palgrave▶pivot

EU EMERGENCY RESPONSE POLICIES AND NGOs

Trends and Innovations

Daniela Irrera

The European Union in International Affairs

This Book Series aims to be a central resource for the growing community of scholars and policy-makers who engage with the evolving interface between the EU and international affairs. Its provides in-depth, cutting edge and original contributions of world-class research on the EU in international affairs by highlighting new developments, insights, challenges and opportunities. It encompasses analyses of the EU's international role, as mediated by its own Member States, in international institutions and in its strategic bilateral and regional partnerships. Books in the Series examine evolving EU internal policies that have external implications and the ways in which these are both driven by, and feed back into, international developments. Grounded in Political Science, International Relations, International Political Economy, Law, Sociology and History, the Series reflects a commitment to inter-disciplinary scholarship. We welcome book proposals relating to the changing role of the EU in international affairs across policies and the Union's relations with different parts of the world, as well as relations with states and multilateral institutions. We are interested in research on values and norms, interests and global governance and welcome both theory-informed studies and studies comparing the EU with other major global actors. To submit a proposal, please contact Commissioning Editor Ambra Finotello ambra.finotello@palgrave.com.

More information about this series at
http://www.palgrave.com/series/14438

Daniela Irrera

EU Emergency Response Policies and NGOs

Trends and Innovations

palgrave
macmillan

Daniela Irrera
Department of Political and Social Studies
University of Catania
Catania, Italy

Cover pattern © Melisa Hasan

Printed on acid-free paper

*To Fulvio Attinà, Professor of International Relations,
my Mentor*

Acknowledgements

The ideas which are the basis of this book came about by chance, as a result of my continuous and enduring interest in NGOs and humanitarian and security policies, and within various research activities I have been involved with.

I started to be interested in NGO activities within the EU humanitarian aid policies while working as a member of the scientific committee of ReSHAPE, a Jean Monnet *ad hoc* Chair designed to promote high performance and innovation in the study, teaching and research on EU action in Reconstruction, Security, Humanitarian Action and Protection in Emergencies, directed by Fulvio Attinà at the University of Catania. The various actions and opportunities offered by the Chair allowed me to reflect on the potentialities of applying my expertise on NGOs to a still unexplored research field.

The occasion during which my interest fully developed was an international conference "Old and New Forms of Dependency—Attempts at Forecasting", hosted by the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism of Adam Mickiewicz University, in Poznań, 2014. I am grateful to the organisers Rafał Wiśniewski, Agnieszka Filipiak, Eliza Kania, Jeroen Van den Bosch and Aleksandra Galus for inviting and involving me in a structured project, based on the academic journal *R/evolutions: Global Trends & Regional Issues* in partnership with Santander Group European Universities.

Since then, ideas have continued to develop thanks to two big projects which provided institutional and financial support, as well as constituting the ideal framework for reflecting on and confronting data, understanding assumptions and polishing the methodology.

The first of these was the PRIN Programme *Italy and the new global challenges. Relief, aid and reconstruction in natural and man-made disaster events*, funded by the Italian Ministry for Education, University and Research (MIUR), contract no. E61J12000200001. I am grateful to the principal investigator, Pierangelo Isernia, for allowing me to conduct the empirical part of the investigation. The research has been improved by the second project, the Transcrisis project, funded by the EU Commission's Horizon 2020 programme, which I had the chance to join in 2015. Transcrisis aims at advancing knowledge on the capacities and limits affecting crisis management and leadership in the EU and developing high-impact policy recommendations. Through periodical workshops, blog posts and research meetings, I have entered a more advanced phase of the research on these topics.

I also owe all my thanks to the European Peace Research Association (EuPRA), which I have the honour to lead as elected president. The Association has become an ideal place in which my interest in peace and security has grown and developed. The executive board comprising Unto Vesa, Enika Abazi, Metin Ersoy, Hendrik Bullens, Itir Toksoz, Nils Vidar Vambhein, Stephanie Thiel and Olga Vorkunova always supports my ideas and initiatives and allows me to grow as a scholar.

I started to write some parts of this book during a visiting professorship at the EU Centre of Excellence of the University of Alberta, Canada. Intense conversations with the director, Lori Thorlakson, and other faculty members offered insightful comments and suggestions. The last part was written in Barcelona, where I spent one month as a visiting professor at the Erasmus Mundus Masters Program in Public Policies, MUNDUSMAPP. I am grateful to Pablo Pareja and Jacint Jordana for inviting me to join a vivid intellectual environment. Also, teaching a course on Global Civil Society at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) gave me the chance to meet a wonderful international class of students, with whom I have shared and discussed findings and case studies.

