

Behind OACPS-EU development aid

Analysis of the motivations of the United Kingdom and Germany



Master thesis

MSc International Public Management and Policy
Erasmus University Rotterdam

Author: Antonia Ardina van den Heuvel, 487789

Thesis supervisor: Prof. Dr. A.G. Dijkstra

Second thesis supervisor: Dr. K.H. Stapelbroek

Date of submission: 20/08/2021

Word count: 24,998



ABSTRACT

The development cooperation between the Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (OACPS) and the European Union (EU) is the largest foreign aid framework between the EU and developing states worldwide. This partnership came about with the Treaty of Rome (1957) as a programme for states that would later become the ‘Inner Six’ of the EU, to maintain diplomatic and economic relations with their former, exclusively African, colonies. Over time, as the EU expanded, the scope of the OACPS-EU development cooperation also increased. Currently, the partnership covers 79 receiving countries, including African, Caribbean, and Pacific states. In addition to the general EU budget, there is a special fund for OACPS cooperation: the European Development Fund (EDF). Budgetary decision-making is different in the EDF than in the EU budget, as Member States have more power to decide on their contributions. Hence, the EDF budget reflects the interests of EU Member States.

This research investigates the foreign aid policies of two specific cases that are (former) EU Member States: Germany and the United Kingdom (UK). These states, together with France, formed the Big Three in European Foreign Policy decision-making and constituted the largest European donors of development aid. The combined contributions of Germany and the UK provide more than one third of the total contributions to the EDF. Since the OACPS-EU development cooperation was founded as a programme for maintaining post-colonial relations, the contributions of both Germany and the UK present an interesting puzzle, due to the influential colonial power of the UK and the much lesser colonial power of Germany.

The aim of this study is to analyse which factors have shaped German and British foreign aid policies in the framework of the OACPS-EU development cooperation between 1995 and 2017. The congruence analysis consists of three IR theories: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. This congruence analysis has a competing theories approach and uses the empirical data that will be derived from a discourse analysis. The discourse analysis is applied to national policy documents concerning development cooperation. By comparing the theoretical propositions to the empirical evidence, it will be concluded which IR theory has most explanatory leverage in the state motivations of Germany and the UK in the OACPS-EU development cooperation.

Keywords: Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (OACPS), European Union (EU), Development cooperation, Foreign aid policy, State motivations

PREFACE

This Master's thesis marks the end of my years as a university student. After all these years, I couldn't be more proud of myself to have finished this thesis and also my Master's degree: MSc International Public Management & Public Policy at Erasmus University, the Netherlands. My study period has not been without a struggle, but with a necessary amount of determination, I have been able to make the most out of it. Besides studying, during my student life I have had the opportunity to develop myself in various ways: by working at the International Office, by studying abroad several times and by chasing my dream of doing an internship at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Looking back at all the wonderful experiences, both during and besides my study, I feel extremely fortunate to have had these opportunities.

I am profoundly grateful to everyone who made this possible. First of all, my sincere thanks to my thesis supervisor, Prof. Dr. Geske Dijkstra, for guiding me through the entire process of writing this thesis. She has provided me with a lot of valuable feedback, insights, and support. Despite all the challenges that came along during the process of writing this thesis, she has always inspired me to continue. In addition, I would like to thank the students in my thesis circle for providing me with useful comments and recommendations, and the other students of this study programme who made this an unforgettable experience.

Last, but definitely not least, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my family, especially my parents, brother, and my boyfriend Tom, for always believing in me. Your supportive words, understanding and encouragement have motivated me during difficult times. Without your love and support, I would not have reached this far.

Melanie van den Heuvel

The Hague, June 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	VI
LIST OF TABLES	VII
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF OACPS-EU DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION	1
1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE	4
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION	4
1.4 RESEARCH APPROACH	4
1.5 RELEVANCE.....	5
1.5.1. Academic relevance.....	5
1.5.2. Societal relevance	6
1.6 OUTLINE.....	6
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 CONCEPTUALISING FOREIGN AID MOTIVATIONS	7
2.2 ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS.....	8
2.3 POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS	10
2.4 ENVIRONMENTAL MOTIVES	11
2.5 MORAL AND HUMANITARIAN MOTIVATIONS.....	12
2.6 CONCLUSIONS	14
CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	15
3.1 THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.....	15
3.2 REALISM	17
3.2.1. Realist assumptions	18
3.3 LIBERALISM	19
3.3.1. Liberal assumptions	20
3.4 CONSTRUCTIVISM.....	21
3.4.1. Constructivist assumptions.....	22
3.5 PROPOSITIONS DERIVING FROM IR THEORIES	23
3.5.1 Realist propositions.....	24
3.5.2 Liberal propositions	25
3.5.3. Constructivist propositions	26

CHAPTER 4	RESEARCH DESIGN	28
4.1	RESEARCH DESIGN & STRATEGY	28
4.1.1	<i>Discourse analysis</i>	29
4.1.2	<i>Congruence analysis</i>	31
4.2	SELECTION OF CASES AND THEORIES	32
4.3	OPERATIONALISATION AND DATA COLLECTION.....	34
4.3.1	<i>Operationalisation</i>	34
4.3.2	<i>Data collection</i>	37
4.4	VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY	39
4.4.1	<i>Validity</i>	39
4.4.2	<i>Reliability</i>	40
CHAPTER 5	EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS	41
5.1	DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED DOCUMENTS OF GERMANY	41
5.1.1.	<i>The German Government's 10th Development Policy Report (1995)</i>	41
5.1.2.	<i>The German Government's 13th Development Policy Report (2008)</i>	45
5.1.3.	<i>The German Government's 15th Development Policy Report (2017)</i>	49
5.2	DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED DOCUMENTS OF THE UK	53
5.2.1.	<i>White Paper on International Development (1997)</i>	53
5.2.2.	<i>White Paper on International Development (2009)</i>	57
5.2.3.	<i>Strategy Paper UK Aid (2015)</i>	61
5.3	CONGRUENCE ANALYSIS	64
5.3.1.	<i>Congruence analysis of the selected documents of Germany</i>	64
5.3.2.	<i>Congruence analysis of the selected documents of the UK</i>	67
5.3.3.	<i>Comparison between Germany and the UK</i>	72
5.3.4.	<i>Contributions to the EDF</i>	76
CHAPTER 6	CONCLUSIONS.....	78
6.1	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	78
6.2	LIMITATIONS	82
6.3	RECOMMENDATIONS	83
REFERENCES		84
APPENDICES		91

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries
CARIFORUM	Caribbean Forum
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa
CPA	Cotonou Partnership Agreement
EAC	East African Community
EC	European Commission
EDF	European Development Fund
EEC	European Economic Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MS	Member States
OACPS	Organisation of African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States
OCT	Overseas Collectivities and Territories
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PIF	Pacific Island Forum
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Perspectives of Foreign Policy Analysis
Table 2	Key features of IR paradigms
Table 3	Congruence analysis guideline
Table 4	Development aid by Germany and the UK in 2017
Table 5	Overview of discourses
Table 6	Selection of documents for the empirical analysis
Table 7	Selection of documents for the empirical analysis of Germany
Table 8	Selection of documents for the empirical analysis of the UK
Table 9	Discourses in selected documents of Germany
Table 10	Congruence analysis of selected documents of Germany
Table 11	Discourses in selected documents of the UK
Table 12	Congruence analysis of selected documents of the UK
Table 13	Overview of codes per selected document of Germany and the UK
Table 14	Comparison between congruence in selected documents of Germany and the UK
Table 15	Contributions by Germany and UK to the 8 th , 9 th , 10 th and 11 th EDF budget cycles

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The importance of OACPS-EU development cooperation

The European Union (EU) is the largest donor of development aid in the world: its contribution to Official Development Assistance (ODA) amounted to €75,2 billion in 2019, representing 55.2% of the global ODA (European Commission, 2020b). Development cooperation policy constitutes a cornerstone of EU's foreign relations. One particular and essential component of EU development cooperation is directed to the Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (OACPS), formerly known as the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States. This is elaborated through the OACPS-EU Partnership Agreement, which is “the most comprehensive partnership agreement between developing countries and the EU” (European Commission, 2020a). The partnership is built on three pillars: development cooperation, political cooperation, and economic and trade cooperation (European Commission, 2020a). Its objective is to contribute to sustainable development, reduce poverty and integrate the OACP states into the world economy. In order to achieve this, the latest treaty, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA), includes Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). These are in line with the World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules. Figure 1 shows a map of OACP states taking part in the CPA. For a complete list of OACP states with a classification according to each group, see Appendix A.

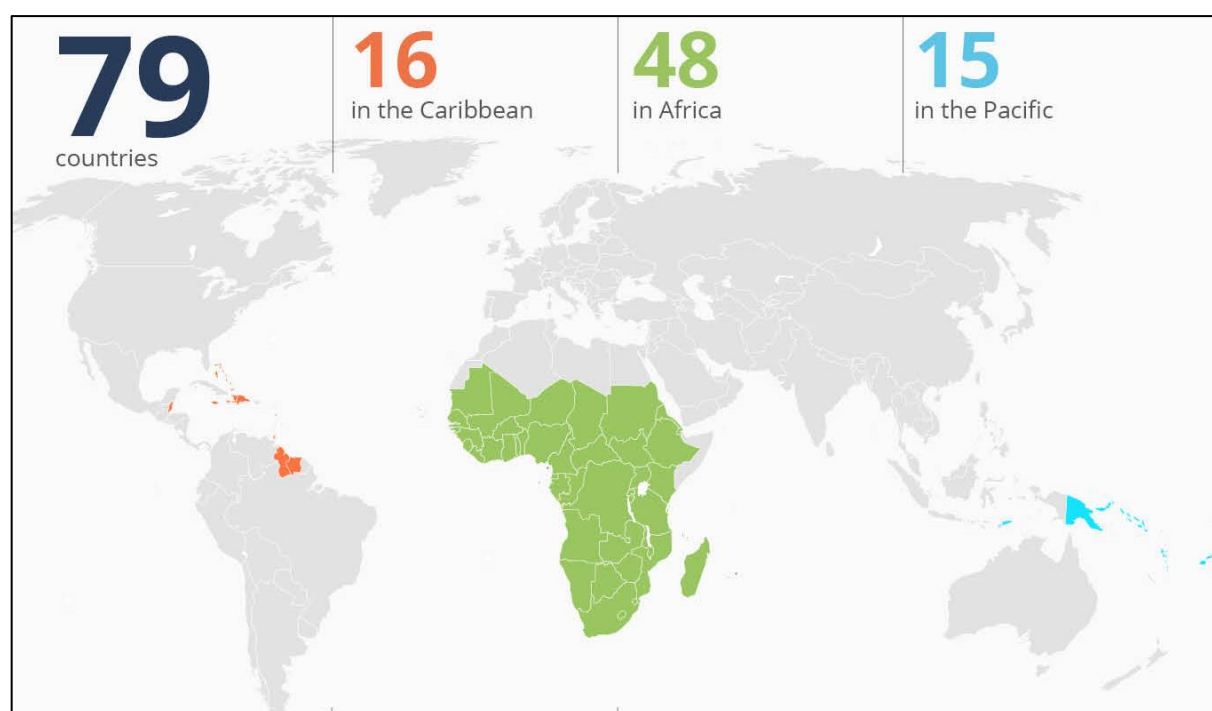


Figure 1. OACP States in the Cotonou Agreement (adapted from European Council, 2018)

Since the Treaty of Rome (1957), the EU has contributed to the prosperity of former colonies, as well as Overseas Collectivities and Territories (OCTs), resulting in a “unique system for the multilateral management of development assistance issues” (Cini, 2010, p. 229). The history of OACPS-EU development cooperation consists of three stages: the Yaoundé Agreements (1963 – 1974), the Lomé Agreements (1975 – 1999) and the Cotonou Agreement (2000 – 2020). This is illustrated by the timeline in Figure 2. Indeed, the Cotonou Agreement will expire in November 2021, which means that the new framework is being negotiated at this moment (European Council, 2020a; ECDPM, 2020). In the beginning, the Yaoundé convention was signed by the six European Economic Community (EEC) Member States (MS). These countries, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, would later form the ‘Inner Six’ of the EU. At the start, the OACPS-EU framework was intended to maintain foreign relations with eighteen exclusively African former colonies, the so-called ‘Associated States’ (Montoute & Virk, 2017, p. 33 - 38). In 2000, the CPA was signed by the fifteen EU MS of that time. Similar to the European expansion, the scope of receiving countries also increased over the years: at present, the partnership agreement covers 79 receiving countries, including African, Caribbean and Pacific states.

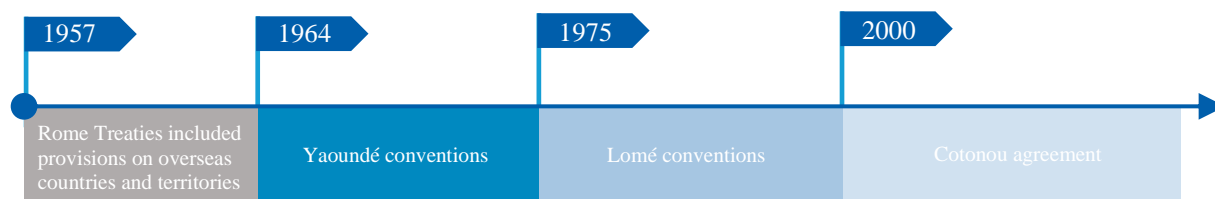


Figure 2. Timeline EU-ACP development cooperation (adapted from European Council, 2018)

The funding of development assistance from the EU to OACP countries is two-fold. On the one hand, assistance arises partially from the EU budget to which the EU MS contribute. On the other hand, the European Commission (EC) “finances most of its development programmes for OACP partner countries through the European Development Fund [EDF]” (European Commission, 2020a). Thus, OACP countries receive financial assistance from both the EU budget as well as the EDF. EU MS contribute to both frameworks to tackle poverty, boost local economies, and strengthen the governance of OACP countries (European Commission, 2020a). Of the entire EU spending on development cooperation, 70% derives from the EU budget, the remaining 30% comes from the EDF.

The EDF is an intergovernmental fund and remains outside the EU budget. The total funding of the 11th EDF is €30,5 billion for the period of 2014-2020, which is spent on both OACP states as well as OCTs. It is worth mentioning that the EDF budgetary decision-making is different than the EU budget key. Due to the intergovernmental character of the EDF, EU MS have more power to decide on the amount of their contribution than in the decision-making procedure of the EU budget. What is particularly fascinating, is that the EDF budget reflects the interests of EU MS (Kilnes et al., 2012; European Commission, 2020a). The EC provides funding to the OACP in four stages. First, the priorities are identified in a multi-annual indicative programme. Afterwards, the money is allocated to specific projects through financing decisions. Then, contracts are prepared and signed for implementation. The final step consists of making payments to the contractors (European Commission, 2000).

The international relevance, economic significance and political importance are not the only reasons why OACPS-EU development cooperation deserves more investigation. The framework has expanded to a global level, and the successor of the CPA is currently being negotiated on. While many scholars have conducted research on the effectiveness of the OACPS-EU Partnership Agreement (Arts, 2003; Farrell, 2005; Holland, 2003; Hurt, 2003; Olufemi & Faber, 2003; Ravenhill, 2004), this thesis will have a different emphasis: It does not centre around the outcome of the convention, instead it focuses on states' motivations and contributions to the OACPS-EU Partnership Agreement through the EDF. Hence, it analyses the reasoning of EU MS to contribute to OACPS-EU development cooperation. Due to the scope of this study, and in order to provide an in-depth analysis, this thesis will only shed light on two (former) EU MS: The United Kingdom (UK) and Germany.

In this thesis, three competing theories will be put next to each other in a congruence analysis: the mainstream International Relations (IR) theories (realism and liberalism) and one critical theory (constructivism) will be applied. Realism and liberalism share the largest meta-theoretical paradigm in IR: Rationalism, which considers states to be the main unitary actors in the sphere of international politics and favours the material. Military power and economic welfare constitute the core of rationalism. On the contrary, constructivism challenges this view by its meta-theoretical paradigm idealism, which challenges the rationalist view by its ideational nature. Here, the focus is on social norms, meaning and ideas.

1.2 Research objective

The aim of this research is to analyse which factors have shaped British and German foreign aid policy in the intergovernmental framework of the OACPS-EU Partnership Programme. Their reasoning and motives will be analysed in the period from 1995 until 2017. This provides the opportunity to comprehensively study whether and, if so, how the national interests and considerations have changed and how this has been reflected in the foreign aid policies of both states, specifically in the OACPS-EU development cooperation. By doing so, this study also creates the possibility to improve the understanding of why states may change foreign aid policies over time. In this thesis, a congruence analysis will be used to test the theoretical propositions that derive from the IR theories realism, liberalism, and constructivism.

1.3 Research question

WHICH IR THEORY EXPLAINS BEST THE FOREIGN AID POLICIES OF GERMANY AND
THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE OACPS-EU DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION?

In order to answer this research question, a set of sub-questions will be presented, which help to get a better understanding of the reasoning behind the OACPS-EU Partnership programme:

1. What are the motivations for developed countries to provide foreign aid to developing countries?
2. Which theoretical propositions can be derived from the assumptions of realism, liberalism, and constructivism?
3. How could these theories explain the foreign aid policies of Germany and the UK in the OACPS-EU development cooperation?

1.4 Research approach

This thesis presents a qualitative approach in the form of a case study. For the case study, two states (Germany and the UK) will be taken into account, in the context of the OACPS-EU development aid within the EDF framework, over a time period between 1995 and 2017. Hence, the study is identified as a small-N analysis, and therefore it lends itself well to use for a case study. According to Yin (2009, p. 4,7) a case study has the purpose of exploring a research situation extensively, in-depth and by itself through providing rich and detailed information.

The research strategy used in this thesis is a congruence analysis. Out of all types of qualitative approaches, this is the most theory-driven research design. In order to explain a particular case, several competing theories are tested next to each other. “It looks at the differences between theoretically deducted expectations and empirical evidence with the objective of testing which theory has most explanatory power” (Blatter, J. & Haverland, M., 2014: p. 145). Two types of congruence analysis can be distinguished: the complementary theories approach and the competing theories approach. The first one uses theories next to each other and tests whether one theory provides insights that the other theory does not. The latter looks at which of the theories has most explanatory leverage for a certain case.

In this thesis, the competing theories approach will be used. In other words, multiple competing theories will be put next to one another with the aim of analysing one particular case. For this study, the main IR theories, realism, and liberalism, and one critical theory (constructivism) will be applied to the case of the OACPS-EU Partnership Agreement. First, the assumptions of realism, liberalism and constructivism will be thoroughly elaborated on. After that, several theoretical propositions will be derived from the three theories. These propositions provide an opportunity to analyse which factors have shaped the foreign aid policies of Germany and the UK in the OACPS-EU programme.

1.5 Relevance

1.5.1. Academic relevance

The academic relevance refers to the contribution of this study to the existing literature and theoretical discussion about state considerations and interests in foreign aid policies, distinctively in the OACPS-EU development cooperation. According to Lehnert et al. (2007, p. 22-25) and Gschwend & Schimmelfenning (2007, p. 3) the dialogue between theory and data should add something new to the current state of knowledge. It can do so by testing a theory to a different case, generate data and explain new or changing phenomena in the world. Although there is extensive literature on how national interests influence national foreign aid policy (amongst which Alesina, A. & Dollar, D. 2000; De Mesquita, B. & Smith, A. 2007; Fuchs, A., Dreher, A., & Nunnenkamp, P., 2014; Wittkopf, E. R., 1973), few researchers have focused on the characteristics of states’ foreign policy motivations in the OACPS-EU framework. This study presents added value because of the case selection and the period. Two countries will be shed light on over a broad time period, which allows for an in-depth analysis of states’

motivations and interests, and perhaps their changing character. In this thesis, a congruence analysis will be carried out in order to find an answer to the research question stated in section 1.2. This research approach uses multiple competing theories next to one another with the objective of analysing one particular case. For this case study, the main IR theories, realism, and liberalism, and one critical theory (constructivism) will be tested and applied to the case of national interests in the OACPS-EU development cooperation in order to understand which theory provides most explanatory leverage.

1.5.2. Societal relevance

In order for research to have societal relevance, it needs to meet several conditions: First, it should potentially affect people. Second, if possible, it should lead to practical suggestions, advice, and solutions (Lehnert, Miller and Wonka, 2007, p. 29-31). This thesis could potentially affect British and German policymakers and could be meaningful to millions of citizens that live in the recipient countries of the OACPS-EU development aid. The OACPS-EU cooperation framework is highly significant as it is the largest aid programme between donor countries and developing countries. Moreover, it does not only target one specific country or region: instead, it covers developing countries around the entire world. While this study only focuses on two (former) EU MS due to the limited scope, it could be applied to more donor countries. Although the aim of this study is not to provide practical advice, implications of the findings will be discussed in the conclusions.

1.6 Outline

This thesis will be structured as follows: first, the literature review and theoretical framework will be elaborated on. In the literature review, the existing scholarship concerning state motivations to providing foreign aid will be discussed. Subsequently, the theoretical framework will focus on the assumptions of IR theories for the congruence analysis and the theoretical propositions that can be derived from these theories. Thereafter, in the chapter on research design, the analysis will be operationalised. In the fifth chapter, an empirical analysis of the foreign aid policies of Germany and the UK in the OACPS-EU development cooperation framework will be carried out. Finally, the implications of the findings will be discussed in the conclusion. This section also presents the limitations of this study and provides suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to explore the existing literature on the concept of foreign aid and state motivations to provide foreign aid to others. This chapter consists of five sections. The first part provides a conceptualisation of the framework of foreign aid motivations. Taking into account the existing literature, the next sections will each present a category of reasons: (1) Economic motivations, (2) Political/Security motivations, (3) Environmental motivations, (4) Moral and humanitarian motivations.

2.1 Conceptualising foreign aid motivations

Foreign aid constitutes a fundamental part of a state's foreign policy, described by Carlsnaes as a set of certain actions or undertakings of states in order to obtain specific goals, which influences a state's behaviour on the international level (2012, p. 116-118). In the broadest term, foreign aid is defined as "all resources (...) transferred by donors to recipients" (Riddell, 2009, p. 17). Although at first sight it may seem a straightforward pattern of one state giving aid to another, behind this mechanism lies a complexity of driving factors why states provide foreign aid. In order to get a better understanding of these motivations, the aim of this chapter is to explore, by means of a literature review, the main motivations of developed donor states to provide foreign aid to developing recipient countries.

Riddell distinguishes seven clusters of motivations: (1) to address emergency needs; (2) to assist recipients with achieving their development goals; (3) to show solidarity; (4) to further their own political and strategical interests; (5) to help promote donor-country commercial interests; (6) because of historical ties; (7) to provide and strengthen global public goods (Riddell, 2008, p. 91). Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen have narrowed down these motivations in a different classification (2003, p. 17). Based on the latter division, in this thesis four main categories of motivations are identified: (1) Economic motivations, (2) Political/Security motivations, (3) Environmental motivations, (4) Moral and humanitarian motivations. These categories are illustrated by the model in Figure 3. It is crucial to clarify that these are non-exclusive categories, hence it is possible that the state motivations are classified under multiple of the categories mentioned. For instance, if a state provides aid mainly because of economic and political/security motives, while moral/humanitarian and environmental reasons do not play a big role, this state would be positioned on the top left of the model.

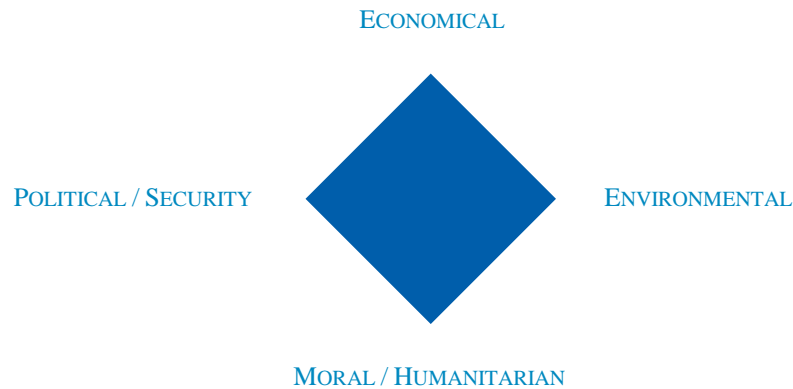


Figure 3. Categories of state motivations for giving development aid (adapted from Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003).

Motives for giving development assistance are dynamic and vary between countries. Moreover, they differ over time: before the 1960s the main aim often was development, although this has shifted to an emphasis on the donor state's interest, including strategic considerations (Bandyopadhyay & Vermann, 2013, p. 327). Usually there is a win-win situation with positive effects for both donor and recipient states (Nath & Sobhee, 2007, p. 2). Motives also differ in level: donor interests dominate bilateral aid, while recipient needs seem to prevail in multilateral aid (Maizels & Nissanke, 1984, p. 889). Lastly, motivations differ between declared and real ones: moral and humanitarian motives seem to be exaggerated, while security and economic motives are understated (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, p.17).

2.2 Economic motivations

Economic motivations constitute one of the cornerstones of the 'real' motivations to provide foreign aid, although states officially mention them as of secondary importance. Aid may enhance economic growth in both the donor country and recipient country due to increased exports and imports as a result of foreign aid (Lloyd et al., 1998, p. 3). This section will discuss three underlying factors: trade, investment, and access to natural resources.

Trade is one of the economic aspects that is often highlighted in academia about foreign aid motivations. Younas (2008) finds that "a substantially larger amount of aid is provided to recipients who import capital goods [...]. Given that developed donor nations are major producers and exporters of capital goods, this result at least partially supports their trade benefits motive" (p. 661). Other authors find that a state's openness to trade is correlated with a higher level of development assistance. Recipients may trade more with donors, furthering

the donor's economic interests (Nath and Sobhee, 2007; Dudley and Montmarquette, 1976). Riddell argues that there are three main economic benefits for developed countries to give foreign aid to developing countries: it opens new markets to the donor's products; it promotes national firms, and it enhances employment in the donor country (2008, p. 99-101). Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen set forth that in many donor countries, domestic businesses are included in official foreign policy objectives. Business interests are often involved through tied foreign aid. By participating in development projects, enterprises do not only seek to increase their sales of goods and services, but they also seek to gain access to new markets in recipient countries (2003, p. 13). A side note is given by Maizels & Nissanke, who mention that trade interests explain mostly bilateral aid motivations, and not so much multilateral aid motivations (1984, p. 879).

