



Changing donor policy and practice on civil society in the post-9/11 aid context

- The 'global war on terror' has intensified a focus on security in development policy, strategy and programming.
- The 'global war on terror' has cast suspicion over civil society actors thereby entrenching the increasingly critical stance of donors toward civil society.
- Certification requirements and increased background checks on civil society partners have undermined aid 'partnerships' and undermined trust between grant-making agencies and partners overseas.
- The interest of donors to engage with Muslim groups has increased post-9/11 but many Muslim leaders and organisations are dubious of this attention.



Development and security post-9/11

The declaration of the "global war on terror" following the September 11 attacks on the United States has highlighted the strategic relevance of aid to the pursuit of global and national security interests at a time when its ideological rationale in the post-Cold War era had almost disappeared. This NGPA research briefing argues that the "global war on terror" has increased the attention given to security in development policy, strategy and programming.

The securitisation of development policy and practice can be observed at a number of levels. At the macro-level, world leaders have rehearsed a view that poverty, deprivation and terrorism are related. Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, and George Bush have held that the security of western advanced capitalist countries is linked to underdevelopment and chronic poverty in the 'south'. International NGOs, some aid recipient governments and development activists have in turn sought increases in aid for counter-radicalisation. The use of development to ad-

dress the threat of terrorism has meant that so-called 'fragile states' such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan have received a greater proportion of overall official development assistance. These governments have received assistance on counter-terrorism as well as support for de-radicalisation initiatives such as for curriculum reform and supporting Muslim groups.

Conceptually, the newly important emphasis on 'security' in aid has meant demoting 'human security' as well as consideration of the inequalities inherent in globalisation.

In practice, the increasing emphasis on secu-

rity in aid has meant closer cooperation between development personnel and militaries in delivering aid. New liaison positions and co-ordination structures have been established to institutionalise ties and harmonise the contributions of development and military personnel under 'joined-up' or 'whole of government' approaches.

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NGPA Programme

The Economic and Social Research Council Non-Governmental Public Action research programme is a unique opportunity to further understand the impact of non-governmental public action in reducing poverty and exclusion, and in social transformation, from an international comparative and multi-disciplinary perspective.

Public action by and for disadvantaged people, undertaken by non-governmental organisations and others, is increasingly significant at local and international levels. The focus of the programme is not just on NGOs, but on a broader range of formal and informal non-governmental actors concerned with poverty reduction and social transformation. These might include advocacy networks, campaigns and coalitions, trades unions, peace groups, social forums, rights-based groups, social movements and business in the community initiatives.

Building systematically on research to date, this programme will develop theory, generate new empirical theory, and foster beneficial linkages between researchers and users.

Civil society and aid post-9/11

The 'global war on terror' has hastened the increasingly critical stance that donors have adopted toward civil society, as well. Donor engagement with civil society expanded greatly in the 1990s.

But since 2001 donor relations with civil society have become increasingly contradictory and complex. Doubts have arisen around the accountability, legitimacy and transparency of some civil society actors. In the post-9/11 context, some politicians have raised concerns that terrorists use civil society groups to conceal their efforts to organise and fundraise. Thus, aid giving governments have tightened the regulation

of money flows and introduced new due diligence requirements. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), for example, requires its grantees to sign 'anti-terrorism certificates. Private grant makers such as the Ford Foundation have included new language relating to terrorism and violence in their standard grant agreement letters.

In practice, these and similar requirements have purportedly increased the administrative burden of aid agencies, especially smaller foundations and development NGOs. They have also undermined the principle of 'partnership' by raising suspicions of

civil society groups and undermining trust by raising suspicions about civil society groups.

The security emphasis in development has also meant a greater interest in working with Muslim groups, creating opportunities for dialogue, new programming and funding. The UK government has initiated an initiative on 'Engagement with the Muslim World', through which it has sought to reach out to Muslim leaders and community organisations in countries around the world. The Danish development agency, DANIDA, has supported local Muslim groups in Kenya, as well.

Development, civil society and security in Australia and Sweden

The table below illustrates the increasing convergence of security, development and civil society in donor policy and practice using the cases of Australia and Sweden. With many Australian tourists killed in the 2002 Bali nightclub bombing, Australia has been a strong ally in the 'War on Terror'. It has committed troops in Afghanistan and Iraq and introduced a counter-terrorist legal framework. Though the principle of neutrality guides Sweden's foreign policy, it too has committed troops to Afghanistan, introduced counter-terrorist legislation and cooperated in the transfer of terrorist countries out of the country.

	Australia	Sweden
<i>Security in development policy and practice</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Foreign Affairs White Paper on 'Advancing the National Interest' (2003) identifies 'fragile states' as chief policy focus -Iraq the only country outside of the south Pacific and southeast Asia to rank in the top 10 benefactors of Australian ODA -Policy on 'Counter-Terrorism and Australian Aid' (2003) portrays Australia as island of stability surrounded by fragile states and links poverty with the threat of terrorism -The inclusion of new security objectives in aid has entailed support for economic development in 'fragile states' and assistance on border controls and policing -The OECD peer review of Australian ODA (2005) cautioned that counting assistance for counter-terrorism and border policing as ODA undermined the poverty reduction focus of aid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Contributing to equitable and sustainable global development is the central objective of the Policy for Global Development (PGD, 2003), which integrates foreign affairs and international development policy -Least developed and other low income countries are the target of an estimated 75% of Sweden's allocable bilateral aid -In 2005-2006, Tanzania, Mozambique, Uganda and Ethiopia ranked in the top five recipients of gross Swedish ODA while Afghanistan ranked 8th -Sweden is concentrating its aid on fewer countries and in a majority of states that are in conflict under the 'country focus process' -SIDA's policy on peace and security focuses on violent conflict, peace-building and human security -This envisions support for agricultural programmes to address land rights disputes and governance initiatives to promote security of minorities
<i>Civil society and security</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Governance assistance has more than doubled as proportion of ODA between 1999 and 2006 but support to law and order initiatives accounts for much of this increase -AusAID 'Guidelines for Strengthening Counter-Terrorism Measures in the Australian Aid Program' (2004) are to comply with UN Security Resolution 1373 on combating terrorist financing -AusAID grant agreements incorporate a clause requiring aid recipients to ensure neither they nor their partners have ties to designated terrorist groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reliance on NGOs a hallmark of Swedish development cooperation -PGD called for increased collaboration with Swedish organisations, religious organisations and popular movements both to implement programmes and influence Swedish public opinion on development-Sweden was first country to demand changes to the UN sanctions list, including a process and procedures to provide for de-listing and removal of contested names