

THE EU'S ROLE IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT. PAYER OR PLAYER IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD AND BEYOND.

George-Mihael MANEA*

Abstract

The European Union is a global actor in the development sector, together with the United Nations and the World Bank, trying to fill the gaps of the Millennium Development Goals and to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. By being engaged in political dialogues and development activities, the EU can be seen at the same time as a player and/or as a payer. The research goal of this paper is to understand where the EU seats at the table: payer – as Member States, under the EU umbrella, accompany the developing countries on various projects and programmes financed through different instruments and schemes, and player – as an international organisation which works in synergy with the other international partners.

Keywords: EU, development, payer, player, neighbourhood

Introduction

The central aim of this paper is to examine the European Union's (EU) foreign policy in the field of development, during the transition process from the Millennium Development Goals (MDG, 2000-2015) towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG, 2015-2030), with a particular focus on the EU's strategy to engage with the partners from its neighbourhood.

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) represents a broad subject of analysis in terms of region-building, regional integration processes and practical cooperation. At the same time, it is the main driver of the neighbourhood development process and it is spread through different channels (i.e. either at political or economic level). Moreover, the neighbourhood policy established a pretty strong feature of the EU's foreign policy and thus the strong feature in the overall security architecture. The EU's multinational structure makes it difficult for individual countries to ignore their own domestic needs and stand together behind a joint development policy.

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* George-Mihael MANEA is associate professor at the University of Bucharest, Romania; e-mail: george-mihael.manea@coleurope.eu.

policy. By being engaged in political dialogues and development activities, the EU is trying to bring prosperity of the partner countries (especially in its neighbourhood), to allow them to be strong enough to make future decisions for themselves without any pressure. At this moment, the EU's involvement can be seen at the same time as a player and as a payer. From this point of view, this paper will seek to answer at two important research questions: *“To what extent has the EU been able to innovate in face of challenges from various cross-cutting areas, as a real player would?”* and *“In its capacity as a payer, are the EU investments wasted in stagnation?”*.

It is important to highlight the importance of this paper, as the topic raises the issue of how EU and its Member States are adapting and transforming their methods of assistance to meet new challenges, changing understandings, and expanding opportunities. Furthermore, the EU has a role of liaison recognised by local and international institutions, being also involved in advocacy and various dossiers of public and social interest. These are actions taken not by a payer merely seeking to remain relevant, but by a resourceful player that is clearly in a leadership role.

In terms of methodology, this paper is mainly based on qualitative research, ranging from books to articles, from official documents to interviews. Thus, the methodology consists on making a critical assessment of the existing literature on the topic, expose, explore and fill the existing gaps with information acquired from a group of experts that agreed to be interviewed¹. Through the interviews that have been taken, the aim was to give voice to the key players involved in the development process and their viewpoints regarding the EU's role on the ground, including representatives from international organisations (i.e.: the European External Action Service, the Commission's Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development, the European Parliament, the United Nations Development Programme), international NGOs (i.e.: World Vision International) or local actors (i.e.: Civil Society House, ROPAGA Network).

In terms of structure, this paper will start with some preliminary considerations regarding the literature review related to the EU's policy on neighbourhood and development, followed by two more chapters on “Actorness as an Open Door for Development” and “Perception on the EU's Plans and Actions for Future” where we will analyse the coherence, effectiveness and visibility of the EU framework adapted to local needs and circumstances through projects, programmes, technical assistance and sector-wide approach. The conclusion will highlight if the EU should be considered as a payer and/or a player, as well as its *modus vivendi* and *modus operandi* in terms of engagement with the partners from its neighbourhood.

¹ The profiles of the persons that have been interviewed are detailed within the guiding protocol interview at the end of the paper. As well, we agreed to keep their names anonymous and they will be mentioned as “subjects”.



1. Preliminary considerations

The EU's foreign policy portrays a variety of fields, covering many geographical regions across the globe, where the EU has to deal both with its involvement, and its perception. However, while the EU is in search of its coherence, one of the biggest challenges will be to promote a new strategic approach vis-à-vis its neighbours and partners.