I have done the same, over the last four years, in Catania, where I teach Global Civil Society, within the Masters program on Global Politics and Euro-Mediterranean Relations. My students have always been a powerful source of inspiration and my most useful and objective discussants. As with previous works, I have also discussed and debated the contents of this book with them.

I have also presented portions of this book at several conferences, and am very grateful to those people who read and discussed conference papers

CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations

CBO	Community-based Organisation
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DG	Directorate General
DG RELEX	Directorate General for External Relations
EC	European Community
ECHO	Directorate General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
EP	European Parliament
EPLO	European Peace Building Liaison Office
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGO	International Governmental Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OCHA	Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OJEC	Official Journal of the European Community
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

List of Figures and Tables

Introduction: EU Emergency Response Policies and NGOs—Why It Matters

Abstract The scholarship on the EU humanitarian aid has already made many significant contributions. The relations among EU institutions, member states, and other competent non-state actors have, however, developed and increased in complexity; this is not always well explained and deserves further research. This book aims at shedding new light on the topic, by focusing on the influence exerted by NGOs as implementing actors of programmes and projects taken up by the EU Commission and member states in shaping and executing their humanitarian agenda. The empirical analysis is based on a comparison of funding provided to NGOs by member states and the Directorate General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO) in the period 2005–2016.

Keywords NGOs • EU humanitarian aid • States • Funding • Implementing actor

Scholars have intensively investigated the global policies for relief and reconstruction in the last few decades, producing a wide and rich variety of analyses. The setting up of global emergency action involves different types of actors, institutions and agencies, procedures, norms, decisions, and practices. Among non-state actors, NGOs are the most controversial and visible players of emergency policy-making and implementation, not

only for the quantity of materials and scale of logistics they are able to deploy, but also because they possess specific competencies and capabilities which have proven their practical utility in peace-building and reconstruction activities. NGOs have their own approach to providing services to people affected by natural disasters and conflicts. In principle, this approach is complementary to the states' and International Governmental Organisations' (IGOs) alternative approach. In practice, however, it can differ considerably. Therefore, NGOs' activities sometimes clash with the programmes the states and IGOs develop at sites of humanitarian intervention, but most of the time, they coordinate with the states and IGOs and contribute, directly or indirectly, to shaping the whole humanitarian system.

With respect to such development, the EU humanitarian aid policy is a particularly interesting and exemplary case and, even though scholars have investigated many aspects of such policy, the topic is still under-evaluated and deserves further research. On the one hand, the relations with international aid institutions and NGOs have been strongly developed over the years through aid programmes and within the Directorate General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO) activities. On the other, NGOs have developed and strengthened direct relations with the member states, performing executive tasks and playing the role of implementing actors. The result is a multi-layered policy process in which national interests, common values, universal principles, and global duties clash and interact.

Based on an assumption that in the current phase of world politics, global institutions and the relations among civil society and institutions in public policy-making are undergoing a process of change, this book aims at deepening trends and changes in the EU humanitarian aid policy by focusing on the relations between governmental and non-governmental dimensions.

In particular, NGOs' performances and their relationship with member states and EU institutions are analysed theoretically and empirically.

This research can obviously not be exhaustive or conclusive; it rather aims at shedding new light on a policy which is still undervalued and it also contributes to a debate which will grow in the near future, given the increasing complexity of internal and external crises the EU is facing and the effect of some structural phenomena like Brexit, which have just started to make an impact.

The framework fits into International Relations theories and combines the literature on the role of NGOs in the humanitarian system with contributions on the EU aid policy and the management of transboundary crises.

The research aims at replying to some specific questions:

1. What is the propensity of member states to support NGOs in fulfilling their humanitarian agendas?
2. Is there a difference between member states and ECHO in the allocation of funds to projects implemented by NGOs?
3. Are member states pursuing a humanitarian agenda which is coherent with the EU strategy?

1.1   Rationale of the Book

What is the purpose of studying NGOs today and why is an investigation into their funding relevant? The topic definitely constitutes a challenge for scholars, practitioners, and policy-makers. Currently, all these categories of actors are more and more concerned with the increasing 'interference' of civil society organisations in many political issues and in contemporary crises, like migrants and refugee flows. NGOs, as the most organised and visible part of civil society, have clearly demonstrated their controversial nature; however, they are strongly connected to the humanitarian system, and provide functional help that states and IGOs need and request.

