

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES  
POLICY DEPARTMENT



**WORKSHOP**  
**EU Policy Coherence for**  
**Development:**  
**The challenge of**  
**sustainability**

DEVE



## WORKSHOP

# EU Policy Coherence for Development: The challenge of sustainability

### ABSTRACT

The EU has been at the forefront of efforts to define and implement the concept of policy coherence for development (PCD) in recent years. A range of instruments has been established to promote the inclusion of development issues in all EU policies. The workshop offered a platform for a lively debate among practitioners and researchers about the achievements of the EU in practice, the potential of recent reforms such as the better regulation package, and the lessons learnt from PCD efforts steered by the OECD at international level.

As regards the security-development nexus, speakers highlighted both the progress made in enhancing PCD, for example through the comprehensive approach, and the risks of 'securitising' development policy. The Sustainable Development Goals, which include a target for 'Policy Coherence of Sustainable Development', have added a new layer to the debate. The UN views PCSD as a key factor in facilitating the achievement of the SDGs, and the OECD has taken the concept fully on board. But there are also critical voices which fear that the broader approach could lead to the dilution of the clearly defined legal obligation enshrined in the EU treaties. There was some consensus that PCD needs high-level political engagement to be effective.

---

This paper was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Development

English-language manuscript was completed on 22 March 2016.

Printed in Belgium.

Authors: - Maurizio CARBONE, Professor of International Relations & Development and Jean Monnet Professor of EU External Policies, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, UNITED KINGDOM (Briefing 1)  
- Mark FURNESS, Senior Researcher, GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE, GERMANY (Briefing 2)

Other contributors: Rosemary KALAPURAKAL (UNDP), Ebba DOHLMAN (OECD)

Official Responsible: Marika LERCH

Editorial Assistant: Simona IACOBLEV

Feedback of all kind is welcome. Please write to: [marika.lerch@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:marika.lerch@europarl.europa.eu).

To obtain copies, please send a request to: [poldep-expo@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:poldep-expo@europarl.europa.eu)

This paper will be published on the European Parliament's online database, '[Think tank](#)'.

*The content of this document is the sole responsibility of the author and any opinions expressed therein do not necessarily represent the official position of the European Parliament. It is addressed to the Members and staff of the EP for their parliamentary work. Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorised, provided the source is acknowledged and the European Parliament is given prior notice and sent a copy.*

ISBN: 978-92-823-9030-6 (pdf)

ISBN: 978-92-823-9031-3 (paper)

doi: 10.2861/40214 (pdf)

doi:10.2861/678278 paper)

Catalogue number: QA-02-16-276-EN-N (pdf)

Catalogue number: QA-02-16-276-EN-C (paper)

## Table of contents

Programme of the Workshop	6
Summary Report	8
Experts' briefings	14
1 The European Union and Policy Coherence for Development: high on mechanisms, low on achievements by Maurizio Carbone	14
1.1 Introduction	14
1.2 Tools and mechanisms	15
1.2.1 Impact assessments	15
1.2.2 Roles of EU Delegations	16
1.2.3 Joint programming	17
1.3 Conclusion and recommendations	18
Bibliography	20
2 Policy Coherence for Development and the Security- Development Nexus in EU External Relations by Mark Furness	22
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 The 2030 Agenda and Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development: Conceptual and Practical Challenges	24
2.2.1 A Conceptual Repositioning of PCD for the 2030 Global Development Agenda	24
2.2.2 Practical Implications: Strategic policy design with clear focus on objectives	25
2.3 Coherence through Collective Action: The EU PCD Agenda and the Security-Development Nexus	27
2.4 The Security-Development Nexus in Practice: Comprehensive Approaches and Securitisation	29
2.4.1 Comprehensive Engagements in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries	29

2.4.2	Securitisation of Development Policy? The EU Migration Trust Fund for Africa	31
2.5	Conclusions and Recommendations	32
	Bibliography	34
	PowerPoint presentations	36
3	The 2030 Agenda & SDGs: from commitment to action, presentation by Rosemary Kalapurakal (UNDP)	36
4	PCSD and Illicit Financial Flows - synergies, trade-offs and challenges, presentation by Ebba Dohlman (OECD)	43
	Biographical notes	47

# WORKSHOP

COMMITTEE ON DEVELOPMENT AND  
POLICY DEPARTMENT OF DG EXO



Tuesday 16.02.2016 – **12:30-15:00**  
ALTIERO SPINELLI BUILDING (BRUSSELS) – ROOM **A5G2**



## EU POLICY COHERENCE FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABILITY



Chaired by Mr Cristian Dan PREDA, MEP,  
Standing Rapporteur on Policy Coherence for Development

Information and registrations: [poldep-expo@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:poldep-expo@europarl.europa.eu)

## Programme of the Workshop

### WORKSHOP

#### EU Policy Coherence for Development: The challenge of sustainability

Tuesday, 16 February 2016

Brussels, Altiero Spinelli Building, Room ASP 5G2

12.30-15.00

Interpretation: EN/FR (to be confirmed)

---

#### PROGRAMME

---

**12.30-12.40 Welcome and introductory remarks by**

- **Cristian Dan Preda**, Member of the Committee on Development, Standing Rapporteur on Policy Coherence for Development

***Panel 1: Getting the framework right: tools, procedures and mechanisms for PC(S)D***

*Moderated by Cristian Dan Preda*

**12.40-12.50 'The European Union and Policy Coherence for Development: high on mechanisms, low on achievements'**

- **Maurizio Carbone**, Professor of International Relations & Development and Jean Monnet Professor of EU External Policies, University of Glasgow

**12.50-13.00 'Policy Coherence for Development and the SDGs'**

- **Rosemary Kalapurakal**, Lead Advisor Agenda 2030 at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

**13.00-13.10 Respondents**

- **Carsten Soerensen**, Head of Sector, Policy Coherence for Development, European Commission, DG DEVCO
- **Evert-Jan Brouwer**, Woord en Daad / EU-CORD network, CONCORD

**13.10-13.50 Q&A, Open discussion**

***Panel 2: PCD in practice - progress in priority areas?***

*Moderated by Cristian Dan Preda*

**13.50-14.00 'PCD and the security development nexus in EU external relations'**

- **Mark Furness**, Senior Researcher, German Development Institute

**14.00-14.10 'PCD and illicit financial flows: synergies, trade-offs, and challenges'**

- **Ebba Dohlman**, Senior Advisor in the OECD Office of the Secretary General and Head of the Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) Unit

**14.10-14.15 Respondent**

- **Filiberto Ceriani Sebregondi**, Head of Division, Development Cooperation Coordination, EEAS

**14.10-14.50 Q&A, open discussion**

**14.50-15.00 Concluding remarks by the Chair**



## Summary Report

**Mr Cristian Dan Preda**, the standing rapporteur on Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) for the Committee on Development (DEVE), opened the workshop by highlighting the important context of PCD in the coming months. The European Commission had published the fifth biennial report on PCD in August 2015 and the DEVE Committee intended to have its follow-up report adopted in committee on 20 April and in plenary in June.

The rapporteur stressed the importance of PCD as a concept, underlining that in order to address the challenge of sustainability arising from the adoption of the new Sustainable Development Goals, joined-up action and dovetailing between the various areas of Parliament's work would be necessary, be they trade, environment, development, foreign affairs etc. He called for a shift from the sector-by-sector, 'do no harm' approach to a proactive approach based on a common understanding of PCD.

The focus of the workshop was on the tools and mechanisms available for PCD and was intended firstly to enrich the DEVE report and secondly to raise awareness of PCD in the European Parliament. Awareness-raising, in particular, was deemed fundamental in order to ensure political engagement with PCD at the highest EU institutional level.

### **Panel 1: Getting the framework right: tools, procedures and mechanisms for PC(S)D**

**Mr Maurizio Carbone**, *Professor of International Relations and Development and Jean Monnet Professor at the University of Glasgow* presented 'The European Union and Policy Coherence for Development: high on mechanisms, low on achievements'.

Prof Carbone stressed that the focus on mechanisms was based on the underlying assumption that there was a positive correlation between mechanisms and outcomes, which he deemed misinformed.

In particular, three tools or mechanisms were analysed. Firstly, he considered impact assessments (IAs), based on the idea that technical information was exchanged with a view to improving policy. In practice, however, IAs had also been used by some constituencies to push their agenda to the detriment of less dominant actors. Given the structural weakness of the development constituency, IAs had yielded few benefits for PCD.

Secondly, Prof Carbone discussed EU delegations. Reports from the delegations were intended to inform the Commission about what was happening on the ground, as well as raise awareness of PCD. However, Prof Carbone felt that they were merely a substitute for deeper analysis and identified their lack of capacity to do more. He went on to highlight the tensions between Heads of Cooperation and Heads of Mission, who had alternative conceptions of the role of EU delegations. Thirdly, he looked at the mechanism of joint programming. Prof Carbone maintained that joint programming had been much more about aid effectiveness than about PCD and noted a gap between the enthusiasm of officials at headquarters and resistance on the ground.

In summary, the EU might have high expectations (evidenced by treaties and political declarations) but it had limited capability (due to a heavy focus on mechanisms). In order to address this expectations-capability gap, there was a need either to raise capability or to lower expectations.

Policy recommendations included holding a European Council devoted solely to PCD; training Heads of Delegations as well as Heads of Cooperation; investing more resources in evidence-based analysis; supporting the construction of a PCD index; making impact assessments more participatory by giving a voice to developing countries and NGOs; and preventing any dilution of the PCD agenda through new concepts such as Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development (PCSD).

**Ms Rosemary Kalapurakal**, *lead advisor on the Agenda 2030 at the United Nations Development Programme*, outlined PCD in the context of the Global Goals 2030. Ms Kalapurakal emphasised the universal and indivisible nature of the Sustainable Development Goals, underlining in particular SDG 17.14, which refers to the cross-cutting target of enhancing PCSD.

Ms Kalapurakal went on to discuss the Mainstreaming, Acceleration, and Policy Support (MAPS) approach, focusing on three areas, designed by the UN to support implementation of the SDG agenda.

'Mainstreaming' referred, she said, to the translation of the SDGs from global to national and local levels. The UN Country Team (UNCT) Mainstreaming Reference Guide was a tool created to this end, with approaches and mechanisms which UNCTs could use with Member States to adapt the 2030 Agenda to national, sub-national and local conditions. The Guide included case studies of how some countries had already started to use the relevant tools. The Guide distinguished between horizontal Policy Coherence for Development (creating formal partnerships across line ministries and agencies and adopting integrated modelling to analyse and inform key policies in terms of their impact on nationally adapted SDGs) and vertical Policy Coherence for Development (fostering partnerships and cooperation across levels of government, multi-stakeholder consultative bodies and forums, local Agenda 21s to scale up action for sustainable development at the local level, and impact assessment to ensure nationally and locally adapted SDGs are taken into consideration in large public and private development projects).

'Acceleration' referred to an increased focus on specific contexts and country priority areas. A toolkit for this area was expected by June 2016 and was intended to focus on going 'the last mile' to reach those people most excluded, to identify multiplier effects or 'accelerator interventions', and to support risk-informed planning — scenario building, and development planning to tackle vulnerability and boost resilience.

'Policy support' referred to support given by respective UN agencies to countries, in terms of sharing skills, experience and expertise. Ms Kalapurakal stressed the need to work with stakeholders, which was much more the practice now than it had been in the MDG era. She emphasised public-private partnerships, civil society, and volunteers, maintaining that the link with global citizens would be imperative for success.

Ms Kalapurakal listed efforts already under way to ensure coherence by several countries. For example, Colombia had a High-Level Inter-institutional Commission for SDGs; Honduras had put in place a presidential results-based management platform to monitor inter-sectoral work for integrated SDG advancements; Montenegro had a ministry of sustainable development that assisted with horizontal policy coherence issues across government; and Bhutan had undertaken a gap analysis as an overview of the alignment between targets in its national and sectoral-level policy framework and SDG targets. Ms Kalapurakal also emphasized commitments made on implementing the SDG agenda by the G20 at the recent Antalya Summit, as well as by China.

The first respondent, **Mr Carsten Sorensen**, *Head of the Policy Coherence for Development sector in DG DEVCO of the European Commission*, set out the areas in which the Commission had made progress in advancing PCD. In particular he highlighted country-by-country reporting, CAP reform, and trade, noting that the 'Trade for All' communication emphasised the role of development and PCD. In contrast to Mr Carbone, Mr Sorensen took an optimistic view of impact assessments, saying that recent improvements meant that they would yield much more fruitful results in future. Furthermore, he took a different position on political will. The European Union was one of the few institutions in the world to have organised itself in order to create more coherence. Indeed, groups of Commissioners headed by vice-presidents clearly helped increase coherence. As regards the challenge of the broader SDG agenda, Mr Sorensen clarified that for the Commission PCD was an important aspect of the approach to

implementing the SDGs, with the promotion of PCD as a distinct part within the Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development debate for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda 2030.

The second respondent, **Mr Evert-Jan Brouwer** from *CONCORD*, and in contrast to Mr Carbone, stressed the importance of moving from PCD to PCSD, given that the latter would mirror the SDGs by incorporating economic, social and environmental concerns into the agenda. He claimed a significant difference between PCD and PCSD was that the latter implied that sustainable policies should apply at home and not just abroad. Here he underlined the importance of analysing the potential negative impact of Member States' internal policies, for example in transport and energy, citing the example of the Dutch government, which had recently raised speed limits on roads, despite the adverse effect on pollution levels and traffic accidents. Commodity sourcing from abroad was raised as another prevalent example.