As we look on the EU's role across its neighbourhood, we can see that it is perceived differently depending on the region. It can be considered a payer if we refer to the development system concerning cross-cutting sectors, but it can also be considered a player if we take into account the political system with different development agendas². On the same note, the EU can be perceived in some regions as a payer, for instance in Eastern and Southern Africa, these countries tend to put the EU on the same ground with China and other partners in order to try to obtain the best out of each partner. In other regions like Sahel, Horn of Africa, Western Africa, the EU is considered more as a player, as well as in Northern Africa with a different degree because of the neighbourhood dimension³.

At the same time, the EU neighbourhood policy represents a “model of regional cooperation and advanced multilateralism” (Ratka and Spaiser, 2012, p.42) that serves to safeguard the Union's interests (security related, economical or whatsoever strategic nature). Moreover, the ENP is a “step-by-step approach” (Lanon, 2012, p.63) designed to “concrete progress demonstrating shared values and effective implementation of political, economic and institutional reforms” (European Commission *et al.*, 2003, p.16). From this point of view, the ENP aims to strengthen multi-level development through the implementation of certain projects, programmes and instruments in a region concerned, an action carried out both at bilateral and multilateral level. Thus, the EU is trying to promote its soft security approach, through the neighbourhood policy, and to export its values, its model of integration and its standards.

While official aid is often the most recognised channel of assistance, the promotion of development can and should go much further. Some scholars consider that targeting specific issues through narrow programmes is not the type of investment that will truly help the people; instead, foreign policy itself should strive for long term comprehensive growth (Gerhardt, 2010). Development also encompasses aspects of classic foreign and security policy, as these can have decisive effects on the people and governments from developing countries (Ganzle *et al.*, 2012, pp. 2-5). Thus, the EU is also considered “as a major actor in the international arena, a significant provider of aid and development assistance to the

² Subject 1, representative of the World Vision International, interview held on February 23, 2017, Brussels, Belgium.

³ Subject 2, representative of the European External Action Service, Division of Development Cooperation Coordination, interview held on February 23, 2017, Brussels, Belgium.



countries of the developing world, and with a growing involvement in global development policymaking” (Ganzle *et al.*, 2012, p. 227).

This nuanced understanding has recently become recognised by many aid-giving countries and has brought into discussion a new approach such as the Policy Coherence for Development. This policy tool seeks to include the intricate realities of development by extending beyond economic considerations and incorporating social, political and environmental dimensions (Gavas, 2007, p. 187). The EU’s relevance and global standing on development depends on its ability to adopt such approaches, which is further complicated by the Union’s supranational nature.

The EU is acting both on short and long term, dealing with humanitarian aid for the immediate needs of the community, for example following conflicts, natural and/or man-made disasters: “civil preparedness is required in order to increase the local, regional and national resilience for natural catastrophes and/or man-made disasters. Strategic approaches and policy development, information and public campaigns, table top and field exercises, trainings, as well as the use of technology and digital applications, all of these are essential tools that bring added value in terms of risk perception among the population” (Manea, 2019, p. 52).

The EU’s development policy involves, in a large part of it, aid and technical assistance to both its neighbours and developing countries. It provides not only “the institutional, regulatory and normative anchors of the process of bringing the neighbours closer to the EU” (Ratka and Spaiser, 2012, p. 69), but also “coordinating development process, at different levels, such as economic, political and social” (Tindale, 2013, p.1). Moreover, “multi-lateral governance [and] preferences for soft development policies and pro-EU attitudes” (Baldersheim *et al.*, 2011, p. 2) put trade at the core of each negotiation process and regional integration.

Based on these preliminary considerations, the objective of this paper is to further develop the perception of the EU’s engagement on the ground (payer vs. player), by analysing its tools and channels, but also taking into account the opinion of the experts that have been interviewed.