The EU humanitarian aid policy is an excellent example of how this is happening. The policy has slowly progressed over the years, marked by member states' prerogatives and the Commission's attempts to promote more common activities. Additionally, the policy was designed to efficaciously address the complexity of new crises and to develop proper capacities to tackle transboundary events occurring outside the EU.

Initially created with the task of ensuring and coordinating the delivery of EU aid to third countries, the DG ECHO was upgraded in 2010, with expansion of its competencies to manage crises even within the EU. By bringing together humanitarian aid and civil protection, the Commission aimed at creating a robust and comprehensive set of mechanisms of response and distribution of aid. Thus, the role of ECHO expanded in quantitative and financial terms but, more importantly, it was entrusted with the task of showcasing the humanitarian face of the EU to the world. Technical aspects of delivery, selection of partners, identification of

priorities, and funding are all parts of the same sensitive process. The core of ECHO activities remains the funding of various humanitarian actors, which is essential for implementing projects and executing the EU goals and priorities. It provides funding to more than 200 partner organisations, including international organisations, UN agencies, and NGOs.

At the same time, aid interventions should be complemented and reinforced by those of the member states, according to humanitarian principles, international law, and the common EU objectives. Member states can finance bilateral and collective assistance in parallel, by making direct donations to a foreign country as well as indirect donations via the EU's budget allocation to assistance programmes. NGOs have learned to adapt to such procedures. The activities NGOs have carried out over the last few decades fit smoothly into the overall policy framework developed by EU institutions and the member states, starting with development policy. Member states have made extensive use of the expertise of NGOs—both national and international—and delegated a variety of functions and executive tasks to them as the NGOs are the implementing actors in the field.

Even though ECHO represents the privileged channel through which their activities can be funded and sustained, NGOs continue to maintain bilateral relations with member states, as a result of established traditions and, in most cases, legally disciplined frameworks. The investigation into the performances of such actors within the framework of the EU humanitarian policy may be useful in understanding actual trends and attempting to reflect on potential future expectations.

1.2   STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book consists of three main parts. The first one introduces the argument and explains what is currently happening in the scholarly debate on the topic. Chapter 2 assesses the current scenario and explains why the policy is still relevant and deserves additional research. In particular, the EU humanitarian aid policy emerges as a big platform, dominated by both governmental and non-governmental dimensions in which member states, ECHO, and NGOs interact in parallel ways according to the same principles, but play different roles and prioritise diverse approaches.

Therefore, the EU humanitarian aid policy constitutes a paradigmatic example of how both governmental and non-governmental dimensions interact directly and indirectly.

In the second part, a theoretical introduction to the main arguments is presented, based on International Relations theories, as well as the main interdisciplinary debate. Chapter 3 introduces literature on the tasks and relevance of NGOs in humanitarian actions, before exploring their innovative contributions during complex emergencies and transboundary crises, and then finally combining diverse literatures for postulating a more comprehensive framework which can be used to analyse empirical data and offering some preliminary conclusions.

The last part provides the most innovative features of this research, that is, an empirical analysis to fulfil the expectations built up through the theoretical discussion. In chapter, the analysis is made on aggregate data and focuses on the funding (in euros) of projects implemented by NGOs in third countries, by ECHO and EU member states, in the period 2005–2016 when the reformed funding mechanisms came into force. Data are taken from the European Disaster Response Information System (EDRIS) dataset, which contains real-time information on contributions to humanitarian aid by ECHO and the EU member states. EDRIS offers a comprehensive set of data and information related to aid provided by EU member states and ECHO, to a wide range of crises and countries. The reliability of these data is assured as all information contained in EDRIS is electronically transmitted to the Financial Tracking System (FTS) managed by the United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Geneva.

The comparison of allocation of funds by ECHO and member states to projects implemented by NGOs is used to understand, firstly, whether there is a difference between the support provided by ECHO and that given by the states; secondly, the propensity of member states to support NGOs in fulfilling their humanitarian agendas; and, thirdly, whether member states are pursuing a humanitarian agenda which is coherent with the EU strategy, particularly in the area of selection of recipients of aid.

Some general conclusions and reflections on the EU humanitarian policy are offered. Firstly, there is a growing tendency to cooperate with NGOs and to delegate executive functions to them. Humanitarian aid should involve a set of tools, mechanisms, and competencies which go well beyond the traditional ones. Despite their problems, NGOs are quite functional and, more importantly, fulfil the need for more legitimate feedback from local communities and recipients of aid, and can make the intervention itself more acceptable.