Investment has become a principal means of providing development aid. A large part of development assistance in developing countries comes from loans provided by developed states. A loan is officially considered to be development aid if it fulfils the condition that at least 25% of the loan is a grant (Thirwall, 1994, p. 327). These loans may be beneficial for both the donor state and the recipient state, as the donor acquires interests and the latter could flourish its economy and social facilities. One method to achieve this is by the tying of aid, which means that "the recipient is in some way restricted in the allocation of the financial resources it receives in the form of an official grant or loan [by the donor state]" (Jepma, 1991, p. 19). In this case, loans with tied aid usually benefit the donors rather than the recipients. Jepma distinguishes three types of restrictions: First, aid can be linked to a specific development programme or project, limiting the decision-making power of the local government. Second, the financial allocation can be aimed at specific commodities or services. Lastly, assistance can be restricted by regional tying when the recipient is obliged to make procurement in specific regions. Tying could also become a form of trade if the donor state requires the recipient state to purchase goods and services from that donor state as a condition of providing foreign aid (1991, p. 19).

Access to natural resources, such as oil, minerals, and agricultural products, is another motivation for donor states to provide foreign aid. Developed countries need these natural resources for their own development, and possibly to secure scarce materials as well. Giving foreign aid may provide privileged access to these resources, and therefore may benefit the donor countries. This is supposed to be the fundamental reason why former colonial powers have provided foreign aid to their former colonies: to maintain privileged access to their

resources and markets (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, p. 13). According to the recipient needs model by Maizels & Nissanke, foreign aid can also be beneficial for the recipient country, as “aid is given to compensate for shortfalls in domestic resources” (1984, p. 879). In other words, a donor state may increase its foreign aid in order to decrease the shortage of a certain resource that is available in the recipient state.

2.3 Political motivations

A large part of foreign aid is aligned with the donor states’ political and security priorities. Foreign aid policy is usually not the main instrument of governments to secure national safety, as the military and political alliances prevail, but it has indirect effects. This is where the difference between ‘hard power’ and ‘soft power’ comes in. Development assistance is seen as a tool to spread power and influence for a more active role in global affairs, and at the same time it is an instrument to fight terrorism and safeguard security. By demonstrating consistent support for the promotion of global development, states enhance their reputation as a humanitarian superhero (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, p. 12). This section sheds light on the importance of two political aspects: support for the donor country and national security in the donor country.

One motive for foreign aid could be political support from the recipient country to the donor country. Donors sometimes provide foreign aid and expect gratitude from the recipient in the form of support for the donor in the sphere of international politics (Dudley and Montmarquette, 1976). A lot of research has been conducted on the relation between foreign aid and voting in the United Nations (UN) Security Council. Kuziemko and Werker (2006) and Dreher and Vreeland (2009) find a positive effect of UN Security Council membership on aid recipients. Development assistance to members of the UN Security Council “sharply increase[s] in the year in which a country is elected to the Security Council, remain[s] high throughout the two-year term, and return[s] to their earlier level almost immediately upon completion of the term” (Kuziemko and Werker, 2006, p. 907).

Another vital element in foreign policy considerations is protecting national security. After the Cold War and the reinstatement of the balance of power, safety threats and therefore national security motivations had a decreasing importance. However, in the context of the terrorist attacks and migration crises of the last decades, national security has become a priority. This resonates in the scholarship about aid motivations and security. Several researchers

highlight that in the 1990s, migration flows caused a renewed factor in the allocation of development aid policies, especially in the United States and Europe (Forsyth, 2018, p. 37; Leisinger, 2000, p.12). Aid is particularly targeted, Leisinger explains, at states in conflict that are bordering the donor state (2000, p. 13). Several EU MS have stated that foreign aid is used to reduce migration and refugee flows from the Middle East and Africa. Another form of aid-giving is to reward states that agree to receive refugees who had been refused by the EU (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, p. 16). This occurred for example with the EU-Turkey deal during the migration crisis of 2015. Broadly speaking, the agreement entailed that the EU would return irregular migrants that entered Europe through Turkey. In return, the EU would offer the Turkish government a payment in order to limit irregular migration to Europe through Turkey.

Developed countries may provide foreign aid to developing countries in order to alleviate terrorism-related threats. In this regard, ideology has become an essential aspect. Since the terrorist attacks of 2001, the focus of foreign aid has shifted towards Islamist states (Todaro, 2006, p. 722). Higher-income recipients of foreign aid were 9% more likely to receive aid during the War on Terror than during the Cold War era (Fleck and Kilby, 2010, p. 185; Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, p. 17.). A study by Fuchs, Dreher & Nunnenkamp (2014) confirms the significant role of terror incidents in DAC countries (p. 172). One approach is to provide aid for the sake of neutralising the capabilities of terrorist organisations in the recipient state, resulting in a reduction of terrorism (Bandyopadhyay & Vermann (2013, p. 331). In 1984, Maizels & Nissanke commented that political and security interests relate more to bilateral than multilateral aid (p. 883). However, the increase in competences of the EU over the last decades makes it relevant to start to question this. Another reason could be that EU aid might be a different type of multilateral aid than international institutions such as the World Bank (WB) provide.

2.4 Environmental motives

Since the mid-1980s, environmental considerations have gained importance in foreign aid policies. The issue was first put on the international agenda with the publication of Brundtland Commission's report (1987). This report puts forth that environmental problems require collective action due to the global interests and interdependency between states. The global community would have to join its forces in order to come up with an international sustainability-

based strategy for growth and development. Developed countries should provide foreign aid to developing countries to support the implementation of their environmental policy. The South Commission's report (1990) followed up on this by stating that poverty in developing countries, related to population growth and increasing pressure on limited resources, plays a major role in the degradation of the environment. It was therefore in the developed countries' interest to reduce global poverty, and foreign aid constitutes an instrument that could achieve this.

The link between development aid and the environment was solidified at the UN Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1992). The UNCED sets forth that states should have the global obligation of providing foreign aid on the basis of environmental considerations. From that moment on, many industrial countries have considered foreign aid as a decisive means to sustain and improve the global environment. According to Meier & Rauch (1995), developing countries often do not possess the resources to invest in sustainable development, hence developed states should contribute by making investments. A report published by the Commission on Global Governance (1995) proposed an innovative way of looking at environmental foreign aid: development aid should be based on rewarding services generated by the recipient state. Such services could include acting as a protector of animal and plant species to conserve biological diversity or deciding on growth areas for tropical forests (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003: 15-16). In other words, developing states should be rewarded for taking measures to protect the environment by means of foreign aid by developed states.

2.5 Moral and humanitarian motivations

While donor states do not shy away from underlining that foreign aid is allocated for humanitarian reasons, critics have demonstrated that donors take into account their national interest (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, p.17). Notwithstanding, over the past decades, human development and human rights have become fundamental aspects in EU's foreign policy. Although human rights are not identical to humanitarian reasons, this approach does show the humanitarian commitment of the EU.

A recurrent argument is the internal moral obligation to help other states. The basis of this humanitarian idea is that a rich person has the obligation to help a poor person, a relationship that can be extended to rich and poor states. However, pointed out by Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen: "[m]ost often, this motivation is combined with some form

of enlightened self-interest on the part of the givers” (2003, p. 10). This combination is called (human) internationalism, which can be explained as “the universal acceptance of the obligation to fight global poverty by promoting economic, social and political development in the south” (idem). It is, hence, a political school of thought that transcends nationalism and believes in collaboration between developed and developing states for common interests.

Besides the internal moral obligation, states can also have an external moral obligation. Most often, this is caused by international pressure. Multiple international agreements have given developed states the obligation to provide foreign aid to developing states, by having states sign and ratify these agreements. Examples are numerous, such as the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993), in which states declare that all human beings have a right to development. Moreover, the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including eight goals for sustainable global development, set up a more strategic approach for donor countries to select the recipient state in order to achieve these objectives in developing countries. Nowadays, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have provided donors with a framework which facilitates foreign aid for humanitarian aims, as progress can now be measured with clear targets according to the SDGs. Lastly, humanitarian motivations have always been linked to multilateral aid, which is made evident by international agreements established by organisations such as the UN.

Academia emphasizes the influence of domestic politics in the recipient state. Humanitarian aspects such as conflict, corruption, and democratisation in developing countries are recurrent research topics linked to aid. According to Balla & Reinhardt (2008), practically all donors are more likely to give aid to states in, or surrounded by, conflict. They argue that the donor’s perception of the conflict will determine how useful it expects its aid to be (2008, p. 2568). Allocating development aid to states in conflict does not only foster safety in the recipient state, but also generates more balance in the entire region. Lahiri & Raimondos-Møller (2000) explain that donors decrease the amount of aid when a country has a high level of corruption (2000, p. 23). Alesina & Dollar set forth that donors provide more aid to states that have enhanced their good governance and democratisation processes, although some donors respond more to this than others (2000, p. 33). This is confirmed by De Mesquita & Smith, adding that aid to poor democracies is more likely to lead to economic growth, since “political reform needs to precede economic development” (2007, p. 281). Therefore, contributing to democratisation may promote economic benefits.

One specific moral aspect is related to colonial history. At the end of the colonial era in the 20th century, several former colonial powers were left with feelings of guilt towards their former colonies. According to Leisinger, this may have caused these former colonial powers to inject a high amount of financial assistance to foster development in the former colonies (2000, p. 1). Another reason why former colonial powers provide development aid to their post-colonies could be to maintain and consolidate their influence through economic interests, such as corporate interests and investments. Although the post-colonial relationship between former colonial powers and colonies differs per country, generally speaking it holds that the longer the colonial history was, the stronger the ties between the two countries are nowadays (Alesina & Dollar, 1998, p. 7). For example, between 1970 and 1994, France and the UK proved to allocate almost all aid flows by their colonial history (Alesina & Dollar, 1998, p. 28). Nonetheless, Riddell (2008) sets forth that the relationship between former colonial powers and colonies has diminished. Instead, economic interests are expected to have become increasingly predominant as a motive for aid policies.

2.6 Conclusions

Although many scholars have conducted research on the effectiveness of the OACPS-EU development cooperation, there is a lack of studies emphasizing the states' motivations and contributions to this framework. Hence, in this chapter, the existing scholarship concerning state motivations to providing foreign aid has been discussed. State reasoning for giving foreign aid has been classified into four clusters: (1) Economic motivations, (2) Political/Security motivations, (3) Environmental motivations and (4) Moral and humanitarian motivations. In the subsequent chapter the theoretical framework will be established, explaining the theoretical 'lenses' that will be used for the analysis.

CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the theoretical framework that is used to analyse this case study. It aims at explaining the theories that are applicable to the congruence analysis of this study: Realism, liberalism, and constructivism. This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section provides a brief introduction to the theories. Thereafter, three sections will thoroughly discuss each theory and its assumptions. Subsequently, the theoretical propositions that can be derived from the theories will be examined.

3.1 Theories of International Relations

Paradigms provide a useful toolkit to conceptualise knowledge systematically. As Nye & Welch put it, paradigms are “a systematic statement of the basic assumptions, concepts and propositions employed by a school of analysis” (2014, p. 68). According to Nye & Welch, paradigms also specify assumptions and connect these in a logical manner. Furthermore, they offer the possibility to analyse rigorously instead of solely describing a phenomenon. In other words, paradigms constitute a collection of theories that explain how the world is observed. From these paradigms, theories can be derived. Nye & Welch describe theories as “provisional statements about how the world works” (2014, p. 68). In order to study global politics, there are four dominant paradigms: Realism, liberalism, Marxism and constructivism.

Carlsnaes (2002) has elaborated these contemporary theories based on their ontology (study of the existence of phenomena) and epistemology (study of the origin of knowledge), see Table 1. With regards to ontology, Carlsnaes differentiates between holistic and individualistic ontological foundations of these paradigms. A holistic foundation refers to the idea that “the effects of social structures cannot be reduced to independently existing agents and their interactions” (p. 335). An individualist foundation entails that “social scientific explanations should be reducible to the properties or interactions of independently existing individuals” (p. 335). Next to ontology, Carlsnaes looked at the epistemology of the paradigms, differentiating objectivism and interpretivism. Objectivism derives from the natural sciences and comments that social action is rational and cognitive, and thus comes from ‘the outside’. Contrarily, interpretivism is rooted in the social sciences and sees social action as from ‘within’, which entails inter-subjective meanings and intentions (p. 335). The combination of ontology and epistemology results in different approaches or views for analysing politics.

TABLE 1. Perspectives of Foreign Policy Analysis

Perspectives of Foreign Policy Analysis			
Ontology	Holism	Epistemology	
		Objectivism	Interpretivism
	Individualism	Structural perspective <i>Realism</i>	Social-institutional perspective <i>Constructivism</i>
		Agency-based perspective <i>(New) Liberalism</i>	Interpretative actor perspective <i>Interpretative actor approach</i>

Source: Adapted from Carlsnaes, 2002, p. 336.

Even though IR theories may appear to be clear-cut, the reality is rather complex. As Walt sets forth, it is favourable to look at one phenomenon from multiple perspectives, for “no single approach can capture all the complexity of contemporary world politics” (1998, p. 30). Carlsnaes states that applying multiple lenses enriches an analysis, as the variety in aspects is beneficial to acquire more insight (1992, p. 245-246). To have a better understanding of state motivations in the case study, this research tries to explain the phenomenon from both different epistemological angles, that is objectivism and interpretivism. Three IR disciplines will be applied to the analysis, cross cutting the perspectives both horizontally and vertically: Realism (holistic, objectivist view), Liberalism (individualist, objectivist view) and constructivism (holistic, interpretivist view). To get a better understanding of what these schools of thought entail, the next section will elaborate on the background of all three theories, see Table 2.

TABLE 2. Key features of IR paradigms

Key features of paradigms			
	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism
Key actors	States	States, nonstate actors	States, nonstate actors
Human drive	Fear, desire to dominate	Fear, desire to live well	Need for orderly, meaningful social life
Actors' goals	Power and security	Welfare, justice, and security	Interests are socially constructed through interaction
Actors' instrument	Military power	Military power, trade, investment, negotiation, persuasion	Depends upon historical period and social context
Processes of interaction	Competition	Competition and cooperation	Depends upon historical period and social context

Structure of the international system	Hobbesian anarchy	Non-Hobbesian anarchy	Social constraints (e.g. laws, rules, norms)
--	-------------------	-----------------------	--

Source: Adapted from Nye & Welch, 2014, p. 69.

3.2 Realism

Realism is often considered to be the oldest fundamental IR theory from which many theoretical schools have derived. It is also thought to be one of the most prominent theories of war and peace and one of the most salient topics in international politics (Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013, p. 59). Smith, Hadfield & Dunne explain that the roots of realism can be traced back to the Greek historian Thucydides' position regarding the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century BC. After centuries of ignorance, realism flourished during the post-World War I period. It surged as a reaction to the, at that time dominant, idealism in international politics. Several influential thinkers can be linked to the realist tradition, such as Machiavelli, Hobbes and Hume (2012, p. 8). The ideological weight of this theory makes it still relevant to study realism nowadays.

Over time, realism has become an umbrella category that includes many sub-streams. One of the distinctions that can be made is between 'defensive realists' (amongst which Waltz) who assess security to be the principal state objective and 'offensive realists' (such as Mearsheimer) who emphasize the significance of power (Donnelly 2000, p. 7; Nye & Welch, 2014, p. 70). Two main currents of realism will be distinguished: classical realism and structural (or neo-)realism. Classical realism flourished during the 1930s and World War II and is represented by the American political scientist Hans Morgenthau, who published 'Politics Amongst Nations' (1985). Morgenthau outlined six principles of political realism: 1) Politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature; 2) National interests are defined in terms of national power; 3) Interest is always dynamic; 4) Abstract moral principles can't be applied to politics; 5) There is a difference between moral aspirations and the universal moral principles; 6) Autonomy of international politics (1985, p. 4-15).

The other approach, structural (or neo-)realism, thrived in the context of the Cold War period and challenged classical realism. One of the most prominent neorealists is Kenneth Waltz, academic and author of 'Man, the State and War' (1959). Waltz talks about three 'levels of analysis' that explain international conflict. The first image, the individual level, argues that conflict is caused by human nature, for example a political leader. Next, the state level considers that the structure of states is the explanation for conflict in international politics, for example

during the clash between capitalist and communist states. The third image is the system level, which sees the framework of the international system, for instance anarchy, as the determinant for international conflict.

3.2.1. Realist assumptions

The realist school of thought has set forth three fundamental assumptions: groupism, egoism and power politics. Many realist concepts, values and beliefs can be derived from these three categories. In this section each assumption will be looked at more closely.

The scope condition for all ‘flavours’ of realism is the grounded belief in the competitive anarchic structure of the international political system. For realists this means that international politics is a state of nature without one overarching, omnipotent authority. As a result, realists emphasize the importance of groupism. Living in groups is inherent to human nature and may lead to creating a strong connection and feeling of unity amongst one group. At the same time, however, groupism may bring about conflictuous circumstances with other groups (Baylis, 2020, p. 143-144). The assumption of groupism gained importance with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, when realists extended their understanding of groupism to statism and the group-feeling of unity to nationalism (Wohlforth, 2012, p. 36). Realists consider states to be the principal actors in the international political systems. It is necessary to highlight that realism does not deny the existence of non-state actors, instead it considers states to be the only powerful means in the international order (Mearsheimer, 1994, p. 9-10). Realists think that states are rational and unitary actors. Moreover, realists consider that national politics are not relevant for state behaviour in international politics (Mearsheimer, 2010, p. 78).

The realist tradition identifies egoism as a fundamental part of human nature as well as state behaviour. For realists, anarchy entails that the behaviour of states will always be in line with self-interests. In other words, every nation will pursue its own national interests, and this results in state behaviour. In foreign policy, it is the state’s responsibility to protect its citizens, promote national interests and act in order to give these interests priority at all times. Hence, within realism it holds that states are essential for the wellbeing of its inhabitants. The insecurity of non-regulation as a consequence of the anarchic system creates a security dilemma. The ultimate objective of states is survival (Donnelly, 2000, p. 9; Wohlforth, 2012, p. 40). In order to survive, states need to arm themselves against hostile acts of enemy states, since other states will presumably arm themselves for the sake of survival. This increase of armament will end

up in an international arms race. Therefore, realists assume international politics to be a system of self-help in which national security and survival are each states' first priority. States will always behave accordingly in international interactions (Baylis, 2020, p. 151-153).

Within realism, power politics constitute the third key concept. Power can be defined in terms of influence and control (social power) and resources or military capabilities (material power). The distribution of power, or balance of power, between states is fundamental to the understanding of realism. In order for states to survive, it is essential to maintain the balance of power between states or restore this if necessary. The international political system could, as realists argue, be compared to a 'zero-sum game', in which one state's gains, equal another state's loss, resulting in a net change of zero. The 'zero-sum' mechanism is in essence opposite to a 'win-win' situation, for example in trade, or a 'lose-lose' situation, for example during wartime. Realists perceive a state's power as relative compared to other states' power and therefore emphasize relative gains (Donnelly, 2000, p. 10). Furthermore, according to realists, political power is the most influential type of power ('high politics') from which all other types of power (e.g. international law and ethics, 'low politics') are derived.

3.3 Liberalism

Another main classical school of thought within IR is liberalism. The liberal tradition arose from the post-Enlightenment period as a rather idealist reaction to realism. In that time, philosophers such as Voltaire, Locke, Smith and Kant started to develop liberal ideas. Nevertheless, liberalism only saw a revival during the '70s and '80s of the last century, as realism was thought to be a more comprehensive explanation during wartime (Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013, p. 94). These authors attribute the increasing popularity to the spread of democracy, globalisation, and international organisations (p. 94). Indeed, with the increasing economic interdependence as well as the establishment of international organisations, liberalism started to flourish. The central features of liberalism are the rational and risk-taking nature of actors, a nature of state which represents the domestic society with its different people and interests, and a nature of system in which states realise their purpose given by the constraints of the system (p. 94).

Nye & Welch explain that there are three strands of liberal thinking: economic, social, and political. The economic strand strongly emphasizes trade, because "it may lead states to define their interests in a way that makes war less important to them" (2014, p. 70). Next, the

social strand believes that on the individual level conflict decreases by fostering the mutual understanding between persons. Regarding the political side of liberalism, the role of international institutions is crucial. Liberals assume that institutions promote stabilisation and thus decline the chance of conflict (2014, p. 72). Therefore liberals, in contrast to realists, trust in the power of international institutions.

As well as with realism, over time liberalism has become an umbrella of multiple sub-streams. Moravcsik recognises three varieties of liberalism: ideational liberalism, commercial liberalism, and republican liberalism. First, ideational liberalism assumes that domestic identities and values shape state preferences and therefore influence international cooperation and conflict. Commercial liberalism can best be explained as: ‘make money, not war’. It believes that free trade and economic interdependence will lead to peace in international politics. Republican liberalism has a focus on domestic features of a state, such as institutions, population preferences, leaders and coalitions and group pressure (2001, p. 10-19).

3.3.1. Liberal assumptions

Since the liberal school of thought came about as a criticism of realism, many of the realist assumptions are contested in the liberal tradition. Liberalism has three main assumptions: the rejection of power politics as the only outcome of IR, the emphasis on mutual benefits that derive from international cooperation and the importance of non-state actors. In the next section, the liberal values, and concepts according to the assumptions will be shed light on.

While realism and liberalism share the common ground that the international political system has an anarchic structure, the approach to the consequences of anarchy for state behaviour differ. Whereas realists expect the anarchic structure to cause a security dilemma, liberals understand that this is not necessarily the case. Instead, the liberal tradition sees this as a way to mitigate the effects of the nature state. As Walt puts it, whilst realism searches for explanations as to why states tend to engage in international conflict, liberalism provides an account for why states engage in conflict less frequently (1998, p. 30). Another difference is that liberalism assumes a more influential role for non-state actors, where realism considers states to be the only valuable actors, or ‘groups’, in the international political system. Hence, liberals assess non-state actors, such as international institutions, to be relevant in addition to states. One of the reasons why liberals attach importance to international institutions is that they increase the ‘shadow of the future’, which helps states to think in long-term international

cooperation. International institutions reduce the uncertainty of the behaviour of other states, which would also decrease the possibility of conflict (Doyle, 1986, p. 1151). Furthermore, liberals believe that domestic features of a state influence that state's behaviour on the international level. State behaviour is shaped, for instance, by whether a state has a democratic or capitalist system (Doyle, 2012, p. 54-55).

In assessing the human nature and accordingly, the state behaviour, the realist and liberal traditions agree that every state has its own interests. Yet, both traditions differ regarding the attitude towards the pursuit of national interests. Where realists suppose that states intend to obtain these interests regardless of other states, liberals do take into account the behaviour of other states. According to liberalism, states understand that international cooperation requires all states to compromise. The character of state interests also varies between realism and liberalism. Realists suppose that interests of different states often clash, albeit liberals see that states pursue rather the same goals, such as prosperity and peace. Therefore, liberalism brings about a more harmonious interaction between states (Doyle, 1986, p. 1151).

Although realists perceive the power of one state as relative to another state, liberals define power as complex interdependency. Due to the mutual interdependence caused by globalisation, it renders less to go to war (Doyle, 2012, p. 65-66). In each policy area, decision-making is dealt with by different actors that vary in power. Sensitivity and vulnerability are more important in the liberal tradition, as states consider the impact of their action and possible alternative actions (Moravcsik, 1997, p. 516-521).

3.4 Constructivism

The third major school of thought that will be dealt with in this thesis is (social) constructivism, a relatively new paradigm in IR theory that draws on sociology. Constructivism emerged as a reaction to the traditional IR theories. The constructivist tradition started to gain importance in the post-Cold War period of the late 1980s and early 1990s, as both realist and liberal scholars failed to explain the outcome of the Cold War. In its aftermath, the notion of conflict changed due to fewer interstate wars, more intrastate wars, and more wars against non-state actors (Dunne, Kurki, & Smith, 2013, p. 187). This renewed concept of conflict challenged the realist and liberal assumptions; constructivism tries to explain the causes and outcomes of conflict.

The constructivist tradition sees the world as a socially constructed reality against a historical and cultural perspective. Whereas mainstream IR theories assume that states are constrained in pursuing their interests because of material forces such as technology and military, constructivism believes that social forces influence a state's identity and interests. Social forces, for example ideas, knowledge, norms, and rules, are dynamic and change over time. Hence, constructivism provides a critique to the static and material aspects of realism and liberalism. According to social constructivists, identity, norms, and culture can shape patterns of peace and war (Dunne, Kurki, & Smith, 2013, p. 188, 189). The theoretical groundwork of constructivism was established by Alexander Wendt in his article 'Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics' in 1992 and later in his key work '*Social Theory of International Relations*' (1999). In his article, Wendt departs from more structural accounts of IR theories and introduces an account for agency in a condition of anarchy.

As with many schools of thought, constructivism has started to branch into different strands. On the one hand, there are constructivists who see no fundamental difference with mainstream school of thoughts and on the other hand, there are constructivists who understand it as an approach with a foundation in linguistics. Yet, the core of constructivism is the emphasis on human consciousness and its role in the international political sphere (Dunne, Kurki, & Smith, 2013, p. 195).

3.4.1. Constructivist assumptions

Constructivism believes that the international system has an anarchic structure. Nevertheless, contrary to the other schools of thought, constructivists think that the consequences of anarchy derive from the intersubjective meaning that is given to a circumstance by actors (Wendt, 2009, 405). Indeed, the title of Wendt's article 'Anarchy is what states make of it' refers exactly to this. Constructivists assume that this meaning is a dynamic process, so it may change over time due to social interaction, resulting in new shared discourses, ideas, practices, norms and rules. Furthermore, the constructivist tradition considers institutions to be the structures of the international political system, and actors as the agents within these structures. Interaction between agents may change or reinforce the structural framework (Flockhart, 2012, p. 79). As Nye & Welch explain, agents and structures interact in a "cyclical and reciprocal way" (2014, p. 76). State behaviour contributes to the creation of a system with norms and values. Other states try to understand these and attempt to shift these towards their own norms and values.

The main assumptions of constructivism are the belief in a historically and socially constructed reality and the creation of meaning through interactions (2014, p. 76).

Constructivists believe that state behaviour is not an inherent consequence of human nature, but historically and socially constructed. In interacting with other states, states demonstrate their vision of the world according to which they act. Constructivism highlights two fundamental concepts in interaction: identity and first encounters. During interaction between two actors, a socially constructed identity is shaped in a two-folded way: a 'self' and an 'other' (formulated as 'Ego' and 'Other' by Wendt) is formed. This links to the construction of an agent's partners and enemies. The first encounters in interaction are crucial: it lays the foundation as to how actors are positioned towards others. Moreover, constructivists assume that agents act towards other agents based on their relationship towards these other agents. Identities and actions of agents are not given, but the result of social interaction between agents (Wendt, 2009, p. 405-407). Wendt explains that identities are the basis for interests, as actors define their interests "in the process of defining situations" (1992, p. 398). The constructivist school of thought regards national interests to arise from a socially constructed world.