2. Actorness as an Open Door for Development

The relationship between Europe and Africa is certainly evolving, remaining complex on all perspectives. Stability and security in Africa has also an effect on the stability and security of most of the European countries. For decades, the international community has sought to promote socio-economic development in an attempt to alleviate the incredibly salient problems of global poverty and inequality.

From its very early years, the EU has incorporated assistance into its core values – thereby making it a historically dependable participant for the cause of development. Because “development and security issues are interdependent” (Gabriel, 2016), Europeans have long accepted the principle that peace in under-developed and developing countries “also means peace for Europe” (Gabriel, 2016). Thus, investing in the improvement of the human condition throughout the world, while noble, also carries certain levels of self-interested security benefits, as societal



strength can counteract feelings of alienation conducive to conflict and instability (Gavas, 2007, pp. 186-187).

The new millennium carried additional opportunities for the EU to reassert its position. In 2000, the EU signed the Cotonou Agreement with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, continuing its economic relations through trade and foreign aid with its former colonies. According to the article 34, point 2, of the agreement:

“Given the current level of development of the ACP countries, economic and trade cooperation shall be highlighted at enabling the ACP States to manage the challenges of globalization and to adapt progressively to new conditions of international trade thereby facilitating their transition to the liberalized global economy” (Official Journal of the European Communities, 2010).

The Cotonou Agreement managed to open economic doors for the ACP countries, especially in terms of international trade and global economy. Over time, the EU was a vehicle that through its aid managed “to restore broken infrastructure. Aid had brought political stability, restored hope and not only given a future to defeated peoples, to bankrupt nations and to broken lands” (Moyo, 2009, pp. 8-9). While it could be argued that this pushed the EU into a backseat in regards to its own policy decisions, the move in fact wisely allowed for global cohesion with development targets in a time when the EU had to prioritise and focus on post-enlargement integration (Tindale, 2013, p. 9).

The EU's involvement in development and its aspirations have raised millions of people out of extreme poverty – officially defined as subsisting on less than \$1.25 a day – and improved overall access to basic human needs. However, nearly one billion people in the world still live below the \$1.25 threshold, and close to half of the population receive less than \$2.50 a day (European Union, 2014, p. 5). While Africa still has the highest percentage of poverty and famine in the world, it also has fast-growing economies. However, along with poverty and unemployment comes corruption and lack of commitment from some African leaders that are using these aid efforts for other purposes.

Even if limited progress has certainly been made, involvement in development assistance continues to hold significant challenges. The EU and its 27 members have consistently devoted themselves to development. The EU is currently the largest donor of the Official Development Assistance (ODA), a common measure of formal aid used by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Providing over half of the global ODA (see Annex no.1 and Annex no.2), the EU has proven itself to be among the leaders in its stance on the issue, and its presence in 140 countries throughout the world has undoubtedly made its position as a major actor known (OECD, 2015, pp. 199-201). The EU was very much at the forefront of the development process and the EU with its Member States, meaning the EU development cooperation as a whole, play a very important role in international



arena. The EU continues to be the biggest donor even after Brexit, and this explains the undeniable role played by the EU that nobody can contest⁴.

Nonetheless, uneven and occasionally insufficient results, as well as critiques on what development policy should mean, have led to questions of whether the Union is truly a force of necessary change or simply a founder of defunct ideals – a player or a payer. Has Europe been able to innovate in the face of challenges, as a real player would? Or are its investments wasted in stagnation? In order to find a possible answer to these questions, we will move next to the unit that deals with the perception on the EU's moves and its plans on medium and longer term.

3. Perception on the EU's Plans and Actions for Future

The EU's development policy has many social and economic objectives in third countries, starting with the help provided in order to fight poverty and to integrate these countries into the world economy. In 2011, Europe took the reins through its establishment and implementation of the Agenda for Change. This initiative refocused the Union's efforts to deliver development aid beyond the expiration of the original MDGs. The plan also reassessed the transformed global environment and changed the approach for development assistance in order to incorporate new challenges and opportunities.