There was a need, he said, for a common view of what the SDGs meant, as some countries were reflecting on their internal policies while others were not. Mr Brouwer believed that the new rules on Impact Assessments were a step forward but called for development expertise to have a stronger voice in the process. He welcomed the greater involvement of delegations in PCD reporting. However Mr Brouwer questioned the way some documents were produced, such as the National Indicative Programmes 2014-2020. For example, the document for Haiti focused heavily on traditional development concerns, such as education, but there was no analysis of the wider context, such as the difficult trade situation that Haiti found itself in. A broader approach was therefore called for.

During the Q&A session **Mr Pedro Silva Pereira**, a member of the DEVE committee from the S&D Group, asked whether, in parallel with the positive approach currently being taken of actively promoting PCD, it might also be beneficial to use a negative approach, that is to create a 'blacklist' of cases of incoherence. This might include cases where there was a clear lack of PCD and on which the development community therefore needed to focus. He mentioned possible examples, such as weak sustainable development chapters in trade agreements, energy, or debt restructuring.

**Mr Preda** put specific follow-up questions to each expert. On the alleged risks of moving from PCD to PCSD, Prof Carbone explained that he feared dilution. PCD should ensure that policies took into account impacts on poor people in developing countries, but with PCSD impacts would have to be measured for everybody, everywhere. He supported the stronger involvement of developing countries in the PCD process but stressed that this should not lead to new conditions being imposed. On the involvement of non-EU donors in enhancing PCD, Ms Kalapurakal referred to the important commitments by the G20 and World Bank, while stressing again the need to move beyond the traditional donor-recipient distinction. Asked about the lack of recommendations in the Commission's biannual PCD report, Mr Sorensen explained its status as a staff working document. He also informed participants about an evaluation of PCD policies at EU level that would provide further information about the current effectiveness of existing tools.

On the involvement of civil society and developing countries in the PCD process, **Mr Brouwer** argued that the system in Brussels was fairly consultative, but that the practice of EU delegations varied from country to country and that some consultations were not timely or well-organised. **Mr Ceriani Sebregondi**, *Head of Division, Development Cooperation Coordination, EEAS*, countered these concerns, underlining that the guidelines, which were followed routinely, ensured that civil society was consulted. He also emphasised that delegations played an important role in considering PCD at country level and stressed that PCD formed part of all programming guidelines. He rejected the view of Prof Carbone that Heads of Delegations were less interested in policy coherence than Heads of Cooperation.

However both Prof Carbone and Mr Brouwer referred to empirical research supporting their arguments about in-field consultation and conflicts within delegations.

**Panel 2: PCD in practice — progress in priority areas?**

The rapporteur, **Mr Cristian Dan Preda**, introduced this panel, outlining the purpose of addressing the more practical side of PCD, the specific policies that existed and the progress that had been made. He highlighted two key policy areas: security and development and illicit financial flows.

**Dr Mark Furness**, *Senior Researcher at the German Development Institute*, presented the topic of 'PCD and the security development nexus in EU external relations'. He started by outlining that incoherence was in fact the natural state of affairs. The 2030 Agenda included every aspect of development, and so in itself was very complex. Therefore, making everything coherent with everything else was simply not possible. There was an assumption that PCD would be possible if we removed the negative impacts of non-development policies on development. This would not in fact make vast improvements because there were so many policies, all with different timings, all evolving at different speeds and all influencing each other. However, a conceptual and practical shift was needed away from an approach whereby development policy was formulated, implemented and evaluated by donors on a standalone basis, towards a problem-driven approach which took into account the interaction between all relevant policies for achieving development objectives.

Dr Furness maintained that the EU had started moving towards this in its handling of the security-development nexus, although significant improvements could still be made in certain areas, such as the Comprehensive Approach to Fragile and Conflict-Affected (FCA) Countries and the Emergency Trust Fund for Stability and Addressing Root Causes of Irregular Migration and Displaced Persons in Africa.

He praised the EU for moving towards more coherence through the Comprehensive Approach. The New Deal helped objective-setting through the Peace and State-building Goals and EU Joint Programming set objectives based on partners' national development plans. However, the Comprehensive Approach was still heavily 'crisis' rather than 'development'-orientated and there were challenges in terms of partner ownership.

Furthermore, efforts to improve coherence between security and development could risk 'securitisation', with negative implications for core development objectives. Dr Furness pointed to the Emergency Trust Fund for Stability and Addressing Root Causes of Irregular Migration and Displaced Persons in Africa as an example. While the use of development resources to address this issue was not intrinsically wrong, it was problematic from a PCD perspective given that the topic had been framed in security terms. Key questions must be answered about the fund in terms of its objectives, whether it could achieve something that the EDF could not, whether there would be independent evaluation, and what 'migration management' actually constituted.

Recommendations included a re-conceptualisation by stakeholders of a European approach to SDG 16 and SDG 17; a coherent policy framework set out by the EU Global Strategy, with the SDGs as a starting point to identify the roles for development, trade, climate change, humanitarian affairs, etc.; increased engagement by the EP in EU crisis response strategies to ensure resilience; a role for the EP in strategic priority-setting on specific instruments such as the African Trust Fund; and the adoption of joint-programming for FCA countries as a rule.

**Ms Ebba Dohlman**, *Senior Advisor in the OECD Office of the Secretary General and Head of the Policy Coherence for Development Unit* presented the topic of 'PCD and illicit financial flows: synergies, trade-offs, and challenges'. Ms Dohlman reiterated some of the lessons to be learned about PCD. In line with Dr Furness' argument in favour of a problem-driven approach, she stressed the need to adopt an approach that was 'issue-based' (focusing on common challenges, for example food security), not simply donor-centred, more proactive (going beyond 'do-no-harm'), and integrated across all levels (local, national, regional, global). While Official Development Assistance (ODA) was still very important, it was becoming a shrinking part of the whole development financing package, and we needed to look beyond it if we were

to achieve the desired outcomes. A further lesson referred to institutional mechanisms: instead of ministries of foreign affairs or development cooperation taking the lead on PCD, which was currently usually the case, teams responsible for PCD should be placed at the centre of government; alternatively, responsibility for PCD could be shared with ministries that worked on domestic policies.

Ms Dohlman stressed the need for concern about illicit financial flows. In 2014 ODA totalled USD 135 million. In comparison, USD 1 trillion was lost through corruption, and over USD 1.5 trillion through money laundering. Combatting illicit financial flows could therefore make a huge contribution to development. SDG Goal 16, specifically target 16.4, called on countries to 'significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime by 2030, but the interactions between a wide range of different SDGs and targets needed to be addressed in order to meet this target .

PCD was thus particularly important for the combatting of illicit financial flows. Success would depend on working across national government departments and across sectors, ending the tendency to think in silos. A self-assessment and screening tool was being developed by the OECD in order to assist in the implementation of this goal.

**Filiberto Ceriani Sebregondi**, *Head of Division, Development Cooperation Coordination, EEAS*, responded to Dr Furness' presentation by stressing the interconnectedness of security and development, and highlighting the progress of Joint Programming and of the Comprehensive Approach, for example in the Sahel and the Horn of Africa. He underlined that there were situations in which security actors could play an effective role in development, for example in order to address disaster situations or to help humanitarian actors access difficult areas. Furthermore, in terms of prevention, the military could be a source of conflict if not paid or trained well enough, or if management structures were not transparent. Security sector reform could therefore have a positive impact on development.

Furthermore, Mr Ceriani Sebregondi defended the Trust Fund for Africa as addressing not only migration management but also social issues, resilience and stability. Most countries were affected by mixed migration flows, both towards Europe but also within regions, and the aim of the Trust Fund was to help countries cope with these flows. While this could be achieved with normal funds, the creation of the Trust Fund was intended to allow a faster response in terms of both programming and action. It was not meant to be an alternative way of working but a supplementary one which was supported by other instruments.

In response, Mr Furness acknowledged that the Fund did indeed have a much broader scope than managing migration, but restated his view that migration had mainly been framed in terms of security. He raised the question of whose security interests the Fund was intended to support, given that migration was currently, not so coincidentally, a high-profile issue for the EU.

During the Q&A session Ms Petra Krylova from the **Centre for Global Development** (London) pointed to the Commitment to Development Index, which looked beyond the provision of foreign assistance to policy areas such as trade, security, migration, environment and technology. The speaker called for greater support for analysis and data, given that the Index only included 27 countries because data for other countries was not available.

**Concluding remarks**

**Mr Cristian Dan Preda** wound up the workshop by restating the fundamental need for political will in order to ensure that PCD gained a high place high on the policy agenda. Regardless of tools and mechanisms, political engagement was necessary for the continued development of PCD, and the European Parliament had a key role to play in ensuring this.

Summary drawn up by the Policy Department, Directorate-General for External Policies

## Experts' briefings

### 1 The European Union and Policy Coherence for Development: high on mechanisms, low on achievements, briefing by Maurizio Carbone

*This briefing analyses the evolution of the concept of Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) in the European Union (EU). The central argument is that, despite its institutionalisation since the Treaty of Maastricht and the numerous commitments made by EU Member States and institutions in various contexts, achievements on PCD have been modest. The strong emphasis placed on mechanisms and procedures has not helped as much as it was expected. An analysis of the Impact Assessment procedure, the contentious role to be played by EU Delegations, and the difficult implementation record of the ambitious initiative on joint programming show that the needs and interests of (different types of) developing countries are only marginally taken into account across a number of EU policies and decisions. The conclusion, somewhat unsurprisingly, is that the successful promotion of PCD is not so much a matter of mechanisms and procedures but primarily is a political undertaking. Nevertheless, some recommendations are provided, which could make PCD an important element of transformative development.*

#### 1.1 Introduction

In a well-known article, Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink have argued that *the life cycle of a norm* includes three phases: 'norm emergence', when an idea materialises thanks to the initiative of a norm entrepreneur; 'norm cascade', which entails a general acceptance of the norm, through a process of international socialisation; and 'norm internalisation', which occurs when a norm becomes so widely accepted that conformance with it becomes almost automatic (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). The trajectory of Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) in the European Union (EU) – which implies minimising contradictions and building synergies between different EU policies to benefit developing countries – could be conceived along similar lines.

The first phase (1992-2005) includes the emergence of the PCD norm, owing to the initiative of a small group of norm entrepreneurs (i.e. like-minded donors and NGOs), with two crucial events being the signature of the Treaty of Maastricht, which introduced a legal basis for PCD, and the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), particularly MDG-8, which provided a framework for action for foreign aid and other development-related areas. Some proposals, mostly taking a 'do-no-harm' approach with the aim of enhancing aid effectiveness, were put forward, but the lack of concrete achievements is to be attributed to several territorial clashes within the European Commission (most notably between DG Development, DG Trade and DG Agriculture) and the passive resistance of most Member States (Hoebink, 2004; Ashoff, 2005; Carbone, 2008).

The second phase (2005-2015) was characterised by the attempt to translate an ever more crystallised vision into practice. On the one hand, the notion of PCD, now strongly endorsed by the European Commission, was embraced by a large number of Member States and was incorporated into key political documents (e.g. European Consensus on Development; several Council conclusions). Incidentally, in this phase, PCD became one of the flagships of EU external relations, so much that it was even seen as an

alternative to the existing development paradigm based on the MDGs (Carbone, 2009) – yet for some, the European Commission, rather than on the substance of the issue, seemed more interested to boost its role in development discourses and, in fact, it engaged in a sort of institutional rivalry with the Development Assistance Committee, the main sponsor of PCD at the international level (Carbone, 2012). On the other hand, attention focused on introducing various mechanisms, namely policy statements, administrative and institutional arrangements for policy coordination, and instruments for knowledge input and assessment (Mackie, 2007; Prontera, 2014; Stroß, 2014; Carbone and Keijzer, 2016).

The third phase (2015-) has started with the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and with the inclusion of policy coherence for sustainable development (PCSD) as one of the specific targets (17.14). The re-conceptualisation of PCD into PCSD reflects a more universal development agenda, engaging actors beyond traditional donors and promoting initiatives beyond traditional development means (Janus et al, 2015). But it poses some challenges, due to the fact that for some PCSD may accentuate the current lack of policy confidence and clarity: ‘There is a crisis of policy-making, which policy actors seek to evade by shifting responsibility to other actors’ (Chandler, 2007, p. 369). Within the EU, this phase is expected to be marked by the (likely) adoption of two important documents – that is, the successors to the European Consensus on Development and the Cotonou Agreement – which will inform the EU’s vision on international development for the next 10-20 years. It is still unclear if this phase will be that of internalisation or fall of the PCD norm – with dilution being the more plausible scenario. An important part, but certainly not the most important one, in making PCD an element of transformative development (Siitonen, 2016) could be played by tools and mechanisms, which will be dealt with in the next section.

## 1.2 Tools and mechanisms

One of the main challenges in advancing the PCD agenda concerns the scarce availability of data for comparison across policies and countries (Forster and Stokke, 1999; Picciotto, 2005; King et al 2012). The most feasible option – which has been embraced by EU institutions, as well as Member States – still remains that of concentrating on processes (i.e. focus is on mechanisms) rather than outcomes (i.e. focus is on achievements) (Di Francesco, 2001). In doing so, the underlying assumption is the existence of a positive correlation between mechanisms and achievements. Undoubtedly, tools and mechanisms are fine ways to raise awareness on PCD, yet their role in producing results is uncertain and, thus, should not be exaggerated (Barry et al 2010; Keijzer, 2010; Prontera, 2014). Space limitation allows for analysis of only three of these arrangements, yet the changing nature of the biennial reports published by the European Commission to monitor progress seems to well exemplify the fortunes of PCD in the EU. The first biennial report (2007) – as well as the proposal that had revived the PCD agenda in the EU (2005) – was an ambitious communication, taking a critical stance of the negative effects of non-aid policies, highlighting variation in performance among all Member States (using a sort of ‘naming and shaming’ approach), and making concrete policy recommendations. The biennial reports that followed (2009 to 2015) – downgraded to staff working papers – were conspicuous for their decline in ambition and political profile: they mostly highlighted success stories while neglecting evident shortcomings, and, more importantly, failed to suggest concrete courses of action.