Regarding power politics, constructivists see power as a social construction. This concept of power goes against the materialist view of power that realists and liberals share. Indeed, Wendt develops an argument for showing that the core realist concept of 'power politics' is socially constructed. This means that power is not given by nature and can therefore be changed by human behaviour. One of the key assumptions of constructivism is that not only power politics, but also ideas, transform IR.

3.5 Propositions deriving from IR theories

The explanation of the theoretical framework has given a further understanding of how three IR theories, realism, liberalism, and constructivism, view international politics and state behaviour through different glasses. In order to analyse state motivations when providing foreign aid, the assumptions of each IR school of thought will be translated to propositions. The propositions will be based on each theoretical tradition and can be employed in the analysis to test which IR theory best explains state motivations in providing foreign aid.

Blatter & Blume have identified a set of conditions that propositions deriving from IR theories should be conformed to. Propositions should be centred on states, as states constitute

the units of analysis; they should engage in motivations behind state behaviour; they should have different explanatory power and they should be empirically observable. Another ideal condition is that at least two main theories should be opposed in order to formulate exclusive propositions (2008, p. 326-331). In this study not two, but three theories have been selected: that is, the two main IR theories (realism and liberalism) and, since humanitarian motivations are expected to be of importance in foreign aid, constructivism was selected as the third theory. Due to the limited scope of this thesis and to make the analysis feasible, a maximum of two propositions per school of thought was opted for.

3.5.1 Realist propositions

As stated before, the main assumptions of realism include the belief that the international political system has an anarchic structure, state-behaviour in terms of self-interest as a product of the self-help system, and power politics. With these assumptions, the realist tradition sets forth several predictions for state behaviour in IR.

Forthcoming with the realist assumptions it has been discussed that realism assumes that the anarchic structure of international politics results in a self-help system in which states aim at survival. Because of the security dilemma, national security is a fundamental element for realism. Realists consider, therefore, that all states aim at pursuing maximum national security in order to protect the state against threats from outside. Drawing on the literature review, it has resulted that national security is one of the political motives of states to provide foreign aid, for example to safeguard against terrorism or migration. Hence, connecting this notion to state motivations for foreign aid, the following realist (R) proposition can be derived:

(R1) STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO FOSTER THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF DONOR COUNTRIES.

Another key element of realism is ‘power politics’, referred to as the balance of power between states. Relative gains and power are crucial in international interactions due to the realist view of international politics as a ‘zero-sum game’. It is therefore significant that states gain influence, control, resources, and military capabilities. One way to increase influence is by developing political support from other states. Linking this to state motivations behind foreign aid allocations, it was shown that donor countries may give foreign assistance to a recipient

country in exchange for support in the international political sphere, for instance with elections for the UN Security Council. This results in the following proposition:

- (R2) STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ENHANCE THEIR POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER.

3.5.2 Liberal propositions

The liberal assumptions that were elaborated in section 3.3 show that it heavily emphasizes international cooperation, domestic state features and a definition of power as ‘complex interdependency’. This leads to several liberal predictions for state behaviour in IR.

The liberal tradition supposes that states will engage in international cooperation despite the anarchic international system. Due to the ‘shadow of the future’, state behaviour is influenced by long-term thinking. As liberals would put it, it is possible to invest in another state by providing financial assistance in order to generate a stable, long-term relationship with that state. Hence, liberals assume that economic interdependence may bring about less international conflict, as conflict would be detrimental for interstate relations since chances are high that both states lose consequently. As a result of pursuing absolute gains in international cooperation, trade and investments become more influential for state behaviour. In the literature review it was demonstrated that donors provide more foreign aid to recipients who import their capital goods, and that donors with investments in recipient countries acquire interests, while the latter can flourish their economy and social facilities. This leads to the first liberal (L) proposition:

- (L1) STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO PROMOTE TRADE AND INVESTMENTS BETWEEN DONOR COUNTRIES AND RECIPIENT COUNTRIES.

Liberalism considers international institutions to be powerful actors in the international sphere, for they decrease the uncertainty of other states’ behaviour. According to liberals, international institutions can set up international standards, rules, and obligations for states, for instance to solve collective action problems. One of these collective action problems is climate change, as it globally affects all states and cannot be solved by one single state. Liberals therefore see environmental issues as the responsibility of all states, which needs to be addressed via international collaboration. The literature review has shown the link between the environment and development aid. The UNCED stressed that states should include environmental

considerations in their foreign aid policies, and it has been called for a model that rewards developing states that take measures to improve the environment in exchange for foreign aid allocations by developed states. Therefore, the following proposition can be derived:

- (L2) STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO FOSTER THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIVES.

3.5.3. Constructivist propositions

As explained in section 3.4, constructivism emphasizes a socially constructed reality and intersubjective meaning, state behaviour that is culturally and historically constructed and power as a mental construction. These constructivist assumptions lead to predictions about how states behave and interact in international politics.

Constructivists consider it to be essential to take into account ideas, identities, norms and rules which are all socially constructed. These social forces are thought to influence state behaviour on the international level, including foreign policy considerations. International institutions put forth international standards in terms of norms and rules. Constructivists expect that these norms and rules have consequences for foreign policy behaviour of states. With regards to development aid, multiple international agreements have given developed states the obligation to provide foreign aid to developing states. This has created an external moral obligation for states, which can be enforced by international pressure. One specific category of international rules refers to humanitarian standards and norms, for example the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This leads to the subsequent constructivist (C) proposition:

- (C1) STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN STANDARDS.

Constructivism assumes that identity, norms, and culture can shape patterns of conflict and peace. Connecting this constructivist assumption to foreign aid, constructivists believe that the moral attitude of states, as well as the cultural and historical background of states, influence state motivations to provide financial assistance. The constructivist tradition believes that shifts in interstate relations can be explained by dynamic historical and cultural changes. This way, constructivists assume that the cultural and historical identity of states can influence state behaviour. As explained before, one of the possible state motivations to provide foreign aid is the colonial history between states. It was argued that due to this colonial history, ex-colonial

powers started having feelings of guilt towards their former colonies, and therefore injected financial assistance to foster development in these former colonies. Linking this motivation to constructivism, the next proposition can be developed:

(C2) STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO COMPENSATE FOR THEIR ACTS DURING COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter explores the research design of this qualitative study with a case study approach. First, the research design and research strategy will be discussed. Furthermore, the selection of the cases and theories will be elaborated upon. Next, a closer look will be taken at the operationalisation of the analysis and the data collection. Subsequently, attention will be paid to the validity and reliability of this research design.

4.1 Research design & strategy

According to Yin (2009, p. 4,7), a case study has the purpose of exploring a research situation extensively, in-depth and by itself through providing rich and detailed information. In this study, the ‘phenomenon’ or unit of analysis is foreign aid motivations with the specific case of two donor countries, Germany and the UK, in OACPS-EU development cooperation. Since this study is categorised as a small-N analysis, the selected research design is a case study. Blatter & Haverland have outlined two advantages of small N-studies: the opportunity to collect a wide range of observations for each case and the possibility to provide an in-depth study of the relationship between one empirical case and abstract theories (2012, p. 144). As the topic of this thesis concerns foreign aid motivations of two countries within one specific development cooperation framework, an in-depth case study is preferred for this research.

The empirical analysis will be structured in two consecutive phases. In the first phase, data will be collected from the selected documents by means of a discourse analysis, which is the method for data collection. The second phase employs the results thereof and incorporates these in a congruence analysis. Thereafter, conclusions can be drawn about which foreign aid motives have been leading for Germany and the UK in OACPS-EU development cooperation. The analysis will have the following outline:

PHASE 1	DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	METHOD FOR DATA COLLECTION
PHASE 2	CONGRUENCE ANALYSIS	OVERALL METHODOLOGY

4.1.1 Discourse analysis

In order to assess whether the theoretical assumptions hold, this research makes use of the method discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a qualitative research tradition that can be applied to many disciplines, amongst which social sciences, because of its emphasis on language in social and historical contexts. Although multiple approaches to discourse analysis exist, in this study it was chosen to carry out a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Huckin (1997) explains that CDA differs from other textual methods in multiple ways, to name a few: it is context-sensitive, concerned with important societal issues and highly integrated. The latter means that CDA tries to consolidate three levels of analysis: the text, the discursive practices, and the larger social context (p. 78-79). Figure 4 illustrates that the meaning of a text is derived from a discourse that forms part of a broader social context. The reason for the choice for CDA is that it puts emphasis on linking language to political, social, or cultural issues. As state motivations behind foreign aid are strongly related to these aspects, the method of CDA will be suitable for the empirical analysis of this study.

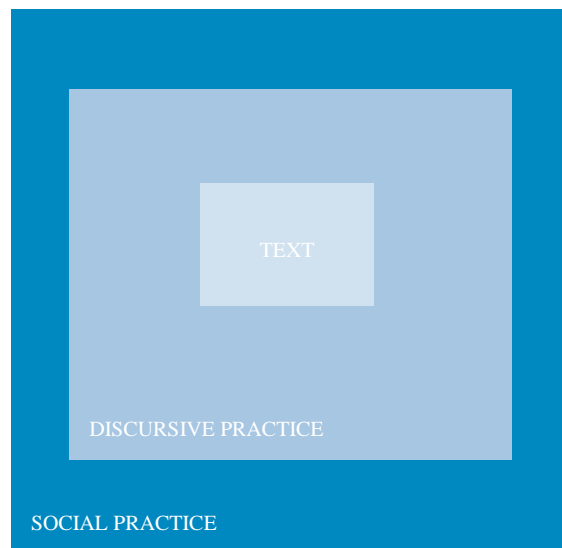


Figure 4. Three-dimensional conception of discourse (adapted from Fairclough, 1992).

CDA defines a ‘discourse’ as a set of “ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena” (Hajer, 2005, p. 300). This ensemble, that can be put into words in both oral speech as well as written text, reflects a certain view of the world: a discourse. CDA can therefore analyse speeches or texts, searching for the presence of one or more discourse(s). It can also compare several discourses within a series of spoken or written texts and find out which discourse is predominant by means of coding. A relevant aspect to take

into account when analysing texts is framing, which is defined as the way “the content of a text is presented, what sort of perspective [...] the writer is taking” (Huckin, 1992, p. 82). When it comes to manipulating a text, an author can make use of several techniques: visual aids, foregrounding (emphasizing a certain issue), backgrounding (de-emphasizing an issue), omission (omitting an issue from the text) and presupposition (presenting the issue as the truth while taking other ideas for granted). All these methods can be performed at the level of sentences or words (Huckin, 1992, p. 81-83).

Forming part of critical social studies, CDA connects discourses with social entities, such as institutions, identities, and power relations (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9). CDA is therefore suitable for analysing discourses in speeches and documents in the political domain. Within (international) politics, CDA puts emphasis on the way a political subject is described by an actor, as this shows the larger narrative of that actor. Hajer sets forth that “[l]anguage has the capacity to make politics, to create signs and symbols that can shift power-balances and impact on institutions and policymaking” (2005, p. 300). Hence, according to Hajer, a discourse can have impact on how a government’s policy is shaped. More specifically, CDA is able to address ideological characters in discourses and explain strategies of governments (Fairclough, 2012, p. 10). This ability of CDA makes it an applicable method for this analysis.

There are two methods of defining discourses: the first is to conduct a preliminary analysis that helps to find existing discourses in documents similar to the documents used in the empirical analysis. Another option is to create an overview of discourses by building on (theoretical) assumptions that were gathered based on the literature review and the theoretical framework. In this study the latter method is preferred. The theoretical assumptions have already been established in the previous chapter, based on the literature review. An overview of the discourses for the analysis will be explained more extensively in section 4.3.1b.

The discourse analysis will be carried out by means of a coding scheme, in which each discourse consists of a set of indicators. During the coding process, each time a part of the text of the selected document is considered to refer to a certain discourse, it will receive a point. Hence, by examining a text with indicators and calculating their frequency, the prevalence of a discourse can be determined and compared. After counting the scores of different documents, it will become clear which discourses are most dominant, and whether this has changed over

time. The consistency that these indicators provide enables a researcher to conduct research on multiple texts in a uniform way.

4.1.2 Congruence analysis

Within case study research, three main approaches can be distinguished: co-variational analysis, causal-process tracing and congruence analysis (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. xvi). Co-variational analysis studies whether an independent variable (X) and a dependent variable (Y) covariate, whereas causal-process tracing looks at how different causal mechanisms operate through time and space. The third approach, the congruence analysis, constitutes the research strategy for this thesis. Out of all types of qualitative approaches, this is the most theory-driven research design. In order to explain a particular case, several competing theories are tested and compared with each other. Blatter & Haverland point out that congruence analysis “[...] looks at the differences between theoretically deducted expectations and empirical evidence with the objective of testing which theory has most explanatory power” (2012, p. 145).

As described by Blatter & Blume (2008, p. 325), the result of a congruence analysis can have three outcomes: either it confirms the propositions, disconfirms the propositions, or is not related to the propositions of that specific theory. Table 3 provides a guideline for the congruence analysis.

TABLE 3. Congruence analysis guideline

Theoretical propositions	Empirical observation
STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO...	
1. Realism	
(R1) FOSTER THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF DONOR COUNTRIES.	Y/P/N
(R2) INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ENHANCE THEIR POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER.	Y/P/N
2. Liberalism	
(L1) PROMOTE TRADE AND INVESTMENT BETWEEN DONOR COUNTRIES AND RECIPIENT COUNTRIES.	Y/P/N
(L2) FOSTER THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIVES.	Y/P/N
3. Constructivism	
(C1) COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN STANDARDS.	Y/P/N
(C2) COMPENSATE FOR THEIR ACTS DURING COLONIAL HISTORY.	Y/P/N

Source: Author’s elaboration

Note: Y: yes (prediction confirmed); P: partial (prediction partially confirmed); N: no (prediction disconfirmed).

The choice for deciding when the empirical evidence (partially) confirms or disconfirms the theoretical propositions is based on the dominance of each discourse. If the presence of each of the six discourses were evenly distributed in all documents, each discourse would have a dominance of 16,67% (rounded up to 17%). In case the dominance of a discourse is higher than this percentage, it means that this narrative is relatively more prominent in that document than other narratives. Therefore, the empirical observations confirm the theoretical propositions if the dominance of a certain discourse is equal to, or higher than, 17%. In order to decide when the empirical evidence partially confirms a theoretical proposition, the highest percentage in that category must be lower than 17%. The lowest percentage is determined to be at least half of the evenly distributed presence, which is 8,33% (rounded off to 8%). The empirical observations partially confirm the theoretical propositions if the presence of a narrative is lower than 17% but higher than 8%. The empirical observations do not confirm the theoretical propositions if the dominance of a discourse is lower than 8%.

4.2 Selection of cases and theories

For the case study, two EU MS (Germany and the UK) will be taken into account in the context of the OACPS-EU development aid within the EDF framework between 1995 and 2017. This period is selected because it enables the researcher to study documents of three decades, and because both states were EU MS in these times. The highly international character of OACPS-EU development cooperation and the far-reaching global economic consequences shape the foundation of the case selection. The reason for this selection is that for a long time, Germany and the UK counted among the most powerful EU MS. Together with France they formed the Big Three in European Foreign Policy decision-making (Lehne, 2012). They also account for the largest economies: the GDP of Germany was US\$ 4.029 trillion; the UK's GDP was US\$ 2.80 trillion in 2018 (OECD, 2019). Furthermore, Germany and the UK were amongst the three largest European donor countries of the DAC and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). DAC functions as an international forum for 'venue and voice' of the major donor countries, in which the WB, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) function as observers (OECD, 2018). Table 4 shows different indicators of the aid volume of Germany and the UK in 2017. It also illustrates that Germany and the UK constitute the largest contributors to the EDF: in fact, both countries together make up more than one third of the total EU MS contributions.

TABLE 4. Development aid by Germany and the UK in 2017

Development aid by the UK and Germany in 2017			
Country	Total development aid	Percentage of GNI	Percentage of total 11 th EDF contributions
Germany	US\$ 24,68 billion	0.66	20.54
United Kingdom	US\$ 17,94 billion	0.70	14.33

Source: OECD 2018; OECD 2019.

Apart from the similarities, several differences between Germany and the UK can be identified. Regarding the OACPS-EU development cooperation, Germany was one of the founding Six of the EEC in 1963, while the UK acceded in 1973, ten years later than the first signatories. Furthermore, the extent to which a state is perceived to be a colonial power needs be taken into account. While the UK has been one of the most influential colonial powers together with France, Germany was much less so. It's crucial to emphasize that Germany played a role in colonialism as well, although it was a relatively smaller colonial power for two main reasons. First, where Germany only had settlement in one colony (Namibia), its British counterpart had settlement in many colonies. Moreover, the period of colonialism is shorter: where the British Empire ruled for more than a century, German colonialism is characterised by only several decades. This is supported by the number of British and German former colonies that nowadays form the OACP: most participating countries are a British former colony or protectorate, while Germany only colonised and settled in Namibia. During other attempts to conquer territories, Germany often had to acknowledge the superiority of its British and French counterparts. Although this is a broad view on German and British colonialism, it still paints an image of the extent in which Germany and the UK are considered to be colonial powers.

Concerning the selection of the theories, a pluralist theoretical framework was chosen. Conducting an analysis with a pluralist theoretical framework has many advantages. One of the advantages is the 'three-cornered fight', which includes a theory, a rival theory, and a set of empirical observations (Hall, 2006, p. 27). Moreover, using a set of theories is helpful for theory specification, as observations from empirical reality can be compared to several theories. Hall explains that "the crucial point is that the investigator should approach the case, not only with a principal theory, but with it and one or more other theories that could plausibly be adduced to explain the outcome" (idem, p. 27). It is also helpful to avoid strong confirmation bias when searching for information and it makes a conclusion more convincing. Finally, there is an increased chance that potentially relevant information gets lost, since it is not connected to any theory (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 161-163).

More specifically, the choice for the three specific theories needs to be outlined. The two cornerstone mainstream IR theories (realism and liberalism) are included in the research design because of their vast explanatory leverage when researching state behaviour. This is relevant, since this thesis studies state motivations within a development cooperation which can be seen as an act of state behaviour. As these two main theories are not able to explain all phenomena, one critical theory (constructivism) was added for a more complete analysis. Constructivism was selected because of the additional value it may offer to this specific analysis due to the expected importance of moral and humanitarian state motivations. Finally, in order to give an accurate and complete picture of the factors involved in state motivations, it was chosen to combine theories with different epistemological and ontological backgrounds. Whereas realism has an objectivist and holistic view, liberalism provides an objectivistic and individualist view, and constructivism contains an interpretivist and holistic view. The diversity in theoretical backgrounds broadens the lenses through which this thesis' theoretical framework will look at the empirical study.

4.3 Operationalisation and data collection

4.3.1 Operationalisation

The theoretical propositions as established in the previous chapter need to be operationalised before using them for the empirical analysis. In order to do so, Table 5 presents an overview of the discourses that are built on the theoretical propositions, including the relevant concepts of each discourse. The conceptualisation of the discourses will be discussed following the table. As the first selected document of Germany is written in German, a German version of this table can be found in Appendix B.

TABLE 5. Overview of discourses

Discourses	Keywords	Problem definition	Solution definition
(R1) National security	Security Political stability Conflict Threat Terrorism Migration	States need to prevent threats from outside to maximise national security.	Providing foreign aid can safeguard national security.
(R2) Political support	Support Influence Balance of power Membership Presidency Seat	States need support to maintain their position in the international balance of power.	Providing foreign aid can increase political support.
(L1) Trade, investment	Trade Investment Economic growth Business Market Natural resources	States need trade and investments for long-term cooperation with other states.	Providing foreign aid can promote trade and investment, which increase international cooperation.
(L2) Environmental objectives	Environment Climate Biodiversity Sustainability Degradation Emissions	States need international environmental objectives to solve collective action problems.	Providing foreign aid can foster the achievement of environmental objectives.
(C1) International humanitarian standards	Human development Poverty Education Health care Good governance Gender equality Human rights	States need to, because of external pressure, comply to international humanitarian standards.	Providing foreign aid can drive states to comply with international humanitarian standards.
(C2) Colonial history	Colonial history Colonialism Independence Historical ties Post-colonial Compensation	States need to, because of an internal moral conviction, compensate for their acts during colonial history.	Providing foreign aid can compensate for the acts of a former colonising state during colonial times.

Table 5 includes several keywords for each discourse. The ‘problem definition’ and ‘solution definition’ show the larger narrative of each discourse which can also be recognised in a text. These keywords and narratives are the indicators that will be searched for in the documents. Each time a part of the text is considered to refer to a discourse, it will receive a point. By adding up these scores and calculating their frequency, the prevalence of each discourse can be determined. In some cases, a keyword may overlap between discourses, for example circular economy could refer to both the trade and investment discourse and the environmental discourse. For the coding table this means that such keyword gives a point to both discourses.

The national security discourse represents the state’s aim for maximising security to safeguard against threats from outside. As migration and terrorism have constituted essential aspects in the national security discourse since this century, it will be valuable to see the comparison between the documents that were issued pre- and post-9/11. Moving on to the political support discourse, it addresses the state’s influence in the international political sphere. As a part of this discourse, states aim at increasing their position in the international balance of power. This could, for example, be achieved by reforming the system of permanent seats in the UN Security Council. References thereto will be linked to the political support discourse.

Next, the trade and investment discourse sees foreign aid as a means to promote trade and investments in order to achieve long-term cooperation with other states. All associations with regards to economic interdependence will thus be connected to this discourse. The fourth discourse, the environmental objectives discourse, shows that states emphasize environmental challenges in their foreign policy strategies. It also includes references to international agreements and conferences by intergovernmental bodies, such as the UNCED.

The international humanitarian standards discourse is centred around the moral belief that states should comply with these standards. Many of the indicators for this discourse are linked to human development, such as poverty, access to education, health care and good governance. Lastly, the colonial history discourse refers to the colonial ties between the former colonising state (often the donor country) and the former colony (often the receiving country). Colonial history was one of the major reasons for states to participate in the OACPS-EU development cooperation in the 1970s. Yet, as the selected documents for the analysis were issued more than twenty years later than the start of the OACPS-EU programme, the influence of this argument is expected to have decreased.

4.3.2 Data collection

Since the governments of Germany and the UK have not published strategic policy papers on the specific topic of the OACPS-EU development cooperation, national policy papers of their respective governments concerning development cooperation in general will be discussed. Due to the importance of OACPS-EU development cooperation, the national policy papers are considered to be applicable to the OACPS-EU framework. This is based on a traditional assumption about how states determine the allocation of development aid. Aldasoro and Pérez (2020) argue that a more contemporary assumption is that a single donor allocates development aid to different recipients, on different levels, for different reasons (p. 181). The documents that will form part of the analysis are listed in Table 6. All documents were either retrieved from the online national archives of the governments of Germany and the UK or requested at the respective government. After the table, each selected document will be briefly explained and the choice for each document will be justified.

TABLE 6. Selection of documents for the empirical analysis

Year	Institution	Document title
1995	BMZ (Germany)	The German Government's 10 th Development Policy Report: 'Zehnter Bericht zur Entwicklungspolitik der Bundesregierung'
1997	DFID (UK)	White Paper on International Development: 'Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21 st Century'
2008	BMZ (Germany)	The German Government's 13 th Development Policy Report: 'Towards One World. Development Policy White Paper'
2009	DFID (UK)	White Paper on International Development: 'Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future'
2015	DFID (UK)	'UK aid: tackling global challenges in the national interest'
2017	BMZ (Germany)	The German Government's 15 th Development Policy Report: 'Development Policy as Future-Oriented Peace Policy'

Source: Author's elaboration

All the selected German documents belong to the series of the German government's Development Policy Reports. These reports are published by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, known as the *Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung* (BMZ) in German. The aim of BMZ is to promote economic development by fostering international cooperation and partnerships between Germany and

other states. Every few years, the German government publishes a Development Policy Report. In order to analyse the evolution of German development policies, one report per decade was selected, also bearing in mind the years of publication of the British documents. As a result of this, the first German government's Development Policy Report that was selected is not available in English, for only the reports issued after the 11th edition are available in English. Each of the selected documents describes the current and future challenges in the world and extensively elaborates on the government's strategies for international development, including multiple highlighted topics.

Instead of publishing a report on international development every few years as part of a series, the British government has published many thematic strategy papers. Due to the limited scope of these strategy papers (e.g., the 'National Security Strategy' of 2010, or the 'Economic Development Strategy' of 2019), these documents were not found to be useful for the empirical analysis which studies the government's development policy in the broad sense. Nonetheless, the UK government has also published several whitepapers and strategy papers that address development policies with a broader scope. The selected documents are published by the former Department for International Development (DFID) of the UK. The former DFID was the department of the UK government responsible for the administration of overseas aid. It is currently known as the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) after the merge of the DFID with the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) in September 2020. The first selected document is a whitepaper on international development, 'Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century', published in November 1997. This paper sets forth the government's new approach to international development. Although the title may suggest differently, this whitepaper does not merely concern poverty reduction policies, instead it gives a more holistic view of the government's approach to international development. The second document, 'Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future', is also a whitepaper on international development. It was published in July 2009 and describes the government's policy response to the, at that time, arising global challenges regarding international development. Similar to the first document, this whitepaper draws special attention to poverty while also covering other development policies. The third selected document is the strategy paper 'UK aid: tackling global challenges in the national interest', published in November 2015. In this strategy paper the strategic objectives in international development aid are shaped.

4.4 Validity and reliability

4.4.1 Validity

Validity, as stated by Blatter & Haverland, is achieved when “the (predicted) observations express the meaning of the abstract conceptualization in an accurate manner” (2012, p. 166). Two types of validity need to be distinguished: internal and external validity.

Internal validity concerns the extent to which causal relationships can be established, considering that they are not influenced by other factors. It also involves concept validity, which is the relationship between concepts and their measurement. In congruence analysis, internal validity is assured through the competition between theories, since it assures that factors can be attached to mutually exclusive categories. A second means of increasing internal validity in congruence analysis is vertical control, referring to the level of theoretical abstraction (2012, p. 155-156). Vertical control is attained with the deduction of propositions from theories and the congruence of predictions with empirical observations. In the analysis, the theoretical propositions will be tested with empirical reality to check for this congruence.