In addition to traditional areas of focus like the economy and health sector, the Agenda for Change emphasises good governance, sustainable energy, and strategic sectors like agriculture (European Commission, 2014, pp. 4-5). This decision carries substantial tactical value, it sets Europe up to play an influential leading role in the negotiations on the framework for the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (Sherriff and Gregersen, 2014). From this point of view, the EU seems to be both a payer based on its funds injection and budget support, but also a player through the provision of information and norms, training and organisational capacity building, thematic studies, and link with other development partners⁵.

Another reason confirming that the EU can be seen in both ways is when conditions are imposed, then the EU is a payer; when principles are brought into the game, then the EU is a player⁶. It can be said the EU is a player based on its weight in political message within the developing country and a payer when it comes to the financial contribution for the country's development⁷.

⁴ Subject 3, representative of DG DEVCO, Policy and Coherence Unit, European Commission, interview held on February 23, 2017, Brussels, Belgium.

⁵ Subject 4, representative of the Civil Society House in Cotonou, interview held on November 23, 2015, Cotonou, Benin.

⁶ Subject 5, member of the European Parliament, Committee on Development and Delegation to the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly, interview held on March 9, 2017, Brussels, Belgium.

⁷ Subject 6, representative of DG DEVCO, Civil Society Organisations and Local Authorities Unit, European Commission, interview held on April 28, 2017, Brussels, Belgium.



Despite the seemingly glowing and formidable track record, the EU's development policy has faced its share of criticism. One of the problems relates to traditional and financial means of development assistance such as ODA. Aid impact is disproportionate to the amount of donations due to the lack of a “clear, effective system [for holding] aid recipients and their governments accountable for resources illegally taken from public sector coffers” (Keo, 2013). Furthermore, “aid can only be effective if there are real commitments on behalf of the receiving countries to reform for their own benefit and in the interest of their people” (Gabriel, 2016).

The EU can be situated on both sides of the table: payer – as they accompany the developing countries on various projects funded by them, and player – as an international organisation which should work in synergy with the other partners⁸. This brings us to a difficulty confronting the Union's influence as a player in development: finding a collective voice (Sherriff and Gregersen, 2014). The EU's multinational structure makes it difficult for individual countries to ignore their own domestic needs and stand together behind a joint development policy. First of all, an actor – considered to be a player – aims rather a political role, trying to get involved and influencing the decisions taken on the ground. On the other hand, an actor – seen as a payer – plays the role of a donor who takes care of the good management of the projects⁹. But, the general impression is that the EU is perceived as a payer primarily in the context of infrastructure and sanitation projects where a lot of money is allocated¹⁰.

It was argued that aid, as a tool or instrument, includes “knowledge management, cohesion, strategy formulation and methodology as well as issues related to implementation and cash disbursement” (Holden, 2009, p. 26). From this point of view, the EU seems to be “a political dwarf in the global air regime and a source of funds rather than an actor in its own right” (Satiso, 2002, p. 10). Currently, the 28 Member States are haphazardly coordinating separate policies, with the European Commission, as an executive body, acting as more of an additional donor than an overarching unifying figure.

Even though the EU is officially the top provider of ODA, only one fifth of that is administered by the Commission, with the other four fifth disbursed by its Member States through bilateral agreements. This method has been said to “result in a system of European development cooperation that is complex and in some areas rather Byzantine” (Ganzle *et al.*, 2012, pp. 10-11). In some cases, the EU action is fragmented, finding some local situations where the EU is being perceived more as a payer than a player: “we are already aware that we underperform as a player

⁸ Subject 7, representative of the European Development Fund – National Authorising Office Support Unit; Economic, Social and Public Finance Section; interview held on January 22, 2016, Libreville, Gabon.

⁹ Subject 8, representative of the United Nations Development Programme, interview held on February 22, 2016, Libreville, Gabon.

¹⁰ Subject 9, member of ROPAGA Network, interview held on January 29, 2016, Libreville, Gabon.



comparing to how much we pay. This is one of our limitations as EU pays a lot, but this is done in order to become a stronger player”¹¹.

