term, both for his peers and multilateral actors.
- Assert French leadership on a new ODA approach, rallying European actors and allies, bringing influence to bear on initiatives and instruments of global public aid policy.



Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

Institutional credibility and legitimacy

- Give greater credibility and visibility to the government's steering of development aid policy: human resources, the capacity to produce studies and convene international conferences, competencies, recognition both within and between the ministries (regular meeting points, etc.).
- Position development as a strong component of foreign policy, on equal footing with questions of security, as an explicit pillar of France's international influence ("patriotism" of sustainable international development).
- Ensure real cross-ministry coordination on the implementation of the SDGs at the domestic level and also integrating international cooperation – including the SDG on combating climate change – in order to enhance policy coherence.
- Propose a medium-term budgetary dynamic, to be debated in Parliament, for two three-year cycles, aimed at strengthening the objective of compliance with the European ODA commitments.

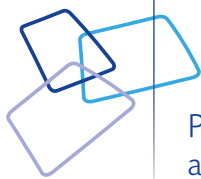
Quality of the domestic political debate

- Propose to the leaders of the political debate, such as the political foundations, think tanks, educational institutions for political science and international relations, and the mainstream media, to deploy training programmes to more deeply explore the questions of sustainable development at an international level, in order to extend the debate beyond the current ecosystem.

c. Prioritise

Interest of the academic community

- Propose to the universities that they increase the resources they dedicate to research, reflection and hosting young researchers on these subjects.
- Engage an initiative to create fifty scholarships specialised in the field of global sustainable development, to be shared out amongst all universities on French territory.
- Engage an initiative to consolidate a collaborative hub, that also calls on help from foreign think tanks, with the objective of creating, in the medium run, a world-class Paris-based think tank on ODA and development that could be initiated by and developed on the basis of existing institutions.
- Establish a comprehensive list of existing academic and research development



Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

networks in France, and identify the measures required to strengthen them, give them a more visible international profile, and link them up with global hubs of excellence and innovation working on this theme.

Integration of global issues and public goods

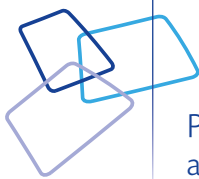
- ▶ Continue to integrate the message on a sustainable development that respects the planet's limits and, in particular, continue to deepen the notion of development–climate–biodiversity co-benefits, which require adequate responses and technical and financial tools.
- ▶ Reinforce the coherence between the steering of the Paris Agreement resulting from the climate negotiation and development policy, at the level of public action and messaging.
- ▶ Build a French policy momentum for the SDGs, anchored at both grassroots and institutional levels, which calls on stakeholder participation, helps to build cross-government coherence, and integrates European and international dynamics.

Prioritise poverty and inequality reduction

- ▶ Reinforce the French messaging on poverty reduction, social inclusion, actions for poor populations that are left behind or in distress, and act accordingly.
- ▶ Make France a world leader on gender policy.

Take security and national interests into account

- ▶ Establish a French discourse on national interest based on investing in third countries, supporting the actors involved, helping to strengthen human resources, and creating opportunities.
- ▶ Enhance the dialogue between defence and development actors, and create a policy support base between these actors.
- ▶ Formulate a clear, positive and human message linking migration and development, based on the concrete reality of actions carried out by the international community and France.