### 1.2.1 Impact assessments

Impact assessments (IAs) are ex-ante tools used by the European Commission to determine the consequences of some of its most important initiatives across a range of economic, environmental and social criteria. By comparing potentially positive and negative impacts of proposed policy options, IAs are meant to favour the exchange of technical information between interested parties with the view to generating better-informed decisions. At the same time, they may represent an ulterior opportunity for dominant actors to push their agendas at the expense of other stakeholders, in a less politicised arena



(Bäcklund, 2009; Radaelli and Meuwese, 2010; Torriti, 2010). Since its inception in 2002, the IA procedure has been treated as 'a powerful mechanism' to advance the PCD agenda – and the revised guidelines in 2009 required that specific attention be paid to the impact of any EU initiative on developing countries. Nevertheless, analyses of IAs conducted by scholars (Adelle and Jordan, 2014; Carbone and Keijzer, 2016) and civil society actors (Concord, 2013; 2015) have pointed to some disappointing results, highlighting the fact that only a very small number of relevant IAs (33 out of 177, up to 2013) somehow considered the effects on development policy – yet without distinguishing between different types of developing countries, relying on impressionistic evidence. For instance, in the reform of the sugar policy in 2013 the concerns of developing countries were hardly addressed: an annex was included in the IA, but was written by development experts in isolation from DG Agriculture policy-makers (Adelle and Jordan, 2014). Similarly, in the reform of the common fisheries policy initiated in 2011, the impact on developing countries was, at best, partially assessed, failing to fully consider the significance of the EU fishing vessels operating in the waters of developing countries (Carbone and Keijzer, 2016). The impression, therefore, is that IAs are highly constrained by existing political forces and often actors have pre-determined solutions, which results in limited opportunities to effectively address PCD issues: thus, the inference has been that 'long standing asymmetries of power between the actors were reproduced rather than fundamentally altered by this new opportunity structure' (Adelle and Jordan, 2014, p. 387).

The new Better Regulation guidelines adopted in May 2015 contain more stringent commitments to PCD, notably in a specific Tool (# 30). The aim is that of minimising the negative impacts of EU decisions on developing countries, for which a good solution seems that of introducing mitigating measures. Interestingly, it is finally recognised that developing countries form a heterogeneous group, and therefore, in line with prevailing thinking on differentiation, attention should be paid primarily to the Least Developed Countries and other countries most in need. Moreover, taking into account the dearth of quantitative data, a qualitative overview of the likely impact of EU policy options on developing countries is considered a valid approach. Overall, the revised IA guidelines represent a positive change, though there is still ample space for scepticism: 'the structural weakness of development policy vis-à-vis other policy areas are only limitedly affected by institutional design, and the results continue to be shaped by the articulation of domestic interests, especially when the interests of developing countries are in contrast to the interests of important national constituencies' (Prontera, 2014, p.17). The argument that making public policies more development-friendly serves the EU's own interest in the long-term offers little consolation at times in which the EU's socio-economic model is under considerable stress (Carbone and Keijzer, 2016). It is too soon to determine the extent to which the 2015 guidelines could manage to alter ingrained practises, in that as of January 2016 no development-relevant IA has been yet approved. In fact, although IAs are portrayed by policy-makers as a bureaucratic procedure which can assist policy-makers in making better policy choices, this approach has, so far, prevailed only rarely (Torriti, 2010; Adelle and Jordan, 2014).

## 1.2.2 Roles of EU Delegations

One of the new tools used for the promotion of PCD concerns the role to be played by EU Delegations (EUDs). The elevation of the diplomatic missions of the European Commission into full EU Delegations was expected to positively affect EU coordination and coherence. Indeed, several commentators claim that it has contributed to strengthening the EU's capacity of speaking with a single voice on the ground, especially in developing countries (Austermann, 2015; Pomorska and Vanhoonacker, 2015), yet the contents of the message sent out by the EU, particularly the nexus between different policies, have not received adequate attention. In the case of PCD, the primary task for EUDs, it would seem, is that of providing feedback on the impact of EU policies on developing countries. However, the reports sent by 41 EUDs in view of the preparation of the 2015 PCD biennial report have mostly highlighted, unsurprisingly, the increased awareness of the concept on the ground, but also the lack of capacity and

expertise of EUDs to pursue a more active role in PCD-related issues. The European Commission has identified some follow-up actions, including the provision of training for Heads of Cooperation (HoC): the aim is that of enhancing their capacity to act as a sort of 'PCD focal points' on the ground, by ensuring better coordination with EU Member States and by engaging in closer dialogue with partner countries. The early stage status of this new initiative allows only some preliminary considerations.

The first point concerns the issue of training, which should target not only HoC but also Heads of Delegations (HoD). Empirical evidence has revealed the existence of frictions – linked to loyalty issues and the ambiguous division of labour between DG DEVCO and EEAS – between these two figures on the roles to be played of EUDs (Tannous, 2015). The Treaty of Lisbon was meant to facilitate smoother interactions, yet the implementation record on the ground shows a persistence of different organisation cultures, which often generate more costs than benefits (Smith, 2013). The primary concern for HoD seems to be on EU external coherence: in this view, development policy is simply one of the instruments of the EU's attempt to maximise its impact vis-à-vis third countries. At the same time, training on PCD would also be beneficial for HoC, who in most cases still follow aid project logics, and therefore lack the necessary skills to successfully engage in policy discussions with partner countries.

The second point is related to the more prominent role that EUDs could play in the promotion of PCD. Their task, in fact, should not be limited to acquiring relevant information to send to Brussels – though it could still help address one of the key problems in existing PCD analyses, that of failing to identify winners and losers in EU initiatives, between different (types of) countries but also within the same country. More importantly, EUDs should ensure that partner governments promote PCD in their own countries and possibly, without adding an new form of conditionality, suggest concrete actions to eliminate blatant cases of incoherence. Of course, the latent risk is that of (further) constraining the policy space of developing countries – to the point that some observers have even claimed that PCD has been used as an instrument for controlling poor countries through allegedly coordinated policies (Thede, 2013). This re-adapted version of the old *donor-recipient coherence* is a crucial aspect in the promotion of the PCD, which is generally overlooked not only by scholars, but more gravely by policy-makers.

### 1.2.3 Joint programming

EU joint programming (JP) refers to the establishment of a collective strategy for the delivery of European aid in developing countries. It consists of a joint analysis, which provides an overview of the overall situation of the recipient country, and a joint response, which outlines the rationale for the resources provided by the EU and the Member States, including a general indication of funding allocations; a division of labour to establish who is working in which sector is generally included. All these documents are prepared on the ground by EUDs together with the representatives of Member States, with the view to aligning with the national development plan of the recipient country. The JP initiative, presented as one of the two deliverables for the fourth high-level forum on aid effectiveness held in Busan in November 2011, is meant to address some of the shortcomings of previously technocratic approaches to aid coordination (i.e. Code of Conduct on Complementarity and Division of Labour) through the addition of a political dimension – thus contributing to what is known as *internal coherence*. On the one hand, there is the view that JP enhances the impact of foreign aid, by increasing aid predictability, reducing fragmentation, and promoting stronger alignment with recipient development plans. On the other hand, it is seen as primarily boosting the impact of the EU in international politics and development, by translating shared European values and policies into coherent, targeted action in partner countries.

Despite some initial enthusiasm, JP has started (only) in 55 developing countries and the implementation record is not very complimentary: empirical evidence, in fact, points to different forms of resistance, at different levels (Carbone, 2016). Firstly, some EU Member States have resisted it for material reasons: a more visible presence thanks to bilateral aid is believed to provide a more direct gateway to the country and the government, especially in countries that are growing rapidly. Other EU Member States have used

more legal and ideological arguments to oppose it, both linked to their refusal to pool sovereignty. Moreover, episodic clashes have occurred between those who highlight the aid effectiveness dimension of JP and those who emphasise the political leverage aspect. Secondly, some EUDs have not pushed JP processes as much as expected. Skirmishes have occurred between HoC, interested in enhancing the impact of foreign aid, and HoD, more concerned with increasing the EU's visibility, even at the expense of aid effectiveness. Thirdly, developing countries (with some notable exceptions) have manifested scarce interest in an initiative that they have perceived mostly as a 'donor game' – not to mention their limited capacity to take up leadership. Their main sources of concern are the potential reduction of aid and the risk of additional forms of conditionality. Finally, the presence of broader aid coordination mechanisms has not helped: in these cases, JP processes are considered unnecessary and even counterproductive to the general cause of aid effectiveness (Carbone, 2016).

### 1.3 Conclusion and recommendations

At the beginning of the 1990s, Christopher Hill introduced the notion of 'capability-expectations gap' to capture the discrepancy between the expectations raised by the many roles played by the EU in the international arena and its actual capability to adopt the policies necessary to fulfil those roles (Hill, 1993). Since then, the EU has certainly enhanced its capabilities, particularly the institutional framework, but new external pressures and self-proclaimed ambitions have resulted in greater expectations, ultimately compromising its effective performance and credibility in global politics. To prevent disillusion and resentment, the EU has no choice but to increase capabilities (i.e. ability to agree, resource availability, and instruments) or lower expectations. The evolution of PCD in the European Union can also be read through those lenses. Major expectations were generated first by the Treaty of Maastricht in the early 1990s and then by a series of commitments and political statements in the mid-2000s. In terms of capabilities, attention focused on the adoption of a number of mechanisms. However, the analysis of the IAs, some contentious dynamics within EU Delegations, and the difficult implementation record of the ambitious initiative on joint programming show that the needs and interests of (different types of) developing countries are only marginally taken into account across a number of EU policies and decisions. The conclusion, therefore, is that the EU has been high on mechanisms and low on achievements and, that, somewhat unsurprisingly, the successful promotion of PCD is not so much a matter of bureaucratic arrangements but is primarily a political undertaking (Carbone and Keijzer, 2016).

Linked to these general conclusions are a number of recommendations for the EU (some of which apply also to the European Parliament), which in the short and long term could contribute to bridging the capability-expectations gap and promoting a more synergetic interaction between mechanisms and achievements.

- Raise the political profile of PCD. This would imply involving not only Commissioner/Ministries of International Development and Heads of Cooperation in EU Delegations, but also Heads of Government and Heads of Delegations. The ideal situation would be that of devoting a European Council solely to PCD and instituting an annual meeting to socialise HoD into the concept of PCD.
- Show the benefits of PCD beyond anecdotal cases. This would entail supporting the production of evidenced-based studies on the costs of incoherent policies and the benefits of enhanced coherent policies for developing countries as well as for European countries. It also would also entail supporting the construction of an official PCD index, to complement the existing Commitment to International Development published every year by the Centre for Global Development, with the view to adding peer pressure on laggards.
- Promote more participatory Impact Assessments. This would entail ensuring that different types of development actors effectively participate in the IA process. More specifically, NGOs and developing countries should be given more opportunities to express their views. Moreover, a person from (the

PCD unit within) DG DEVCO should be dedicated (solely) to coordinating inputs and making sure that PCD is effectively integrated in development-relevant IAs; a representative from DG DEVCO should be included in the Regulatory Scrutiny Board.

- Prevent any dilution in disguise of the PCD agenda. This would mean defending the notion of PCD, however blurred it has been so far, from more attractive and universal names such as 'Policy Consensus for Development' and even 'Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development', which may (even in part) hijack the ultimate goal of PCD, that is international development. It would also mean ensuring that the successors of the Cotonou Agreement and the European Consensus on Development contain strong(er) commitments to PCD – and not to other more attractive but potentially Trojan-horse concepts.

## Bibliography

- Adelle, C. and Jordan, A. (2014) Policy Coherence for Development in the European Union: Do New procedures Unblock or Simply Reproduce Old Disagreements? *Journal of European Integration* 36(4): 375-91.
- Austermann, F. (2015) The European External Action Service and its Delegations: a diplomatic service of different speeds, *Global Affairs* 1 (1): 51-57.
- Ashoff, G. (2005) Enhancing Policy Coherence for Development: Justification, Recognition and Approaches to Achievement, *DIE Studies No. 11*. Bonn: German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE).
- Bäcklund, A.K. (2009) Impact assessment in the European Commission – A system with multiple objectives. *Environmental Science and Policy* 12(8): 1077-1087.
- Barry, F., King, M. and Matthews, A. (2010) Policy Coherence for Development: Five Challenges. *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 21, 207-223.
- Carbone, M. (2008) Mission Impossible: The European Union and Policy Coherence for Development. *Journal of European Integration* 30(3): 323-342.
- Carbone, M. (ed.) (2009) *Policy Coherence and EU Development Policy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Carbone, M. (2012) Beyond aid: policy coherence and Europe's development policy, *International Development Policy*, 2012, 161-173.
- Carbone, M. (2016) Europeanisation and development policy in the European Union: the case of joint programming in sub-Saharan Africa, *Discussion Paper*, Bonn: German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE).
- Carbone, M. and Keijzer, N. (2016), The European Union and Policy Coherence for Development: Reforms, Results, Resistance, *European Journal of Development Research*, 28 (1): 30-43.
- Chandler, D.C. (2007), The security-development nexus and the rise of 'anti-foreign policy' *Journal of International Relations & Development*, 10 (4): 362-386.
- Concord (2013), *Spotlight on EU Policy Coherence for Development*, Brussels: Concord.
- Concord (2015), *Spotlight on EU Policy Coherence for Development*, Brussels: Concord.
- Di Francesco, M. (2001) Process not Outcomes in New Public Management? 'Policy Coherence' in Australian Government. *The Drawing Board: An Australian Review of Public Affairs* 1(3), 103-116.
- Finnemore, M. and Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International Organization* 52 (4), pp. 887-917.
- Forster, J. and Stokke, O. (eds.) (1999) *Policy coherence in development cooperation*. London: Frank Cass.
- Hoebink, P. (2004) *The Treaty of Maastricht and Europe's Development Co-operation*. Amsterdam: Aksant Academic Publishers.
- Janus, H., Klingebiel, S. and Paulo, S. (2015) Beyond Aid: A Conceptual Perspective on the Transformation of Development Cooperation. *Journal of International Development* 27(2): 155-169.
- Keijzer, N. (2010) EU Policy Coherence for Development: from moving the goalposts to result-based management? *ECDPM Discussion Paper 101*. Maastricht: ECDPM.
- King, M., Keijzer, N., Spierings, E., and Matthews, A. (2012) *Measuring Policy Coherence for Development*, Maastricht: ECDPM.