The EU needs to work on its coordination and to find a united voice for its policies if it wants to maintain global prominence. This carries us into an ongoing debate on what development assistance entails, and what it should entail. The EU system is complex, and requires a lot of efforts to make sure that the action on the ground mirrors the political vision¹².

The ODA should target money for low-income countries that need access to capital and finance. On the other side, middle-income countries should be assisted to reach a graduated system of development, but this effort will be implemented with less money injection, and more training and capacity building¹³. In a more comprehensive way, there is an emphasis on using development cooperation in order to help countries raising more domestic resources through different initiatives such as: “collect more and spend better, blending (combining loans and grants to finance investment), technical assistance”¹⁴.

After extensive research and field experience, different types of tools and channels have been identified in development aid, implemented on the ground and monitored by the donors: projects, programmes, technical assistance and capacity building, and sector-wide approaches (SWAp). In my opinion, the relevance of these instruments opens a debate regarding the quality of aid and its impact on the ground: a deep engagement including a diversity of tools and variety of stakeholders will bring more advantages and integrated approaches (i.e.: results oriented monitoring), while isolated/temporary initiatives will solve the problem for the moment without representing a sustainable solution on the longer term (i.e.: budget constraints, lack of monitoring frameworks, delays in reporting, lack of human resources).

Projects

The project is the basic unit of development activities and refers to individual segments of a particular cross-cutting sector such as hospitals, schools, roads, airports, with a clear description of limits and management level. The needs of a developing country are complex, resources are limited, and as a consequence it is impossible to focus on everything. The criteria of choice vary and that involves certain risks linked to the donors’ motivation.

Local authorities could also be involved in the process of proposing the right project (based on the urgent needs identified on the ground). The lack of coordination between the actors might lead to an increased risk of project isolation, meaning no sustainability and consequently its end.

¹¹ Subject 10, representative of DG DEVCO, Financing and Effectiveness Unit, European Commission, interview held on February 23, 2017, Brussels, Belgium.

¹² Subject 3, *ibidem*.

¹³ Subject 1, *ibidem*.

¹⁴ Subject 10, *ibidem*.



Programme aid

Programme aid is represented through the integrated projects, being much more than an isolated project. For example, if the plan is to build a hospital, donors have understood that an integrated approach is needed. Building a hospital is not sufficient without having roads for access, training programmes for paramedics, local clinics, emergency rooms, medical university, or research department. This scheme should be integrated into a system with specialised institutions in order to reach the development target and to have positive outcomes that can help at the SDGs implementation.

Integrated programmes involve a number of projects, and all together increase the chances of effectiveness and impact. It is a smarter approach that reduces the risk of having unnecessary projects and proposes more funds for basic services.

Technical Assistance and Capacity Building

On one side, the notion of technical assistance is understood as “the provision of skills, knowledge, know-how and advice [that] continues to be a major component of official development assistance” (Riddell, 2007, p. 202). There is a differentiation in the way of cooperation and partnership with the countries, because more advanced countries are asking more for exchange and transfer of know-how, collaboration at different levels, but not necessarily a big amount of money; and for least developing countries the ODA still represents an important factor for development¹⁵.

Both funds and training are important in development, but additional items can be identified: partners, strategy and coordination. At the same time, it is also needed to have more transparency, governance, democracy, less corruption, in order to ensure a package deal for the future¹⁶. By moving across between aid and technical assistance at various levels of development, regarding the country concerned, this reflects the demand of many middle-income countries about technology and investment, and much less in ODA. However, in the case of least developing countries, there are both aid and technical assistance required, and the EU is ready to provide both¹⁷.

On the other side, capacity building is crucial taking into account that in some developing countries, even if funds are available, there are no means and capacities to absorb them. Institutional capacity and capacity building are at the centre of the EU's actions and activities, and the investment in human capacity remains absolutely necessary. The change of systems and institutions should not be done in isolation, it is important to empower the capacity of people, to make them understand the update of the institutional setting¹⁸. It is beneficial to support and strengthen the civil society

¹⁵ Subject 2, *ibidem*.

