

## #4 The Politics of Aid

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Class 4: 04/03

### Hyndman "Acts of Aid"



- Sri Lanka: Intersection of violence and neoliberal aid policies
  - Neoliberal aid in Sri Lanka:  
intersection of economic development and peacebuilding
- Case of 3 main forms/processes/"acts" of aid:

- 1) Development aid: Neoliberal economic reforms
- 2) Peacebuilding: Humanitarian aid in a conflict setting
- 3) Recovery: Humanitarian aid in a natural disaster setting

"aid is a dynamic bundle of geographical relationships at the intersection of war, neoliberalism, nature and diaspora" (p. 884)

### Hyndman "Acts of Aid"

- Acts of aid are a complex **ENCOUNTER** (see class PE)
- Between local, national and global actors and 'desires'
  - Aid is not a mere pre-defined implementation, it is shaped by a range of actors  
(from the world bank to the local political elites to global **diaspora** movements. . . to nature)
- "Therefore: it is important to '**ground**' the theory"
- See also Goodhand's text on the history of aid and war in Afghanistan (Goodhand 2002)

### "Aid Effectiveness"

- Neoliberal development and "aid effectiveness"
- **Selectivity** replaces conditionality
  - 'efficient' use of international assistance by eliminating countries with protectionist economic policies, corrupt and unstable governments
  - Aid for '**donor darlings**': good performers applying 'good governance' and a 'sound economic policy' (export-oriented industrialisation)
  - Logics of **investment and return**: aid not based on needs but on perceived impact/return of the invested funds

### Securitisation of aid

"Mobilizing fears of the global South 'leaking' into the global North has become a compelling way to frame development assistance as foreign policy and a security issue" (p. 875)

"Now is the right time to bring into sharp focus the need to stay with Afghanistan and help it progress and develop" (Tony Blair, 20 November 2006)

### Development-Security Nexus



Aid to promote global security (underdevelopment is dangerous)  
Tying of aid provision to security agendas in the global north not new (Duffield)

Since the late '90s, further reinforced after 9/11

Base on '**Geopolitics of fear**'

Less developed countries will 'invade' or infect donor countries is adequate aid transfers are not provided

Giving aid to **feel more safe at home**

Aid to 'contain' the 'uninvited other' and with him: disease, poverty, transnational crime, conflict, terrorism

**Fear of invasion is a potent political resource**, used to argue for increased aid budgets to combat insecurity

DFID 2002: "there can be no secure future for any of us - wherever we live- unless we promote greater global social justice" (870)

## aid in a war context:

### aiding violence or building peace?



#### Aid and peacebuilding:

- to transform war economies in peace economies
- to foster human rights and 'peace education'

#### Aiding Violence or building peace?

- See text Goodhand: interactions between aid and historical processes of war and state formation
- "Development success can be a peacebuilding failure" (877)
- 'do no harm': Avoiding fueling the war, 'conflict sensitive aid'
- Manipulation and 'perverse effects' of aid

Example: Rwandan post-genocide refugee Camps in DRC

## Interaction between aid and war

#### Militarisation of aid takes different forms

- Military actors providing aid
- Military actors receiving aid
- Military actors 'diverting' aid
- (Increasing risk for humanitarians)

#### Conflict influences aid influences conflict

Aid is not only used as a security tool by the aid 'providers' but by the 'aid recipients' as well

See example Sri Lanka and the use of aid in domestic security arrangements

Text Adam Branch: humanitarian intervention and its complicity in violence

## Humanitarian impunity?



Context: Violent conflict ("LRA war") Ugandan until 2006

Ugandan government and its *violent politics of forced displacement*

Encampment strategy became a humanitarian disaster

Call on humanitarian intervention "because violence was not enough to keep people in the camps"

Protection or mass violation and humiliation?

Horrific conditions: More than 1,000 deaths per week, poverty, diseases, trauma and social breakdown

The start of a VERY long *history of humanitarianism* in Northern Uganda

The provision of aid was a necessary condition for the governments violent regime in Acholiland

## Humanitarian impunity?



#### Humanitarian actors complicit to the violence and crimes of the Uganda regime:

- Political control
- To break political opposition, repression
- Regime of state violence
- Part of larger political strategy of state authority legitimacy

#### Humanitarian intervention in itself also 'violent':

- Logics of humanitarianism: containment, control, depoliticisation
- Subjecting to regulation and discipline in the name of efficiency
- To depoliticise people, 'infantilize' people
- To make them dependent, helpless victims, 'docile' population

## Humanitarian impunity?



*If humanitarian agencies and actors help enable, even unintentionally, the very violence and suffering they claim to be working against, should they not be held accountable for the effects of their actions, especially if those effects were predictable or become apparent in the course of the intervention? (Branch, 152)*

*This unaccountability of the 'international community' is endemic to relations between Africa and the West, and the demand that international actors be held accountable before the very people who must live, and suffer, the consequences of their actions is indeed a demand for justice itself (Branch, 151)*

# Agenda



Order	Date	Topic
Class #1	12/2	Introduction
Class #2	19/2	The Global South and Political Theory
Class #3	26/2	Documentary "Enjoy Poverty"
Class #4	04/03	*The politics of Aid – Humanitarian Intervention
Class #5	11/3	Politics and Area Studies
Class #6	18/3	*CP Maghreb
Class #7	25/3	*CP South East Asia
Class #8	01/04	*CP Latin America
Class #9	22/04	*CP Mashrek
Class #10	29/04	*CP Sub-Saharan Africa
Class #11	06/05	*Diaspora and Transnational Politics
Class #12	13/05	*Political Islam

**Part: Intro (student presentation)**

For the introductory presentation, give a general overview of the evolution of aid in the postcolonial period (the evolution of ideologies, main actors and processes of aid) and how it has shaped the relation between the Global South and the Global South.