- Mackie, J. (2007) Evaluation Study on the EU Institutions & Member States' Mechanisms for Promoting Policy Coherence for Development, *Studies in European Development Co-operation Evaluation 7*. Amsterdam: Aksant Academic Publishers.
- Picciotto, R. (2005) The Evaluation of Policy Coherence for Development. *Evaluation* 11(3): 311-330.
- Pomorska, K. and Vanhoonacker, S. (2015) Resisting the European External Action Service. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 20 (1): 21-37.
- Prontera, A. (2014) Subsystem politics and policy coherence in development cooperation: Evidence from four EU Member States, *Comparative European Politics*.
- Radaelli, C.M. and Meuwese, A.C.M. (2010) Hard questions, hard solutions: proceduralisation through impact assessment in the EU. *West European Politics* 33(1): 136-53.
- Siitonen, L. (2016) Therorinsg Politics behind Policy Coherence for Development. *European Journal of Development Research*, 28 (1): 1-12.
- Smith, M. (2013) Foreign policy and development in the post-Lisbon European Union. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26 (3), 519-535.
- Stroß, S. (2014) *One goal, many paths - The promotion of Policy Coherence for Development in EU policy formulation*. PhD Thesis, Köln: University of Cologne
- Tannous, I. (2015) The EEAS, EU External Assistance and Development Aid: Institutional Dissonance or Inter-service Harmony?, in D. Spence and J. Bátorá (eds.), *The European External Action Service: European Diplomacy Post-Westphalia*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 123-139.
- Thede, N. (2013) Policy Coherence for Development and Securitisation: competing paradigms or stabilising North-South hierarchies? *Third World Quarterly* 34 (5), 784-799.
- Torriti, J. (2010) Impact Assessment and the Liberalization of the EU Energy Markets: Evidence-Based Policy-Making or Policy-Based Evidence-Making? *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(4): 1065-1081.

## 2 Policy Coherence for Development and the Security-Development Nexus in EU External Relations, briefing by Mark Furness

*The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development strongly emphasises the need for concerted and multi-level policy responses to global development challenges, including those related to security. Reorienting Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) implies a conceptual and practical shift from business as usual, with development policies formulated, implemented and evaluated by donors on a standalone basis. Rather, PCD needs to adopt a problem-driven approach, where development outcomes defined and pursued by developing countries are in focus.*

*Current conceptual understandings of PCD tend to try to measure the impacts of different policies on the effectiveness of aid programmes. This approach is mostly a donor-oriented concept that ring-fences development aid and treats other policies as potential threats.*

*What is needed is a more ambitious conceptualisation of PCD which considers the interaction of all policies relevant in a given context, with a view to the achievement of overriding development objectives. This implies that policy coherence is best served when actors responsible for policymaking in various domains engage in a process of designing and implementing comprehensive policy frameworks with strategic objectives in mind, and that both the objectives themselves and the policymaking and implementation processes by which they are pursued support rather than undermine each other.*

*The EU has started to move towards this kind of approach in its handling of the security-development nexus. This paper shows that while progress has been made, particularly since the Lisbon Treaty, there is still plenty of room for improvement. Two areas are highlighted: the EU's comprehensive approach to country-level engagements in fragile and conflict-affected countries, and the question of securitisation and the EU's new emergency trust fund for migration in Africa.*

*The paper makes the following recommendations:*

- **At the conceptual level**, the EU could bring together political, scientific, civil society and conflict-affected communities to conceptualise a more coherent European approach to SDG 16 that would also contribute to addressing SDG 17.
- **At the strategic level**, the new Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy is a unique opportunity for the EU to place global development objectives, defined by the 2030 Agenda, at the centre of its international action. The global strategy should set clear priorities and it should outline a coherent policy framework that defines roles for different EU policy areas, including development, trade, climate change, humanitarian affairs and Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).
- **With regard to crisis response**, the European Parliament should actively engage with strategic decision-making and priority-setting, for example with regard to the priorities to be taken up under the new EU emergency trust fund for migration in Africa.
- **At the country level**, joint programming provides an excellent framework for improving policy coherence, since it requires the EU and member states to mobilise in support of objectives set by the partner country. There is a need to step up joint programming for fragile and conflict-affected countries, and the Parliament can exercise its oversight to ensure that objectives are set together with partner countries and that programmes are monitored and evaluated effectively.

## 2.1 Introduction

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development strongly emphasises the need for concerted and multi-level policy responses to global development challenges, including those related to security (UN 2015). The EU played a strong role in the negotiations leading to the 2030 Agenda, especially regarding the push for a universal agenda addressing global development needs. The Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) agenda, which has traditionally been framed as capturing the deliberate or unintended impact of non-aid policies on development countries, needs reorientation in this new context.

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 acknowledges that sustainable development is not possible without peace and good governance. In the Millennium Development Goals, reference to these issues was conspicuously absent, but this time their inclusion underpins the 2030 Agenda. Ending hunger, increasing living standards or strengthening environmental protection in countries ridden by violent conflict is virtually impossible. On the other hand, security challenges facing many developing countries in Africa and elsewhere cannot be resolved with aid alone (Carothers & de Gramont, 2013).

Reorienting PCD for the SDGs implies a conceptual and practical shift from business as usual, with development policies often being formulated, implemented and evaluated by donors on a standalone basis. Rather, PCD needs to adopt a problem-driven approach, where development outcomes defined and pursued by developing countries are clearly in focus (Andrews, 2013).

What is needed is a more ambitious conceptualization of PCD which considers the interaction of all policies that are relevant in a given context, with a view to the achievement of overriding development objectives (Picciotto, 2005). This implies that policy coherence is best served when actors responsible for policymaking in various domains engage in a process of designing and implementing comprehensive policy frameworks with strategic objectives in mind, and that both the objectives themselves and the policymaking and implementation processes by which they are pursued support rather than undermine each other.

PCD's advancement of one set of objectives, and their underpinning values, over others makes it inherently political (Siitonen, 2016). Article 208 of the Lisbon Treaty provides the legal basis for the EU's efforts to promote PCD. However, development is not the only policy priority mentioned in the Lisbon Treaty. These policies do not always co-exist harmoniously but are often contested, especially as different policy constituencies, such as for instance the fishing industry lobby or arms manufacturers or development NGOs, consider that their interests should have legitimate priority over others. Clear evidence of real and potential clashes between different interests is necessary for demonstrating problems and for making sound arguments that changes are needed, but better knowledge is not in itself sufficient for ensuring that changes are actually made. Improving policy coherence requires clarifying goal hierarchies, and making trade-offs that will not please everybody (ERD 2013). For this, political decisions about priorities taken at the highest level are needed.

This paper explores two implications for PCD and the security-development nexus in EU external policymaking. First, with regard to **comprehensive approaches** to country-level and regional interventions in fragile and conflict-affected (FCA) countries, the EU has started to design programmes that focus on achieving the partner country's development objectives and are backed by a wide range of policy instruments. Second, EU policymakers still need to be aware of the potential for **securitisation** (the promotion of European security interests at the expense of sustainable development) to divert attention and resources away from development objectives.



## 2.2 The 2030 Agenda and Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development: Conceptual and Practical Challenges

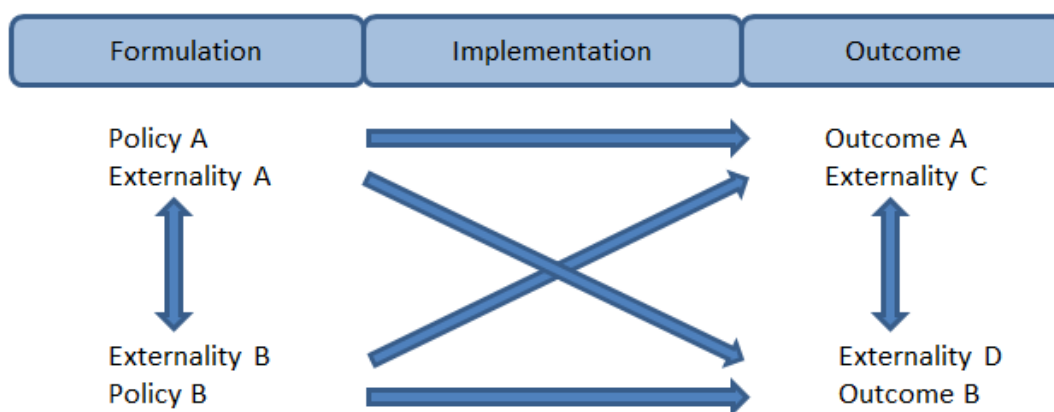
The PCD concept has traditionally emphasised the responsibility of donor countries to take into account the impact of policies across different sectors that serve domestic interests, such as trade, finance, migration, security, technology or science, on developing countries (Carbone, 2008). It thus originates from a North-South paradigm, with responsibilities for better policy coherence placed on developed countries, for the benefit of developing countries.

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the PCD concept has evolved into Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development (PCSD). PCSD goes beyond a ‘do no harm’ approach, towards one that seeks synergies between development cooperation and other policies while trying to correct existing incoherencies (OECD, 2015). In the context of the 2030 Agenda a coherent strategy must ensure that the implementation of one goal reinforces the achievement of other goals. Nevertheless, if seen from a practical, policymaking perspective, the PCSD approach remains caught up in the vortex of trying to measure the impact of policies on each other.

### 2.2.1 A Conceptual Repositioning of PCD for the 2030 Global Development Agenda

All policies are designed to achieve certain ends. If the policy processes under consideration would be completely separate, there is no need to consider whether they are coherent or not. In reality, it is virtually impossible to think of a policy process that does not impact on another policy process. As figure 1 shows, at each stage of the policy process from formulation through implementation to outcome, intentional or accidental externalities can occur that affect the outcomes of other policies, both positively (i.e. helping another policy to achieve its goal) and negatively (i.e. undermining another policy’s prospects of success).

Figure 1: Policies, Externalities and Outcomes



This basic conceptualisation of policy interaction has five key implications for PCD:

- First, **the relationship between policy processes is highly complex. Externalities can occur at any or all of the three stages, and there can be any number of them.** Figure 1 shows a binary relationship between two policies. The picture becomes complex very quickly if we add more policy processes, as we inevitably must. Considering that any externality may potentially affect any other policy, the matrix of potential variables is limitless. Policies will also typically be out of sync: one may be being formulated while another has been through several years of implementation.
- Second, **it is imperative to strengthen the linkage of policy coherence with the goals and outcomes of the various policies themselves.** Outcomes are an integral part of the policy process. Considerations of coherence must, therefore, consider the question of goal hierarchy and the

priorities of policymakers and the constituencies they represent. There are no easy answers and no cost-free changes.

- Third, **inherent in the 'PCD concept' is the normative notion that 'development' is the priority outcome that other policies have to be coherent with.** PCD means policy coherence for development, but there can just as easily be policy coherence for other objectives, such as national security, corporate profits, open markets or social welfare. Policymakers have to respond to all of these objectives and the constituent groups which consider their particular interest to be of higher order than the others.
- Fourth, **the low political standing of development in EU and member states needs to be acknowledged. Despite the considerable budgets available, development policy is often dealt with by junior ministers or state secretaries in many EU member states.** The development portfolio is not hotly contested when EU member states and parliamentary political groups distribute Commission posts. Studying PCD has revealed how weak development policy often is in relation to other policy fields: Despite the legal status given to development by the EU Treaties, the very act of studying the 'impact' of EU agriculture, trade or security policy on development is in itself tacit acknowledgement of this.
- Fifth, **policy and research debates around PCD are moving beyond considerations of one policy field undermining another, and towards analysis of the dynamics of synergies, where complex objectives require comprehensive policy approaches.** Policymaking in all of the areas related to development is driven by a complex interplay of actors, interests and institutional frameworks. This implies that better evidence about the impacts of 'non-development' policies on development is valuable, but is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for changing policy processes in the interests of greater coherence.