¹⁶ Subject 6, *ibidem*.

¹⁷ Subject 2, *ibidem*.

¹⁸ Subject 10, *ibidem*.

capacities, by using Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) to build capacities at the local level. Supporting and working with platforms lead to greater impact in the field.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on financing for development are both inspired by the principle that financing is not enough, and capacity building is also a contributor to the final objectives of the SDG's framework. The EU remains committed to providing ODA, especially for the developing and fragile countries, including the commitment to provide 0.7% which has unfortunately not yet been reached, but has played an important role in pushing the EU and its Member States to make additional effort¹⁹. Over the last years, there have been some EU Member States that have considered increasing their ODA, as financing support remains essential in order to implement the new development goals.

Sector-Wide Approaches

It is increasingly being argued that the right way to do development is to tackle a much broader area (e.g.: public health issues throughout a region or across a developing country). A sector programme involves a multitude of activities, a strategy well framed and developed, and a focus on details coming from each actor involved. The local authorities and donors within that country define a strategy in a given cross-cutting sector, and cover all issues related to it, including governance: How does the Ministry of Health work? What is the quality level of trainings for health personnel? How is the transport of medicines organised? Is there a reimbursement system or not? These aspects involve political decisions, based on national debate and donors' support, as it is reflected below by the description of the SWAp approach.

“Strictly speaking, a SWAp is not in itself a form of aid. What characterizes a SWAp is the engagement of donor agencies in supporting a recipient-government-led, sector-wide strategy, as well as agreement between donors and the recipient government on the broad parameters for implementing and managing the sector strategy within a medium-term expenditure framework. In theory, most donors would wish to see a rising share of all aid which is channeled to a particular sector being pooled to enhance the overall sector budget. In practice, matters are often more complex. Although most SWAPs entail agreed partnership arrangements, which include funding, not all SWAPs include pooled funding. Furthermore, and confusingly, some donors have continued to fund projects in the given sector, remaining outside the SWAp mechanism entirely, while others have contributed to the funding pool whilst continuing to fund discrete projects” (Riddell, 2007, p.196).

¹⁹ Subject 3, *ibidem*.



Beside the wide range of projects implemented by various donors (including EU), both at bilateral and multilateral level, as well as the numerous instruments that can be operated in development, partners themselves have to make sure that they are serious about their development and to demonstrate that they invest in their own development, and not just waiting for the ODA to do it. This is a never ending discussion on how to stop the ODA dependency, as in some countries this is really huge. However, fragile states might still rely on the ODA as key financing sources are needed for basic services.

As a matter of progress, based on the typology of the projects and programmes implemented, things have changed positively on the ground: NGOs have been involved mostly in health and agriculture-related projects, based on their interest in food security. Education programmes were launched in schools, including training for teachers and courses for students. Water projects have been approved in order to provide communities and people with clean water, installed irrigation and housing (Riddell, 2007, p. 270). But, all these improvements require the involvement of local authorities and good local governance in order to turn ambition into reality.

Conclusions

Development is and will remain an important pillar of the EU foreign policy, while being a key tool in eradicating poverty, increasing security for developing countries, reducing vulnerabilities and strengthening stability, as well as regional and economic integration of its neighbourhood. Development also involves a multidisciplinary perspective, with a strong focus on implementing sectorial development strategies and policies, instead of focusing on countries and regions as a whole.

The EU's foreign policy in development is not perfect and needs to be revised and updated for each cross-cutting sector, according to its objectives, targets and goals. The European political architecture and the prospect of closer proximity through the European neighbourhood policies mirror the focal point of European foreign policy (Ratka and Spaier, 2012, p. 15). It is an open door for a "privileged relationship with neighbours" (European Commission *et al.*, 2004, p. 3) reflecting the EU's involvement in removing obstacles and barriers. The EU neighbourhood policies at both North and East highlight the *modus operandi* as well as the *modus vivendi* of the actors involved in region building.