External validity refers to the degree that the findings of the study can be generalised. Case studies usually present a trade-off between the full-focus one case and the possibility to generalise the findings. Blatter & Blume explain that there is no such trade-off in congruence analysis, since congruence analysis emphasizes the thickness of case studies (2008, p. 350). Thickness is “the number and diversity of observations which are conducted within a case, and the intensity with which the researcher reflects on the relationship between the empirical observation and the theoretical references” (idem, p. 348). This position differs from Gerring’s concept of a case study, defining it as an intensive study of one case with, at least partly, the objective to generalise to a larger population (2007, p. 20). In congruence analysis, external validity is understood as drawing inferences from concrete empirical phenomena to abstract theories or paradigms. This will be taken into account in the research, as the empirical data from the discourse analysis will be compared to the theoretical propositions. External validity is increased by horizontal control, meaning that there should be a higher level of theoretical congruence for one theory than for the other(s), and that this theory predicts empirical aspects more correctly. After the analysis, conclusions will be drawn concerning the degree in which each theory is confirmed by the empirical evidence. As in this thesis two different countries are analysed, it is possible that these cases lead to different conclusions.

4.4.2 Reliability

Reliability is referred to as the extent to which an analysis is consistent and repeatable, meaning that a study keeps leading to the same result when carried out by different researchers (Kellstedt & Whitten, 2018, p. 92). It is therefore crucial to conduct research with a systematic approach and at the same time provide the possibility for repetition of the same analysis (Berg, 2004, p. 9). Blatter & Haverland explain that in congruence analysis, reliability is safeguarded by means of formulating theoretical propositions prior to conducting the empirical research (2012, p. 161). Levy adds that these theoretical assumptions are required to be explicitly mentioned, and the choice for the applied theories needs to be elaborated upon (2008, p. 5). With regards to the measurement problem, the theoretical predictions and observations of the congruence analysis are not transferred to metric measures or indicators. Blatter & Haverland mention that concept validity is the main way of assuring that observations correspond to abstract conceptualisation (2012, p. 166). All discourses with keywords were elaborated in the operationalisation. The reliability of the operationalisation can be assured by the overview of discourses and the coding table that will be used for the empirical analysis.

One of the main criticisms of case studies is the researcher's bias regarding the verification of the theoretical expectations. According to Blatter & Blume, objectivity in congruence analysis can be assured because of horizontal control. Since competing theories are put next to each other, they have different theoretical expectations. These differences function as controlling factors for the other assumptions, guaranteeing objectivity. Each of the propositions can be (partially) confirmed or disconfirmed by transposing them over empirical reality. The analysis therefore needs to include an explicit explanation of whether the theoretical propositions are (dis)confirmed (2008, p. 325).

CHAPTER 5 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the outcomes of the empirical analysis. The first phase of the analysis consists of the results of the discourse analysis, which are covered in section 5.1 (Germany) and 5.2 (the UK). In section 5.3 the congruence analysis will be carried out.

5.1 Discourse analysis of the selected documents of Germany

The following section presents the analysis of the selected policy documents of Germany, all published by BMZ. Table 7 shows which cycles the policy reports belong to:

TABLE 7. Selection of documents for the empirical analysis of Germany

Year	Institution	Document title
1995	BMZ (Germany)	The German Government's 10 th Development Policy Report: 'Zehnter Bericht zur Entwicklungspolitik der Bundesregierung'
2008	BMZ (Germany)	The German Government's 13 th Development Policy Report: 'Towards One World. Development Policy White Paper'
2017	BMZ (Germany)	The German Government's 15 th Development Policy Report: 'Development Policy as Future-Oriented Peace Policy'

Source: Author's elaboration

5.1.1. The German Government's 10th Development Policy Report (1995)

As Figure 5 demonstrates, the international humanitarian standards discourse is the most salient narrative (42%) in this report. This report argues that international development is a shared responsibility of both developed and developing countries: "Das Bewußtsein, daß sich globale Probleme wie Armut und Unterentwicklung, Bedrohung der Umwelt, Bevölkerungswachstum und seine Folgen letztlich nur im Rahmen der Völkergemeinschaft lösen lassen, wächst weltweit" (p. 114). According to this report, the German government sees 'self-help' as the foundation of international development: "Die primäre Verantwortung für die eigene Entwicklung liegt bei den EL und ihren Regierungen selbst. Ihr Wille, sich selbst zu helfen und geeignete politische, ökonomische und soziale Rahmenbedingungen herzustellen, ist unabdingbare Voraussetzung für Entwicklungserfolge" (1995, p. 47).



Figure 5. Discourses in The German Government's 10th Development Policy Report (1995)

Figure 6 shows that most references in the national security discourse are linked to the prevention and reduction of 'migration' (49%): "Oberziel der flüchtlingsbezogenen entwicklungspolitischen Zusammenarbeit ist es, gemeinsam mit den Partnerländern und in enger Koordination mit anderen bilateralen und multilateralen Gebern die Ursachen und die negativen Folgen von Flucht und Migration zu vermeiden oder zu mildern" (p. 67).

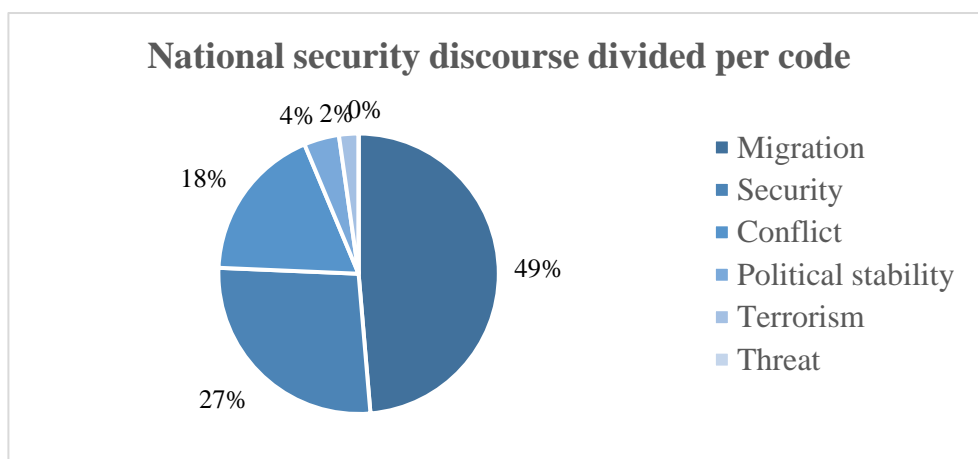


Figure 6. National security discourse divided per code

The political support discourse contains most references to 'influence' (29%), 'support' (29%) and 'presidency' (20%), see Figure 7. The 'influence' of the German government is connected to its influential position in the EU (p. 117). Regarding 'presidency', the German presidencies of the EU in 1994 and the UN Rio Conference are emphasized (p. 42; p. 125).

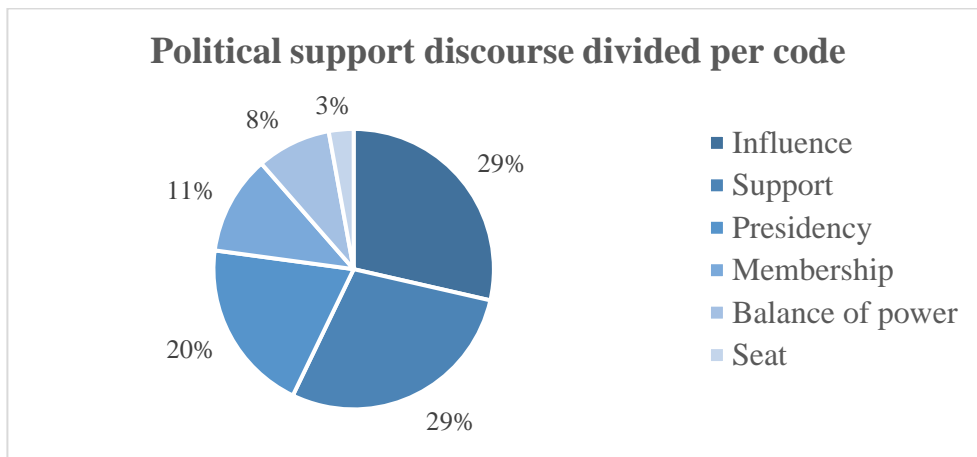


Figure 7. Political support discourse divided per code

The trade and investment discourse mostly addresses ‘economic growth’ (44%), see Figure 8. The German government fosters economic growth by creating a dialogue on the bilateral and multilateral level: “Die Bundesregierung hat den Reformprozeß vieler Entwicklungsländer hin zu marktwirtschaftlichen Wirtschaftsordnungen und privat-wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung durch eine Verstärkung des Dialogs mit den Partnerländern” (1995, p. 95).

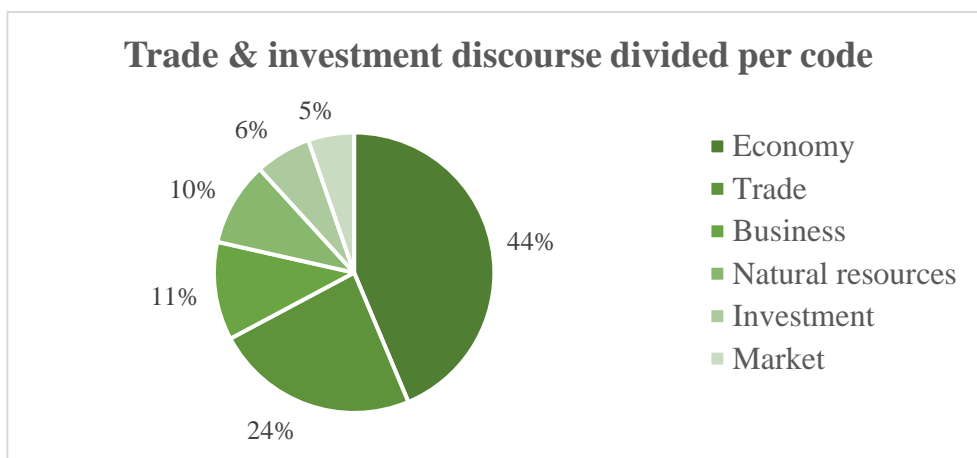


Figure 8. Trade and investment discourse divided per code

The environmental objectives discourse is dominated by ‘environment’ (44%) and ‘climate’ (41%), as shown in Figure 9. This report sets forth that the German government aims at global action for a worldwide environmental partnership: Für die globalen Umweltprobleme tragen hochindustrialisierte Länder wie Deutschland eine doppelte Verantwortung: Sie sind zum einen überproportional große Verursacher von Umweltbelastungen; zum anderen sind ihre bislang nicht nachhaltige Wirtschaftsweise und Lebensformen zu einem universalen Entwicklungsmodell geworden” (p. 1995, p. 25).

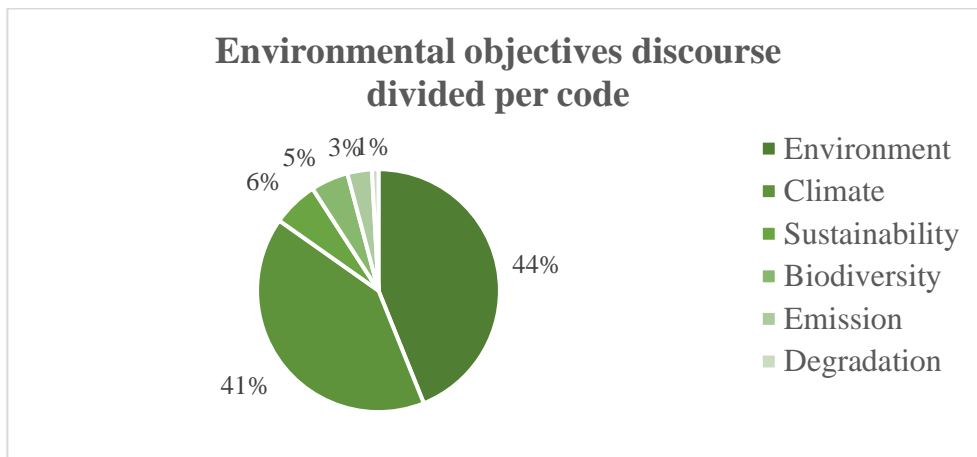


Figure 9. Environmental objectives discourse divided per code

The international humanitarian standards discourse is mostly focused on ‘human development’ (29%) and ‘poverty’ (21%), see Figure 10, describing poverty as a global risk that threatens the future of humanity and calling for multilateral action (1995, p. 14): “[...] daß die Armutsbekämpfung ein zentrales Ziel der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit sein muß, wobei an den Ursachen der Armut anzusetzen ist. Gefordert wird ein multifunktionaler Förderansatz, insbesondere zur Unterstützung des demokratischen Aufbaus, zur Sicherstellung von Partizipation und unter Berücksichtigung der besonderen Rolle der Frau” (1995, p. 120).

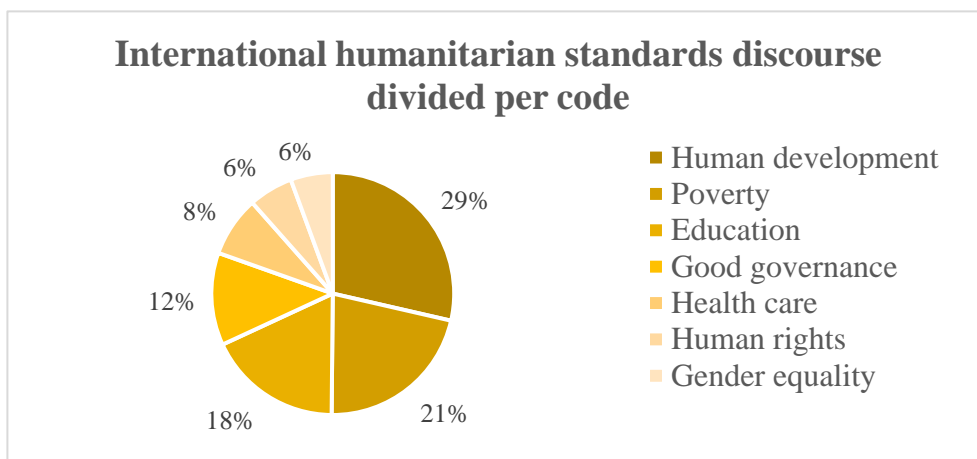


Figure 10. International humanitarian standards discourse divided per code

This report contains only three references to the colonial history discourse. There is one reference to Germany’s historical ties with developing countries: “Das so historisch gewachsene und durch den Ausbau der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit gepflegte gute Verhältnis der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu nahezu allen Staaten der Dritten Welt soll auch nach der Beendigung des Kalten Krieges nicht durch eine drastische Reduzierung der Zahl der Partnerländer gefährdet werden” (p. 54).

5.1.2. The German Government's 13th Development Policy Report (2008)

Figure 11 illustrates that the international human standards discourse is the predominant narrative (43%) in this report (2008). This report sets forth that global challenges can only be dealt with on an international level. Therefore, “Germany bases its development policy on international agreements and commitments, particularly the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals” (p. 12). According to this report, cooperation is essential, and Germany aligns its policy with international institutions (p. 126). This links to the international standards that are put forth by international institutions and agreements, creating a moral obligation for states that can be enforced by international pressure.



Figure 11. Discourses in The German Government's 13th Development Policy Report (2008)

Figure 12 shows that the national security discourse is dominated by ‘security’. The promotion of peace is linked to international humanitarian standards: “Promoting democracy and good governance is a guiding principle in German development cooperation” (p. 90). There is only one reference to terrorism, although it was published after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

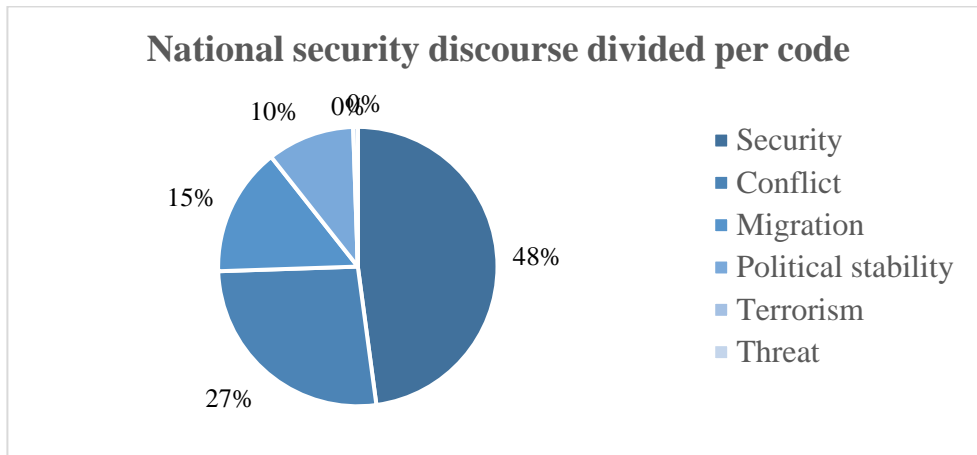


Figure 12. National security discourse divided per code

Figure 13 shows that ‘influence’ (29%), ‘support’ (29%), ‘presidency’ (18%) are the most salient terms of the political support discourse. The report contains many references to the German presidency of the EU in 2007. It shows that Germany has tried to steer European development policy: “During its Presidency of the G8 and the EU in 2007, Germany made climate change one of its key priorities” (p. 65).

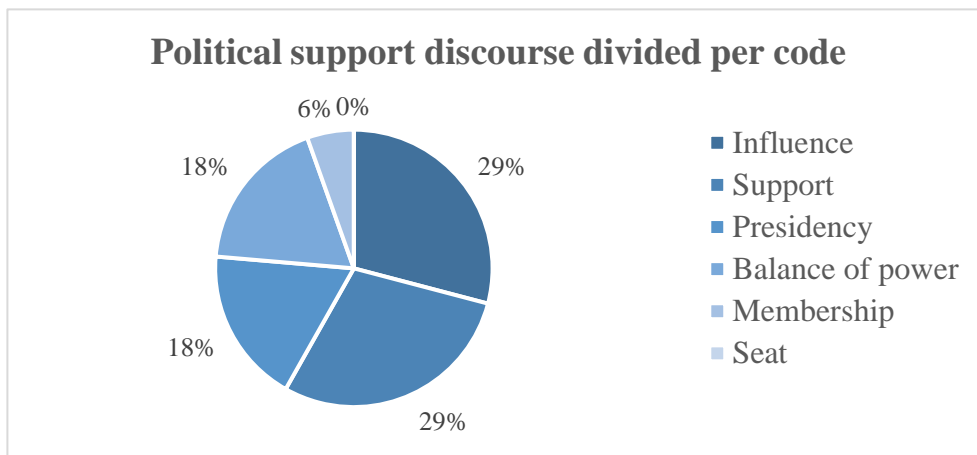


Figure 13. Political support discourse divided per code

Figure 14 shows that ‘economic growth’ (40%) is most dominant in the trade and investment discourse. Germany wants to foster economic growth in developing countries by changing international rules: “Trade and investment can benefit everyone if the right framework conditions are in place. Germany is actively participating in developing international rules so that the conditions can be created to promote equitable forms of globalisation” (p. 15).

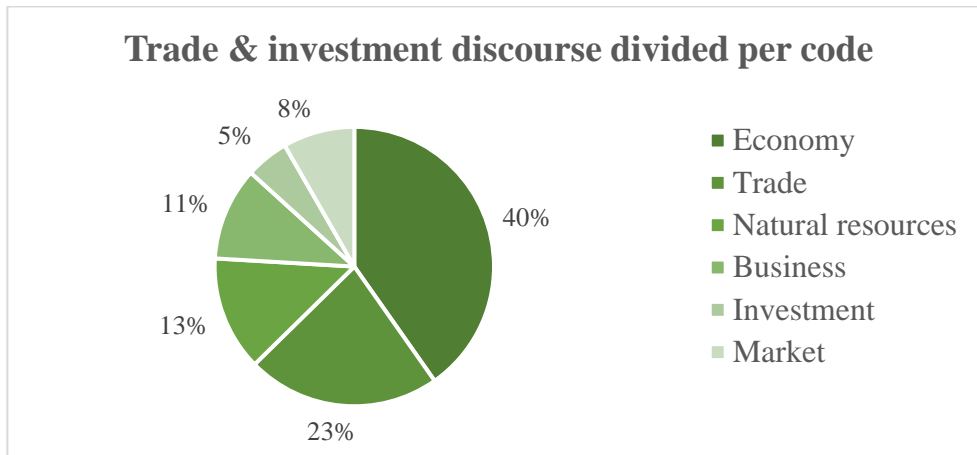


Figure 14. Trade and investment discourse divided per code

The environmental objectives narrative emphasizes ‘climate’ (59%), as Figure 15 illustrates. Germany sets forth that it takes a leading role in the mitigation and adaptation of climate change, together with the EU: “Germany and Europe are playing a lead role in efforts to combat climate change. The German government is also pressing at international level for radical cuts in greenhouse gas emissions and for the developing countries to be given the support they need to adapt to climate change” (p. 64).

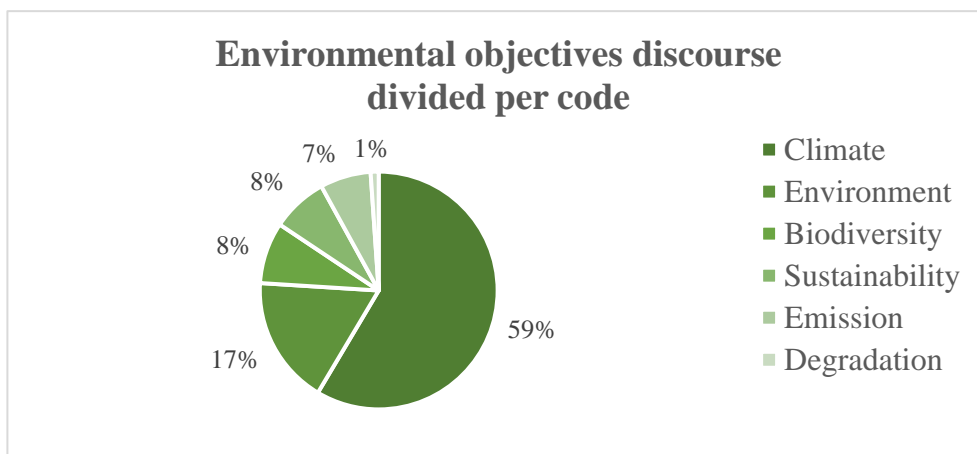


Figure 15. Environmental objectives discourse divided per code

This report strongly focuses on all aspects of the international humanitarian standards narrative (see Figure 16), amongst which human rights: “the German government adopted the human rights approach in German development policy. This means gearing the development policy agenda and objectives systematically towards human rights standards: in other words, mainstreaming human rights” (p. 96).

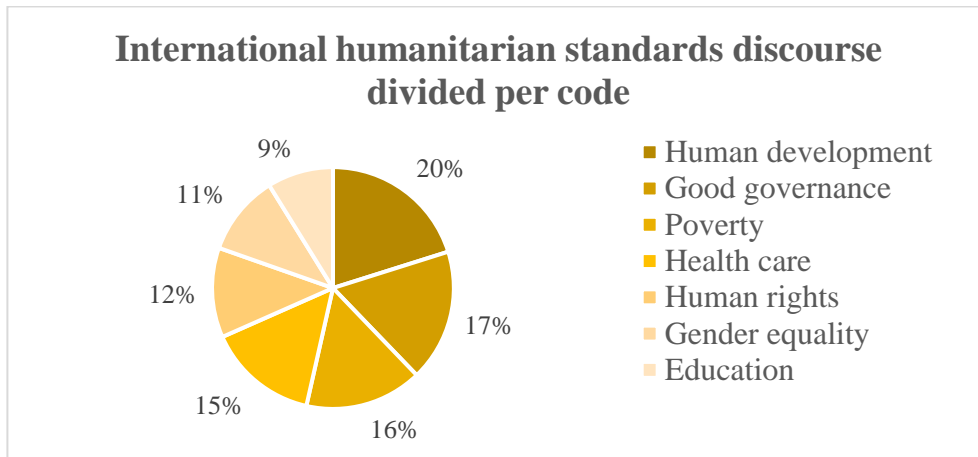


Figure 16. International humanitarian standards discourse divided per code

As this report does not contain any references to the colonial history narrative, the division of codes of this discourse will not be elaborated further.

5.1.3. The German Government's 15th Development Policy Report (2017)

As shown in Figure 17, the international humanitarian standards discourse is the most salient discourse (33%) in this report (2017). According to the report, the number of 21st century challenges that need international cooperation is increasing: “There is a growing awareness worldwide that the major issues of human development and environmental and climate challenges require collective action from the international community” (p. 22). This report states that the BMZ adjusts its development policy according to international standards: “The German Government is working to ensure that new relevant EU strategy documents are aligned to the 2030 Agenda so that it serves as a roadmap for all EU policy areas” (p. 70).

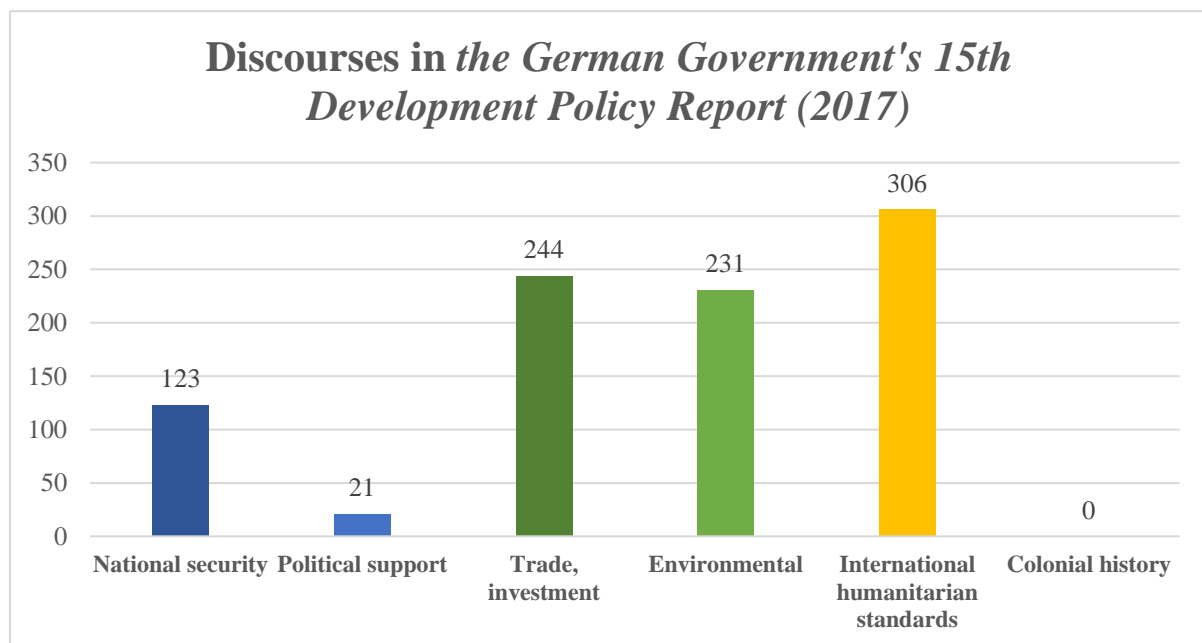


Figure 17. Discourses in the German Government's 15th Development Policy Report (2017)

Figure 18 shows that ‘security’ (28%) and ‘migration’ (28%) are most prominent in the national security discourse. According to this report, development cooperation is crucial in conflict-affected countries (p. 34). It also states that Germany “is willing to take on more responsibility for peace, and development cooperation will play an important role in this context” (p. 46).