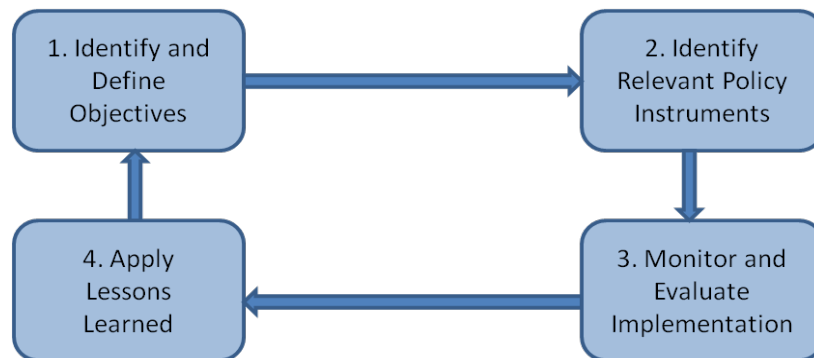
For example, arms sales may benefit the defence industry and jobs in a stable Western country, but not the constituencies of that same country's aid programme in a fragile developing country, namely the development policy community in the Western country and the recipient population in the fragile country (Hudson, 2006). While improved coherence between defence industry policy and development policy may be possible through technical adjustments to those respective policies, it is more likely that the core objectives of the two policies need to be identified and a political decision taken as to which is more important. While this requires a clear understanding of externalities and their impacts, more important is the hierarchy of goals in the context of power relations between the two constituencies that lie behind the policies.

## 2.2.2 Practical Implications: Strategic policy design with clear focus on objectives

'Outcomes' are very rarely the result of just one policy process. Just as they are affected by the externalities of other policy processes, more often than not they require inputs from several policies – and the actors responsible for them – if they are to be realised. Comprehensive policy programmes need to be formulated and implemented in support of these priorities. This means that instead of thinking in terms of 'development' and 'non-development' policies, all of the relevant policy tools that are likely to contribute to the achievement of agreed and defined development objectives need to be identified. Fighting cancer, for example, requires inputs from research and health policy at the very least as well as taxation, fiscal policy, education among others. Similarly, supporting Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in reducing poverty requires inputs from development aid, foreign and security policy and trade policy, to name just a few. The actors responsible for these policy tools need to be mobilised to contribute to the development objective in focus, in as far as this is possible.

Given the aim of the EU to achieve more coherent policies, a **more strategic approach to the policy cycle** is needed.

Figure 2: A Four-Stage Strategic Approach



- First, **identify goals defining** which development outcomes the EU and the developing country or region concerned seek to achieve. This requires reaching consensus on a desired outcome, shared understanding of the present situation and agreed criteria to judge progress towards the outcome.
- Second, identify ex-ante, together with the developing country, **which EU policies are most relevant** to either promoting or inhibiting the achievement of the development outcome concerned. Are trade-offs required? As a result of a balancing of goals (often requiring negotiation between different actors/departments) a set of policies should be decided on and subsequently implemented.
- Third, **monitor and evaluate the implementation** of EU policies in terms of their effects on the achievement of the development outcome, together with relevant developing country stakeholders.
- Fourth, **apply lessons learned** to the definition of policy objectives for the next round.

This strategic approach is an ideal-typical representation for promoting PCD through policy design, and there are obvious challenges to making it work in practice. Unfortunately, coherence is not the natural state of affairs in political systems, whether a national administration or the EU-level. Different policy areas tend to be driven by policy entrepreneurs that represent constituencies with different preferences for policy choices and outcomes. Political actors are incentivised to promote policy interventions that are visible in the short term. Furthermore, policy design and implementation are handled by bureaucratic actors that often try to ring-fence their autonomy and protect their budgets. Moreover, in the EU the different legal status of different policy areas, and the difference this implies in terms of the legislative procedures, can impede the integration of different policies in pursuit of complex goals (ERD, 2013). When the interests of the constituencies behind different policy areas clash, the actors mandated to design and implement policy find it difficult to act collectively.

Ideally, the complementarity of policy orientations among different bureaucratic actors should be promoted top-down by a political strategy that defines priorities and common goals, and assigns responsibilities for addressing them. Coherent cross-governmental action in these contexts requires clear overarching political guidance for engagement and incentives internal to bureaucracies for encouraging the promotion of goals and investing in coordination processes. Given that formal and informal rules governing policymaking and implementation are often shaped by interests that try to ensure that the rules serve to perpetuate them, changes require leadership and the legitimate regulatory authority to adjust the incentive structure for the actors concerned, or to force compliance.

## 2.3 Coherence through Collective Action: The EU PCD Agenda and the Security-Development Nexus

The interdependence of security and development policy is acknowledged by most EU and member state actors, who are aware that it is better for both policy fields if they are planned and implemented in a coordinated and coherent way (Stroß, 2014). A number of EU strategies launched in the first decade of the 2000s established normative guidelines, although not strategic priorities as suggested above, for improving coherence between EU security and development policy. The 2003 European Security Strategy recognised the need for new approaches to conflict and crisis management. The 2006 European Consensus on Development aimed to provide clear directions enforced by soft instruments, such as voluntary harmonisation among the EU institutions and with member states. The EU External Relations Council's November 2007 Conclusions stated that 'the nexus between security and development should inform EU strategies and policies in order to contribute to the coherence of EU external action' (European Council, 2007, p. 1).

The security-development nexus has nevertheless been regarded as an arena for competition between EU institutions over resources and autonomy. Several scholars have argued that turf battles between the Commission, the European Council Secretariat, the European Parliament and more recently the EEAS have fostered incoherence (Keukeleire and Raube, 2013). Experts have noted how EU-level policy discussions have been affected not only by bureaucratic rivalries but also by the differing conceptual approaches of military, humanitarian, development and diplomatic agencies (Faria, 2014). Observers have argued that the EU's country-level engagements have either been unduly dominated by member states' national interests, such as in Mali in 2013 (Lacher and Tull, 2013), or they have been inadequately resourced due to lack of interest, such as in Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) in 2008 – 2009 (Olsen, 2009).

In 2010 the EU decided to focus on five priority challenges for PCD, including strengthening the links and synergies between security and development in the context of a global peace building agenda. Subsequent efforts to improve EU collective action under the Lisbon Treaty have attempted to improve coherence at the nexus of security and development policies. The 2011 Agenda for Change called for the EU to ensure that its 'objectives in the fields of development policy, peace-building, conflict prevention and international security are mutually reinforcing', and that 'the EU's development, foreign and security policy initiatives should be linked so as to create a more coherent approach to peace, state-building, poverty reduction and the underlying causes of conflict' (EC, 2011, p.6, p.11). In the December 2013 Communication on the Comprehensive Approach to External Conflicts and Crisis, the EU restated its ambition to pursue a more 'joined up' – or Europeanized – approach to crisis response (EC/HR, 2013). Current discussions on an overarching EU Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy have considered the balance between security threats and global sustainable development challenges (Gavas et al, 2016).

Has the EU achieved this? In spite of differing competencies and organisational cultures, there is widespread agreement on the necessity of a comprehensive approach to the security-development nexus across the Commission, the EEAS and the European Parliament. The Barroso Commission's most important policy-level security-development nexus initiatives were the shelved action plan (drafted around the same time as the Agenda for Change in 2010) on security, fragility and development and the comprehensive approach to crisis response communication, published in December 2013. Two regional strategies, for the Horn of Africa and the Sahel, were launched in 2011 and have been elaborated since, in pursuit of greater coherence. Under the Juncker Commission the EEAS has developed a comprehensive crisis response strategy for Syria and Iraq and a political framework for crisis response for Libya. A

common theme of all of these documents is their call for different EU-level agencies to work more closely together, and to combine the EU's various policy tools in pursuit of specific sets of objectives.

The EU's comprehensive approach has been a major effort to overcome fragmentation among EU-level actors. However, the legal and bureaucratic intricacies of the EU system are such that decision-making and implementation processes that govern the way actors use instruments vary, and responsibilities lie in different parts of the policymaking system. The comprehensive approach communication was written to reflect joined-up thinking, but existing structures were not efficient enough to promote this despite the fact that most officials profess to subscribe to it. The European Parliament was largely sidelined due to the fact that the comprehensive approach was regarded as CFSP/Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) rather than community policy. Moreover, many EEAS officials regard their organisation as a ministry of foreign affairs and defence, not foreign affairs and development. This helps with broadening perspectives by bringing foreign policy and defence perspectives into development discussions, but it does not imply more coherence – indeed, some EEAS officials admit privately that their main challenge is to manage incoherence rather than promote coherence, especially when it comes to complex interventions. Perhaps because the comprehensive approach process was driven by the EEAS, the outcome document was heavily shaped by the dynamics of crisis response rather than development, with the outcome that the development perspective was - at least rhetorically - subsumed by security concerns (Faria, 2014).

At the practical level, the big challenge remains how to translate the coherence demand into practice, both at the policy formulation level and the implementation level. As Stroß (2014, p.155) noted, this has proved difficult for three main reasons.

First, it has taken some time for a consensus to emerge that development and security policy need not follow a two-step approach, where short-term security from violent conflict and crime needs to be provided so that long-term development projects and programmes can begin. Most international actors now agree that development and security policy should strive for synergy from the beginning, although there are certainly cases (such as Libya, Syria, and parts of Iraq, Afghanistan and South Sudan) where it may be too dangerous for local and international agencies to work.

Second, the intergovernmental decision-making system for EU security policy remains very different from the EU development policy system, which is a community decision making process at the EU level, unlike security and defence where member states decide. Furthermore, EU development policy has a strong tradition of subsidiarity which is only slowly softening under joint programming. This means that while comprehensive approaches are not impossible to organise there are traditions of turf protection among both security and development actors that remain stubbornly resistant to change. With regard to member states, the comprehensive approach indicates an emerging Europeanization norm influencing policy approaches to the sensitive nexuses that link development, security, and crisis response. However, evidence from country level interventions reveals that this norm is yet to impact on the member state political will required to Europeanize country-level implementation where member states have strong national interests in particular outcomes (Furness and Olsen, 2015).

Third, it is still unclear if EU-level actors and member states are politically committed to increasing the coherence of security policy with sustainable development objectives. The risk of securitisation of development aid, where development funds are diverted to finance security measures, remains real especially when European security is perceived to be at stake.

## 2.4 The Security-Development Nexus in Practice: Comprehensive Approaches and Securitisation

In practical terms there are many ways in which the security-development nexus can play out in EU external relations policymaking. Two key areas currently under debate are the coherence of comprehensive engagements in fragile and conflict-affected developing countries; and the more traditional PCD question of the impact of policies designed to secure Europe on developing countries.

### 2.4.1 Comprehensive Engagements in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries

The EU is one of the world's most important actors in support of peacebuilding and statebuilding in FCA countries. In 2014, the EU had country-level engagements of various types in 47 of the 51 countries classified by the OECD as 'fragile'. Its policy frameworks have evolved in tune with international best practices, even though there has been no official statement on fragile states since 2007. Since the Lisbon Treaty, the ultimate aim of the comprehensive approach has been to address short- and long-term crises with the right combination of EU-level and member state security, humanitarian and development assets at the right time and in the right sequence (EC/HR, 2013).

Since about 2000, an international consensus on the broad principles of engagement with FCA countries has been emerging. The OECD-facilitated 'New Deal' for international engagement in fragile states was signed off at the November 2011 Busan High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness by the G7+ group of fragile states and key development partners. The New Deal set out a country-owned strategy based on three pillars: the peacebuilding and statebuilding goals, country-led solutions, and mutual trust.

As per the New Deal, effective international engagement needs:

- **clear, mutually agreed policy objectives,**
- to be **well coordinated** in terms of instruments deployed, and
- more **specifically tailored to individual cases** than policy towards stable developing countries (OECD, 2011).

On all three of these dimensions the EU generally makes a positive contribution. A brief look at some of the EU's comprehensive interventions in FCA countries shows that there is room for improvement, especially if the EU is to move towards the four-stage strategic approach outlined above.

**With regard to the setting of objectives,** this has improved through joint programming, which aims to set clear goals based on the partner country's national development plan and agreed by all EU members present in the country. The extent to which the partner government really owns its national development plan is important, but this is not an easy standard to meet in FCA countries. The EU's joint programming exercise in South Sudan in 2012 and 2013 was based on a national development plan written by international consultants. Although there were issues with the South Sudan joint programming exercise and the EU-level comprehensive engagement during the country's brief post-independence honeymoon period in 2012 and 2013, progress was being made. Tragically, the country's leaders decided in late 2013 that they were more interested in fighting among themselves than in developing their country. There was little the EU could do once the crisis escalated into an ethnic conflict, other than step up humanitarian response through the European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department (ECHO).

A more successful example of objective-setting has been the EU's engagement in Mali. In recent years Mali has become a high priority for the EU amid challenges to providing comprehensive security since the French intervention in January 2013. Mali is a joint programming country with clear and ambitious objectives, including supporting the rebuilding the state, national reconciliation, the establishment of

peace and security and the fight against poverty, through support to the government's Action Plan (EEAS, 2014). Several EU policy instruments seek to directly support the Malian authorities, including CSDP civil and military missions, the EU's Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP), the European Development Fund (EDF) and the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). The country's challenges are massive and progress has been uneven, but under French leadership the EU's engagement has so far helped prevent the country's collapse. This may have been easier in the Mali case due to strong perceptions, highlighted by France, that chaos in Mali following the March 2012 *coup d'état* in Mali would result in threats to Europe itself.

**Regarding coordination**, International actors need to deploy a range of instruments and resources, including diplomacy, humanitarian aid, military and police, technical and capacity support, development aid, civil society and the private sector, and they need to prepare for long-term engagements and accept setbacks along the way.

In the EU some systemic incoherencies, such as unclear or overlapping mandates, have only been partly resolved. The civilian-military dimension has been a core area for increased cooperation among EU diplomats, military staff and development cooperation officials in the context of certain missions and under the broader umbrella of the CSDP. There are still differences between the EEAS and the Commission with regard to engagement with crisis countries. The EEAS has tried to take a more overtly political approach, while DG DEVCO has maintained its emphasis on development priorities and its implementation practices have generally not changed since the EEAS' launch. This has led to some tensions between cooperation and political sections in the EU's delegations. EU officials have shown awareness of these problems and their potential impact on PCD, and have taken informal steps to work around some of the inconsistencies in the system. A good example of this is conflict analysis, which has been conducted more regularly as a joint exercise involving member states, meaning that information has been shared. This has contributed in particular to joint programming, where conflict analyses have shaped division of labour at the country level.