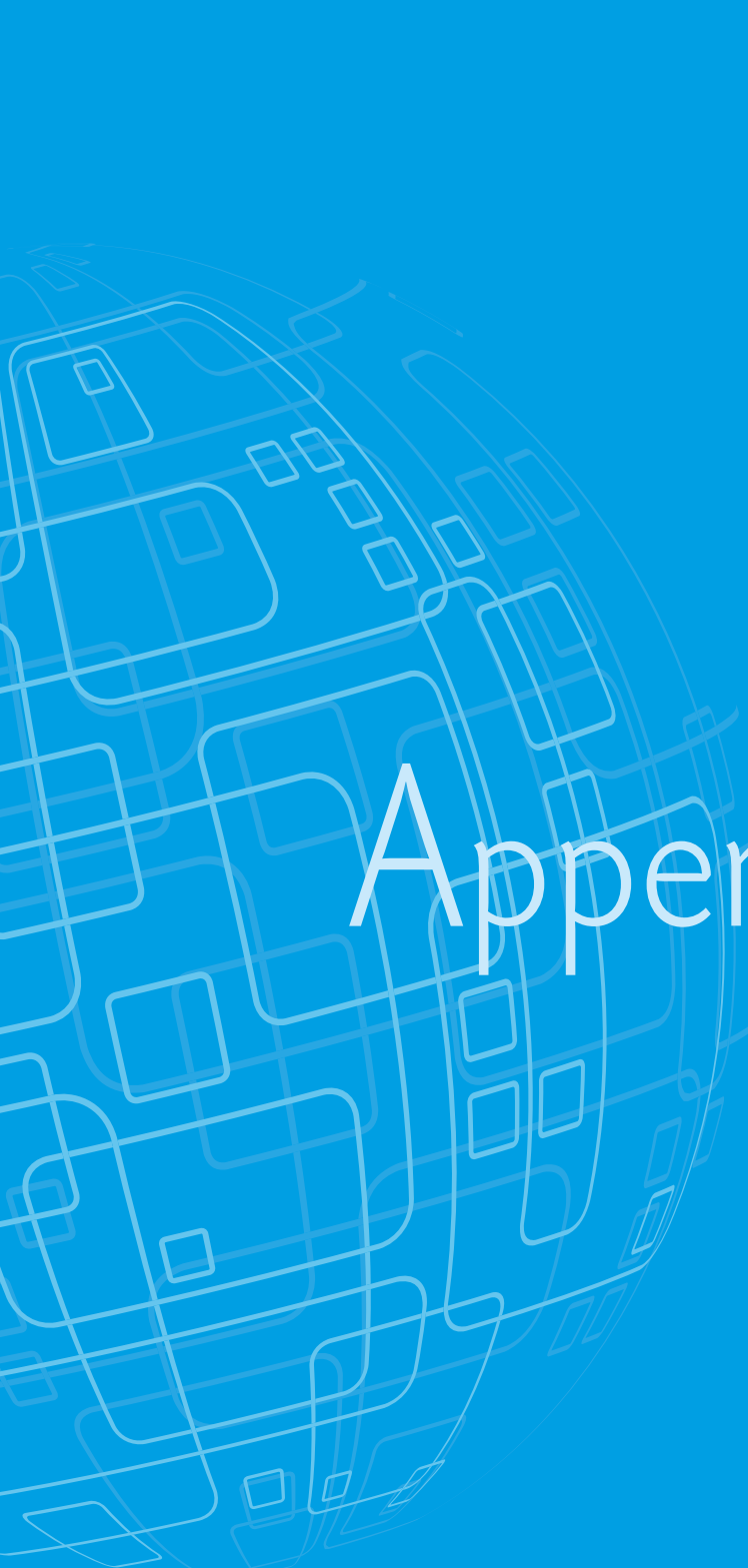


Possible consensus scenarios applied to France

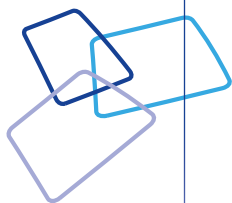
Promote economic interest in the SDGs

- ▶ Develop a positive image and consolidate the hallmark of “inclusive business à la française” as well as the social economy sector, which holds promise for innovation. Continue to implement incentive- and partnership-based tools between government and business to further the SDG targets, facilitating new economic models that also draw on international initiatives in this area.
- ▶ Pursue efforts to give the Paris marketplace a leading status as the capital of financial innovation for sustainable development, able to produce economic, social or environmental leveraging effects.
- ▶ Establish a comprehensive list of French business offers in technological innovation for development in view of building a networked action platform.
- ▶ Encourage the creation of an independent Paris-based accountability institute to promote “business for climate” companies and other private-sector actors whose activities contribute to achieving the SDG targets.





Appendices



Appendices

Appendix 1. List of people consulted and interviewed

France

RÉMY RIOUX, *AFD, Paris*

MAËLLE BOUVIER, *Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Paris*

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PHILIPPE ORLIANGE, *AFD, Paris*

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CYRILLE PIERRE, *Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Paris*

JEAN-MARC PRADELLE, *AFD, Paris*

ANNA-MARIA QUEVEDO, *AFD, Paris*

THOMAS ROCA, *AFD, Paris*

FRIEDERIKE ROEDER, *ONE France*

CHARLES SELLEN, *AFD, Paris*

JULIE VAILLÉ, *Iddri, Paris*

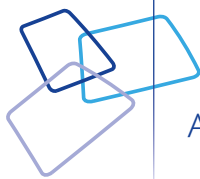
TANCRÈDE VOITURIEZ, *Iddri, Paris*

Germany

PHILIPPE ETIENNE, *Ambassador of France to Germany*

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VINCENT MULLER, *Consul General in Düsseldorf*



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FRANÇOIS DEVOTO, Defence Attaché, French Embassy, Berlin

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GERTRUD CASEL, Executive Secretary, Justice and Peace Commission, Bonn

INGOLF DIETRICH, Director Special Unit, Post-2015 Agenda for Sustainable Development, BMZ, Bonn

PETER EIGEN, founder and Chair of the Advisory Council, Transparency International, Berlin

DR JÖRG FAUST, Managing Director, DEval, Bonn

DR THORSTEN GÖBEL, Head of Policy, Dialogue and Theology Unit, Brot für die Welt, Berlin

HEIKE HÄNSEL, Member of the German Bundestag, spokesperson for development policy, Die Linke, Chair of the United Nations, International Organisations and Globalisation sub-Committee, Berlin

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INGRID-GABRIELA HOVEN, Director BMZ, former Executive Director at the World Bank

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TOBIAS KAHLER, ONE-Australia, formerly ONE-Germany, Melbourne

NIKOLAS KALBENZ, GIZ, Frankfurt

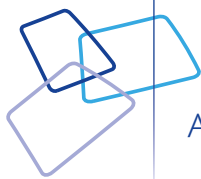
NIELS KEIJZER, DIE, Bonn

PR DR STEPHAN KLINGEBIEL, Director DIE, Visiting Professor at Stanford, Bonn

ADOLF KLOKE-LESCH, Sustainable Development Solutions Network, former DG Finances BMZ, Bonn

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Appendices

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NIEMA MOVASSAT, Member of Parliament, Chair of the Die Linke parliamentary group for the Economic Cooperation and Development Committee

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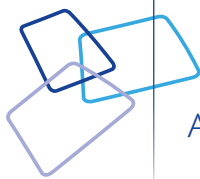
ANNE-MARIE STORCH, Action Against Hunger, Head of Institutional partnerships, Berlin

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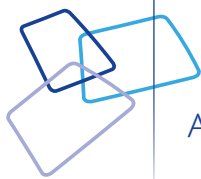
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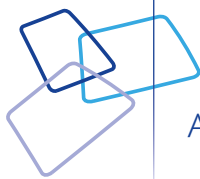
ROBERT YATES, Chatham House

United States of America

NATHALIE BROADHURST, Minister Counsellor at the French Embassy

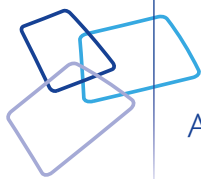
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- JAMES KATZ, *Habitat for Humanity*
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- RAJ KUMAR, *founding President, Editor-in-chief, DEVEX, Washington*
- TREY HICKS, *Senior Professional Staff, Foreign Relations Committee, Senate*
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ABBY SPRING, *Spring Global, Washington*

ANDREW STEER, *President, WRI*

NOAM UNGER, *Acting Chief Strategy Officer, USAID*

CHRISTOPHER VINCENT, *Vice President, Government Relations and Advocacy, Habitat for Humanity*

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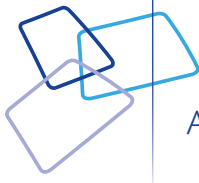
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MANUEL MANRIQUE GIL, *Analyst, European Parliament*

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GUSTAVO MARTIN-PRADA, *Director DEVCO, European Commission*

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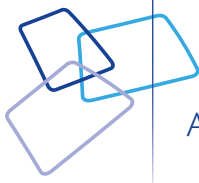
TRISTAN STUBBS, *National Expert, European Parliament*

EMILY WIGENS, *Director ONE, Brussels*

TIMO WILKKI, *DG Environment, European Commission, Brussels*

BERNARD ZILLER, *Advisor at EIB*

FELIX ZIMMERMANN, *OECD Development Centre*



Appendix 2. Figures and tables

Figure 4: *Evolution of ODA (EUR million) over 15 years (Germany) (source: OECD)*