Secondly, a substantial convergence among member states and EU institutions can be ensured, via support to NGOs. Thirdly, member states—at least the Big Donors, which are quite representative of the new face of the EU—tend to consistently follow the principles and priorities of EU humanitarian aid.

The debate on the EU humanitarian policy and its double channels and components is destined to grow.

The Humanitarian System, the EU, and NGOs: The State of the Art

Abstract The humanitarian system is made up of several components—actors, norms, and practices—that collectively contribute to shaping policies and interventions for people in need. The chapter assesses the current scenario and explains the reasons the policy is still relevant and deserves additional research. In particular, the EU humanitarian aid policy emerges as a big platform, permeated by governmental and non-governmental dimensions, in which member states, ECHO, and NGOs interact in parallel ways, according to the same principles but playing different roles and prioritising diverse approaches.

Keywords NGOs • EU • ECHO • Crises • Implementing actor

2.1 The Purpose of Studying the Role of NGOs in Humanitarian Action

The investigations into the policies for aid and reconstruction, developed on a global and regional level, have produced a wide and rich variety of contributions. The environment of global emergency actions consists of different actors, institutions and agencies, norms, decisions, and practices. State, regional, and international organisations play pivotal roles in emergency policy-making and implementation; NGOs are,

however, also part of the system. Not only are they functional in peace-building and reconstruction activities, but they deploy materials and logistics and specific capabilities. NGOs have also developed their own approach to services provided to people affected by natural disasters and conflict, which has influenced, over the decades, the intergovernmental dimension. In principle, these approaches are diverse but complementary. They can significantly differ and overlap or clash. Overall, the ways through which NGOs' actions conflict with the programmes, states, and IGOs develop in the sites of humanitarian intervention, but also interact with them to contribute, directly or indirectly, to shaping the whole humanitarian system.

Regarding this, the EU humanitarian aid policies are an interesting and exemplary case. On one hand, the relations with international aid institutions and NGOs have been strongly developed over the years through the aid programme and within ECHO activities. On the other, NGOs have developed and strengthened direct relations with member states, received executive tasks, and played the role of implementing actors. Some have developed an established and deep tradition of cooperation with civil society; others have done it in recent time, while some performances are marked by other priorities and approaches. The result is a multi-layered policy process in which national interests, common values, universal principles and actions, and global duties interact.

While there is extensive literature on NGOs' influence in humanitarian aid policies, the interest in interactions with ECHO is limited and deserves further analysis. This book aims to contribute to such debate and to challenge the current scenario by offering some innovative empirical reflections. In particular, assuming that, in the current phase of world politics, the global institutions are undergoing a process of change, the contribution of NGOs to the EU emergencies policies, through direct partnership with ECHO activities and in relation to the member states, is discussed, through an analysis of fund allocation to NGOs through ECHO and member states.

The theoretical framework fits into International Relations theories and combines the literature on the roles of NGOs in the humanitarian system with contributions on the EU humanitarian aid policy and the management of transboundary crisis.

Even though the topic is unpredictable and subject to change, the research tries to provide timely assumptions through theoretical reflections and data, driven by specific research questions:

1. What is the propensity of member states to support NGOs in fulfilling their humanitarian agendas?
2. Is there a difference between member states and ECHO in allocation of funds to projects implemented by NGOs?
3. Are member states pursuing a humanitarian agenda coherent with the EU strategy?

Considerations on this allow for reflection on broader aspects of the topics, specifically the reasons why NGOs are considered as reliable partners within the EU humanitarian aid policy and requested by member states as implementing actors in fulfilling humanitarian needs.

One may ask why another work on NGOs is needed and what is the purpose of investigating their funding by different actors. Even though civil society organisations have manifested their controversial nature and their distressing effect on intergovernmental preferences, they are strongly connected to the humanitarian system and states cannot manage without their help. In times marked by change and transformation, in which even the most traditional policy issues—such as aid humanitarian policies—are challenged by the need to develop more sophisticated and multifaceted tools and competencies, the book aims to understand why NGOs are so contested, yet so requested. Before going deeper into the discussion, a preliminary overview on what is happening in the field and what is emerging in the scholarly debates is necessary.