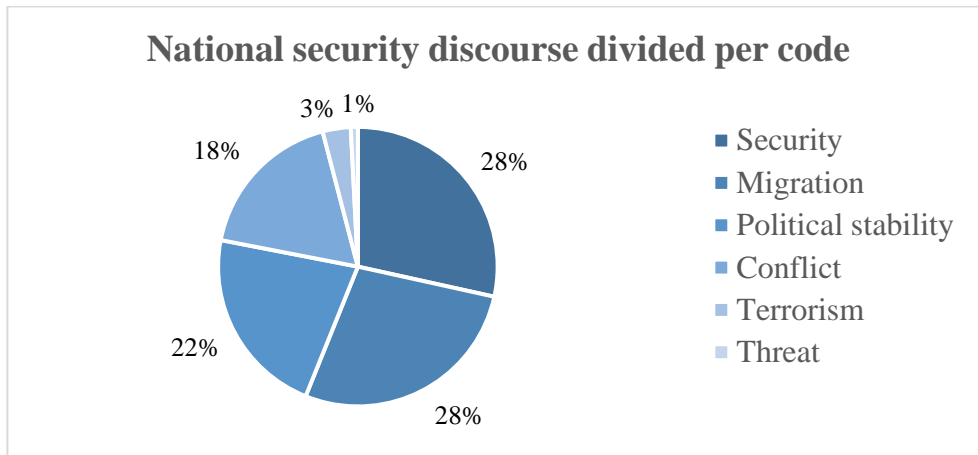


Figure 18. National security discourse divided per code

The political support discourse contains many references to the ‘influence’ of Germany (43%, see Figure 19), mostly in the environmental field. Another prominent aspect is ‘presidency’ (24%). From July 2014 until December 2015, Germany assumed the G7 Presidency: “During its G7 Presidency, the German Government gave prominence to the issue of sustainable global supply chains and adopted a number of key decisions in this context” (p. 57).

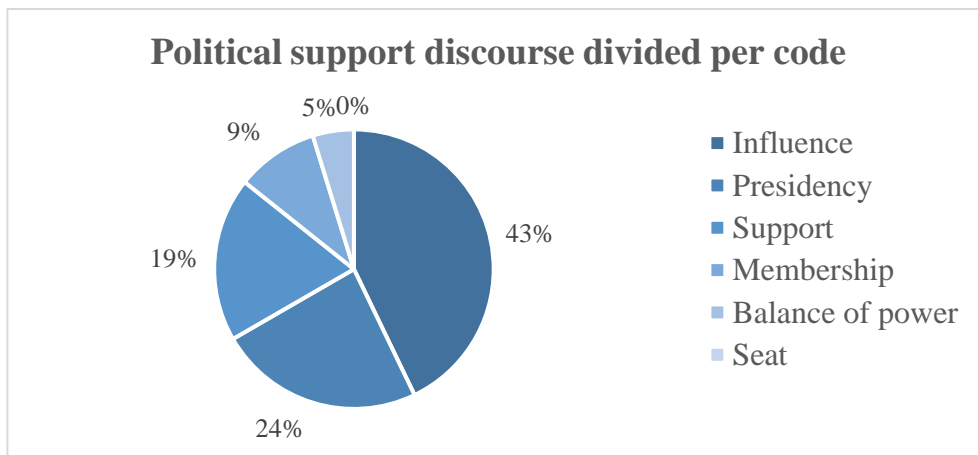


Figure 19. Political support discourse divided per code

Regarding the trade and investment discourse, Figure 20 shows the emphasis on ‘economy’, which is linked to the international humanitarian standards. This report states that “German development policy therefore focuses on promoting inclusive employment, with an emphasis on social and human rights standards and the economic empowerment of women” (p. 28).

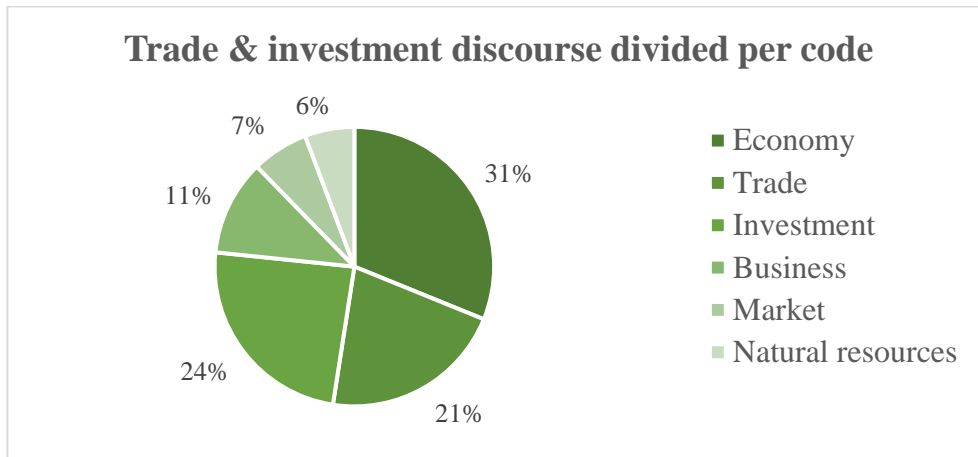


Figure 20. Trade and investment discourse divided per code

Figure 21 shows that ‘climate’ (46%) is the main reference of the environmental objectives discourse. This report sets forth that “climate change and competing forms of land use require international solutions and the formation of alliances with other donors” (p. 40).

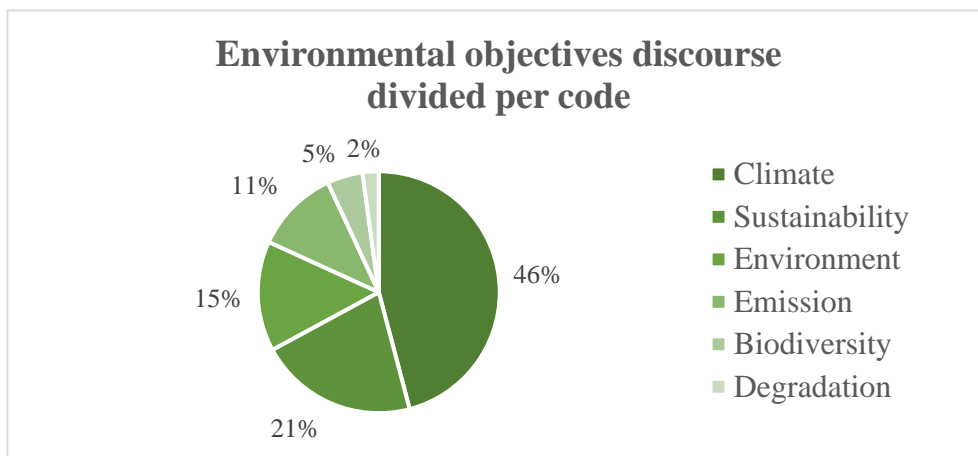


Figure 21. Environmental objectives discourse divided per code

The international humanitarian standards category mostly stresses human development topics such as providing access to food and water, combating extreme inequality, and strengthening inclusion. According to this report, “[t]he promotion of good governance, human rights and democracy are goals of Germany’s value-based development policy” (p. 49).

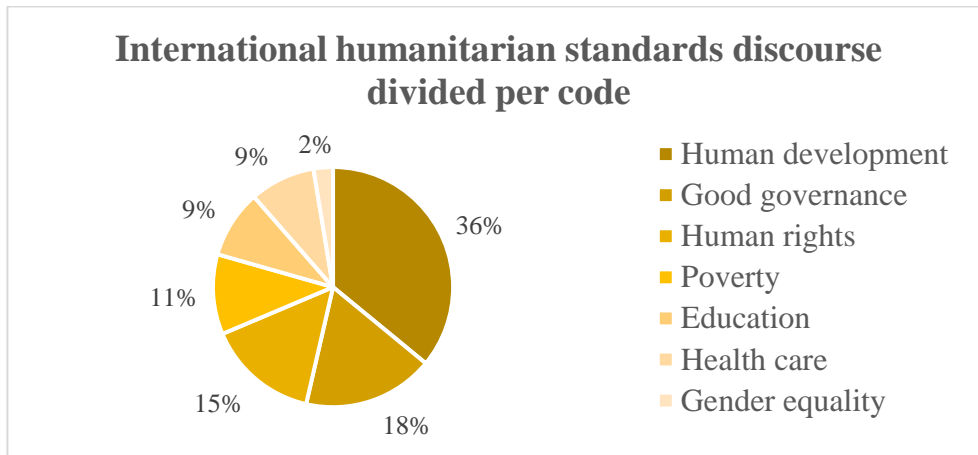


Figure 22. International humanitarian standards discourse divided per code

Since this report does not contain any references to the colonial history discourse, there will be no elaboration on the division of codes of this narrative.

5.2 Discourse analysis of the selected documents of the UK

In this section, the policy documents that were selected for the UK will be discussed. All documents were published by the same institution, DFID, as can be seen in Table 8:

TABLE 8. Selection of documents for the empirical analysis of the UK

Year	Institution	Document title
1997	DFID (UK)	White Paper on International Development: ‘Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21 st Century’
2009	DFID (UK)	White Paper on International Development: ‘Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future’
2015	DFID (UK)	‘UK aid: tackling global challenges in the national interest’

Source: Author’s elaboration

5.2.1. White Paper on International Development (1997)

Figure 23 illustrates that the international humanitarian standards discourse is the most predominant narrative (39%) in this White Paper. It sets forth that the elimination of poverty is the main challenge in international development, stating that the UK government will refocus its development efforts towards this specific target. The motivation of this policy is linked to the internal moral obligation of states: “Every generation has had a moral duty to reach out to the poor and needy and to try to create a more just world” (1997, p. 16).

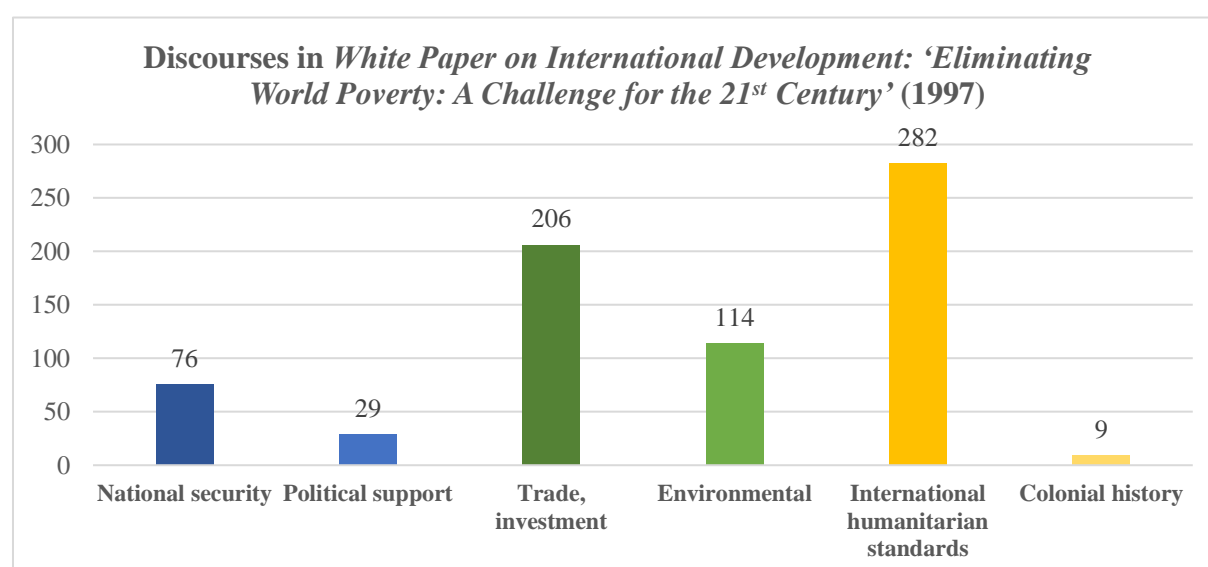


Figure 23. Discourses in White Paper on International Development (1997)

Figure 24 shows that the security discourse contains many references to ‘security’ (39%) and ‘conflict’ (37%), while there were almost no references to ‘migration’ and none to ‘terrorism’. Yet, the White Paper argues that “[t]he promotion of a peaceful and stable world is a key element of British international policy” (1997, p. 67).

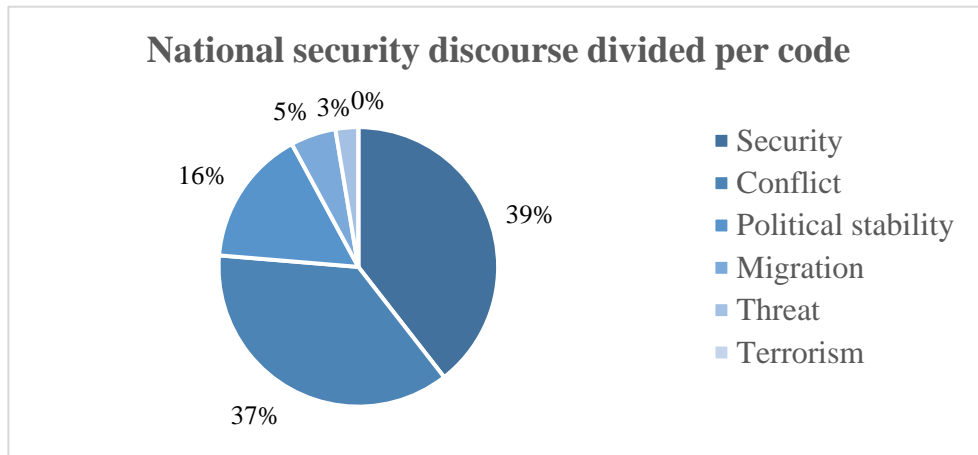


Figure 24. National security discourse divided per code

Figure 25 demonstrates that 52% of the references to the political support narrative is related to ‘influence’. This White Paper states that the UK will “use our influence to help mobilise the political will to achieve the international development targets” (1997, p. 22). This is sometimes linked to the membership of an international institution: “We will use our influence in Europe, in particular during our Presidency in the first half of 1998 [...]” (1997, p. 36).

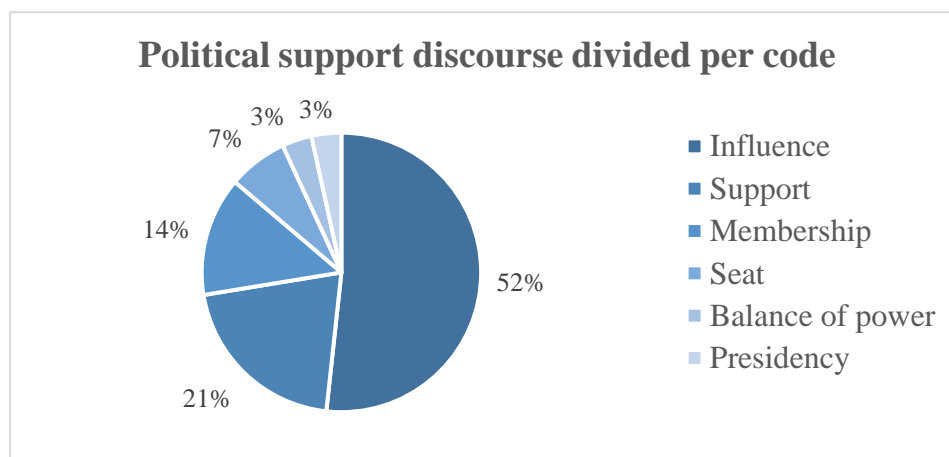


Figure 25. Political support discourse divided per code

Many references in the trade and investment discourse concern ‘trade’ (28%) and ‘investment’ (29%), see Figure 26. According to this White Paper, “[t]rade and investment are crucial to

poverty elimination” (1997, p. 58). This White Paper also states that the UK government will support British businesses in their efforts to cooperate internationally.

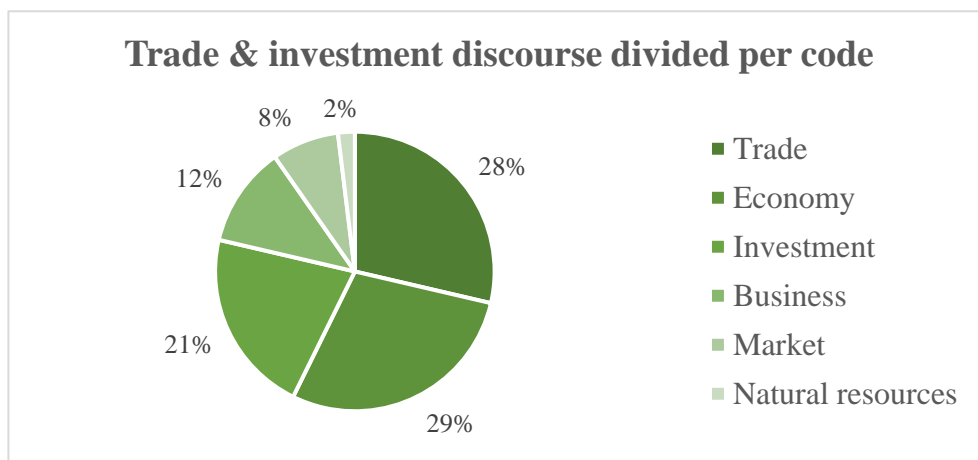


Figure 26. Trade and investment discourse divided per code

As shown in Figure 27, ‘sustainability’ (42%) and ‘environment’ (39%) constitute the majority of all references to the environmental objectives discourse. This White Paper states that “[c]onservation and sustainable management of the environment is a cornerstone of our approach to international development” (1997, p. 50-51).

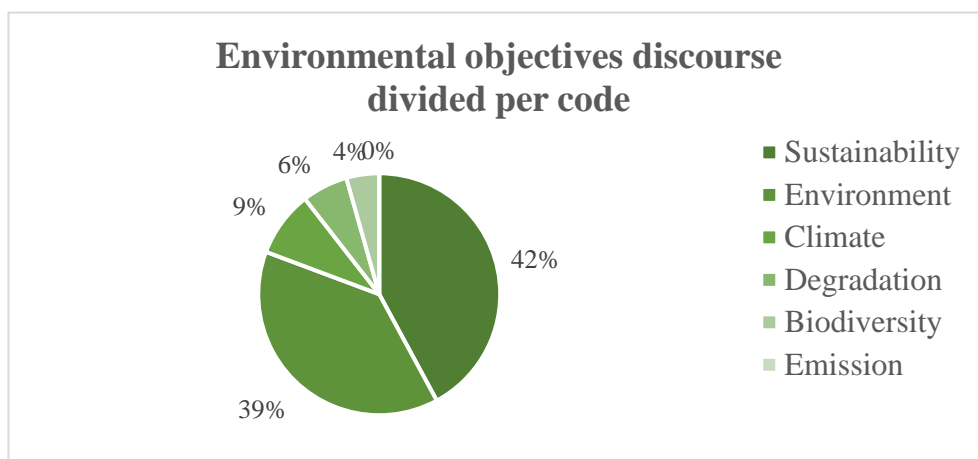


Figure 27. Environmental objectives discourse divided per code

Figure 28 shows that ‘poverty’ constitutes half of all references to the international humanitarian standards discourse. The White Paper sets forth that globalisation has enforced extreme poverty of a large proportion of the world’s population and that the basic needs of the poorest people in the poorest countries need to be addressed.

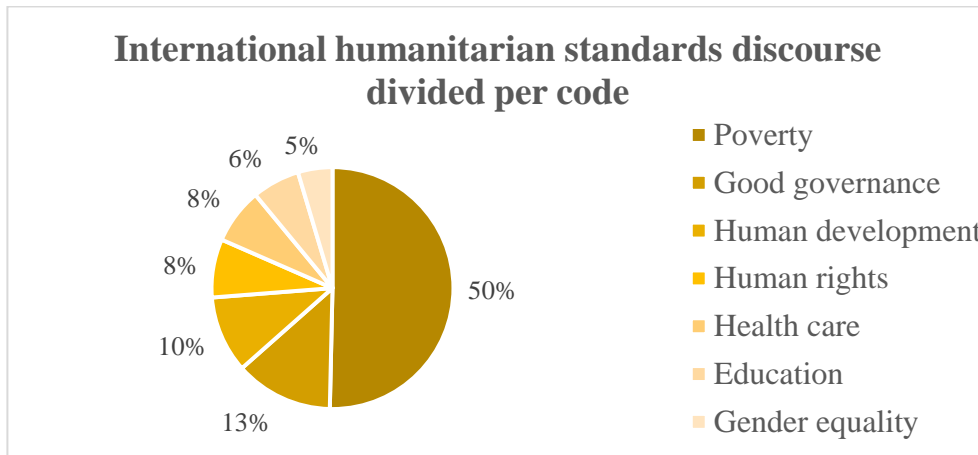


Figure 28. International humanitarian standards discourse divided per code

There were some references to ‘historical ties’ and ‘independence’, see Figure 29. This White Paper mentions that “[a] key challenge was to manage the transition from colonial empires to a world characterised by independent states” (1997, p. 8).

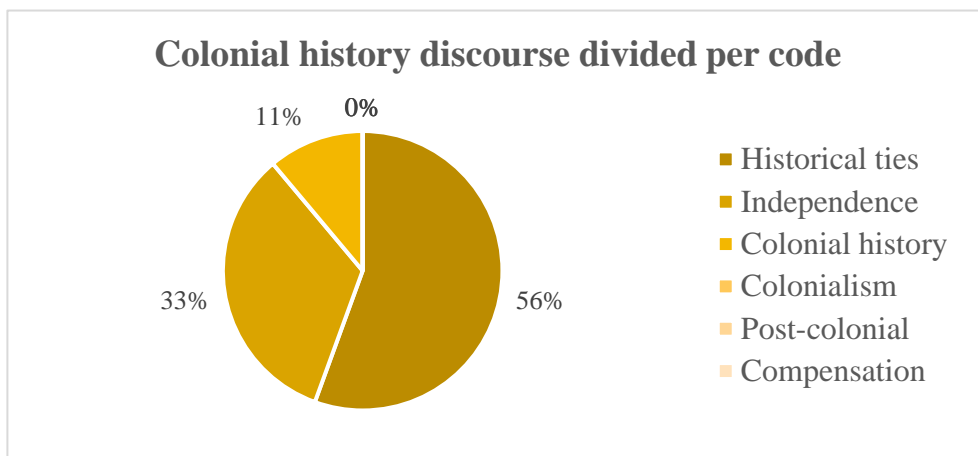


Figure 29. Colonial history discourse divided per code

5.2.2. White Paper on International Development (2009)

Figure 30 shows that the international humanitarian standards discourse is the most dominant narrative in the second White Paper. Nonetheless, there are other discourses that play an important role: especially the trade and investment, environmental objectives, and national security discourses. The following statement sums this up:

“But in the 21st Century, development is not merely a moral cause, it is also a common cause. [...] Our common prosperity depends on shared, sustainable growth. [...] Our common security depends on the emergence of stable and effective states around the world. [...] We share our common climate.” (2009, p. 16).

This White Paper states that there is more than merely a moral duty: there are several global challenges, such as sustainable growth, security, and climate, which are all common action problems. These common action problems cannot be overcome by developed countries alone. Instead, they can only be dealt with by providing aid and support to developing countries.

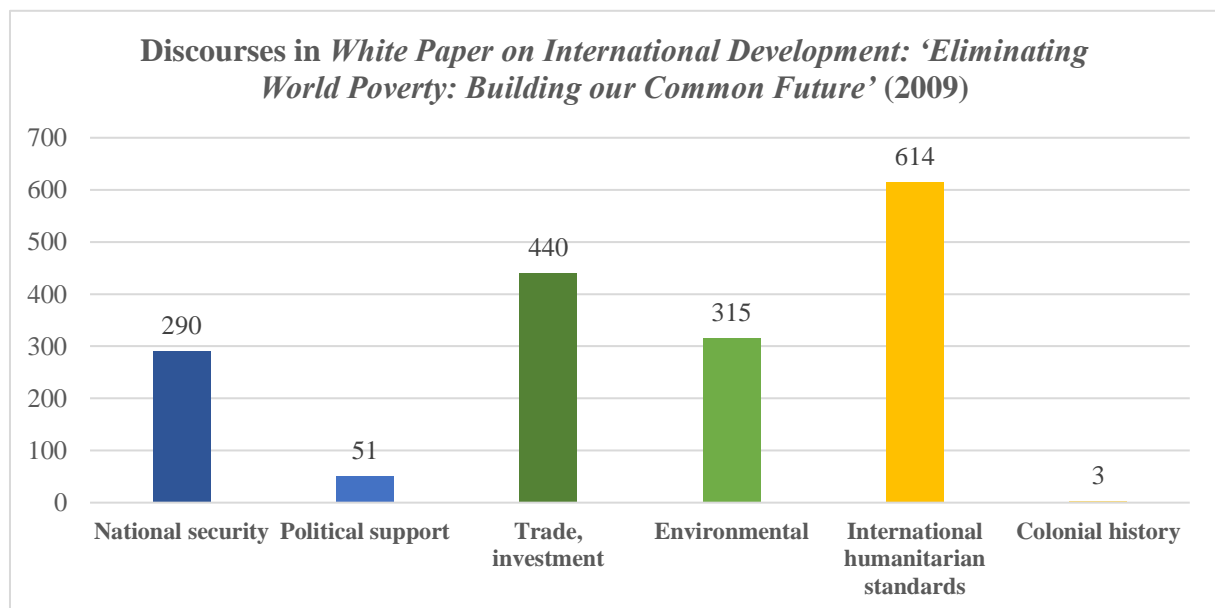


Figure 30. Discourses in White Paper on International Development (2009)

Figure 31 shows that ‘security’ (46%) is the most frequent term in the national security discourse. This discourse is also connected to poverty: “Violent conflict and weak governance lie at the root causes of much poverty” (p. 15).