As it was seen throughout this paper, we are in a better position now to affirm that the efficiency of the new development agenda is related to the EU's perception on the ground, either as a player, or as a payer. In the specialised literature, there is not so much said about the EU's status vis-à-vis to its position as payer or player. From the point of view of the role played in international arena, the EU can be easily considered a player based on its regional influence and legitimacy in proposing sustainable development strategies on the ground. From the point of view of its involvement in financing projects and programmes, the EU is usually considered a



payer taking into account its efforts are difficult to be quantified or sustainable on the long term.

However, the EU's role cannot be limited at payer and/or player as its external role involves multiple positions and functions such as “partner, trader, competitor, benefactor, investor and paradigm for countries and emerging regional groupings throughout the world” (Langenhove, 2011, p. 118), with the main purpose of addressing practical cooperation among states, to create common norms and contacts that can help in fostering good neighbourhood relations.

Last but not least, the EU continues to be an important donor in international arena, setting out development standards and norms, promoting resilience and strategic cooperation in order to anticipate risks at different levels. The EU also sets rules not only at the political level, but also in its relationship with civil society and local authorities, being a soft power that tries to impose its policies and stimulate local development in a sustainable way.

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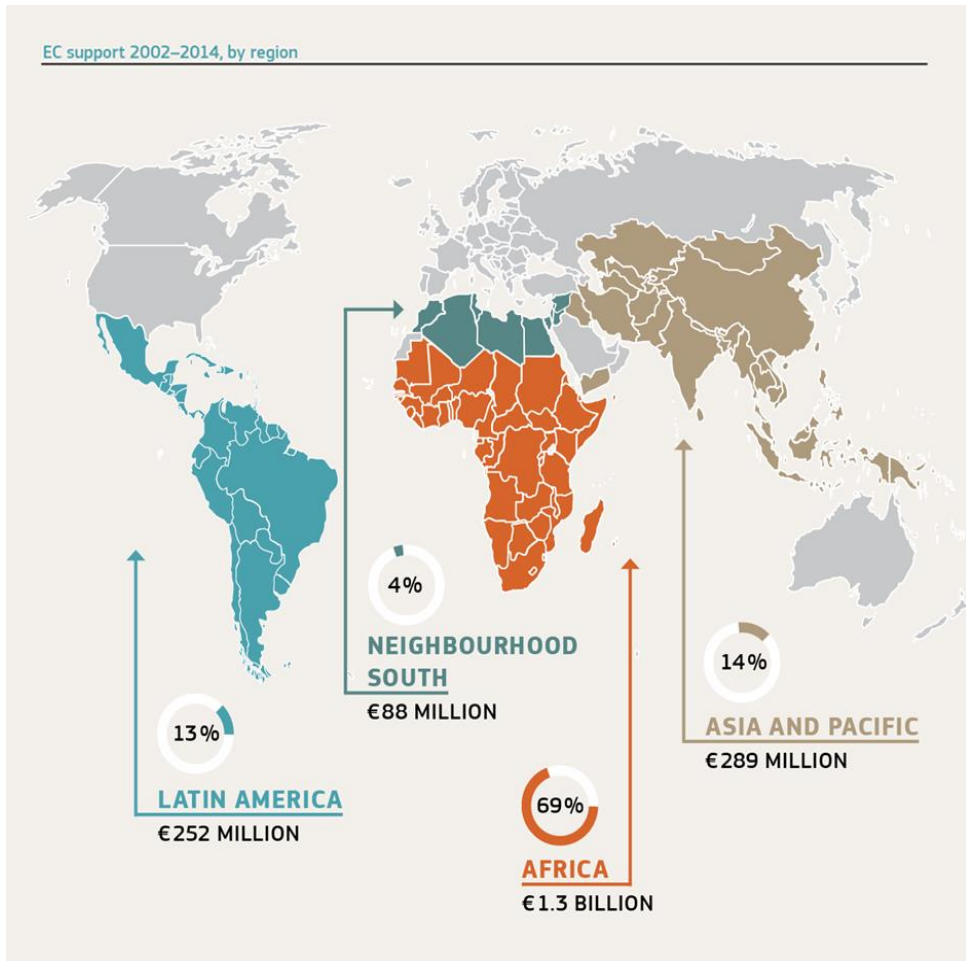
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Guiding interview protocol