2.2   NGOS AND THE HUMANITARIAN SYSTEM

The scholarship on humanitarian aid policies has comprehensively debated the tools and competencies developed by the world governmental system, mainly stressing that they are far from being ultimate. Theoretical and empirical investigations have underlined the contrast between the responsibility to cope with human suffering and the need to safeguard state interests and priorities. Two main features have emerged through these debates and continue to attract significant attention: on the one hand, the ways through which different actors interact and contribute to shaping humanitarian policies, that is, the networking environment; on the other, the specific (and sometimes controversial) influence of the non-state community and their persistence in the policy-making structure.

The former pertains to definitional efforts. The end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War era contributed to an enormous

proliferation of actors in the humanitarian movement. The more diffuse definitions stress the nature of the environment, namely, the framework of competences and rules that govern relief activities. In this respect, scholars use the concept of humanitarian space, as a place in which actors carry out their activities following the principles of neutrality, impartiality, and humanity (Spearin 2001). Other works stress that this space is marked by the nature of its actors and by the interactions they can produce. Such interactions, in their turn, are similar to a network, particularly a *network of actors*, characterised by different channels and forms of communication that reinforce and shape various informal relations (Kent 1987). Practitioners have significantly contributed to the debates, using the label 'humanitarian enterprise' to describe a multifaceted machine in which states and intergovernmental organisations are forced to cope with current challenges and non-state actors try to work by adhering to their ideals (Minear 2002; Donini 2012). The debate on the nature and definition of the environment is continuous and requires more attention by scholars. A collective consensus is nowhere in sight. However, considering the environment is more than its technical set of competencies and is rather shaped by its own actors, and the level of relationship between them cannot be generically summarised through the network structure, more effective and comprehensive labels are needed. In this work, the term *humanitarian system* is used to indicate the set of principles, actors, policies, practices, rules, and procedures shaping aid policies to foster recent global crises (Irrera 2013).

The term *system* continues to raise criticism, since it assumes a homogeneity in the actions and in principles and a commonality in the priorities that is not always present. The notion of system recalls the idea of comprehensiveness and better describes the variety of components (principles, actors, policies) that, right or wrong, combine to produce consensus and fragmentation (Irrera 2013).

As for the second feature, the nature of actors and the specific relevance of non-state actors, the scholarship has debated the contentious persistence, within the humanitarian system, of two dimensions, the governmental and the non-governmental. Even though humanitarian policies should be based on universal principles and driven by well-recognised practices, each dimension relies on different priorities, behaviours, and constraints.

The first definitions of humanitarian interventions have been shaped by state-centric realist doctrine. States are the most important actors, since

intervention is the threat of force across state borders by a state (or a group of states) aimed at preventing or ending individuals' fundamental rights and grave violations, without asking for the permission of the state within whose territory force is applied (Holzgrefe and Keohane 2003). Other approaches introduce additional actors and engage new debates on the roles that different organisations can play within the humanitarian system. The relevance of IGOs is at the core of literature on the UN as the formal peace provider, as officially stated in the Charter, but the interest in regional organisations and their ability to promote stabilisation is increasing (Attinà 2012). Henri Dunant's call "to form relief societies for the purpose of having care given to the wounded in wartime by zealous, devoted and thoroughly qualified volunteers" is at the basis of the 'special identity' of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), as an actor which is not an IGO or a non-state actor, but whose legitimacy rather stems from international law. Even humanitarian NGOs have shown that they occupy a specific place within the system, thanks to their organisational capacities.

At least six international categories of actors can be recognised as part of the humanitarian system, as follows:

- The group of UN agencies, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), OCHA, the World Food Program (WFP), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF);
- Regional organisations (EU, African Union; Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe);
- The governments of states, including those affected by the emergencies;
- International Red Cross actors, national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies;
- International NGOs;
- Local NGOs and civil society organisations acting in the countries affected by the emergencies, and working in cooperation with the UN or international NGOs (Irrera 2013).

Within the UN system, humanitarian NGOs have historically found the most significant laboratory to strengthen their expertise and test their roles towards states and institutional bodies by using formal accreditation and successive relations with the United Nations Economic and Social

Council to shape practices and norms, being the universally recognised realm in which the notion of collective security and humanitarian interventions—and their developments—has been conceived and structured.