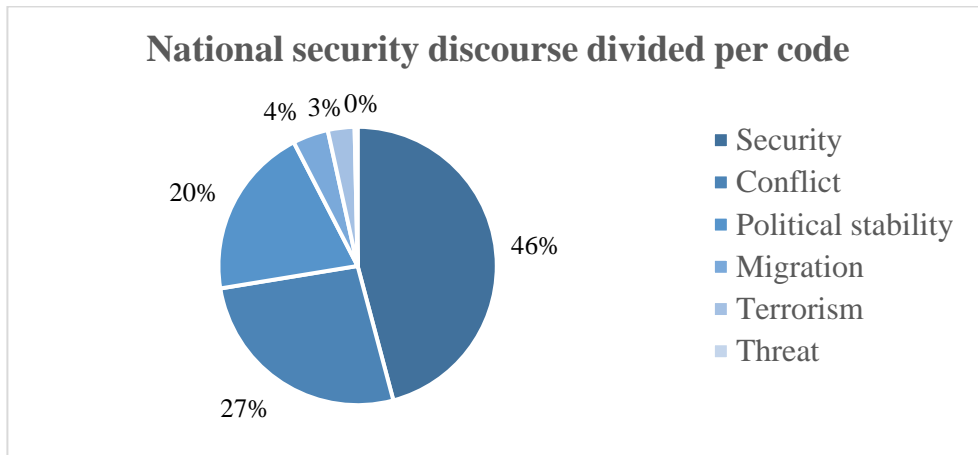


Figure 31. National security discourse divided per code

Figure 32 shows that ‘influence’ constitutes the majority of references in the political support discourse. The ‘balance of power’ is related to the rise of emerging powers, such as the BRICS countries and Asia: “The new challenges, and the changing landscape of global economic power with the rise of Asia, now call for different ways of working with a broader range of international partners [...]” (p. 18).

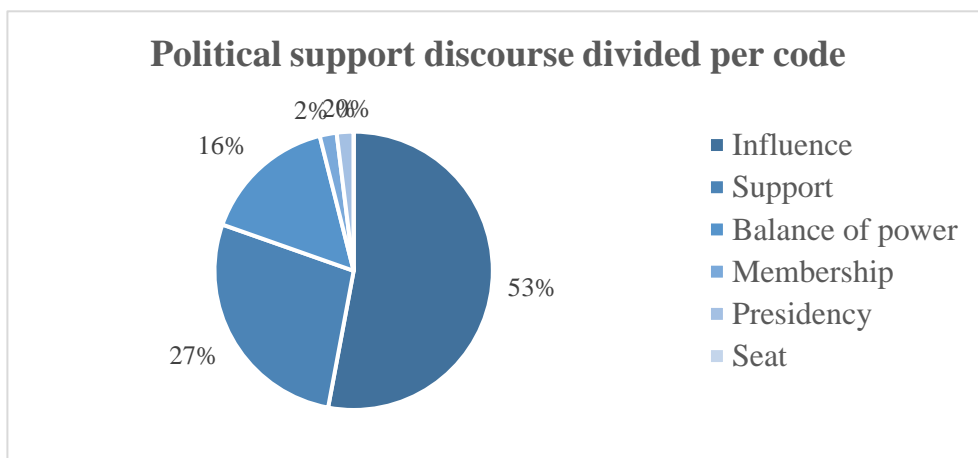


Figure 32. Political support discourse divided per code

As demonstrated in Figure 33, the trade and investment narrative is dominated by ‘economic growth’ (50%). The White Paper states: “Increased priority must be given to ensuring the poorest countries enjoy growth that is resilient, inclusive and enduring” (p. 14).

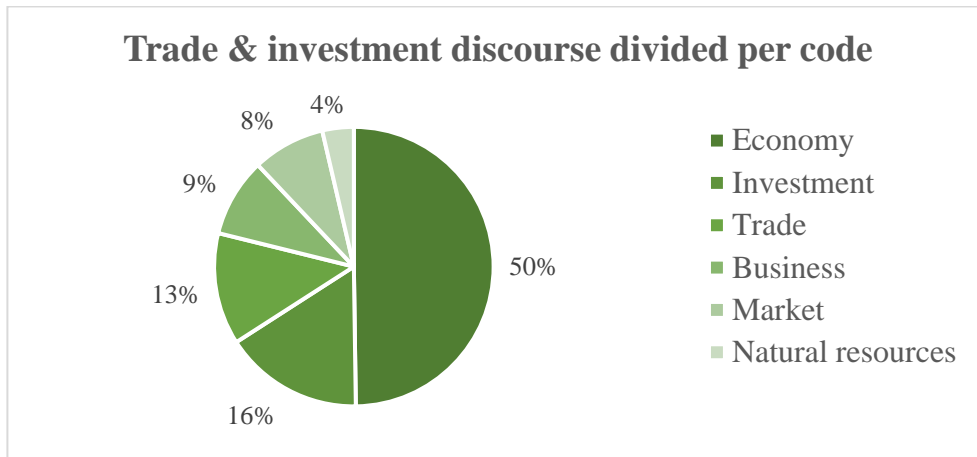


Figure 33. Trade and investment discourse divided per code

The environmental objectives discourse shows an emphasis on ‘climate’ (73%), see Figure 34. This narrative is linked to poverty: “[d]evelopment, as a means of reducing poverty, is the most effective way to build resilience to the consequences of climate change and to preserve our natural resource base” (p. 62).

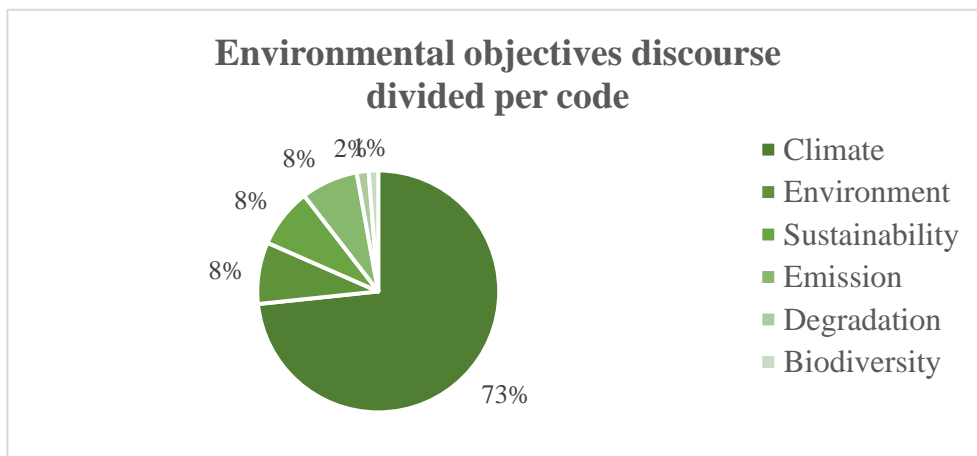


Figure 34. Environmental objectives discourse divided per code

Regarding the international humanitarian standards discourse, the ‘poverty’ narrative (31%) is most salient. It is also connected to other discourses: “Building fair and sustainable growth, tackling climate change and promoting peace and stability are three challenges facing the world’s poorest and most vulnerable people today” (2009, p. 15).

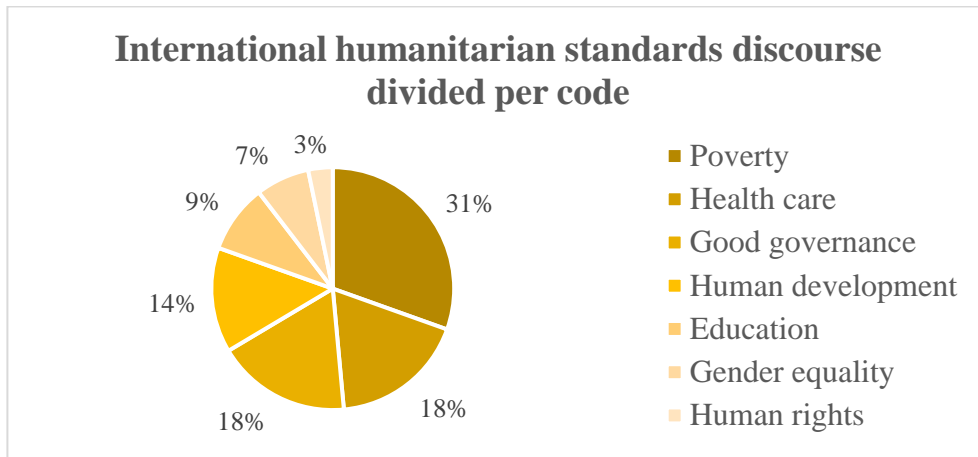


Figure 35. International humanitarian standards discourse divided per code

The colonial history discourse consists of only three references to the historical ties of the Commonwealth and overseas territories: “The government also reaffirms its responsibilities to the overseas territories. It will continue to meet their reasonable assistance needs as a first call on the development programme”. (p. 127).

5.2.3. Strategy Paper UK Aid (2015)

As Figure 36 illustrates, the international humanitarian standards narrative (38%) and the national security narrative (32%) are the most prominent discourses in this Strategy Paper. The paper puts a strong emphasis on the UK's national interest: "The strategy is underpinned by a very clear guiding principle: that the UK's development spending will meet our moral obligation to the world poorest and also support our national interest" (p. 9). Moreover, it links every development aid objective to the UK's national interest: "All four of the objectives support poverty reduction and all are aligned with the UK national interest" (p. 9). These are: (1) Strengthening global peace, security, and governance; (2) Strengthening resilience and response to crises; (3) Promoting global prosperity and (4) Tackling extreme poverty and helping the world's most vulnerable (p. 3).

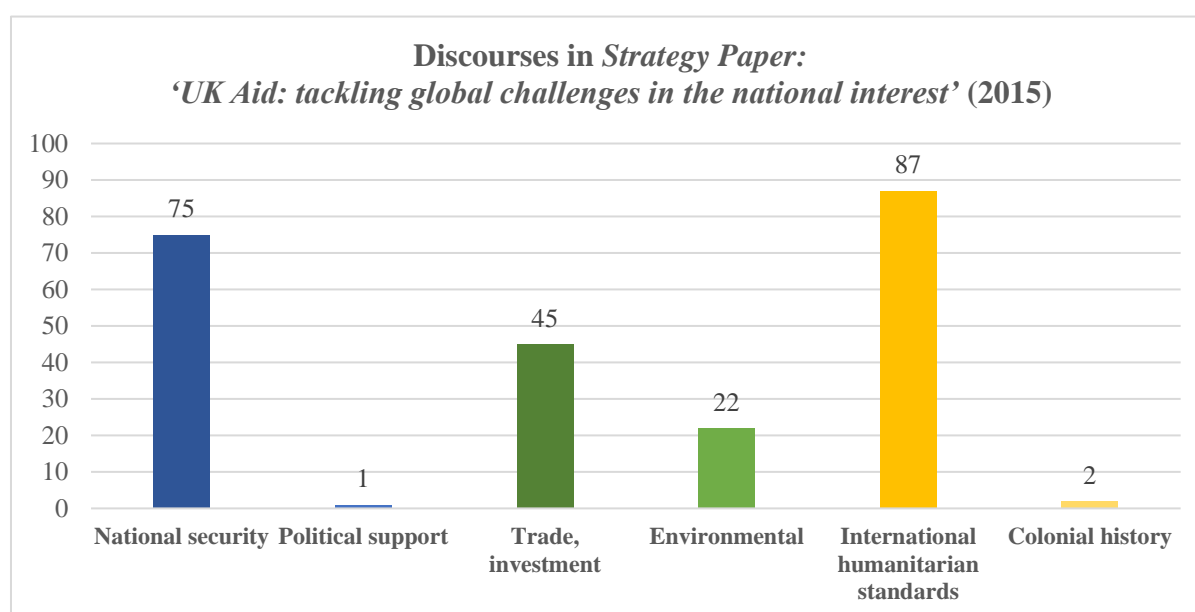


Figure 36. Discourses in Strategy Paper UK Aid (2015)

Although 'security' (31%) is the most salient term in the national security discourse, 'migration' and 'terrorism' are also playing a prominent role (see Figure 37). The UK seems to respond to the European migration crises that reached the international news earlier that decade: "Violence and conflict in Africa and the Middle East are causing unprecedented migration flows to Europe. In the past decade, weak and unstable institutions overseas have allowed threats to the UK to emerge that resulted in the need for UK military action. The government will work to build stability and tackle root causes of conflict – both to improve the lives of millions around the world and to make UK citizens safer" (p. 13).

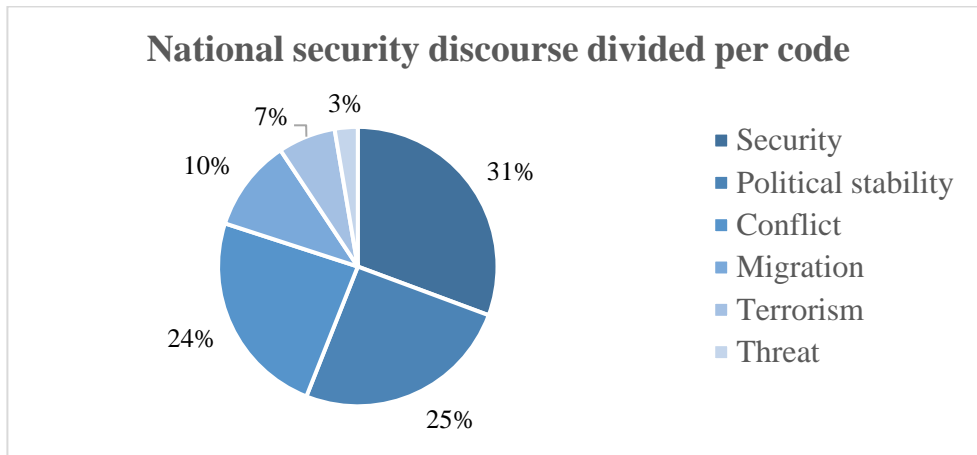


Figure 37. National security discourse divided per code

The political support discourse only contains one reference to the influence of the UK in development aid: “Marginalisation and exclusion sow the seeds for migration, for conflict, for terrorism, and for the spread of disease. UK leadership in this area will cement our global moral leadership and make a strong contribution to the UK’s soft power and our ability to project our influence across the globe” (p. 18).

Figure 38 shows that the trade and investment discourse highlights ‘economic development’ (58%): “The government is committed to do more on economic development, which is fundamental to eradicating poverty. It is also strongly in the UK’s national interest: a more prosperous world means greater opportunities for UK businesses” (p. 5).

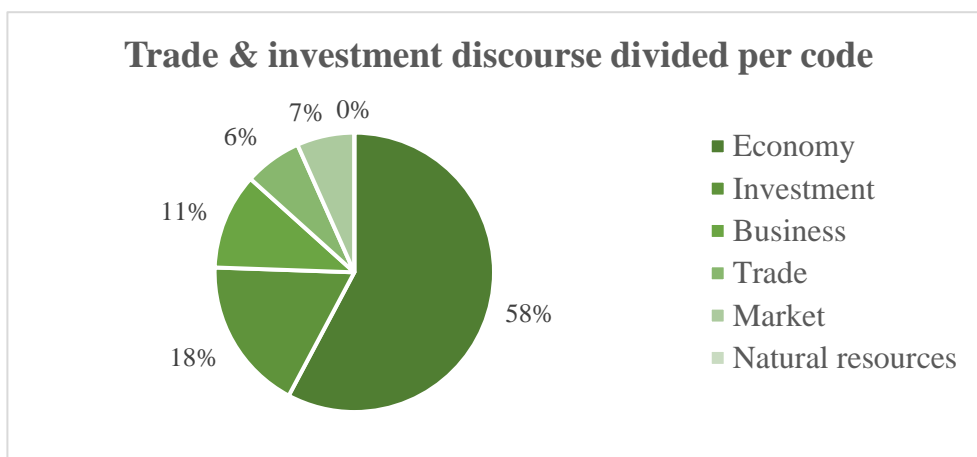


Figure 38. Trade and investment discourse divided per code

As shown in Figure 39, climate is the most dominant reference of the environmental objectives discourse (82%). This Strategy Paper mentions that “Natural disasters are also more frequent, and the threat of climate change is growing more acute for developing nations” (p. 7).

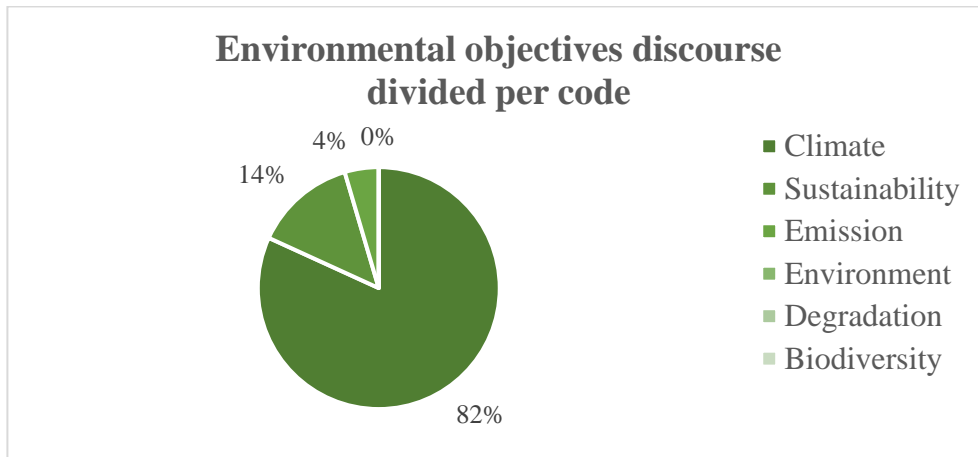


Figure 39. Environmental objectives discourse divided per code

In the international humanitarian standards discourse, ‘poverty’ is the most frequent code (33%), see Figure 40. In this Strategy Paper, poverty reduction and providing access to basic needs are connected to the UK’s national interest: “The government will strive to eliminate extreme poverty by 2030 and support the world’s poorest people to ensure that every person has access to basic needs, including prioritising the rights of girls and women. This will build security, stability and opportunity that will benefit us all” (p. 9).

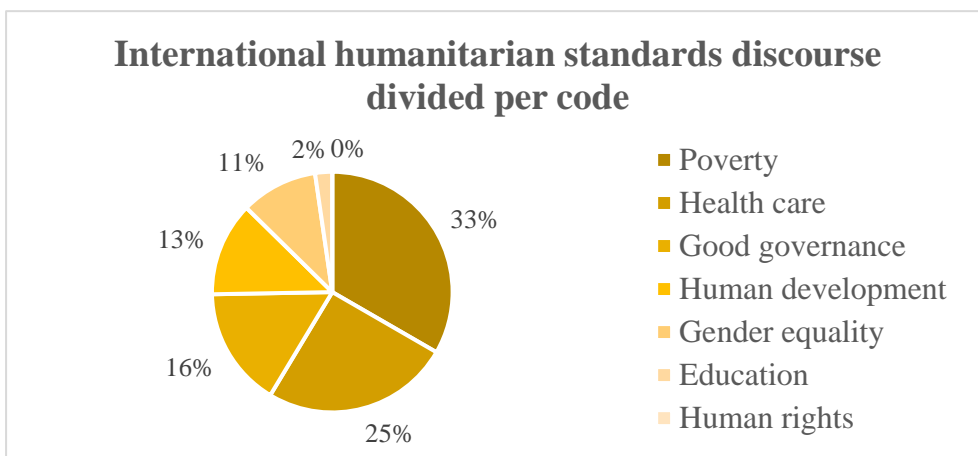


Figure 40. International humanitarian standards discourse divided per code

This paper includes only two references to the ‘historical ties’ of the colonial history narrative: “The government will also continue to drive development in regions where the UK has close ties, including strong historical, cultural and diaspora links, such as the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia. It will continue to honour its obligations to the Overseas Territories” (p. 10).

5.3 Congruence analysis

5.3.1. Congruence analysis of the selected documents of Germany

The results of the discourse analysis show the development of the dominance of each discourse in the selected policy documents. Table 9 demonstrates the development of these narratives in the German reports. The humanitarian standards discourse is the principal narrative in each document, although its presence is declining in the last report (2017). Thereafter, the trade and investment discourse and the environmental objectives discourse are the most salient narratives. In the first and third policy document, the trade and investment narrative constitutes the second most important discourse (28% and 26% respectively), yet its dominance decreases in the second policy document (18%). The presence of the environmental objectives discourse increases gradually: from 19% in 1995, to 21% in 2008, and 25% in 2017. Moreover, it results that the national security discourse has gained importance: from 9% in 1995, to 14% in 2008, and 13% in 2017. The political support and the colonial history discourses are least present.

TABLE 9. Discourses in selected documents of Germany (1995, 2008, 2017)

Discourses in selected documents Germany			
Discourse	Percentage of all discourses (1995)	Percentage of all discourses (2008)	Percentage of all discourses (2017)
Realist	10.8%	18.4%	15.6%
National security	9.3%	14.2%	13.3%
Political support	1.5%	4.2%	2.3%
Liberal	47.6%	39.0%	51.4%
Trade and investment	28.4%	18.2%	26.4%
Environmental objectives	19.2%	20.8%	25.0%
Constructivist	41.7%	42.7%	33.1%
International humanitarian standards	41.6%	42.7%	33.1%
Colonial history	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%

Source: Author's elaboration

Concerning the theoretical categories, it results that the liberal discourses are the most salient in the first (47.6%) and third (51.4%) document. In the second document, the constructivist discourses (42.7%) have a higher presence than the liberal discourses (39.0%). The realist discourses have the lowest prevalence in all documents. This is also illustrated by Figure 41, which visualises the trend of each narrative in the German reports.

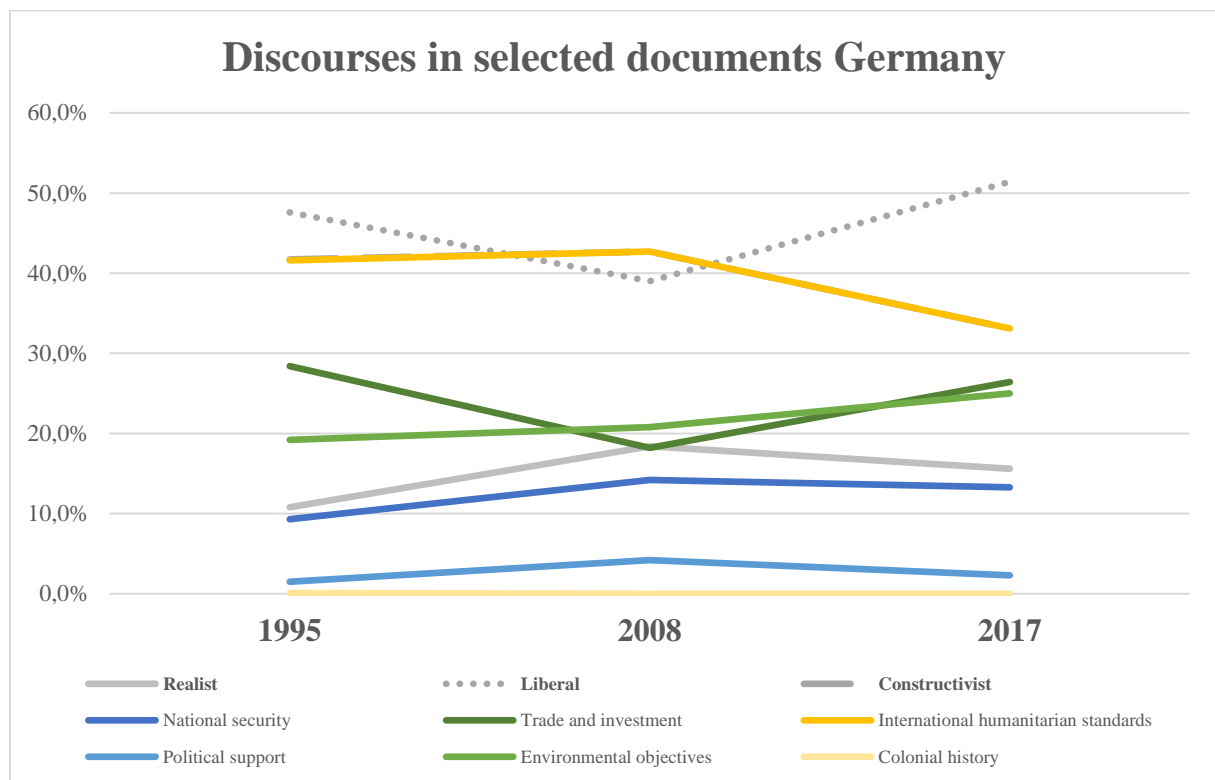


Figure 41. Discourses in selected documents Germany

Note: The lines of the constructivist discourse and the international humanitarian discourse collide due to the low presence of the colonial history narrative.

In the next section, the empirical observations that result from the discourse analysis will be connected to the theoretical propositions that were drawn from the literature review and the theoretical framework. Table 10 demonstrates the relation between the theoretical propositions and the empirical observations for the selected documents of Germany.

TABLE 10. Congruence analysis for selected documents of Germany

Theoretical propositions	Empirical Observations Germany (1995)	Empirical Observations Germany (2008)	Empirical Observations Germany (2017)
STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO...	Y/P/N	Y/P/N	Y/P/N
1. Realism			
(R1) FOSTER THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF DONOR COUNTRIES.	P	P	P
(R2) INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ENHANCE THEIR POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER.	N	N	N
2. Liberalism			
(L1) PROMOTE TRADE AND INVESTMENT BETWEEN DONOR COUNTRIES AND RECIPIENT COUNTRIES.	Y	Y	Y
(L2) FOSTER THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIVES.	Y	Y	Y
3. Constructivism			
(C1) COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN STANDARDS.	Y	Y	Y
(C2) COMPENSATE FOR THEIR ACTS DURING COLONIAL HISTORY.	N	N	N

Source: Author's elaboration

Note: Y: yes (prediction confirmed); P: partial (prediction partially confirmed); N: no (prediction not confirmed).