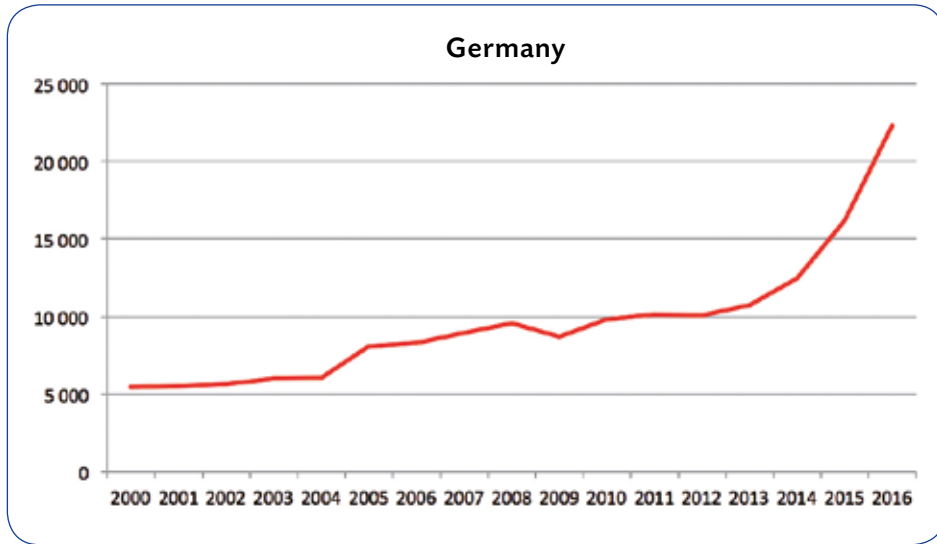
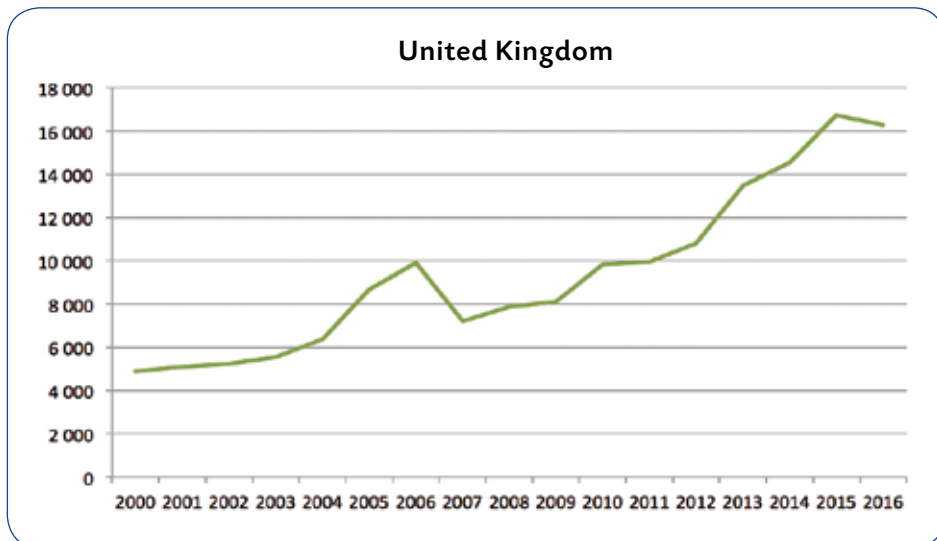
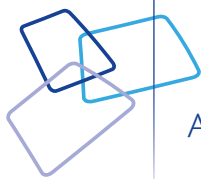


Figure 5: *Evolution of ODA (EUR million) over 15 years (United Kingdom) (source: OECD)*





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Figure 6: Evolution of ODA (EUR million) over 15 years
(United States) (source: OECD)

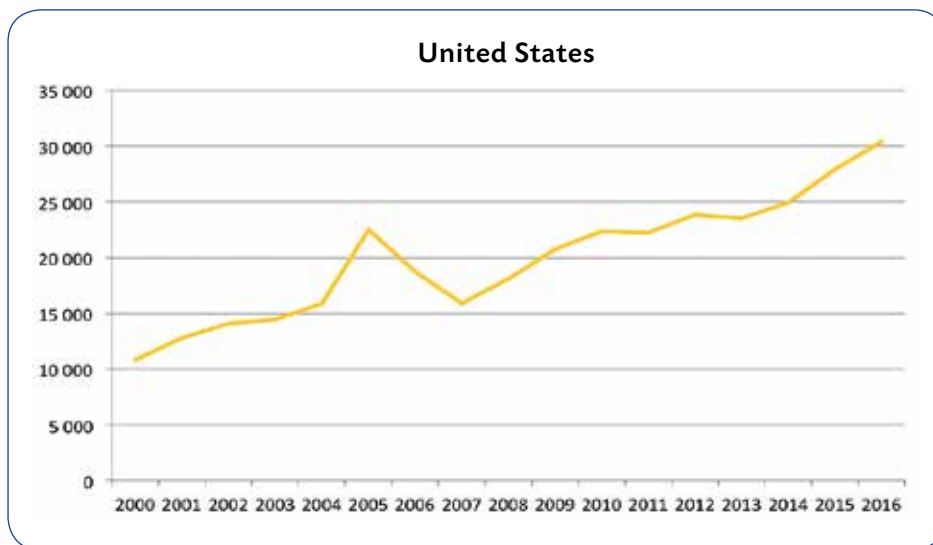
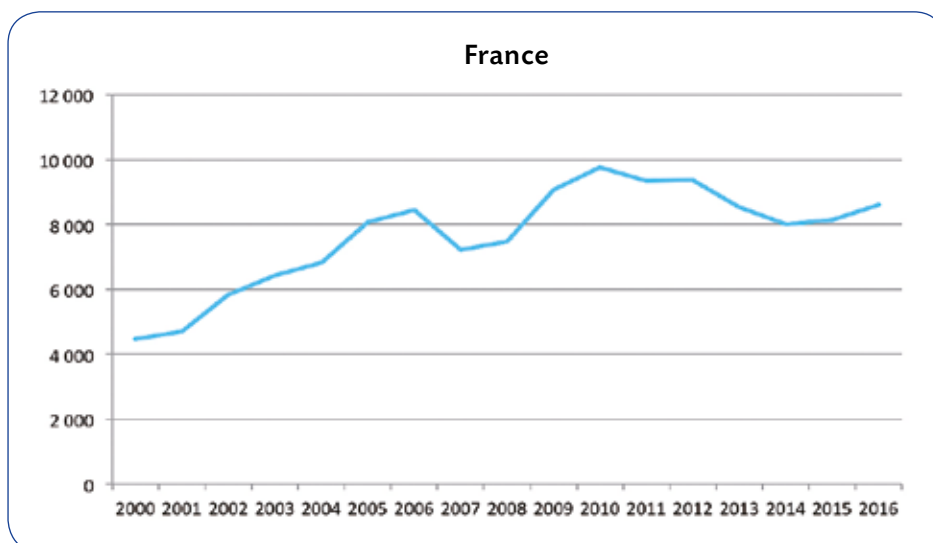
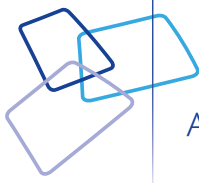


Figure 7: Evolution of ODA (EUR million) over 15 years
(France) (source: OECD)





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Figure 8: Bar chart comparing the evolution of ODA over 15 years, as % of GNI (source: OECD)