Overcoming different institutional cultures and ways of thinking about problems has, nevertheless, not been easy. Operations such as European Union Force (EUFOR) in the CAR have demonstrated that positive lessons can be drawn from the planning and execution of CSDP missions, even if there is always room for improvement (Orbie and Del Biondo, 2015). The 2014 – 2015 EUFOR-CAR operation was coordinated through weekly phone conferences, with civil-military coordination at the field level that included ECHO's field offices and United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) playing important roles. The Bekou Trust Fund, set up in 2014, provided EU and member state actors with an innovative instrument for bridging the humanitarian-development gap and for coordinating activities with the CAR government. It is likely that overcoming compartmentalised decision-making was easier in the CAR case due to the limited national interests in the country of most EU member states except France, which allowed the UK, Germany and others to commit money and leave the planning and execution of the comprehensive engagement to the EU institutions in cooperation with France (Furness and Olsen, 2016).

**With regard to tailored responses**, the EU has made improvements in designing and implementing country-level interventions that are tailored to the specific case while observing international principles and best practices. The EU's bureaucratic system has allowed flexible methods to emerge alongside the normal inter-service consultations, especially related to crisis response. The Crisis Management and Planning Directorate within the EEAS has started to co-ordinate EU-level responses to crises in specific country contexts, such as the CAR, South Sudan, Egypt, Nigeria, Syria and Libya. There is no template and all processes are shaped by the issue, the configuration of actors and the dynamics of the crisis. From a PCD perspective it is important to ensure that development objectives are central to the EU's crisis

response strategies, and to other instruments that the EU uses to manage crisis situations, such as the EU's new trust funds, which are mostly official development assistance (ODA)-funded.

## 2.4.2 Securitisation of Development Policy? The EU Migration Trust Fund for Africa

Although there is evidence that some of the aid spent by the Commission has 'security' rather than 'development' objectives, in general the trend is one of progress toward coherence across the EU's external policies rather than the purposeful securitisation of development aid (Furness and Gänzle, 2016). Nonetheless, the EU's efforts to improve the complementarity of security and development policy raise the risk that securitisation may occur as a consequence, which can sometimes have negative implications for 'core' development objectives.

This risk has emerged again recently with regard to the new 'Emergency Trust Fund for Stability and Addressing Root Causes of Irregular Migration and Displaced Persons in Africa.' Irregular migration across the Mediterranean has become a major humanitarian crisis and a security challenge for Europe in recent years and especially since the tragic civil conflicts in Libya and Syria starting in 2011. Policing and protecting the EU's external maritime borders have become priority topics on the EU agenda, while addressing the 'root causes' of migration and displacement has become a policy mantra.

As Table 1 shows, the majority of the EUR 1.8 billion the EU plans to contribute to the fund has been allocated from the European Development Fund. The EU emergency trust fund for migration in Africa has been established to speed up disbursements and to incentivise extra member state contributions, and EU officials have argued that it does not take resources away from the EDF. Additional instruments that can help implement the Horn of Africa and Sahel strategies are certainly needed, and there is nothing intrinsically wrong with a trust fund focussing on migration that leverages extra member state funds. The economic and political drivers of irregular migration in Africa and between Africa and Europe are long-term development issues.

Nevertheless, it is no coincidence that the Africa migration trust fund has been set up at the same time as irregular migration from Africa to Europe has increasingly been framed as a security threat. Moreover, any measures financed by the trust fund that address the migrants themselves should, from the PCD perspective, focus on helping people survive and cope rather than on stopping them from reaching Europe. Thus far, available official documents on the trust fund do not provide many details about what the money will be spent on.

Table 1: EU Financing for the Emergency Migration Trust Fund

Instruments	Commitments (EUR)
Reserve of the 11th EDF	1 000 000 000
Regional Indicative Programme for West Africa – 11th EDF	200 000 000
Regional Indicative Programme for Central Africa – 11th EDF	10 000 000
Regional Indicative Programme for Eastern Africa, Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean – 11th EDF	25 000 000
National Indicative Programmes for Horn of Africa 11th EDF	80 000 000
Special Support Programme for South Sudan – 9th and previous EDFs	80 000 000
European Neighbourhood Instrument	200 000 000
Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace	10 000 000 (tbc)
Humanitarian aid, food aid and disaster preparedness	50 000 000
Development Cooperation Instrument	125 000 000
DG HOME Budget line	20 000 000 (tbc)
Total EU Contributions	1 800 000 000
EU Member States contributions (as at 19 January 2016)	81 400 000
<b>Total:</b>	<b>1 881 400 000</b>

Sources: EC (2015 b); EC 2016.



The Africa migration trust fund does not set clear and realistic development goals to work towards. Its professed aims are defined very broadly: to improve stability and development in Africa, to foster a more inclusive political and economic environment and to create new opportunities for local populations. It promises to 'help expand and strengthen the rule of law, increase economic productivity and social cohesion, and build resilience for the most vulnerable to natural and man-made disasters in particularly peripheral areas and borderlands' (EC 2015 b: 1). These are, of course, unrealistic expectations for a trust fund – the fund will never be able to achieve all of this, especially as several decades of EU and bilateral development cooperation have not managed to do so.

More specifically, it would be important to know more about exactly what measures are envisaged under 'migration management.' EU-funded camps and transit zones for irregular migrants have the potential to be very problematic, especially if they are run by local authorities in countries with questionable human rights records. A further open question is what price the neighbouring countries will extract for their cooperation in this area. More visas for citizens may be a price worth paying, ignoring human rights violations by governments and local authorities will not be.

With regard to North Africa, migration and mobility are among the key areas of cooperation for the EU and its neighbours. The fund's strategy document for North Africa makes reference to capacity building in support of security and development, as well as law enforcement, including border management and migration related aspects. These are all areas where the EU has significant added value, especially through civilian CSDP measures like police training.

Nevertheless, the trust fund (at least the EU contribution) is largely development aid, and most expenditure should be Official Development Assistance (ODA)-eligible. Several of the measures suggested for North Africa, such as strengthening integrated border management capacities, addressing security threats, training of personnel, enhancing communication and information exchange, providing infrastructure and equipment and enhancing cooperation with EU agencies, such as the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), FRONTEX, European Police College (CEPOL), EUROPOL and Interpol, are obviously welcome and needed, but are unlikely to be ODA-eligible.

The new EU agenda for trust funds responds to an interest in the European Commission and EEAS for more financial flexibility. The European Neighbourhood Instrument especially is regarded as too small for addressing the EU's priorities in the MENA region. Trust funds are seen as a way of increasing the overall envelope as well as getting around some of the EU's more onerous rules. In principle there is nothing wrong with this, so long as it is coordinated with other things the EU and member states are doing, such as joint programming. There are also questions regarding how activities financed under the Africa migration trust fund will be coordinated with other actors working in this area, such as the UN in Libya or ECHO.

In order to support migration management by African states, dedicated funding from the Africa migration trust fund will be made available to carry out specific analyses, gather relevant data and draw lessons learned which will inform strategic decisions, project design and implementation. The European Parliament can play an important role in ensuring that this evaluation function is independent and transparent.

## 2.5 Conclusions and Recommendations

Since the Lisbon Treaty there have been many efforts to address the security-development nexus both in actor and policy terms at the EU-level. Development and CFSP capacities have been brought together in the EEAS creating an 'institutional' locus that has helped reduce compartmentalisation. Improvements to collective action have started to result in more coherence, based not just on institutional reforms but on a (slowly) emerging set of norms regarding the most appropriate and effective role for the EU as a development and a security actor. Progress in the EU and in several member states has been positive in

recent years. There is a real awareness of the need to continually work to improve based on better knowledge and better coordinated systems. It is imperative that this continues, and the European Parliament has an important role.

There has been convergence at the level of discourse towards a strategic culture of comprehensiveness in foreign relations, which has been reflected in the increasing number of joint actions and policy statements. The EU has been able to produce a comprehensive approach communication focussing on crisis response, and several crisis response strategies that outline the EU's collective engagement in specific situations. Its failure to finalise the much more ambitious fragility action plan, which would have required the entire humanitarian, military, peacebuilding, state-building and development policy communities to sign off on a common approach to FCA countries, indicates that overcoming incoherence at the security-development nexus is still a major challenge for the EU.

The 2030 Agenda, the new EU global strategy, the EU's comprehensive approach to crisis response and the continued emergence of joint programming provide excellent opportunities to make progress on improving PCD, especially if synergies between these four processes can be better utilised.

With this in mind, the European institutions could consider the following recommendations:

- **At the conceptual level**, the way SDG 16 (peace and governance) and SDG 17 (partnerships and policy coherence) are written leaves much room for interpretation. There is a need to think about how to operationalise SDG 16 and SDG 17 in the EU. Currently, peace, good governance and policy coherence are usually discussed in separate epistemic and political communities. The European Parliament could bring together political, scientific, civil society and conflict-affected communities to conceptualise a more coherent European approach to SDG 16 that would also contribute to addressing SDG 17.
- **At the strategic level**, improving collective action through institutional and bureaucratic reform cannot improve policy coherence in the absence of clear strategic direction. This is because strategic direction is necessary for enabling political and bureaucratic actors to prioritise, and thereby to organise themselves institutionally and allocate resources accordingly. The new Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy is a unique opportunity for the EU to place global development objectives, defined by the 2030 Agenda, at the centre of its international action. The global strategy should set clear priorities and it should outline a coherent policy framework that defines roles for different EU policy areas, including development, trade, climate change, humanitarian affairs and CFSP.
- **With regard to crisis response**, The European Parliament has mostly been excluded from crisis response strategies, which have been considered CFSP and therefore European Council, Council and EEAS competence despite their increasing overlaps with community policy areas. The Parliament should engage much more actively with the EU's crisis response strategies to ensure that longer-term measures to build resilience are at the heart of EU engagements. The Parliament should actively engage with strategic decision-making and priority-setting with regard to specific instruments, for example the EU emergency trust fund for migration in Africa.
- **At the country level**, joint programming provides an excellent framework for improving policy coherence, since it requires the EU and member states to mobilise in support of objectives set together with partner countries. While the Parliament does not control country-level implementation of aid, it can question the Commission if it considers that specific proposals promote causes other than development, such as European commercial or security interests. The Parliament could push for EU institutions and member states to adopt joint programming for FCA countries as a rule, and use its oversight to ensure that objectives are set together with partner countries where possible and that the EU's programmes are monitored and evaluated effectively.

## Bibliography

- Andrews, M. (2013) *The limits of institutional reform in development: changing rules for realistic situations*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carbone, M. (2008) Mission Impossible: The European Union and Policy Coherence for Development, *Journal of European Integration* 30(3): 323-42.
- Carothers, T. and De Gramont D. (2013) *Development confronts politics: the almost revolution*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- European Commission (EC) (2011) *Increasing the Impact of EU Development Policy: An Agenda for Change*. Brussels: European Commission.
- EC (2015 b) Emergency Trust Fund for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in *Africa: Strategic Orientation Document, Working Draft 1*, 2 October 2015.
- EC (2015 c) Emergency Trust Fund for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in *Africa: Strategic Orientation Document Annex: North Africa Window*, 3 November 2015.
- EC (2016) *Member States' financial pledges since 23 September 2015, € million* (Communicated as of 28 January 2016), available at [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/press-material/docs/state\\_of\\_play\\_-\\_member\\_state\\_pledges\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/press-material/docs/state_of_play_-_member_state_pledges_en.pdf) (accessed 1 February 2016).
- EC/HR (High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) (2013) *Joint communication to the European Parliament and the Council: the EU's comprehensive approach to external conflict and crises* (JOIN(2013) 30 final)
- European External Action Service (EEAS) (2014) *Programmation Conjointe de l'UE au Mali* (Document de base).
- European Council (2007) *Council Conclusions on a EU Response to Situations of Fragility*, 2831st External Relations Council Meeting, 19–20 November, Brussels: European Council.
- European Report on Development (ERD) (2013) *Post 2015: Global Action for an Inclusive and Sustainable Future*, Brussels: European Union.
- Faria, F. (2014), What EU Comprehensive Approach? Challenges for the EU action plan and beyond, *Briefing Note*, 71, Maastricht: ECDPM.
- Furness, M. & S. Gänzle (2016) The European Union's development policy: a balancing act between 'A more comprehensive approach' and creeping securitization, in Stephen Brown and Jörn Grävingholt (eds.), *The securitization of foreign aid*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 138-162.
- Furness, M. & G. Olsen (2015) Europeanisation and the EU's comprehensive approach to crisis management in Africa, *European Politics and Society* DOI:10.1080/23745118.2015.1075779.
- Gavas, M., C. Hackenesch, S. Koch, J. Mackie & S. Maxwell (2016) *The European Union's Global Strategy: putting sustainable development at the heart of EU external action*, European Think Tanks Group.
- Gebhard, C. (2011) Coherence in: Hill, C. & Smith, M. (eds.) (2011) *International Relations and the European Union* – second edition, Oxford.
- Hudson, A. (2006) *Case Study: EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Keukeleire, S. & K. Raube (2013) The Security–Development Nexus and Securitization in the EU's Policies towards Developing Countries, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 26(3): 556–72.
- Lacher, W. & Tull, D. (2013) Mali: Beyond Counterterrorism, *SWP Comments*, 7, Berlin: SWP.

Olsen, G. (2009) The EU and Military Conflict Management in Africa: For the Good of Africa or Europe? *International Peacekeeping*, 16(2): 245–60.