For all three selected documents of the German government, it holds that most congruence is found in liberalism, for the empirical evidence confirms both liberal theoretical propositions. This means that the reports mainly emphasize the relation between international development aid and trade/investment as well as environmental objectives. All three documents show that the international humanitarian standards discourse is the most prominent discourse. Nevertheless, due to the disconfirmation of the colonial history discourse, the selected documents demonstrate a lower level of congruence with constructivism than with liberalism. In all selected documents, the realist propositions contain the lowest level of congruence with the empirical observations. The theoretical proposition of national security is partially confirmed, yet the theoretical proposition of political support is disconfirmed in all reports. It needs to be highlighted that the national security discourse gains importance: it incremented from 9% in the first report to 14% in the second report and 13% in the third report.

5.3.2. Congruence analysis of the selected documents of the UK

Regarding the selected documents of the UK, Table 11 shows the development of the presence of the discourses. On the level of theoretical categories, it results that in the first and second documents, the liberal discourses are most salient (44.7% and 44.1% respectively), followed by the constructivist discourses and thereafter the realist discourses. The third document shows a different image: the constructivist discourses are most dominant (38.4%), followed by the realist discourses (32.7%) and then by the liberal discourses (28.9%).

Concerning the separate discourses, it results that the international humanitarian standards discourse is the most predominant narrative in each selected document of the UK, constituting more than one third of all discourses. Whereas the trade and investment discourse is the second most dominant narrative in the first White Paper (29% in 1997), this influence has decreased in the second White Paper (26% in 2009) and even further in the Strategy Paper (19% in 2015). Although the environmental objectives discourse was prominent in the White Papers (16% in 1997; 18% in 2009), this presence has declined in the Strategy Paper (9% in 2015). The national security discourse clearly takes advantage of the declining trends of other narratives. Its presence has almost triplicated: from 11% in 1997, to 17% in 2009, and 32% in 2015. The political support discourse and the colonial history discourse are the least present narratives in all selected documents.

TABLE 11. Discourses in selected documents of the UK (1997, 2009, 2015)

Discourses in selected documents UK			
Discourse	Percentage of all discourses (1997)	Percentage of all discourses (2009)	Percentage of all discourses (2015)
Realist	14.7%	19.9%	32.7%
National security	10.6%	16.9%	32.3%
Political support	4.1%	3.0%	0.4%
Liberal	44.7%	44.1%	28.9%
Trade and investment	28.8%	25.7%	19.4%
Environmental objectives	15.9%	18.4%	9.5%
Constructivist	40.7%	36.0%	38.4%
International humanitarian standards	39.4%	35.8%	37.5%
Colonial history	1.3%	0.2%	0.9%

Source: Author's elaboration

In addition, Figure 42 illustrates the trend of the presence of all discourses, including the theoretical categories, in the selected documents of the UK.

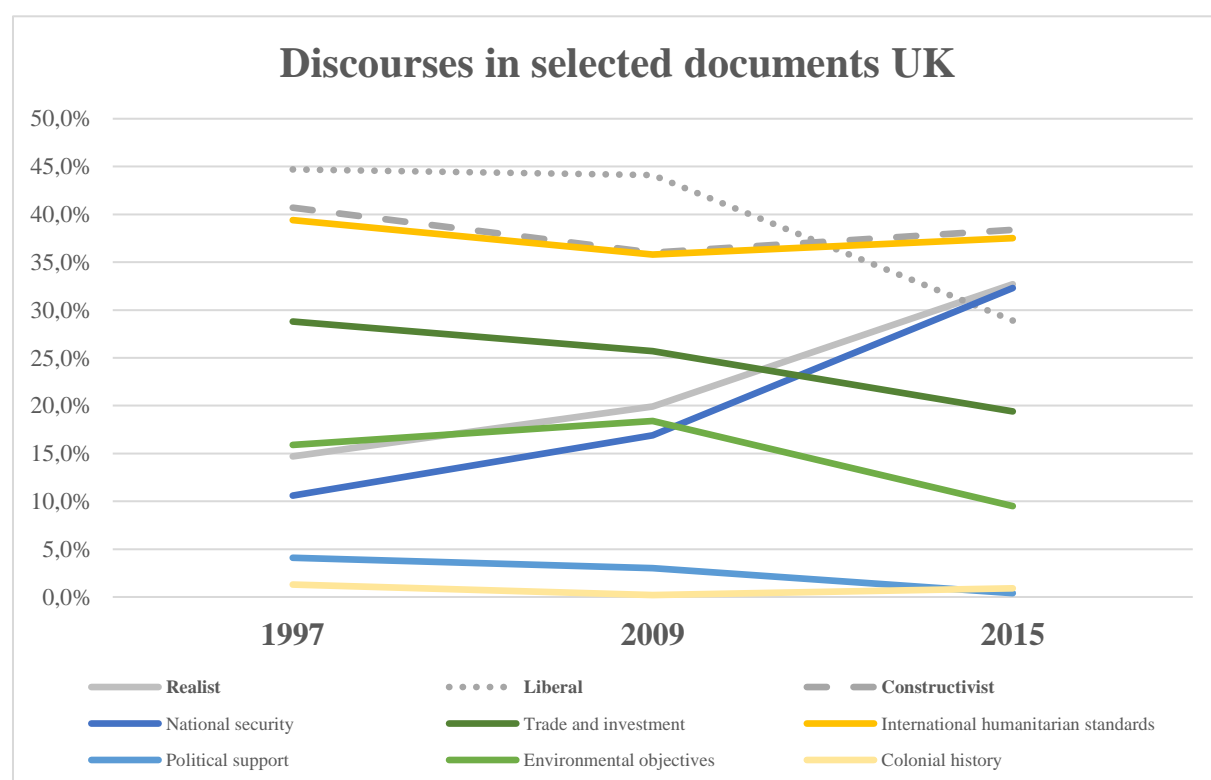


Figure 42. Discourses in selected documents UK

Table 12 consists of the congruence analysis, illustrating the relation between the theoretical propositions and the empirical observations for the selected documents of the UK.

TABLE 12. Congruence analysis of selected documents of the UK

Theoretical propositions	Empirical Observations UK (1997)	Empirical Observations UK (2009)	Empirical Observations UK (2015)
STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO...	Y/P/N	Y/P/N	Y/P/N
1. Realism			
(R1) FOSTER THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF DONOR COUNTRIES.	P	Y	Y
(R2) INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ENHANCE THEIR POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER.	N	N	N
2. Liberalism			
(L1) PROMOTE TRADE AND INVESTMENT BETWEEN DONOR COUNTRIES AND RECIPIENT COUNTRIES.	Y	Y	Y
(L2) FOSTER THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIVES.	P	Y	P
3. Constructivism			
(C1) COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN STANDARDS.	Y	Y	Y
(C2) COMPENSATE FOR THEIR ACTS DURING COLONIAL HISTORY.	N	N	N

Source: Author's elaboration

Note: Y: yes (prediction confirmed); P: partial (prediction partially confirmed); N: no (prediction not confirmed).

Table 12 shows that in the first White Paper, the highest congruence between theoretical propositions and empirical observations is found in the liberal tradition. This is mainly because of the emphasis on the trade and investment discourse, which confirms the theoretical proposition, and the partial confirmation of the theoretical proposition concerning the environmental objectives narrative. The discourse analysis has shown that the international humanitarian standards discourse is the most predominant narrative. Despite this, overall, there is a lower degree of congruence with the constructivist theoretical propositions in this White Paper. This is due to the disconfirmation of the theoretical proposition about compensation during colonial history, which was one of the least present discourses in this document. Of all three theoretical paradigms, the lowest degree of congruence in this White Paper is found in the realist propositions. The theoretical proposition regarding national security is partially confirmed with the empirical evidence; the theoretical proposition with reference to political support is not confirmed. Combining these propositions, it results that the realist perspective is the least prominent school of thought in this White Paper.

In the second White Paper, the highest degree of congruence is found in the liberal theoretical propositions. It even shows a higher congruence with liberalism than the previous White Paper (1997), as in this document both the theoretical propositions regarding liberalism are confirmed. This means that the theoretical proposition of trade/investment as well as the theoretical proposition regarding environmental objectives are in line with the empirical observations that resulted from the discourse analysis. In this White Paper, it can be concluded that the realist theoretical propositions demonstrate the same degree of congruence as the constructivist theoretical propositions. This has changed in comparison to the previous White Paper (1997), in which the constructivist paradigm showed a higher level of congruence than the realist school of thought. This difference is due to the increased importance of the national security discourse, as was demonstrated by the discourse analysis. The national security narrative increased from 11% in the previous White Paper (1997) to 17% in this White Paper (2009). Yet, both the realist propositions and the constructivist propositions have a lower degree of congruence than the liberal propositions. This is because within the realist and constructivist propositions, in both cases one proposition is confirmed, and the other proposition is disconfirmed. In case of the realist propositions, the national security proposition is confirmed, though the political support proposition is not confirmed. Regarding the constructivist propositions, the international

humanitarian standards proposition is confirmed, while the compensation for colonial history proposition is disconfirmed in this White Paper.

From Table 12 it results that liberalism has the highest degree of congruence with the empirical observations in this Strategy Paper. Similar to the first White Paper, the theoretical proposition regarding trade/investment is confirmed, and the theoretical proposition regarding environmental objectives is only partially confirmed. In fact, the discourse analysis showed that the presence of the trade and investment discourse decreased to 19% in comparison to 26% in the second White Paper. The dominance of the environmental objectives discourse also declined from 18% in the second White Paper to 9%. The realist theoretical propositions have the same degree of congruence as the theoretical propositions deriving from constructivism. Regarding the realist propositions, it results that the national security proposition is confirmed. The discourse analysis also showed that the presence of the national security narrative increased from 17% in the second White Paper to 32% in this Strategy Paper. However, the theoretical propositions that derived from realism show a lower degree of congruence than the liberal theoretical propositions, since the theoretical proposition concerning political support is not confirmed. With regards to the constructivist theoretical propositions, it results that the international humanitarian standards proposition is most supported by empirical evidence from the discourse analysis, with a presence of 38%. Nevertheless, the constructivist theoretical propositions do not show the same level of congruence as the liberal theoretical propositions, because the theoretical proposition concerning compensation for colonial history is disconfirmed in this Strategy Paper.

5.3.3. Comparison between Germany and the UK

The overview of codes per selected document of Germany and the UK is shown in Table 13. Since the documents differ in size, the dominance of the codes is presented in percentages. Each number represents the percentage of that code of the total amount of codes in that document. Table 13 thus illustrates the trend of each code in all documents of Germany and the UK. See Appendix C for the coding table in absolute numbers. Following Table 13, the most important conclusions of each theoretical category will be briefly discussed.

TABLE 13. Overview of codes per selected document of Germany and the UK

Discourses	GER (1995) in %	GER (2008) in %	GER (2015) in %	UK (1997) in %	UK (2009) in %	UK (2015) in %
(R1) National security						
Security	4.5	6.8	3.8	4.2	7.8	9.9
Political stability	2.5	3.8	3.7	3.9	4.5	8.2
Conflict	1.7	2.1	2.9	1.7	3.4	7.8
Threat	0.4	1.4	2.4	0.6	0.7	3.4
Terrorism	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.5	2.2
Migration	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.9
(R2) Political support						
Support	0.4	1.2	1.0	2.1	1.6	0.4
Influence	0.4	1.2	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.0
Balance of power	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.0
Membership	0.2	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0
Presidency	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Seat	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
(L1) Trade, investment						
Trade	12.4	7.3	8.2	8.2	12.8	11.2
Investment	6.7	4.1	5.6	8.2	4.1	3.4
Economic growth	3.2	2.4	6.4	6.1	3.3	2.2
Business	2.8	2.0	2.9	3.4	2.3	1.3
Market	1.8	0.9	1.7	2.2	2.2	1.3
Natural resources	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.6	0.9	0.0
(L2) Environmental objectives						
Environment	8.4	12.2	11.5	6.7	13.5	7.8
Climate	7.8	3.6	5.3	6.1	1.5	1.3
Biodiversity	1.2	1.7	3.7	1.4	1.5	0.4
Sustainability	1.0	1.6	2.8	1.0	1.4	0.0
Degradation	0.6	1.4	1.2	0.7	0.3	0.0
Emissions	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0

Discourses	GER (1995) in %	GER (2008) in %	GER (2015) in %	UK (1997) in %	UK (2009) in %	UK (2015) in %
(C1) International humanitarian standards						
Human development	11.9	8.6	11.9	19.8	10.9	12.5
Poverty	9.0	7.5	5.8	5.2	6.5	9.5
Education	7.5	6.7	5.0	4.1	6.4	6.0
Health care	5.1	6.3	3.6	3.1	5.0	4.7
Good governance	3.3	5.1	3.0	2.9	3.3	3.9
Gender equality	2.5	4.6	2.9	2.5	2.6	0.9
Human rights	2.3	3.8	0.9	1.8	1.2	0.0
(C2) Colonial history						
Colonial history	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.2	0.9
Colonialism	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Independence	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Historical ties	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Post-colonial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Compensation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Author's elaboration

In the national security discourse, it results that the UK has responded more to 'security', 'political stability', 'terrorism' and 'migration' in its development policy than Germany. Regarding the political support discourse, it becomes clear that Germany puts more emphasis on 'membership' and 'presidency' than the UK. As part of the trade and investment discourse, Germany and the UK show an opposite development in 'economic growth' and 'businesses', as both terms increase in the German documents but decrease in the UK documents. Concerning the environmental objectives discourse, Germany underlines 'biodiversity' and 'sustainability' more than the UK. In the international humanitarian standards discourse, it results that the UK gives increasing importance to 'poverty' reduction, whereas Germany does the opposite. The colonial history discourse is respectively more present in the UK documents than in the German documents.

Figure 43 illustrates the comparison between the discourses of the selected documents of Germany and the UK, visualising the development of each theoretical category of discourses. The figure is based on the data of the theoretical categories mentioned in Table 9 and Table 11. The straight lines illustrate the development of the discourses in the German documents; the intermittent lines show this in the UK documents. As the years of publication of the documents

of Germany and the UK differ, the figure first mentions the publication year of the German documents and then those of the UK documents, e.g. (1995/1997).

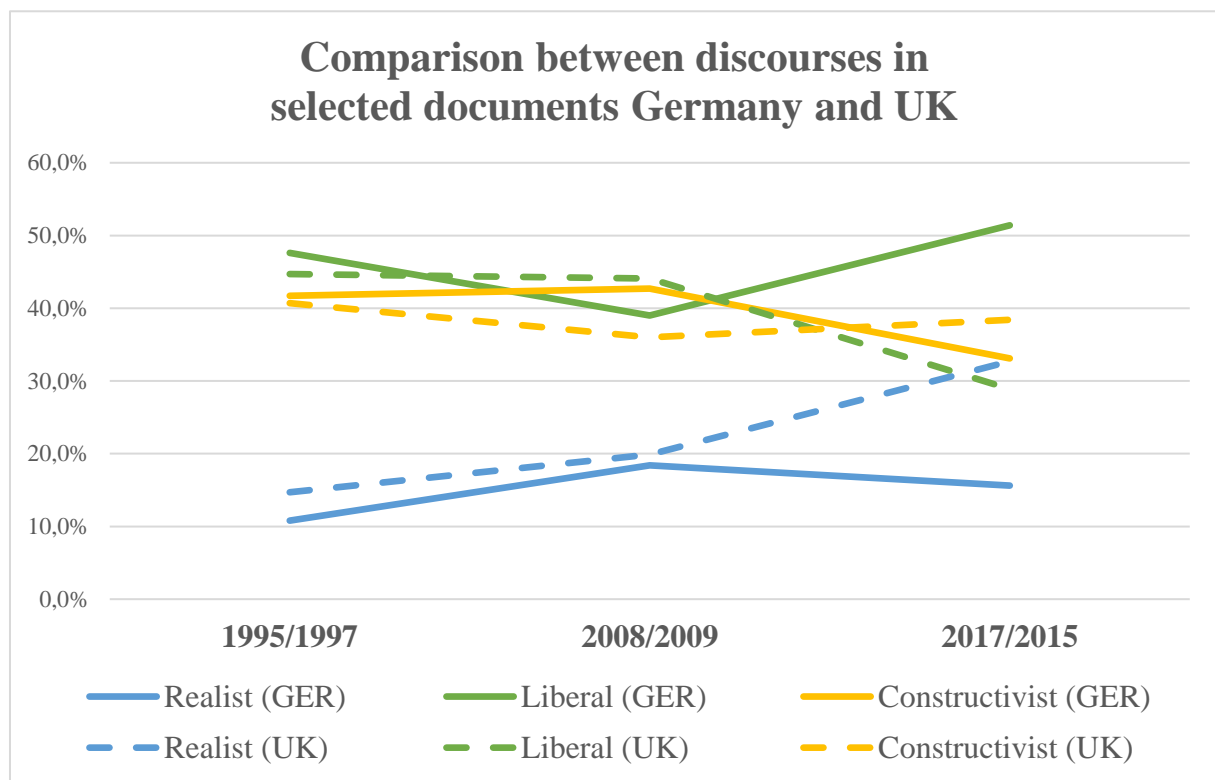


Figure 43. Comparison between discourses in selected documents Germany and UK

It results that the prominence of discourses in the first selected documents (1995/1997) is fairly similar between Germany and the UK, despite some slightly higher or lower percentages. The most salient discourses are related to liberalism, shortly thereafter to constructivism, and the lowest dominance is found in realist discourses. This changes in the second selected documents (2008/2009), as the discourses connected to constructivism in the German document (42.7%) surpass the dominance of liberal discourses in the UK document (44.1%). The presence of liberal discourses declines in both the second German and the UK document, while there is an increase in the presence of constructivism in the German document. In both cases, the lowest degree of dominance is still found in realism even though an increase can be noticed in both the German and the UK documents. The third selected documents (2017/2015) show a more diverse image of the presence of discourses in comparison to the first documents. Whereas the dominance of liberalism discourses notably increases between the second and third document of Germany (from 39.0% 51.4%), the opposite counts for the UK document with a clear decrease in the liberal narrative (from 44.1% to 28.9%). Regarding the German document, the highest presence is in discourses concerning liberalism (51.4%), while in the UK document the

highest dominance is found in constructivism (38.4%). Another relevant change is the increase of presence of realism in the case of the UK. The third document of the UK even demonstrates a higher prevalence of the realist narrative (32.7%) than of the liberal narrative (28.9%). Although the presence of realist discourses increases in the case of the UK, the case of Germany shows a decrease between the second (18.4%) and third document (15.6%).

Table 14 shows the comparison between the congruence in selected documents of Germany and the UK. Regarding the realist theoretical propositions, it results that the second and third documents of the UK show a confirmation with the national security theoretical proposition, although all German documents as well as the first document of the UK only demonstrate a partial confirmation. All documents of both cases show a disconfirmation with the political support theoretical proposition. With regards to the liberal theoretical propositions, all documents of both Germany and the UK confirm the trade and investment theoretical proposition. The environmental objectives proposition is confirmed in almost all cases, except for the first and third documents of the UK. Concerning the constructivist theoretical propositions, there is unity between the German and the UK documents. All documents show a confirmation of the international humanitarian standards theoretical proposition, and all documents show a disconfirmation of the colonial history theoretical proposition.

TABLE 14. Comparison between congruence in selected documents of Germany and the UK

	GER (1995)	GER (2008)	GER (2017)	UK (1997)	UK (2009)	UK (2015)
Realist						
(R1) National security	P	P	P	P	Y	Y
(R2) Political support	N	N	N	N	N	N
Liberal						
(L1) Trade and investment	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
(L2) Environmental objectives	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	P
Constructivist						
(C1) International humanitarian standards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
(C2) Colonial history	N	N	N	N	N	N

Source: Author's elaboration

Note: Y: yes (prediction confirmed); P: partial (prediction partially confirmed); N: no (prediction not confirmed).

5.3.4. Contributions to the EDF

Table 15 shows the contributions by Germany and the UK in four different EDF cycles: the 8th EDF (1995), the 9th EDF (2000), the 10th EDF (2008) and the 11th EDF (2014). These cycles were selected because they cover the same period as the policy documents that were analysed (1995-2017). It needs to be noted that the EDF cycles differ per duration of coverage. The 8th EDF (1995) covered five years; the 9th EDF (2000) covered eight years; the 10th EDF (2008) covered six years and the 11th EDF (2014) covered seven years. As merely considering the total amount per cycle paints an unrealistic picture when comparing the contributions between cycles, the annual contributions of the MS need to be taken into account. Hence, in addition to the total contribution per cycle, Table 15 shows the annual contribution per cycle. It also demonstrates the percentage of share in total contributions of all MS to each cycle. The complete overview of contributions of all EU MS is provided in Appendices D.1 and D.2.

TABLE 15. Contributions by Germany and UK to the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th EDF budget cycles (in millions of euros).

Contributions to the EDF budget		
EDF cycle	Germany	UK
8th EDF (1995)		
Total contribution	3,000	1,630
Annual contribution	600	326
Share of total contributions	23.4%	12.7%
9th EDF (2000)		
Total contribution	3,224	1,751
Annual contribution	403	219
Share of total contributions	23.4%	12.7%
10th EDF (2008)		
Total contribution	4,650	3,361
Annual contribution	775	560
Share of total contributions	20.5%	14.8%
11th EDF (2014)		
Total contribution	6,278	4,478
Annual contribution	897	640
Share of total contributions	20.6%	14.7%

Source: European Council, 1998; 2000; 2006; 2014.

Regarding Germany, the total contribution has increased with every EDF cycle. In almost twenty years, the total contribution has doubled in size: from €3,000 million in 1995 to €6,278

million in 2014. However, taking into account the annual contributions, it results that Germany's annual contribution decreased with 33% between the 8th EDF and the 9th EDF. After the 9th EDF, there has been a constant increase. The annual contribution of Germany to the 11th EDF has doubled in size in comparison to the 9th EDF. Furthermore, the share of total contributions declined with 2.86% between the 9th EDF and the 10th EDF. With the 11th EDF, this percentage slightly increases with 0.08%. As both the total contribution and the annual contribution have increased since the 9th EDF, the difference in Germany's share of the total contributions can be explained by an increase of the contributions of other MS. Overall, in every EDF cycle, Germany's contribution makes up for at least one fifth of the total contributions of all MS.

The total contribution of the UK has also incremented with every EDF cycle. It results that between the 8th EDF and the 11th EDF, the total contribution of the UK has doubled in size, and almost reaches its threefold. Similar to the case of Germany, the annual contribution of the UK decreased with 33% between the 8th EDF and the 9th EDF. However, after the 9th EDF there is a steady increase in the annual contribution of the UK. In fact, the annual contribution of the UK to the 11th EDF is almost the threefold of the annual contribution to the 9th EDF. Moreover, the share of the UK's contribution in the total contributions of all MS increased with 2.13% between the 9th EDF and the 10th EDF. In the 11th EDF, the share of the UK contribution decreases slightly with 0.14%. Again, this can be explained by the increased contribution of other MS, for the total and annual contributions of the UK have only incremented since the 9th EDF. With the 8th EDF, the UK provided one eighth of all contributions to the EDF. This share has increased to one seventh of all contributions with the 11th EDF.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter discusses the findings of the empirical research and addresses the research question and subquestions. Section 6.2 describes a set of limitations to this study and section 6.3 provides recommendations for further research on the topic of this research.

6.1 Discussion of findings

This thesis has analysed the foreign aid policies of the UK and Germany within the framework of the OACPS-EU development cooperation. The following research question was set up:

WHICH IR THEORY EXPLAINS BEST THE FOREIGN AID POLICIES OF GERMANY AND
THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE OACPS-EU DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION?

A series of sub-questions was developed in order to answer the main research question. Each of these sub-questions will be answered in the section below.

1. What are the motivations for developed countries to provide foreign aid to developing countries?

In this thesis four main categories of motivations are identified: (1) Economic motivations, (2) Political/Security motivations, (3) Environmental motivations, (4) Moral and humanitarian motivations. These are non-exclusive categories, meaning that state motivations for providing foreign aid can be classified under a variety of these categories. States have the tendency to publicly emphasize their moral and humanitarian motivations, although in practice self-interest plays a major role in the motivations for providing foreign aid.

Economic motivations are based on the principle of promoting economic growth in developing countries. Three underlying factors were elaborated: trade, investment, and access to natural resources. Trade is a crucial aspect of the economic motivations, as both donor countries and recipient countries can benefit from enhancing exports and imports, the opening of new markets, the promotion of national businesses and of employment. Investment has become a principal means of providing development aid. Providing foreign aid to developing countries is also a means to secure the access to natural resources. These may be scarce in the developed country, while they are necessary for the country's own development.

With regards to political motivations, development assistance is seen as a tool to spread power and influence for a more prominent position in global affairs. It is used as an instrument in the fight against terrorism and safeguarding national security. Aspects that need to be underlined are political support for the donor country and national security in the donor country. Developed states may provide foreign aid to developing countries to receive support in the sphere of international politics. National security is a cornerstone of political motivations due to the reinstatement of the balance of power and the threats caused by terrorism and migration crises.

Environmental motives constitute the third category of foreign aid motivations. Environmental motives have gained importance in foreign aid policies since the mid-1980s. The challenges posed by the environment are collective action problems that require international cooperation. The UNCED sets forth that states have the obligation to provide foreign aid to developing countries on the basis of environmental considerations. Moreover, developing states are rewarded for protecting the environment by means of foreign aid assistance.

The fourth category of foreign aid motivations is moral and humanitarian motivations. This is linked to human development, for instance poverty reduction and the promotion of human rights. It concerns the internal moral obligation of states, which comes about due to (human) internationalism, and the external moral obligation of states, which is caused by the pressure of international agreements and frameworks. Also, domestic politics of the recipient state, such as corruption and democratisation, play a role in development cooperation. Another aspect is the colonial history that donor countries share with recipient countries. Since the independency era, colonial powers have provided financial assistance to former colonies as a form of compensation for their acts during the colonial period. Another reason for this development cooperation could be the former coloniser's aim to maintain and consolidate its influence over its former colonies through economic interests.

2. Which theoretical propositions can be derived from the assumptions of realism, liberalism, and constructivism?

The assumptions of each selected theory are translated to theoretical propositions. These propositions are employed in the analysis to test which IR theory explains best state motivations in providing foreign aid. The following theoretical propositions were derived from the assumptions of the theoretical framework:

STATES PROVIDE FOREIGN AID IN ORDER TO...

1. Realism

(R1) FOSTER THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF DONOR COUNTRIES.

(R2) INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ENHANCE THEIR POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER

2. Liberalism

(L1) PROMOTE TRADE AND INVESTMENT BETWEEN DONOR COUNTRIES AND RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

(L2) FOSTER THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIVES.