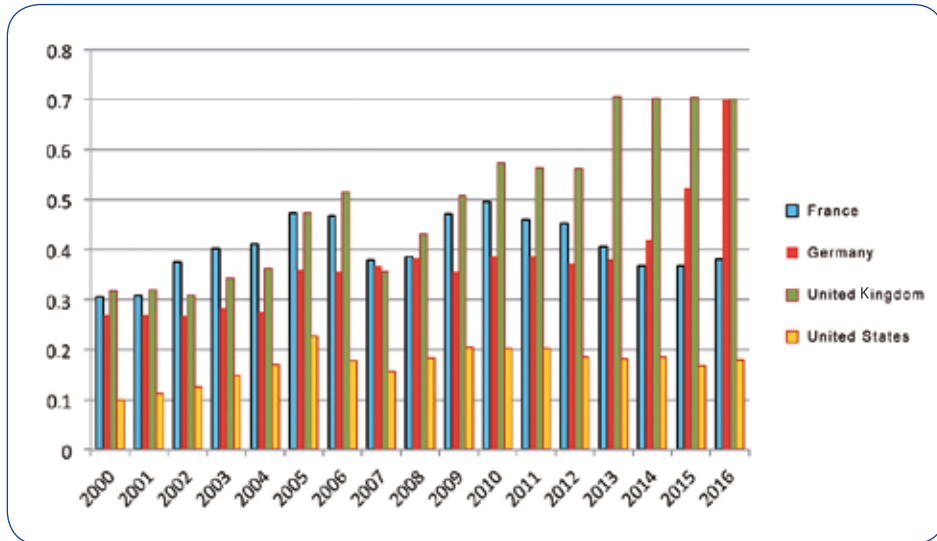
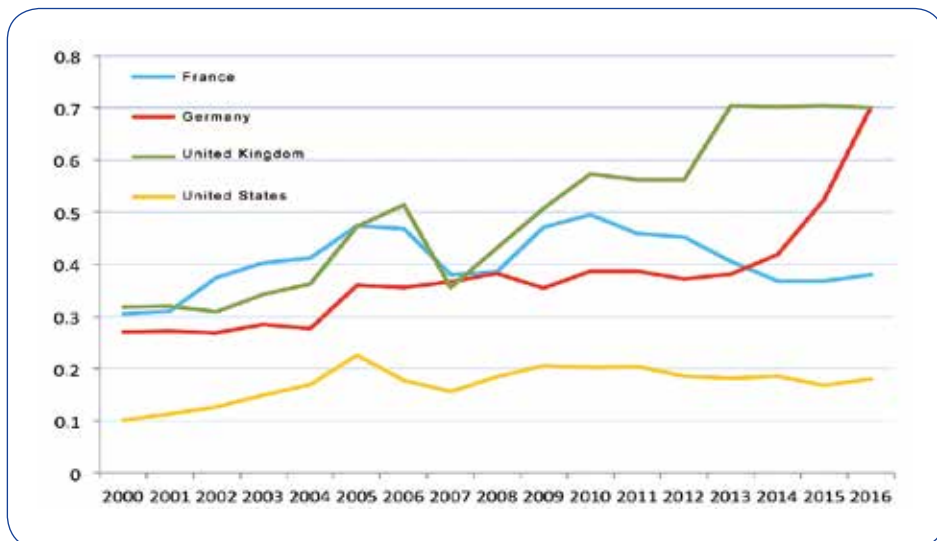


Figure 9: Line graph comparing the evolution of ODA over 15 years, as % of GNI (source: OECD)



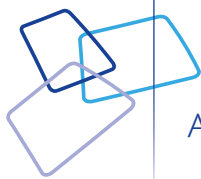
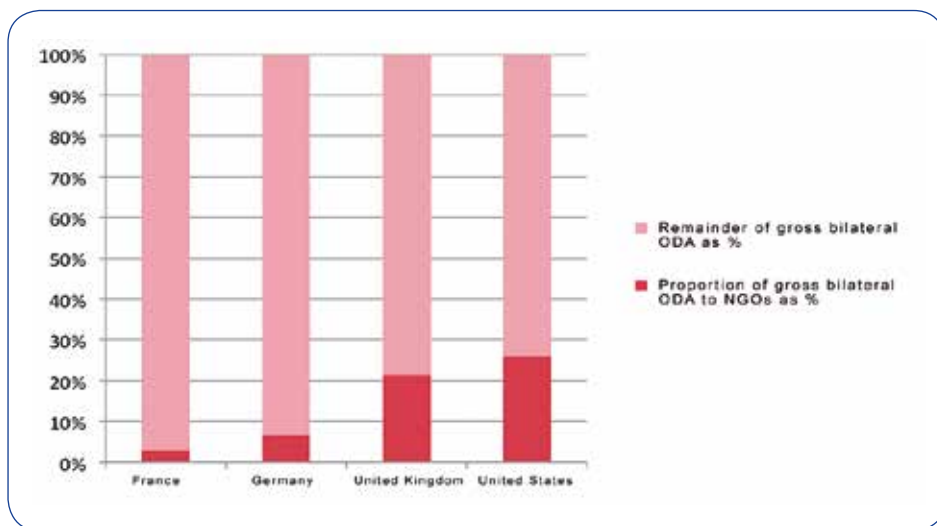


Figure 10: *Focus on government funding of NGOs (source: OECD 2013)*

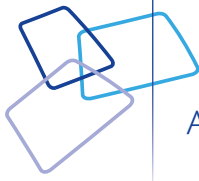


US government funding for American NGOs accounts for 30% of their own resources. They are basically self-financed through their loyalty campaigns and members, in addition to contributions from foundations and businesses, for a total of USD 14 billion. These figures should be viewed in the context of the United States' low rate of ODA/GNI. If this rate were more in line with the international average, it would reduce the share channelled through the US NGOs accordingly.

It is in the United Kingdom, where there is both a large budget earmarked for NGO funding and ODA support for efficient and independent government instruments, that we find (until recently) the highest amount of donations from the public.

As we can see, France lags far behind in terms of the amount of ODA allocated to civil society development organisations. At the same time, it has a lower level of ODA compared to its European allies.

On the other hand, it cannot be said that amply funded NGOs are not systematically tantamount to a citizenry that is well informed and favourable to ODA: this may be the case in the United Kingdom, but less so in the United States.



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Figure 11: *Change in the percentage of people who consider development aid to be important over a 17-year period (France, Germany, United Kingdom) (Source: Eurobarometer)*