Give an indication of the main political (and socio-economic) outcomes today of this history of aid interventions.

Aid can be taken here broadly: the intersection of development and humanitarian aid. You can choose where you want to put more focus on. In this sense, the readings below are also just SUGGESTED readings, and you are free not to include them (all) and add other material that you consider more relevant.

- **Escobar** “*Encountering Development*” (book uploaded on UFORA, you can pick whatever from whatever chapter you like) for more broad reflections on the political power of dominant narratives of aid.

- **Klees**: “World Bank Development policy: SAP in SWAPs clothing”

[https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Steven\\_Klees/publication/267703952\\_World\\_Bank\\_development\\_policy\\_A\\_SAP\\_in\\_SWAPs\\_clothing/links/551430070cf23203199cf81e/World-Bank-development-policy-A-SAP-in-SWAPs-clothing.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Steven_Klees/publication/267703952_World_Bank_development_policy_A_SAP_in_SWAPs_clothing/links/551430070cf23203199cf81e/World-Bank-development-policy-A-SAP-in-SWAPs-clothing.pdf)

- **Nur**: “From SAPs to PRSPs: The Annals of Neoliberal Ideological Dogmatism in Governance and Development Policy”

[https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/41230977/From\\_SAPs\\_to\\_PRSPs\\_The\\_Annals\\_of\\_Neoliberal\\_Ideological\\_Dogmatism\\_in\\_Governance\\_and\\_Development\\_Policy.pdf?response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DFrom\\_SAPs\\_to\\_PRSPs\\_The\\_Annals\\_of\\_Neolibe.pdf&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A%2F20200220%2Fus-east-1%2Fs3%2Faws4\\_request&X-Amz-Date=20200220T145318Z&X-Amz-Expires=3600&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Signature=27d81622ffcc074e330fc1b86ccc91181f580f33f6873acd5da22d3e632c09f5](https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/41230977/From_SAPs_to_PRSPs_The_Annals_of_Neoliberal_Ideological_Dogmatism_in_Governance_and_Development_Policy.pdf?response-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DFrom_SAPs_to_PRSPs_The_Annals_of_Neolibe.pdf&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A%2F20200220%2Fus-east-1%2Fs3%2Faws4_request&X-Amz-Date=20200220T145318Z&X-Amz-Expires=3600&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Signature=27d81622ffcc074e330fc1b86ccc91181f580f33f6873acd5da22d3e632c09f5)

- **Amar**: “Global South to the Rescue: Emerging Humanitarian Superpowers and Globalizing Rescue Industries” (posted in Ufora)

- **Barakat et al.** “A tradition of forgetting: Stabilisation and humanitarian action in historical perspective)

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2010.01207.x>

- **Paulmann**: “Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century”

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/515819/pdf>

- **Quadir:** “Rising Donors and the New Narrative of ‘South–South’ Cooperation: what prospects for changing the landscape of development assistance programmes?”  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01436597.2013.775788?needAccess=true>

- **Tan Mullis et al.** “Redefining Aid in the ChinAfrica relation”  
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2010.01662.x>

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**Part 2:** This seminar will elaborate on different aspects of the politics of aid, and will focus more specifically on some empirical stories of the aid-security nexus. From these case studies, different translations of the militarization of aid in the Global South will be discussed.

**Mandatory reading:**

Hyndman: “Acts of Aid: Neoliberalism in a War Zone”

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00700.x>

**Suggested readings:**

- Goodhand: “Aiding Violence or building peace? The role of international aid in Afghanistan”

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248950011\\_Aiding\\_Violence\\_or\\_Building\\_Peace\\_The\\_Role\\_of\\_International\\_Aid\\_in\\_Afghanistan](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248950011_Aiding_Violence_or_Building_Peace_The_Role_of_International_Aid_in_Afghanistan)

- Branch: “Against Humanitarian Impunity: Rethinking Responsibility for Displacement and Disaster in Northern Uganda”

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233212280\\_Against\\_Humanitarian\\_Impunity\\_Rethinking\\_Responsibility\\_for\\_Displacement\\_and\\_Disaster\\_in\\_Northern\\_Uganda](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233212280_Against_Humanitarian_Impunity_Rethinking_Responsibility_for_Displacement_and_Disaster_in_Northern_Uganda)

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**Part 3: Follow – up presentation**

Use the insights from the Movie Enjoy Poverty and connect these to the literature of the neo-coloniality of aid and humanitarianism. You can add additional cases to the ‘case’ of the documentary, both from the Gobar South and from the Global North.

**Suggested readings:**

- **T. Sasson:** “Milking the third world. Humanitarianism, capitalism and the moral economy of the Nestlé Boycott”

<https://academic.oup.com/ahr/article/121/4/1196/2581604>

- Wearing et al: “Poor children on Tinder’ and their Barbie Saviours: towards a feminist political economy of volunteer tourism”

- Interview with Renzo Martens (please do NOT share this with your peers BEFORE they watch the documentary) ☺

<https://africasacountry.com/2010/07/poverty-for-sale/>

- Repo: “The Gender Politics of Celebrity Humanitarianism in Africa”  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254287114\\_The\\_Gender\\_Politics\\_of\\_Celebrity\\_Humanitarianism\\_in\\_Africa](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254287114_The_Gender_Politics_of_Celebrity_Humanitarianism_in_Africa)
  - There is a lot to find on celebrity humanitarianism in google scholar, so you can choose yourself!
  - For a case in the Global North, our own ‘refugee crisis’ might be interesting, also from the perspective of the effects of the politi(ci)sation of aid (both within left and right politics)
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