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- Subject 7, representative of the European Development Fund – National Authorising Office Support Unit; Economic, Social and Public Finance Section; interview held on January 22, 2016, Libreville, Gabon.
- Subject 8, representative of the United Nations Development Programme, interview held on February 22, 2016, Libreville, Gabon.
- Subject 9, member of ROPAGA Network, interview held on January 29, 2016, Libreville, Gabon.
- Subject 10, representative of DG DEVCO, Financing and Effectiveness Unit, European Commission, interview held on February 23, 2017, Brussels, Belgium.

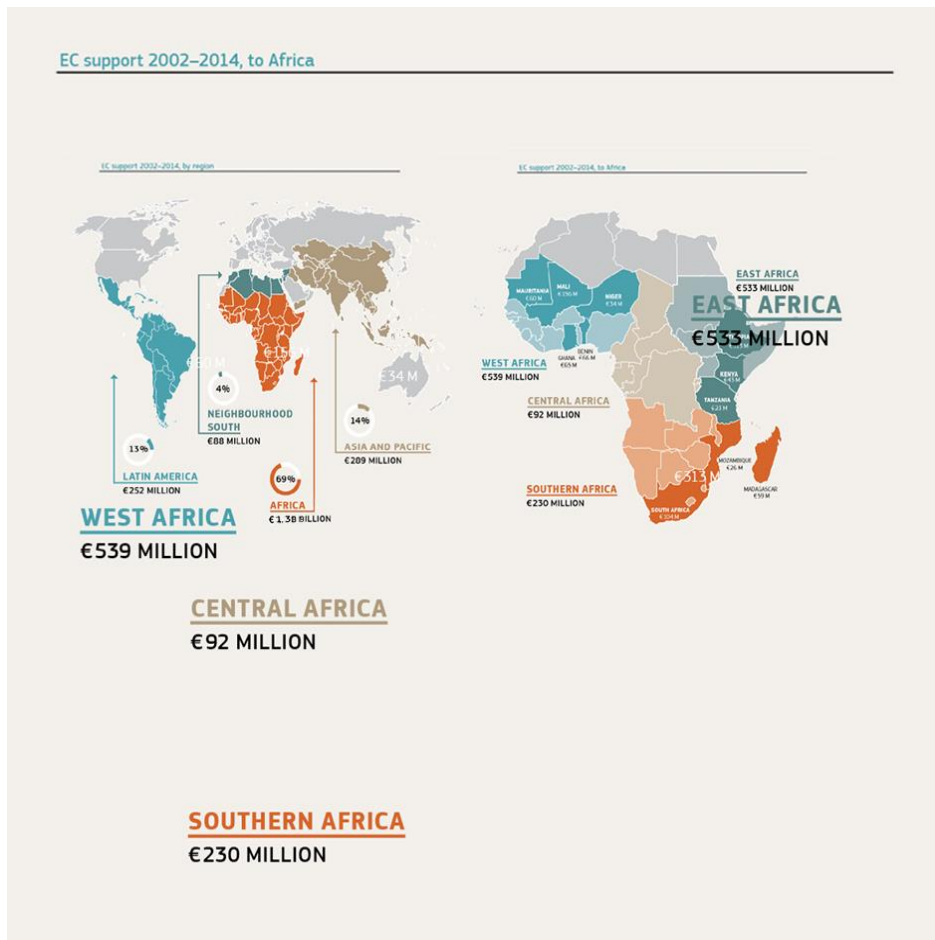


ANNEX 1. European Commission 2002-2014, by region



Source: European Commission, 2016, p. 11.

ANNEX 2. European Commission 2002 – 2014, to Africa



Source: European Commission, 2016, p. 12.