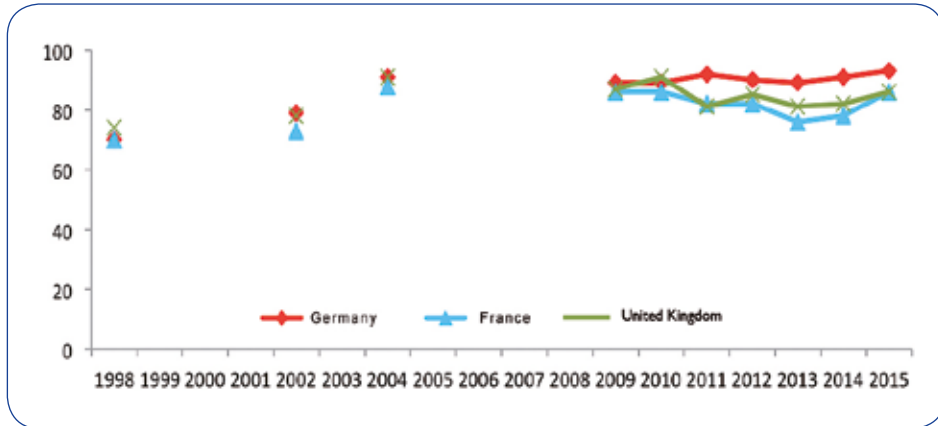
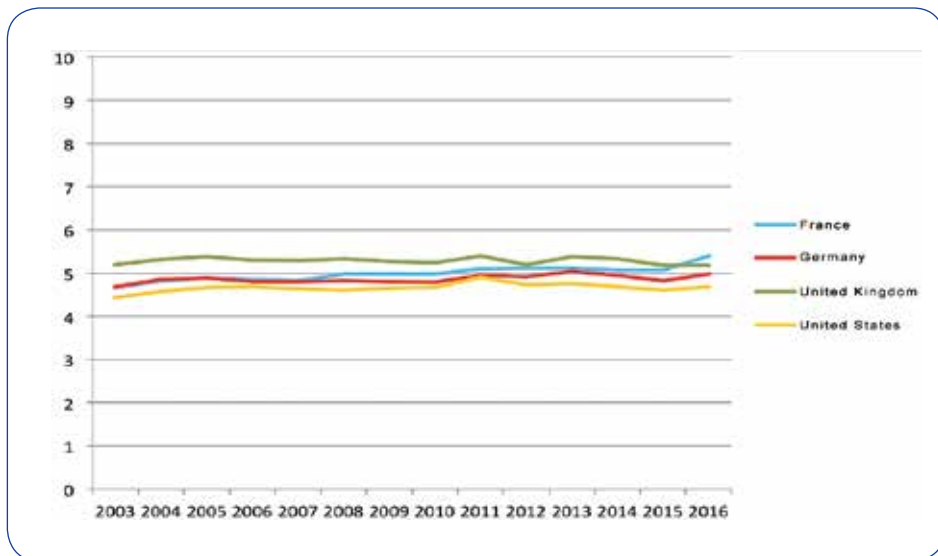


Figure 12: *CGDev's ODA index, 2003–2016 (this assesses the degree of a country's investment for development)*



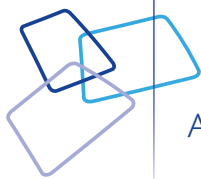
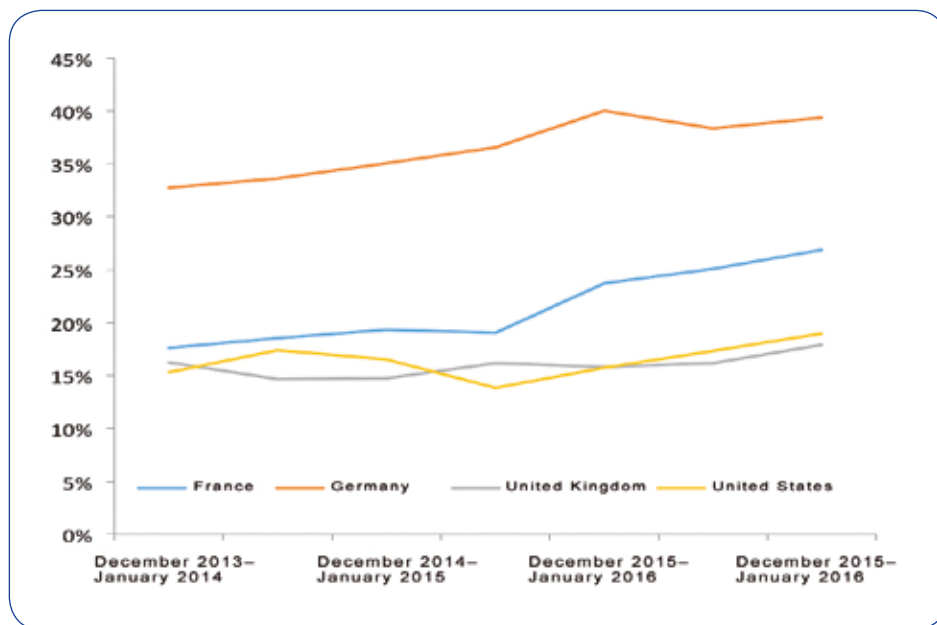
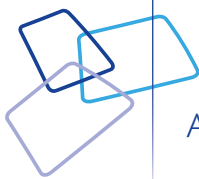


Figure 13: *Focus on trends in public attitudes supporting ODA*⁷⁴



While it is in the United Kingdom that the largest campaigns supporting development aid have been held, it is in Germany that citizens are more inclined to favour an increase in the ODA budget. It should be noted that the percentage of people in France favourable to this type of increase has been rising sharply and constantly since 2013. It would thus seem that there is an emerging demand for the French government to do more abroad, which would add another justification for the pursuit of a bold and innovative development aid policy.

⁷⁴ / From the online YouGov Survey using quota sampling. Results analysed under the Aid Attitudes Tracker by University College London. Seven survey waves conducted 16 December 2013–6 January 2014 (Wave 1); 4 July–3 August 2014 (W2); 15 December 2014–20 January 2015 (W3); 27 May–17 June 2015 (W4); 15 December 2015–13 January 2016 (W5); 10 June–18 July 2016 (W6); 10–28 November 2016 (W7). For each survey wave, a representative sample of +/- 6000 adults in Franc was used. Weighted data – Error margin: $\pm 2\%$. Source: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/research/projects/aid-attitudes-tracker>



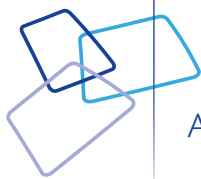
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Table 3: *The annual income of the main think tanks in Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States*

Total 2014 income (EUR million)			Sum by country
Germany	ICSC	0.90	147.47
	Bertelsmann Stiftung	126.07	
	DIE	9.50	
	Giga-Hamburg	11.00	
United Kingdom	ODI	35.42	89.33
	IIED	24.07	
	ISSD	14.00	
	Chatham House	15.84	
United States	CGDev	10.70	173.16
	Brookings	81.07	
	WRI	49.65	
	CSIS	31.73	