3. Constructivism

(C1) COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN STANDARDS

(C2) COMPENSATE FOR THEIR ACTS DURING COLONIAL HISTORY

3. How could these theories explain the foreign aid policies of Germany and the UK in the OACPS-EU development cooperation?

A discourse analysis of selected policy documents of Germany and the UK has provided data that constitute the foundation of the congruence analysis. The congruence analysis has tested the theoretical propositions with the empirical evidence. Because of the analysis of two different countries, as well as a variety of selected documents, it is necessary to differentiate between these documents. It can be concluded that state motivations in development aid constitute a complexity of non-exclusive arguments, as various narratives can coexist within one document. Furthermore, these arguments are dynamic and change over time.

From the discourse analysis it results that in all cases, the humanitarian standards discourse is the principal narrative. This might confirm the argument by Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen about the exaggeration of humanitarian motives in development aid to overshadow security and economic motives (2003, p. 17). It has become clear that the UK gives increasing importance to ‘poverty’ reduction, while this has a decreasing relevance in the German documents. In all cases, the colonial history narrative was the least frequent discourse, although ‘colonial history’ is slightly more present in the UK documents. This confirms the argument by Riddell (2008), who sets forth that the relationship between former colonial powers and colonies has decreased. It thereby disconfirms the argument by Alesina & Dollar, who claim that states determine their aid flows based on their colonial history (1998, p. 7). The trade and investment discourse and the environmental objectives discourse are the second and third most salient narratives in all cases for Germany and almost all cases for the UK. An exception to this

is the third UK document, in which the national security discourse is the second most prevalent discourse. For Germany the national security and political support narratives are two of the least present discourses. It results that the UK has responded more to ‘security’, ‘political stability’, ‘terrorism’ and ‘migration’ in its development aid than Germany. The arguments concerning development aid due to terrorism-related threats Todaro (2006), and migration Forsyth (2007) are thus mostly confirmed in the case of the UK.

All selected documents of the German government show roughly the same result in the congruence analysis. There is more variation in the congruence analysis of the selected documents of the UK government. From the comparison between the congruence in selected documents of Germany and the UK, it results that liberalism has the highest degree of congruence in all cases. All documents of both cases confirm the trade and investment theoretical proposition; the environmental objectives proposition is confirmed in almost all cases, except for the partial confirmations in the first and third UK document.

There is unity in the German and the UK documents regarding the constructivist theoretical propositions. All documents confirm the international humanitarian standards theoretical proposition, and all documents disconfirm the colonial history theoretical proposition. The disconfirmation of the latter could be explained by the publication years of the selected documents. The OACPS-EU development cooperation dates to 1973, when it was established to maintain relations with former colonies. It could be the case that the colonial history narrative was more dominant at the start, but that the development cooperation programme has expanded in terms of aid motivations and objectives. Another explication could be that the selected documents deal with development aid in general and do not take into account the roots in colonial history of the OACPS-EU development cooperation.

The cases of Germany and the UK differ regarding the congruence with realism. The second and third documents of the UK confirm the national security theoretical proposition. However, all German documents as well as the first document of the UK only demonstrate a partial confirmation. All documents of both cases disconfirm the political support theoretical proposition. In the case of Germany, all documents show the lowest degree of congruence with realism. This is also the case for the first document of the UK, yet in the two subsequent UK documents, the degree of congruence with realism is the same as with constructivism: one theoretical proposition is confirmed, whereas the other theoretical proposition is disconfirmed.

6.2 Limitations

This research presents a set of limitations that need to be taken into account. First, the key limitation of this study is the absence of policy documents of the German and UK governments that specifically concern the allocation of development aid to the EDF. For this reason, more general policy documents about development aid were analysed in this thesis. In order to do so, the assumption was made that these general policy documents on development aid are also applicable to the EDF. This is, nevertheless, a rather traditional view on how states determine the allocation of development aid. As Aldasoro and Pérez (2020) argue, a more contemporary assumption is that a single donor allocates development aid to different recipients, on different levels, for different reasons (p. 181). However, the policy documents on development aid of the German and UK governments do not (yet) extensively elaborate on this complexity.

Second, regarding the case selection of this thesis, it would have been of valuable addition to include more EU MS in the analysis. Although the scope of this thesis is too limited to include more countries in the research, it could have given more relevant insights for the comparison between countries. In addition, it would have been interesting to study the development policies for a longer time referent. Since the history of OACPS-EU development cooperation dates to 1963 with the Yaoundé Agreements (1963), more than 30 years remain for research. This study has opted for a more limited time referent due to the online availability of the official government documents concerning international development cooperation.

A third limitation to this present study is that the selected documents are all government publications, which implies that the state motivations written down may differ from the actual motivations. As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the OACPS-EU framework was established for the EEC MS to maintain foreign relations with their former colonies. However, the selected government documents do not explicitly mention the corporate interests and investments of the donor states as part of their (post-)colonial relations with the OACPS recipient states, nor the motivation to maintain and consolidate their influence over post-colonies through development aid. This can be explained by the nature of the sources, as government documents may only provide the information and statements that governments wish to make publicly available. Moreover, it is a relevant limitation taking into account the hypothesis that states tend to over-emphasize humanitarian reasons in providing development aid, while motivations of self-interest are made less visible.

6.3 Recommendations

The results of this research present implications for both academia and government policy. In terms of suggestions for further research, this thesis offers opportunities to study the OACPS-EU development cooperation on a more EU-wide level, including the foreign aid policies of more countries during a longer period, preferably from the start of the Yaoundé Agreements. This would provide a more complete image of state motivations in the OACPS-EU development cooperation.

As for government policy recommendations, a first recommendation would be to increase the transparency of state motivations in international development aid. In addition, over the past decades, development aid has become increasingly complex: aid is given to many countries, on many levels, and for many reasons. The development policy documents that were analysed in this thesis do not adhere to this growing complexity, since they do not extensively expand on reasons why a state provides development aid to a certain country on a certain level. To put it another way, many development policy documents do not distinguish sufficiently between reasons for specific countries, levels or development cooperation frameworks such as the EDF. Instead, they mostly offer a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach, discussing the state motivations and objectives in general. Therefore, it would be recommended to differentiate more between aid motivations for different countries, levels, and frameworks of development cooperation.

REFERENCES

- Aldasoro, I.O., & Pérez, A. (2020). Solidarity and security in the EU discourse on aid. In: I.O. Aldasoro & A. Pérez (Eds.), *Aid power and politics* (p. 179-196). Oxfordshire, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Alesina, A., & Dollar, D. (2000). Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why? *Journal of Economic Growth*, 5(1), 33-63.
- Arts, K. (2003). ACP-EC Relations in a New Era: The Cotonou Agreement. *Common Market Law Review*, 40(1), 95-116.
- Balla, E., & Reinhardt, G.Y. (2008). Giving and receiving foreign aid: Does conflict count? *World Development*, 36(12), 2566-2585.
- Bandyopadhyay, S., & Vermann, E. K. (2013). Donor motives for foreign aid. *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, 95(4), 327-336.
- Baylis, J. (2020). *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berg, B. L. (2004). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. London, United Kingdom: Pearson Education.
- Blatter, J., & Blume, T. (2008). In Search of Co-variance. Causal Mechanisms or Congruence? Towards a Plural Understanding of Case Studies. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 14(2), 315-356.
- Blatter, J., & Haverland, M. (2012). Chapter 4. Congruence Analysis. In: J. Blatter, & M. Haverland, *Designing Case Studies: Explanatory Approaches in Small-N-Research* (p. 144-204). London, United Kingdom: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Carlsnaes, W. (2002). Foreign Policy. In W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse, & B. Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations*. London, United Kingdom: Sage Publications.
- Carlsnaes, W. (2012). Actors, structures, and foreign policy analysis. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (p. 113-129). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cini, M. (2010). *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Degnbol-Martinussen, J., & Engberg-Pedersen, P. (2003). *AID: Understanding International Development Cooperation*. London, United Kingdom: Zed Books.
- De Mesquita, B. B., & Smith, A. (2007). Foreign Aid and Policy Concessions. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51(2), 251-284.

- Department for International Development. (1997). *White Paper on International Development: 'Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century'*. London, United Kingdom: Stationery Office.
- Department for International Development. (2009). *White Paper on International Development: 'Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future'*. London, United Kingdom: Stationery Office.
- Department for International Development. (2015). *'UK aid: tackling global challenges in the national interest'*. London, United Kingdom: Stationery Office.
- Donnelly, J. (2000). *Realism and International Relations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Doyle, M. W. (1986). Liberalism and World Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 80(4), 1151-1169.
- Doyle, M. W. (2012). Liberalism and foreign policy. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dreher, A., Sturm, J. E., & Vreeland, J. R. (2009). Development aid and international politics: Does membership on the UN Security Council influence World Bank decisions? *Journal of Development Economics*, 88(1), 1-18.
- Drieghe, L. (2020). The first Lomé Convention between the EEC and ACP group revisited: bringing geopolitics back in. *Journal of European Integration*, 42(6), 1-16.
- Dudley, L., & Montmarquette, C. (1976). A Model of the Supply of Bilateral Foreign Aid. *American Economic Review*, 66(1), 132-142.
- Dunne, T., Kurki, M., & Smith, S. (Eds.). (2013). *International Relations Theories*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Easton, D. (1975). A Re-assessment of the Concept of Political Support. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 435-457.
- European Centre for Development Policy Management. (2020). *Dossier: The future of OACPS-EU relations*. Retrieved online: <https://ecdpm.org/dossiers/future-oacps-eu-relations/>.
- European Commission. (2000). Partnership agreement between the members of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States of the one part, and the European Community and its Member States, of the other part, signed in Cotonou on 23 June 2000 – Protocols - Final Act Declarations. L317/1 15.12.2000.
- European Commission. (2020a). ACP-EU Partnership. Retrieved online: https://ec.europa.eu/international-partnerships/acp-eu-partnership_en.
- European Commission. (2020b). European Union remains world's leading donor of Official

- Development Assistance with €75.2 billion in 2019. Retrieved online:
https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_674.
- European Council. (1998). Internal agreement between the representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council, on the financing and administration of the Community aid under the Second Financial Protocol to the fourth ACP-EC Convention. Official Journal of the European Union. L156/108 29.5.1998.
- European Council. (2000). Internal agreement between Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council, on the Financing and Administration of Community Aid under the Financial Protocol to the Partnership Agreement between the African, Caribbean and Pacific States and the European Community and its Member States signed in Cotonou (Benin) on 23 June 2000 and the allocation of financial assistance for the Overseas Countries and Territories to which Part Four of the EC Treaty applies. Official Journal of the European Union. L317/355 15.12.2000.
- European Council. (2006). Internal agreement between the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council, on the financing of Community aid under the multiannual financial framework for the period 2008 to 2013 in accordance with the ACP-EC Partnership Agreement and on the allocation of financial assistance for the Overseas Countries and Territories to which Part Four of the EC Treaty applies. Official Journal of the European Union. L247/32 9.9.2006.
- European Council. (2013). Internal Agreement between the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States of the European Union, meeting with the Council, on the financing of European Union aid under the multiannual financial framework for the period 2014 to 2020, in accordance with the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement, and on the allocation of financial assistance for the Overseas Countries and Territories to which Part Four of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union applies. Official Journal of the European Union. L210/1 6.8.2013.
- European Council. (2018). Cotonou Agreement. Retrieved online:
<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/cotonou-agreement/>
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (2012). Critical discourse analysis. In J. P. Gee & M. Handford, *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- Farrell, M. (2005). A Triumph of Realism over Idealism? Cooperation Between the European Union and Africa. *European Integration*, 27(3), 263-283.
- Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. (1995). *The German Government's 10th Development Policy Report: 'Zehnter Bericht zur Entwicklungspolitik der Bundesregierung'*. Berlin, Germany: Author.
- Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2008). *The German Government's 13th Development Policy Report: 'Towards One World. Development Policy White Paper'*. Berlin, Germany: Author.
- Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2017). *The German Government's 15th Development Policy Report: 'Development Policy as Future-Oriented Peace Policy'*. Berlin, Germany: Author.
- Fleck, R. K., & Kilby, C. (2010). Changing Aid Regimes? U.S. Foreign Aid from the Cold War to the War on Terror. *Journal of Development Economics*, 91(2), 185-97.
- Flockhart, T. (2012). Constructivism and Foreign Policy. In: S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (p. 54-77). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forsyth, T. (2018). *Encyclopedia of International Development*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Fuchs, A., Dreher, A., & Nunnenkamp, P. (2014). Determinants of Donor Generosity: A Survey of the Aid Budget Literature. *World Development*, 56, 172-199.
- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hajer, M. A. (2005). Coalitions, Practices and Meaning in Environmental Politics: From Acid Rain to BSE. In D. Howarth & J. Torfing (Eds.), *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hall, P. A. (2006). Systematic process analysis: when and how to use it. *European Management Review*, 3(1), 24-31.
- Holland, M. (2003). 20/20 Vision - The EU's Cotonou Partnership Agreement. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 9(2), 161-175.
- Huckin, T.N. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. Miller (Ed), *Functional Approaches to Written Text: Classroom Applications*. Washington, WA: United States Information Agency.
- Hurt, S.R. (2003). Co-operation and Coercion? The Cotonou Agreement between the

- European Union and ACP States and the End of the Lomé Convention. *Third World Quarterly*, 24(1), 161-176.
- Jepma, C. J. (1991). *The Tying of Aid*. Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Washington, WA: OECD Publications.
- Kellstedt, P. M., & Whitten, G. D. (2018). *The Fundamentals of Political Science Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kilnes, U., Keijzer, N., Van Seters, J. & Sherriff, A. (2012). More or less? A financial analysis of the proposed 11th European Development Fund. *ECDPM Briefing Note*, (29). Retrieved online: <https://ecdpm.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/10/BN-29-Financial-analysis-proposed-11th-European-Development-Fund-2012.pdf>
- Kuziemko, I., & Werker, E. D. (2006). How Much Is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations. *Journal of Political Economy*, 114(5), 905-930.
- Lahiri, S., & Raimondos-Møller, P. (2000). Lobbying by Ethnic Groups and Aid Allocation. *Economic Journal*, 110(462), 62-79.
- Lehne, S. (2012). *The Big Three in EU Foreign Policy*. Brussels, Belgium: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Lehnert, M., Miller, B., & Wonka, A. (2007). Increasing the Relevance of Research Questions: Considerations on Theoretical and Social Relevance in Political Science. In T. Gschwend, & F. Schimmelfennig, *Research Design in Political Science: How to Practice What They Preach* (pp. 21-38). London, United Kingdom: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Leisinger, K. M. (2000). *Development Assistance at the Threshold of the 21st Century. Annual Report 1999/2000*. Basel, Switzerland: Novartis Foundation for Sustainable Development.
- Levy, J. S. (2008). Case studies: Types, designs, and logics of inference. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 25(1), 1-18.
- Lloyd, T., McGillivray, M., Morrissey, O. & Osei, R. (1998). *Investigating the Relationship Between Aid and Trade Flows*. University of Nottingham: Centre for Research in Economic Development and International Trade, School of Economics.
- Maizels, A., & Nissanke, M. K. (1984). Motivations for aid to developing countries. *World Development*, 12(9), 879-900.
- Makinda, S. M. (1998). Sovereignty and global security. *Security Dialogue*, 29(3), 281-292.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (1994). The False Promise of International Institutions. *International*

- Security*, 19(3), 5-49.
- Meier, G. M., & Rauch, J. E. (1995). *Leading Issues in Economic Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Montoute, A., & Virk, K. (2017). *The ACP Group and the EU Development Partnership: Beyond the North-South Debate*. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moravcsik, A. (1997). Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics. *International Organization*, 51(4), 513-553.
- Moravcsik, A. (2001). *Liberal international relations theory: a social scientific assessment*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.
- Morgenthau, H. (1985), *Politics among Nations. The Struggle for power and peace*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Nath, S., & Sobhee, S. (2007). Aid Motivation and Donor Behaviour. *American Review of Political Economy*, 5(1), 1-13.
- Nye, J. S., & Welch, D. A. (2014). *Understanding global conflict & cooperation: intro to theory & history*. London, United Kingdom: Pearson Education.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2005). *OECD Factbook 2005: Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics*. Washington, WA: OECD Publications.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2018). Development aid stable in 2017 with more sent to poorest countries. The Development Assistance Committee: Enabling Effective Development. Retrieved online: <https://www.oecd.org/newsroom/development-aid-stable-in-2017-with-more-sent-to-poorest-countries.htm>.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2019). Distribution of net ODA (indicator). Retrieved online: <https://data.oecd.org/oda/net-oda.htm>.
- Olufemi, B., & Faber, G. (2003). From Lomé to Cotonou: Business as Usual? In: *The Eight Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association*. Nashville, Tennessee: *The European Union Studies Association*, 2-36.
- Ravenhill, J. (2004). Back to the Nest? Europe's Relations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of Countries. *EU Trade Strategies: Between Regionalism and Globalism*. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Riddell, R. C. (2008). *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shirayev, E. B., & Zubok, V. M. (2014), *International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University

- Press.
- Smith, S., Hadfield, A., & Dunne, T. (2012). *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thirlwall, A. P. (1994). *Growth and Development: With Special Reference to Developing Countries*. New York, NY: Macmillian Press.
- Todaro, M. P., & Smith, S. (2006). *Economic Development* (9th ed.). London, United Kingdom: Pearson Education.
- Walt, S. M. (1998). International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy*, 29-46.
- Waltz, K. N. (1959). *Man, The State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391-425.
- World Health Organisation. (2008). Glossary of Humanitarian Terms. Retrieved online: <https://www.who.int/hac/about/reliefweb-aug2008.pdf?ua=1>.
- Wittkopf, E. R. (1973). Foreign Aid and United Nations Votes: A Comparative Study. *American Political Science Review*, 67(3), 868-888.
- Wohlforth, W. C. (2012). Realism and foreign policy. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (fourth edition). California, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Younas, J. (2008). Motivation for bilateral aid allocation: Altruism or trade benefits. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 24(3), 661-674.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Overview of OACP MS

African states		Caribbean states ^{*(5)}	Pacific states ^{*(7)}
West Africa group ^{*(1)}	Eastern and Southern Africa Group	Antigua and Barbuda	Fiji
Benin	Comoros	Bahamas	Cook Islands
Burkina Faso	Djibouti	Barbados	Kiribati
Cabo Verde	Eritrea	Belize	Marshall Islands
Côte d'Ivoire	Ethiopia	Cuba ^{*(6)}	Federated States of Micronesia
Gambia	Madagascar	Dominica	Nauru
Ghana	Malawi	Dominican Republic	Niue
Guinea	Mauritius	Grenada	Palau
Guinea-Bissau	Seychelles	Guyana	Papua New Guinea
Liberia	Somalia	Haiti	Samoa
Mali	Sudan	Jamaica	Solomon Islands
Mauritania	Zambia	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Timor-Leste
Niger	Zimbabwe	Saint Lucia	Tonga
Nigeria	SADC group ^{*(4)}	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Tuvalu
Senegal	Angola	Suriname	Vanuatu
Sierra Leone	Botswana	Trinidad and Tobago	
Togo	Eswatini		
CEMAC Group ^{*(2)}	Lesotho		
Cameroon	Mozambique		
Central African Republic	Namibia		
Chad	South Africa		
Democratic Republic of the Congo			
Republic of the Congo			
Equatorial Guinea			
Gabon			
São Tomé and Príncipe			
EAC Group ^{*(3)}			
Burundi			
Kenya			
Rwanda			
South Sudan			
Tanzania			
Uganda			

Source: European Commission, 2018.

Note 1: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Mauritania

Note 2: Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), São Tomé and Príncipe, DR Congo

Note 3: East African Community (EAC)

Note 4: Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Note 5: Caribbean Forum (CARIFORUM)/Caribbean Community, Dominican Republic.

Note 6: All OACPS MS signed the CPA with the EU, except for Cuba.

Note 7: Developing MS of the Pacific Island Forum (PIF), Timor Leste

Appendix B. Overview of discourses – German version

Discourses	Keywords	Problem definition	Solution definition
(R1) National Sicherheit	Sicherheit Politische Stabilität Konflikt Bedrohung Terrorismus Migration	States need to prevent threats from outside to maximise national security.	Providing foreign aid can safeguard national security.
(R2) Politische Unterstützung	Unterstützung Einfluss Gleichgewicht der Kräfte Mitgliedschaft Präsidentschaft Sitz	States need support to maintain their position in the international balance of power.	Providing foreign aid can increase political support.
(L1) Handel, Investitionen	Handel Investitionen Wirtschaftswachstum Geschäft/Unternehmung Markt Natürliche Ressourcen	States need trade and investments for long-term cooperation with other states.	Providing foreign aid can promote trade and investment, which increase international cooperation.
(L2) Umweltziele	Umgebung Klima Biodiversität Nachhaltigkeit Degradierung Emissionen	States need international environmental objectives to solve collective action problems.	Providing foreign aid can foster the achievement of environmental objectives.
(C1) Internationale humanitäre Standards	Menschliche Entwicklung Armut Bildung Gesundheitsvorsorge Gute Führung Geschlechtergleichheit Menschenrechte	States need to, because of external pressure, comply to international humanitarian standards.	Providing foreign aid can drive states to comply with international humanitarian standards.
(C2) Kolonialgeschichte	Kolonialgeschichte Kolonialismus Unabhängigkeit Historische Verbindungen Postkolonial Vergütung	States need to, because of an internal moral conviction, compensate for their acts during colonial history.	Providing foreign aid can compensate for the acts of a former colonising state during colonial times.

APPENDIX C. Coding table selected policy documents Germany and UK

Discourses	GER (1995)	GER (2008)	GER (2015)	UK (1997)	UK (2009)	UK (2015)
(R1) National security	222	188	123	76	290	75
Security	60	90	35	30	133	23
Political stability	9	19	27	12	58	19
Conflict	40	50	22	28	77	18
Threat	0	0	1	2	1	2
Terrorism	5	1	4	0	9	5
Migration	108	28	34	4	12	8
(R2) Political support	35	55	21	29	51	1
Support	10	16	4	6	14	0
Influence	10	16	9	15	27	1
Balance of power	3	10	1	1	8	0
Membership	4	3	2	4	1	0
Presidency	7	10	5	1	1	0
Seat	1	0	0	2	0	0
(L1) Trade, investment	680	241	244	206	440	45
Trade	160	54	52	59	57	3
Investment	44	12	59	44	71	8
Economic growth	297	97	76	59	219	26
Business	77	26	27	24	40	5
Market	36	20	16	16	37	3
Natural resources	66	32	14	4	16	0
(L2) Environmental objectives	460	275	231	114	315	22
Environment	202	48	34	44	26	0
Climate	188	161	106	10	231	18
Biodiversity	23	23	11	5	4	0
Sustainability	28	21	49	48	25	3
Degradation	4	3	5	7	5	0
Emissions	15	19	26	0	24	1
(C1) International humanitarian standards	997	566	306	282	614	87
Human development	285	114	110	29	86	11
Poverty	215	100	33	142	187	29
Education	179	89	28	18	56	2
Health care	80	84	27	21	111	22
Good governance	123	68	54	37	110	14
Gender equality	56	61	8	13	44	9
Human rights	59	50	46	22	20	0
(C2) Colonial history	3	0	0	9	3	2
Colonial history	3	0	0	1	0	0
Colonialism	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independence	0	0	0	3	0	0
Historical ties	0	0	0	5	3	2
Post-colonial	0	0	0	0	0	0
Compensation	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX D.1. Contributions by EU MS to the 8th, 9th EDF budget cycles (in millions of euros, source: European Council, 1998; 2000).

EU MS	8 th EDF (1995)			9 th EDF (2000)		
	Total contribution	Annual contribution	Share of total (%)	Total contribution	Annual contribution	Share of total (%)
Austria	340	68	2.7	366	46	2.7
Belgium	503	100.6	3.9	541	68	3.9
Bulgaria						
Croatia						
Cyprus						
Czech Republic						
Denmark	275	55	2.1	295	37	2.1
Estonia						
Finland	190	38	1.5	204	26	1.5
France	3,120	624	24.3	3,353	419	24.3
Germany	3,000	600	23.4	3,224	403	23.4
Greece	160	32	1.3	173	22	1.3
Hungary						
Ireland	80	16	0.6	86	11	0.6
Italy	1,610	322	12.5	1,731	216	12.5
Latvia						
Lithuania						
Luxembourg	37	7.4	0.3	40	5	0.3
Malta						
Netherlands	670	134	5.2	720	90	5.2
Poland						
Portugal	125	25	1.0	134	17	1.0
Romania						
Slovakia						
Slovenia						
Spain	750	150	5.8	806	101	5.8
Sweden	350	70	2.7	377	47	2.7
United Kingdom	1,630	326	12.7	1,751	219	12.7
Total	12,840		100	13,800		100

APPENDIX D.2. Contributions by EU MS to the 10th, 11th EDF budget cycles (in millions of euros, source: European Council, 2008; 2014).

EU MS	10 th EDF (2008)			11 th EDF (2014)		
	Total contribution	Annual contribution	Share of total (%)	Total contribution	Annual contribution	Share of total (%)
Austria	547	91	2.4	731	104	2.4
Belgium	801	133	3.5	991	142	3.3
Bulgaria	32	5	0.1	67	10	0.2
Croatia				69	10	0.2
Cyprus	20	3	0.1	34	5	0.1
Czech Republic	116	19	0.5	243	35	0.8
Denmark	454	76	2.0	604	86	2.0
Estonia	11	2	0.1	26	4	0.1
Finland	333	56	1.5	460	66	1.5
France	4,434	739	19.6	5,434	776	17.8
Germany	4,650	775	20.5	6,278	897	20.6
Greece	333	56	1.5	460	66	1.5
Hungary	125	21	0.6	187	27	0.6
Ireland	206	34	0.9	287	41	1.0
Italy	2,917	486	12.9	3,822	546	12.5
Latvia	16	3	0.1	35	5	0.1
Lithuania	27	5	0.1	55	8	0.2
Luxembourg	61	10	0.3	78	11	0.3
Malta	7	1	0.0	11	2	0.0
Netherlands	1,100	183	4.9	1,457	208	4.8
Poland	295	49	1.3	612	87	2.0
Portugal	261	43	1.2	365	52	1.2
Romania	84	14	0.4	219	31	0.7
Slovakia	48	8	0.2	115	16	0.4
Slovenia	41	7	0.2	68	10	0.2
Spain	1,781	297	7.9	2,420	346	7.9
Sweden	621	104	2.7	897	128	2.9
United Kingdom	3,361	560	14.8	4,478	640	14.7
Total	22,682		100	30,506		100