Orbie, J. & K. Del Biondo (2015) The European Union's 'Comprehensive Approach', in *Chad: Securitisation and/or Compartmentalisation? Global Society* 29(2): 243–259.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2011) *Supporting statebuilding in situations of conflict and fragility: policy guidance*, Paris: OECD.

OECD (2015) *Better Policies for Development 2015: Policy Coherence and Green Growth*, OECD Publishing, Paris, available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264236813-en>.

Picciotto, R. (2005) The Evaluation of Policy Coherence for Development, *Evaluation*, 11(3): 311–330.

Siitonen, L. (2016) Theorising Politics Behind Policy Coherence for Development (PCD), *European Journal of Development Research* 28(1): 1–12.

Stroß, S. (2014) *One goal, many paths. The promotion of Policy Coherence for Development in EU policy formulation*. Dissertation, Universität zu Köln.

United Nations (UN) (2015) *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, available at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication>.

## PowerPoint presentations

- 3 The 2030 Agenda & SDGs: from commitment to action, presentation by Rosemary Kalapurakal (UNDP)



# The 2030 Agenda & SDGs: from commitment to action

*Brussels, 16 February 2016  
Rosemary Kalapurakal*



## From MDGs to SDGs

- **A much wider scope**, beyond predominantly ‘social’ goals of MDGs, incorporating more fully aspects of economic and environmental sustainability, aspiration for peaceful and inclusive societies.
- **A more ambitious agenda**, to eliminate rather than reduce poverty, with more demanding targets on health, education, gender equality
- **A universal agenda**, applying to all countries and all people, with explicit recognition that international collective action is required

*Now that this historic agenda has been adopted, how do we translate these goals into practical action?*



## SDG 17: Means of Implementation

Cross-cutting target (17.14) - “enhance policy coherence for sustainable development”  
=> national strategies to shift to more sustainable paths based on coherent and integrated frameworks, inter-institutional coordination and multi-stakeholder collaboration.

Little guidance as of yet for implementation. Need specific criteria and indicators to facilitate monitoring progress.

Some emerging fora to exchange experiences on accelerating SDG implementation



## Principles for UN support

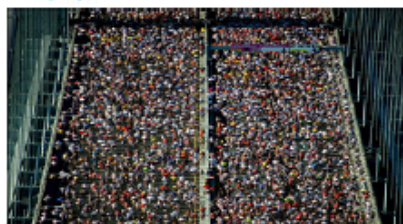
- ✓ Country-led
- ✓ Integration – critical for 2030 Agenda
- ✓ Results focus
- ✓ Expertise
- ✓ Collaboration
- ✓ Trust and credibility, flexible approach

### Lessons from MDG support:

- Importance of reporting;
- Citizen engagement and awareness
- Importance of coordination and cooperation (e.g., MAF experience)



## WHAT IS MAPS?



### MAINSTREAMING

- **Landing SDGs at national and local levels:** integration into national and sub-national plans for development; and into budget allocations



### ACCELERATION

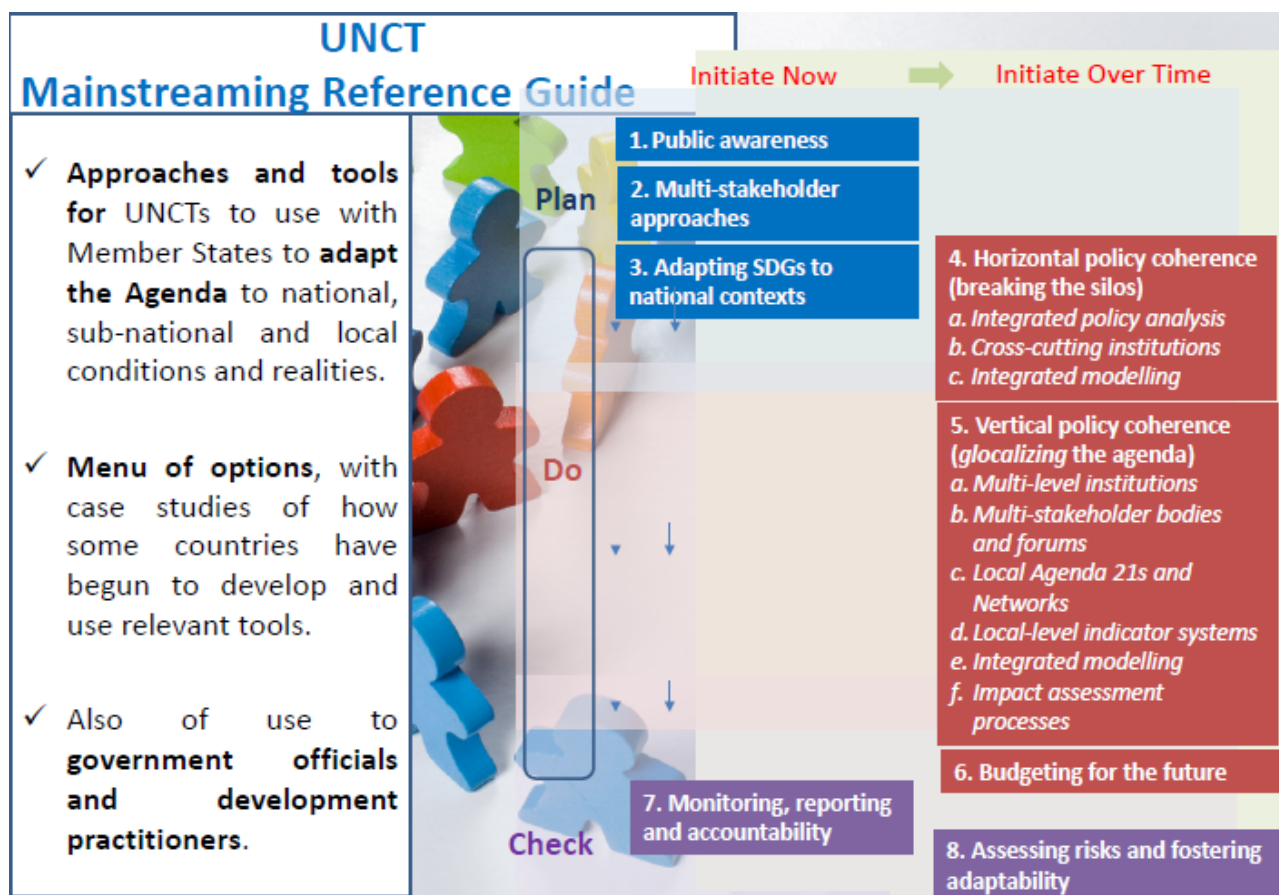
- **Country priority areas**
- **Integrated and risk-informed approach,** synergies and trade-offs
- Tackle bottlenecks, how to **reach most vulnerable**



### POLICY SUPPORT

- **Support – skills and experience - from respective UN agencies to countries,** which should be made available at a low cost in a timely manner

**MAPS** - *focus on policy coherence and multi-stakeholder engagement, paying special attention to partnerships, data and accountability.*



## Creating horizontal policy coherence

### “Breaking the silos”

- **Integrated policy analysis**  
Ensure that proposed policies, programmes and targets are supportive of nationally-adapted SDGs (e.g., Bhutan; Switzerland)
- **Coordinated institutional mechanisms**  
Create formal partnerships across sectoral line ministries and agencies (Finnish National Commission for SD)
- **Integrated modelling:**  
To help clarify and articulate the interconnected system of goals and targets and to analyse and inform key policies, programmes and projects for their impact on nationally-adapted SDGs (UNDESA map of interconnectedness among SDGs; Millennium Institute, WB tools)





## Creating vertical policy coherence

---

*“Glocalizing the agenda” (reflecting both local & global considerations)*

- **Institutional coordinating mechanisms**  
To foster partnerships and coordination (between strategies and process) across levels of government (Swiss vertical coordination)
- **Multi-stakeholder consultative bodies and forums**  
To create partnership and coordination
- **Local Agenda 21s and networks**  
To scale up action for sustainable development at the local level (ROK)
- **Monitoring and review processes at the local level**  
Localize nationally-adapted SDGs, integration with community indicator systems
- **Impact assessment**  
To ensure that nationally and locally-adapted SDGs are taken into consideration in large public and private development projects (environmental, social, regional...)
- **Integrated modelling**  
To explore the benefits and impacts of key national policies and programs at sub-national and local levels



## MAPS Status Update

---

### Workstreams

- **Mainstreaming:** landing the 2030 Agenda at national level (Toolkit October 2015)
  - Support being developed for **national reporting** and on capacity development (for data, accountability and reporting)
  - **UNDAF** guidance - to support implementation of SDG-based national plans.
  - **‘Acceleration’** (Toolkit expected by June 2016)
    - (i) Going “the last mile” to reach most excluded;
    - (ii) Fomenting integration/synergy across SDG efforts by identifying multiplier effects or ‘accelerator interventions’;
    - (iii) Risk-informed planning - scenario building, development planning to tackle vulnerability and boost resilience by anticipating, managing and adapting to shocks and volatility);
    - (iv) universality (i.e. international, inter-regional impact).
- Support multi-stakeholder partnership to: map analytical and modelling tools; collaborative development of tools; strengthen capacity and sustained engagement with stakeholders



## Early Coherence Efforts

---

- **Colombia** has a High-Level Inter-institutional Commission for SDGs. National plan takes regional approach, emphasising reduction of inequalities.
- **Honduras** put in place presidential results-based management platform to monitor inter-sectoral work for integrated SDG advancements.
- **Montenegro** has a Ministry of Sustainable Development that assists with horizontal policy coherence issues across government.
- **Botswana** held series of SDG dialogues across rural and urban districts to inform formulation of its Vision 2036 and next National Development Plan.
- **Bhutan** undertook gap analysis for overview of alignment between targets in its national and sectoral level policy framework and SDG targets.
- **G-20 Antalya Summit (2015)**: Leaders' Communique commitment to implementing 2030 Agenda and to develop an action plan



## SDGs and UN Processes

---

**High-Level Political Forum:** Central UN platform for follow-up and review of 2030 Agenda - provide political leadership, guidance and recommendations on Agenda implementation; monitor progress; spur coherent policies informed by evidence and country experiences

### Other fora and processes to note

- **Development : ECOSOC dialogues:** non-binding discussion between Member States on how to make the UN fit-for-purpose for the SDG agenda
- **Quadrennial Comprehensive Policy Review :** General Assembly legislated mandate for the UN Development States to comply with the new agenda
- **Peace and Security** – Implementation of reviews of Peace-Building architecture and Peace-Keeping Operations will take into account SDG implications
- **Humanitarian:** World Humanitarian Summit 2016. SG report reflections on how to take into account SDG implications. Studies of SDGs in fragile contexts.



## Resources

---

- UN web platform on the 2030 Agenda & SDGs <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015>
- SDG indicators
  - Inter-Agency and Expert Group on SDG Indicators: <http://unstats.un.org/sdgs/iaeg-sdgs/>
  - Report of the IAEG-SDGs, with the current proposal of SDG indicators: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/statcom/47th-session/documents/2016-2-IAEG-SDGs-E.pdf>
- UN Development Group – resources to support to implementing the 2030 Agenda at national level <https://undg.org/home/undg-mechanisms/sustainable-development-working-group/country-support/>
  - Mainstreaming Reference Guide <https://undg.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Mainstreaming-the-2030-Agenda-UNDG-Interim-Reference-Guide-to-UNCTs-7-October-2015.pdf>More comprehensive platform under development (expected release February 2016)
- UN SDG Action Campaign <http://beta.unsdgcampaign.org/>
- Help desk [maps@undg.org](mailto:maps@undg.org)



**Thank You!**

---

## 4 PCSD and Illicit Financial Flows - synergies, trade-offs and challenges, presentation by Ebba Dohlman (OECD)



### ***PCSD and IFFs – Synergies, trade-offs and challenges***



*Ebba Dohlman, Senior Advisor  
Office of the Secretary-General, OECD*

*European Parliament  
16 February, 2016*

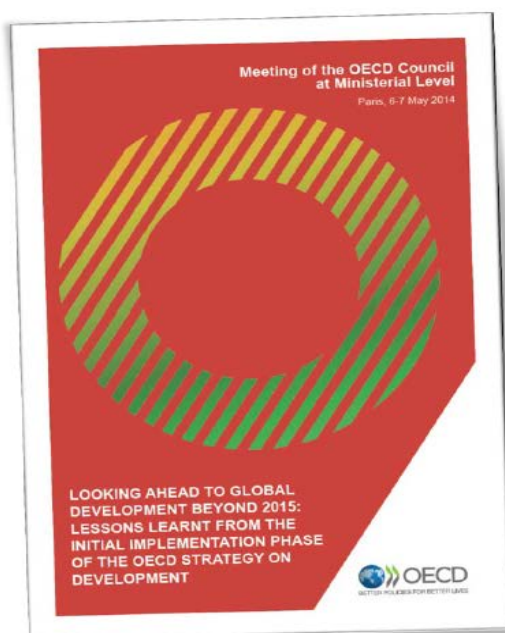
Web: [www.oecd.org/development/policycoherence](http://www.oecd.org/development/policycoherence)