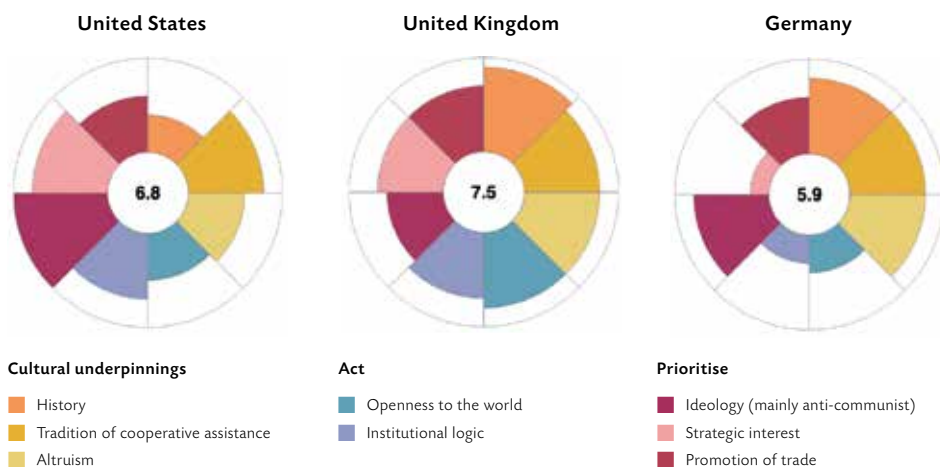
Table 4: *Share of ODA appropriations relative to the state budget, 2016 (%) (source: The World Factbook/CIA and OECD/DAC)*

2016	State budget (expend. USD million)	ODA (USD million)	% ODA/budget expenditure
France	1 369	9.50	0.69 %
Germany	1 484	24.67	1.66 %
USA	3 893	33.59	0.86 %
UK	1 097	18.01	1.64 %

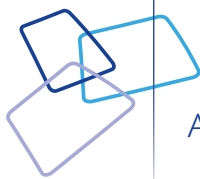


Appendix 3. The consensus indicator

Comparison of the three countries



After the Thatcher years, the United Kingdom already has a consensus on development aid, with commercial interests uppermost at institutional level. Germany, however, is in a very different situation, as its international cooperation is limited to supporting its Eastern European neighbours in the face of the break-up of the Soviet Union; a very solid moral base has not yet translated into intense activity in the field of development. In the United States, the rosette is also uneven and, while some strong points stand out (security), some essential aspects are lacking, such as institutional will or a driving history of cooperation. The consensus thus seems to be exclusively linked to the presence of economic and security interests for the nation.



Appendices

United States



United Kingdom



Germany



Unify

- Moral responsibility
- Civil society engagement
- Informed and supportive public opinion

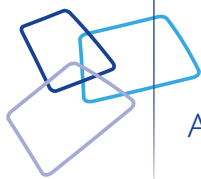
Prioritise

- National security interests
- Promotion of economic interests
- Global issues
- Poverty and inequality reduction

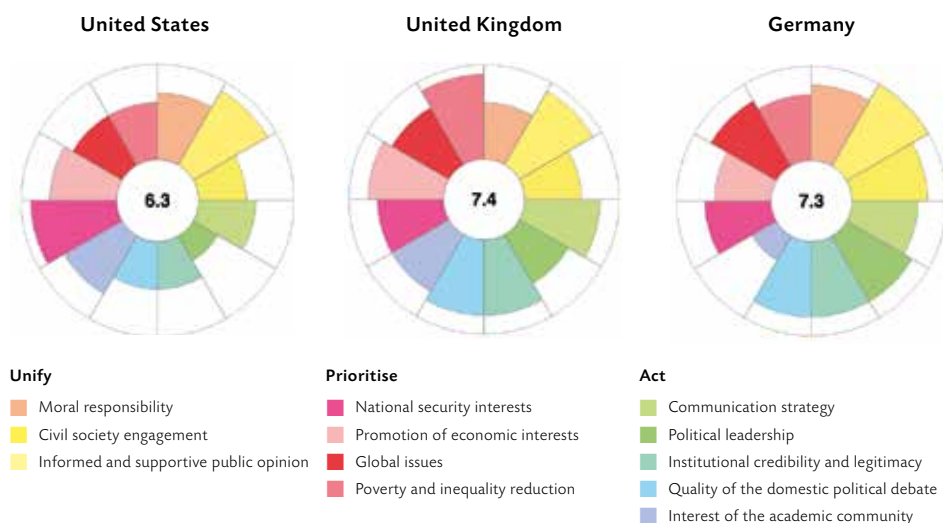
Act

- Communication strategy
- Political leadership
- Institutional credibility and legitimacy
- Quality of the domestic political debate
- Interest of the academic community

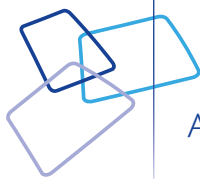
Other actors are playing an increasingly important role, which makes reaching consensus more complex. In the United Kingdom, the existing underpinnings are amplified: political leadership, institutional credibility, communication and civil society engagement help to build the consensus. In Germany, these same factors show a lag, while the moral and concrete engagement of its citizens in global and climate issues broaden the support base. In the United States, the consensus improves, also influenced by the overriding concern for national security.



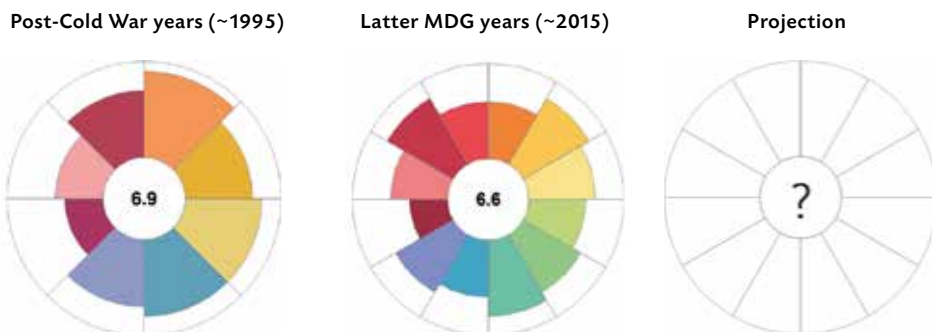
Appendices



It is more difficult to anticipate how the consensus will evolve and, interestingly, the colours are paler. Germany and the United Kingdom have drawn closer together, with a less engaged public opinion and leadership, but overall it is felt that consensus is still possible and still breathing life into ODA. As in other countries, the German agreement on these questions is likely to focus slightly more on national concerns. The lack of political leadership in the United States and almost exclusive focus on security issues is likely to diminish the quality of the domestic political debate and create a wider gulf between the public and the theme of development, which may weaken the consensus, or even break it.



Consensus indicator for France over the three periods



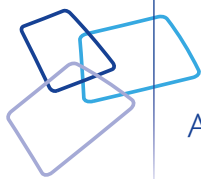
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Explanatory note on the consensus indicator:

This indicator is a visual representation of the quality of the consensus underpinning development aid policy in the countries studied in this report.

This indicator is the result of the author's personal reflection and rests solely on a subjective sentiment, drawn from his own knowledge, over one hundred interviews and work on the documents listed the bibliography.

The representations proposed show the state of the consensus after the Cold War (1995), during the latter MDG years (2015), and a projection of the near future. To describe this consensus, a number of criteria were defined: the reader will see that the criteria change depending on the period (there are eight for the Post-Cold War period and twelve for the latter MDG years and the projection, which is indicative of the increasing complexity of the issues around official development assistance). The chosen criteria correspond to those factors supporting consensus on development aid that seem relevant or important. They reflect political or social characteristics or more precisely give a picture of the aid ecosystem. On the basis of the qualitative and quantitative information collected during the preparation of this report, a score out of ten has been attributed to each criterion for each of the countries: the highest score indicates that the opportunities to consolidate the ODA consensus provided under the criterion are fully exploited by the country concerned. An average score is obtained by country and by period, and is intended to give a quantified picture of the extent and robustness of the consensus on development aid policy.



Post-Cold War period

The criteria have been grouped into three categories:

- ▶ **Cultural underpinnings**
- ▶ **Act**
- ▶ **Prioritise**

Cultural underpinnings:

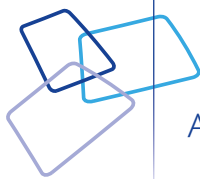
- History: this involves assessing what weight national history has in building consensus on ODA. An example of an element related to history and able to drive this consensus would be colonialism or post-war reconstruction..
- Tradition of cooperative assistance: this involves knowing whether government and existing institutions have habitual work practices of cooperating with developing countries.
- Altruism: under the flag of a moral value, this involves assessing the public's propensity to donate, notably to causes abroad

Act

- Openness to the world: the more open a country to the international environment, the more likely it is that the ODA consensus will be strong.
- Institutional logic: this involves assessing whether the institutions in place favour consensus (independence of the development ministry or not, the ministers' length of service, the quality of the government agencies set up, etc.).

Prioritise

- Ideology (mainly anti-communist): a strong current in government institutions, this was sometimes a weighty argument in favour of ODA as a means of countering the Soviet Union's influence in developing countries.
- Strategic interest: the higher the score, the more lead institutions consider that development aid serves the country's strategic interests abroad.
- Promotion of trade: notably within the framework of tied aid, the drive to promote national companies and businesses abroad may have increased the consensus on ODA.



Latter MDG years

The criteria have been grouped into three categories

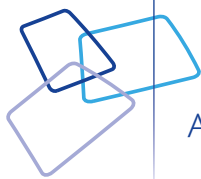
- **Unify**
- **Act**
- **Prioritise**

Unify

- Moral responsibility: this involves assessing the importance of ethical arguments that call on a sense of responsibility and serve to justify the assistance given to developing countries.
- Civil society engagement: here, we try to gauge the the public's and NGOs' degree of engagement with society, and the engagement of institutions in favour of development aid (via donations, demonstrations, etc.).
- Informed and supportive public opinion: here, we attempt to understand the public's attitudes as reflected by the media. The level of public support transpires, for example, in opinion polls and the media discourse (both of which interact).

Act

- Communication strategy: this involves assessing the quality and effectiveness of the discourse disseminated by institutions on official development assistance.
- Political leadership: a clear position by one or more high-level political figures in support of official development assistance and ensuing concrete actions have been judged favourable to establishing a sound consensus.
- Institutional credibility and legitimacy: the degree of autonomy enjoyed by institutions in charge of ODA, their transparency and their image in public opinion are factors that impact the consensus on development aid.
- Quality of the domestic political debate: here we evaluate the extent to which the political elites are informed about development aid, and whether there is real cross-party dialogue on this subject.
- Interest of the academic community: the presence of important scientific centres focused on development nurtures a consensus based on more robust knowledge.



Prioritise

- National security interests: the higher the score, the more the lead institutions and the public consider that development aid serves to protect the national territory as well as nationals abroad.
- Promotion of economic interests: notably within the framework of tied aid, but also through tendering procedures; a lesser risk for investment and the drive to promote national companies may have increased consensus on ODA.
- Global issues and public goods: a good understanding of interdependence, the global character of development issues and global priorities (climate, oceans, desertification, biodiversity) contributes to a sound consensus.
- Poverty and inequality reduction: this involves assessing the level of importance that the countries studied give to these issues, which are contributing factors to the public's support for ODA.

Short-run projection

The criteria have been grouped into three categories:

- **Unify**
- **Act**
- **Prioritise**

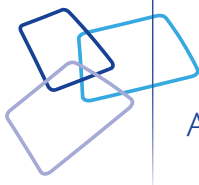
Here the criteria are identical to the latter MDG years above, except for the increasing importance in the public debate of the subject of migration, which has been added.

Unify

- Moral responsibility
- Civil society engagement
- Informed and supportive public opinion

Act

- Communication strategy
- Political leadership

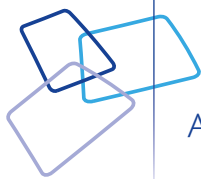


Appendices

- Institutional credibility and legitimacy
- Quality of the domestic political debate
- Interest of the academic community

Prioritise

- National security interests and migratory pressure: these two themes have been coupled here to reflect the public's concerns rather than an effective correlation between migration and security. The higher the score, the higher the concern about migration and how this impacts national security.
- Promotion of economic interests
- Global issues and public goods
- Poverty and inequality reduction



Appendix 4. The AFD Mission Letter

**GROUPE AGENCE FRANÇAISE
DE DÉVELOPPEMENT**

Le Directeur Général

Paris, 6 December 2016

For the attention of
Mr Henry de Cazotte

Dear Sir,

The recent developments driven by the 2015 agreements (Sendai, Addis Ababa, New York and Paris) have led to the drafting of a new roadmap for global sustainable development and entrusted each and every one with targets to be successfully achieved. This paradigm shift may lead to priorities, strategic discourses, certainties being modified or called into question. Could this imply an evolution of the existing consensuses on development aid and financing, sometimes grounded on differing visions, particularly in light of the migration crisis?

The relaunch of French development policy decided by the President of the Republic naturally leads to an examination of what support this policy garners in public opinion. Several of our key partners have managed to build a consensus on these topics. This is the case in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy. A common point between the development policies of the first three is that they are backed by substantial funding. Italy, for its part, has the ambition to significantly step up its aid.

Moreover, following the CICID⁷⁵ of 30 November 2016, AFD is called on to play a greater role in educating French public opinion on development. I thus feel that it is important to analyse the conditions under which our partners have managed to build this consensus around development policy and their underpinnings and relays, institutional or otherwise, and see to what extent the recent changes in government are likely or not to call these into question.

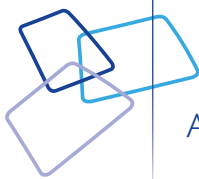
The changes to come in the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany could also influence French sustainable development policy.

I would therefore like you to examine the established consensus underpinning government ODA policies in each of the three countries, and highlight what seems to you to constitute its strength and constancy. On the basis of this, would like you to come up with some observations and proposals useful for our own situation in France.