PCD Platform: <https://community.oecd.org/community/pcd>

@OECD\_PCD



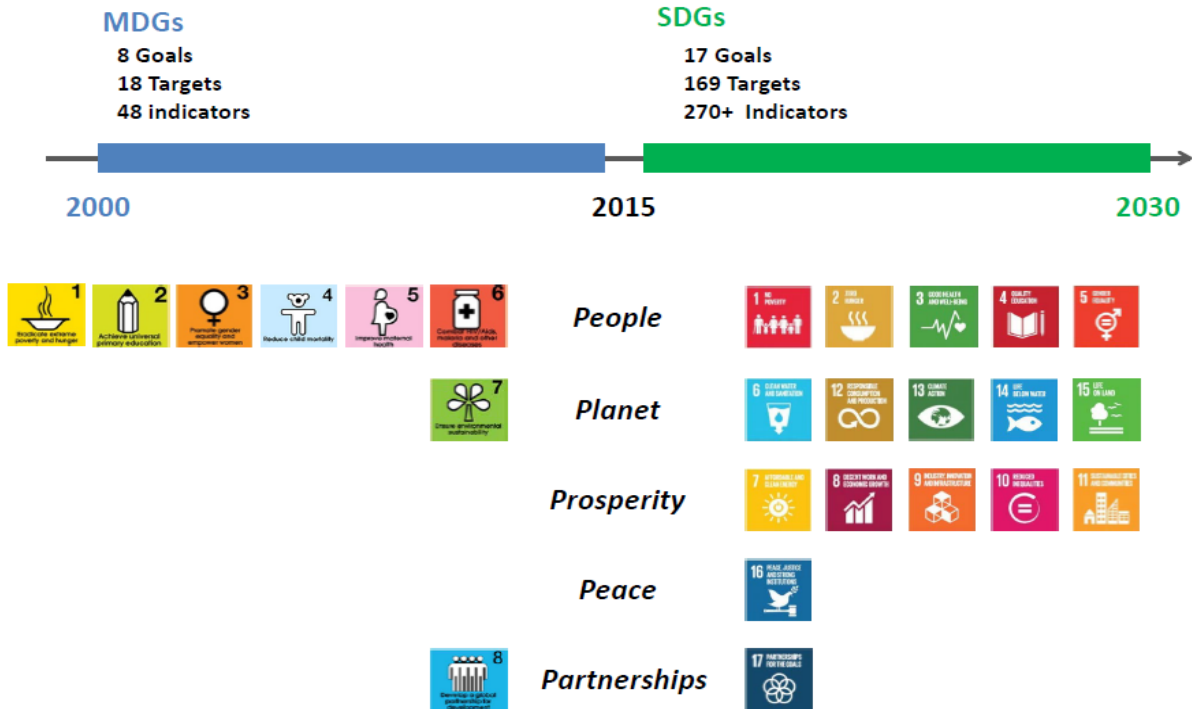
## Lessons learned on PCD



- Apply an “issues-based” approach to PCD focus on common challenges (e.g. food security).
- Go beyond institutional mechanisms, and take into account international level coordination.
- Move away from a donor-centered approach (engage key actors).
- Adopt more proactive approaches based on synergies across sectors (beyond “do-no harm”).
- Recognise the importance of PCD across all levels (local, national regional, and global).
- Shift the focus from sectoral to cross-sectoral approaches.
- Recognise role of PCD to inform policy making, not prescribe (Identify win-win scenarios to engage in dialogue on common solutions)

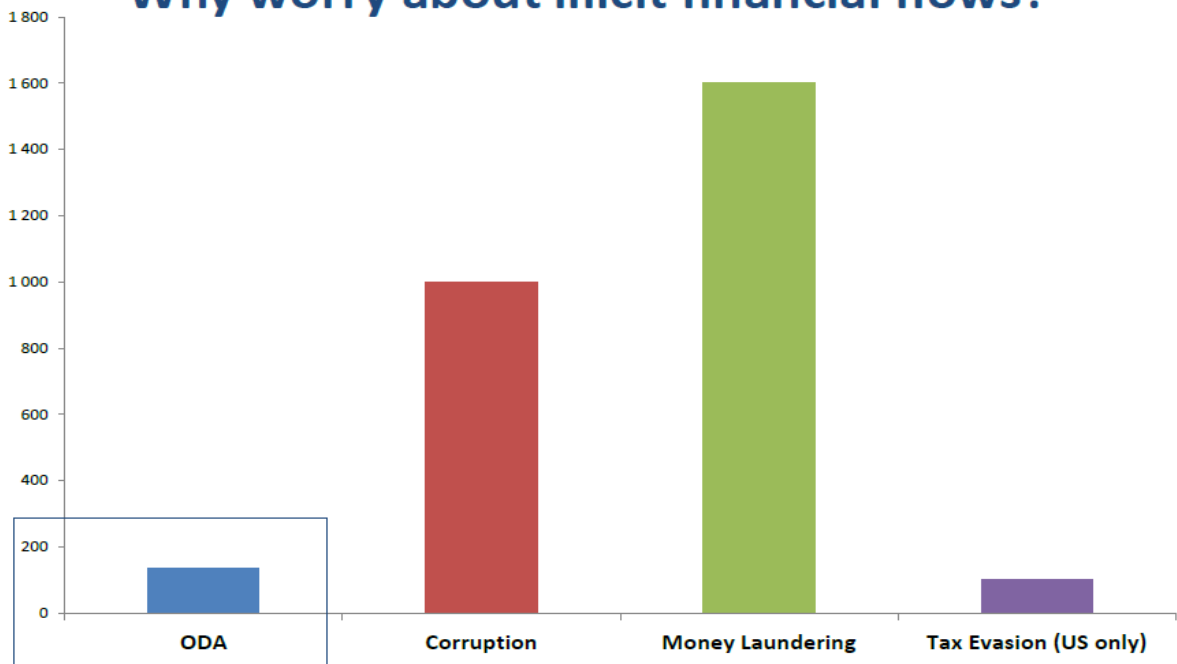
OECD (2014) “Looking ahead to global development beyond 2015: Lessons learnt from the initial implementation phase of the OECD Strategy on Development [C/MIN(2014)13]

# From MDGs to SDGs

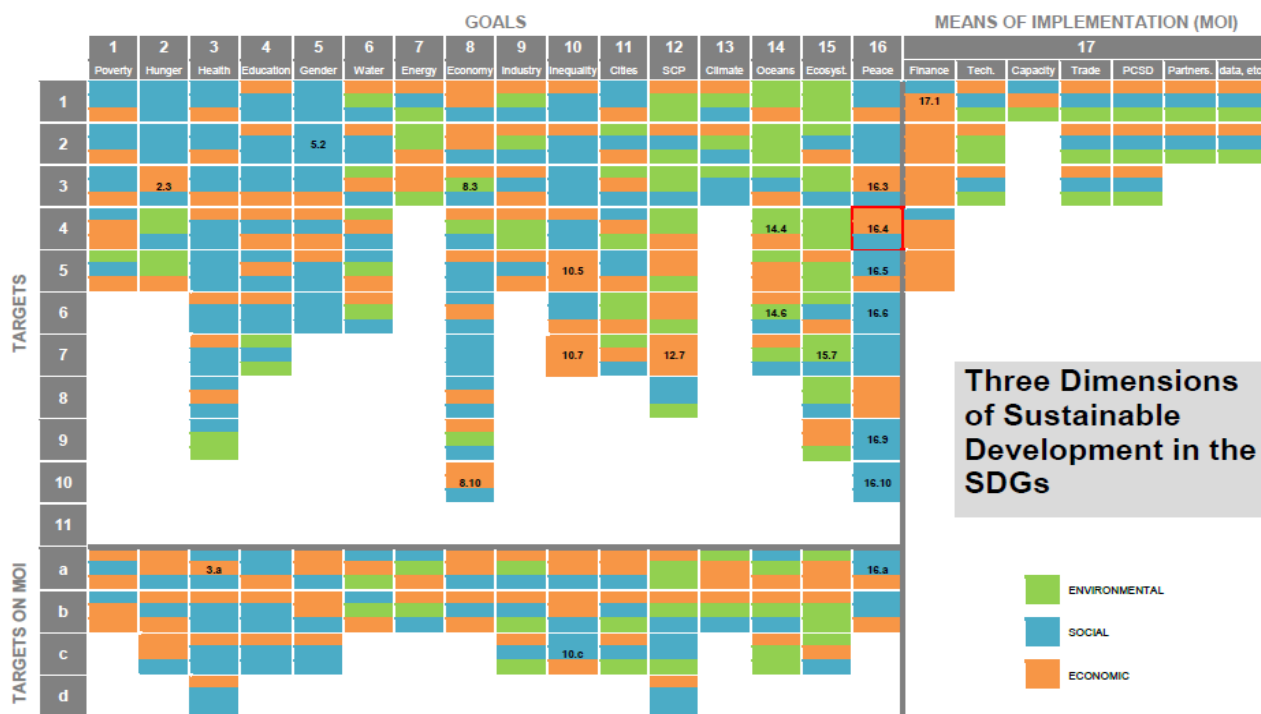




## BETTER POLICIES FOR BETTER LIVES

### Why worry about illicit financial flows?



**Potential interactions between SDGs and targets relevant for tackling IFFs** 



 **BETTER POLICIES FOR BETTER LIVES** 

**Why is coherence important for addressing IFFs?**

National Organisation





***“The 2030 Agenda compels us to look beyond national boundaries and short-term interests and act in solidarity for the long-term. We can no longer afford to think and work in silos.”***

*Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General*

## PCSD - An approach and policy tool

**PCSD** is an approach and policy tool to integrate the economic, social, environmental, and governance dimensions of sustainable development at all stages of domestic and international policy making.



Source: OECD (2014) *Better Policies for Development 2014: Policy Coherence and Illicit Financial Flows*, OECD Publishing.

## Biographical notes

**Evert-Jan Brouwer** (1976) mastered in political science at Leiden University, the Netherlands.

He worked as a political advisor in the Dutch House of Representatives from 1998 till 2007.

Since 2007 he is political advisor at Foundation Woord en Daad, a Dutch NGO with a political program which focuses on fair economic development and policy coherence.

He is co-chair of CONCORD's working group on policy coherence for development.

Currently he is working on the project 'Ready for Change?', run by the Dutch NGO Platform Partos. The project encourages the Dutch EU Presidency to push for a strong implementation agenda of the SDGs, with policy coherence as a guiding principle.

**Maurizio Carbone** is Professor of International Relations & Development and Jean Monnet Professor of EU External Policies at the University of Glasgow.

He has previously taught in various universities, including Carnegie Mellon, Duke, Pittsburgh, Rome Tor Vergata, and held visiting research positions at Brussels (VUB and ULB), Cambridge, Canterbury, Cologne, European University Institute, and Sciences Po Paris. Professor Carbone's main research interests are on the external relations of the European Union, foreign aid, the politics of international development, as well as European and Italian Politics.

Among his publications are: *The European Union and International Development* (Routledge 2007); *Policy Coherence and EU Development Policy* (Routledge, 2009), *The European Union in Africa* (Manchester University Press, 2013), *The Trade-Development Nexus in the European Union* (Routledge, 2014).

**Ebba Dohlman** is currently Senior Advisor in the OECD Office of the Secretary General and Head of the Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) Unit.

She has worked at the OECD since 1985 in various functions, including to support the Deputy Secretary-General in charge of development to help shape and take forward the OECD Strategy on Development; as Senior Counsellor in the Heiligendamm L'Aquila Process (HAP) Support Unit where she was responsible for the development and energy pillars of the dialogue between the G8 and G5; and as policy analyst in the Trade and Development Co-operation Directorates providing key inputs into the work on Trade, Environment and Development, Aid for Trade and Pro-Poor Growth and Agriculture. Prior to this, she worked as a trade policy consultant at the GATT (WTO), UNCTAD and the Textiles Importers Association of Sweden in the context of efforts to reform the Multi-Fibre Arrangement.

She holds a Ph.D. and M.Sc. in Political Economy from the London School of Economics and a B.A. from Tufts University.

**Mark Furness** is Senior Researcher at the German Development Institute. Before 2010, he was Research Fellow at the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence for European integration of the Freie Universität Berlin, where he also obtained his PhD. His research interests are EU foreign relations, EU development policy and security and development.

**Rosemary Kalapurakal** (India) has recently been appointed Lead Advisor Agenda 2030 at the United Nations Development Programme (Bureau for Policy and Programme Support).

Previously, Rosemary was Deputy Executive Coordinator of the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) Programme. In this leadership role, she had primary responsibility for new UNV programming and related partnerships with key UN agencies, volunteerism-related policy, Strategic Planning and Results Based Management and strengthening UNV field level operations.



Prior to joining UNV, Rosemary served as Chief of the Policy and Operations Support Unit of the Regional Bureau for Europe and CIS at UNDP in New York p. She has also had extensive policy and programming experience through previous positions with UNDP, including the Bureau for Development Policy (Poverty Division) and the Regional Bureau for Asia and the Pacific. Rosemary also served as UNDP Assistant Resident Representative in Lao PDR.

Rosemary has significant expertise in gender and social inclusion issues, as Programme Specialist at UNIFEM and as Information and Communications Manager for UNDP's Global Gender Programme; her work at the International Women's Tribune Centre, an international NGO aimed at strengthening women's information networks world-wide; and as an advocate on disability issues.

Rosemary holds a doctorate in Business (Marketing) and a Master's degree in Economics from the Ohio State University (USA), and completed a post-doctoral fellowship from the London Business School (UK).

**DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES**

## POLICY DEPARTMENT

### Role

Policy departments are research units that provide specialised advice to committees, inter-parliamentary delegations and other parliamentary bodies.

### Policy Areas

Foreign Affairs  
Human Rights  
Security and Defence  
Development  
International Trade

### Documents

Visit the European Parliament website:  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses>



PHOTO CREDIT: iStock International Inc

ISBN 978-92-823-9031-3 (paper)

ISBN 978-92-823-9030-6 (pdf)

doi: 10.2861/678278 (paper)

doi: 10.2861/40214 (pdf)