5, rue Roland Barthes 75598 PARIS cedex 12
Tél. 01 53 44 31 31 - Fax 01 53 44 39 13

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Seeking agreement on official development assistance



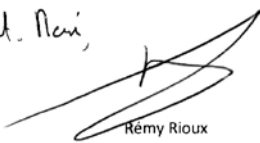
Appendices

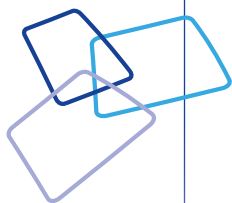
It would be particularly useful to:

- summarise the political discourse and the communication in direction of the general public,
- validate the assumptions underpinning this discourse,
- shed light on the responsibility of the parliaments and the positions taken by the political parties,
- assess how the stakeholders are involved in building the consensus
- verify how the institutional framework is nurtured by the consensus.

To this end, once the literature has been analysed, you will call on a sounding group within AFD to gather additional information. You will inform the ministries and stakeholders in order to enhance these in-house analyses. Your trips to the United States, Germany and the United Kingdom, and to the European institutions (notably, Parliament) will be used to maximise contacts (administrations, politicians, think tanks, etc.) and collect as many elements as possible to draw your conclusions. To carry out this mission, you will be attached to the executive director of the strategy, partnerships and communication (SPC) department. You will define with him the ways in which SPC management will support the accomplishment of this mission.

This report is to be delivered to me in April 2017 with a progress note at the end of February.

Impakt. Now,

Remy Rioux



List of acronyms and abbreviations

COP	Conference of the Parties
CSO	Civil society organisation
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DEVCO	General Directorate for International Cooperation and Development (EU)
DEVE	The Development Committee of the European Parliament
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
EIB	European Investment Bank
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GNI	Gross national income
HIPC	Heavily indebted poor country
IDB/IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IATI	International Aid Transparency Initiative
ICT	Information and communication technologies
IDA	International Development Association
IDDRI	Institut du développement durable et des relations internationales
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFI	International financial institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDCs	Least developed countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PIPA	Program on International Policy Attitudes

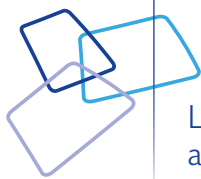


List of acronyms and abbreviations

SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SDSN	Sustainable Development Solutions Network
SME	Small and medium-sized enterprises
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WFP	World Food Programme

United States

CDC	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention
CGD	Centre for Global Development
CIDC	Council of International Development Companies
CNN	Cable News Network
CRS	Catholic Relief Services ... or Congressional Research Service
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
DCA	Development Credit Authority
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency or Economic Partnership Agreement
FAA	Foreign Assistance Act
FMF	Foreign Military Financing
FOA	Foreign Operations Administration
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GDA	Global Development Alliance
GEF	Global Environment Facility
ICA	International Cooperation Administration



List of acronyms and abbreviations

IDC	International development contractor
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IRI	International Republican Institute
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MFAN	Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network
MSA	Mutual Security Agency
NRDC	Natural Resources Defense Council
NSC	National Security Council
OCO	Overseas Contingency Operations
OIAA	Office for Inter-American Affairs
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
PDD	Policy Directive on Development
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PIPA	Program on International Policy Attitudes
PMI	President's Malaria Initiative
QRDD	Quadrennial Review on Diplomacy and Development
USGLC	U.S. Global Leadership Coalition
USTDA	United States Trade and Development Agency
TCA	Technical Cooperation Agency
WRI	World Resources Institute

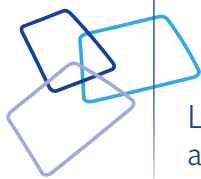
Germany

AA	Auswärtiges Amt (Federal Foreign Office)
AfD	Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)
BDI	Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie (Federation of German Industries)
InWEnt	Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung (Capacity Building International)
BENGO	Beratung und Projektförderung für private Träger in der



List of acronyms and abbreviations

	Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (Information Centre for the Private Sponsors of Cooperation Development)
BMUB	Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, Bau und Reaktorsicherheit (Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety)
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union)
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Social Union)
DEG	Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft (German Investment and Development Company)
DEval	Deutsches Evaluierungsinstitut der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (German Institute for Development Evaluation)
DIE	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (German Development Institute)
DNR	Deutscher Naturschutzring (German League for Nature and the Environment)
EKD	Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (Evangelical Church in Germany)
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party)
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for International Cooperation)
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (German Development Bank)
NSDS	National Sustainable Development Strategy
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
VENRO	Verband Entwicklungspolitik und Humanitäre Hilfe (Union for Development Policy and Humanitarian Aid)



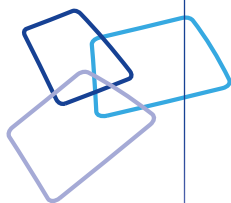
List of acronyms and abbreviations

United Kingdom

ACHU	Africa Conflict and Humanitarian Unit
BEIS	Department Business
BOAG	British Overseas Aid Group
BOND	British Overseas NGOs for Development
CDC	CDC Group plc (formerly the Commonwealth Development Corporation)
CHASE	Conflict Humanitarian and Security Operations Team
CO	Colonial Office
DfID	Department for International Development
DoD	Department of Defence
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GAVI	Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICAI	Independent Commission for Aid Impact
IEDD	International Institute for Environment and Development
IFFIm	International Finance Facility for Immunization
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MOD	Ministry of Overseas Development
NHS	National Health Service
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
ODM	Ministry of Overseas Development
PM	Prime Minister
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
SDSN	Sustainable Development Solutions Network
UKAN	UK Aid Network

France

APE	Agence des Participations de l'Etat
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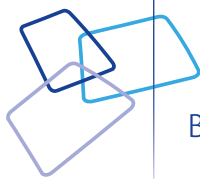
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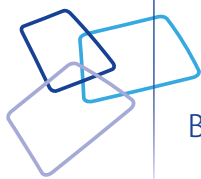
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United States

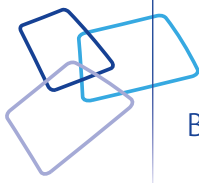
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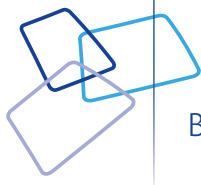
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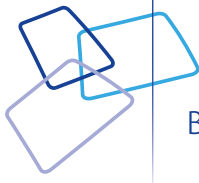
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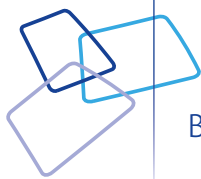
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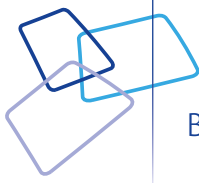
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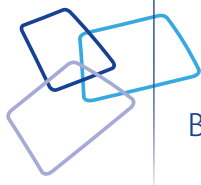
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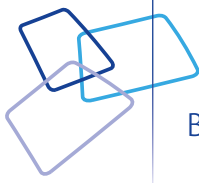
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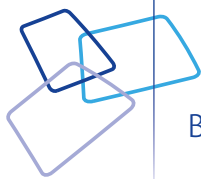
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