As part of this process, humanitarian NGOs started to fulfil specific functions, such as providing assistance, promoting peace-building activities, and supporting development, in parallel to UN bodies. Practical assignments are widespread between non-state actors and the UN, particularly in operational programmes managed by those agencies (WFP, UNHCR) which have a more established tradition of cooperation with the private sector (Seybolt 2009). This process is a mixture of those top-down general reforms promoted by the UN and the bottom-up attempts made by NGOs to exert a stronger influence in humanitarian action. The main objective was to be able to cope with permanent challenges deriving from complex situations in which humanitarian actors have to work, that is, the insufficient capabilities to address the needs of the population and the difficulty of completing long-term processes of institutional development (Donini 2012; Irrera 2013). However, coordinating mechanisms are not easy to manage. In principle, policy instruments need to be organised to deliver humanitarian assistance in a cohesive and effective manner, avoiding duplications and guaranteeing efficiency. In practice, they are affected by many barriers, represented by the different mandates, sectoral interests, and operating principles the various actors are provided with.

NGOs are involved in such top-down dimensions of coordination, interacting with many agencies. The Brahimi Report, promoted by Secretary General Kofi Annan to make an overall reform of the humanitarian mechanisms and issued in 2000 by the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, seeks to identify practical solutions and launches the need to reform the humanitarian process. It stresses, in particular, the need to promote and sustain integrated and multi-functional interventions, provided with different competencies, without underestimating the civilian dimension and the NGO influence. The aim is clearly not only to involve non-state actors, but also to amalgamate the various parts of the system. Among them, two main agencies need to be emphasised to understand how NGOs have slowly developed their roles. Firstly, OCHA, established in 1998 as part of Annan's reform, started with the Agenda for Peace with the aim of managing policy development, and coordinating advocacy of humanitarian issues as well as the complexity of humanitarian agencies' response (Chandler 2001). OCHA is expected to bring various actors into

common structures to strengthen the UN's capacity to develop preparedness, assistance, and rescue.

Secondly, the clusters mechanism is another interesting outcome of the UN humanitarian realm. In December 2005, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee launched this tool to solve the problem of emergency shortages and enhance coordination among humanitarian actors. Clusters are groups of humanitarian organisations (UN and non-UN) working in the main sectors of humanitarian action, namely, logistics, emergency telecommunications, camp coordination and management of emergency shelter, health, nutrition, water, sanitation and hygiene, and early recovery protection. Within the single cluster, the leadership is exerted by an agency, like UNHCR, OCHA, UNICEF, and WFP, which should act as a guarantee of efficiency and transparency. This mechanism is thus expected to rearrange the relationship among humanitarian actors by focusing on preparedness over operative deployment (Jury and De Maio 2007). The goal is to skip politicised influence and to promote information sharing. Nevertheless, according to some NGOs reports, clusters are far from being effective and ensuring accountability. The proliferation of parallel structures and sub-clusters has altered the coordination environment by confusing roles and competences. The multiplication of procedures and bureaucracy has also produced some unforeseen effects, like uncertainty about fund allocation and specific tasks to be accomplished by NGOs on the ground (Stobbaerts et al. 2007).

Therefore, the innovations that have shaped the humanitarian system started in the realm of the UN, and then gradually influenced several other contexts, including the EU, as will be explained in the next paragraph. The relationship between the UN and NGOs has been described and labelled as a marriage of convenience (Natsios 1995), settled by global events and balance of power. Humanitarian agencies, governments, and NGOs have different speeds and are dominated by diverse interests. However, room for joint actions, initiatives, and practices has been found.

Scholars have consistently investigated how international NGOs have exerted their contentious roles in this system, stressing the fact that they have used the expertise established in the field of relief assistance and human rights protection to develop and professionalise their tasks, as well as to expand their areas of expertise and their impact (Rucht 2006).

However, there are various nuances through which NGOs interact with the humanitarian system, from mobilising human, financial, and material resources, to carrying out projects and programmes, to advising states to

seek wider public support for operations, and promoting fund-raising (Willetts 2001).

According to Stoddard (2003), different types of NGOs interact with other actors, on the basis of their specific nature and their definitions of humanitarian actions, which provide diverse meanings for their crisis management interventions. Therefore, while all NGOs know the humanitarian laws and principles and react accordingly, they demonstrate different ways of being humanitarians. This impacts their relations with governmental actors.

Different NGOs' attributes translate into a richness of roles that mark the humanitarian process, before, during, and after the crisis. Preventive action and mediation, traditional relief and assistance, and the increasing long-term peace-building capacity are exerted in different phases of the crisis, producing many outcomes. Studies on NGOs in civil conflicts have enlightened their ability to obtain the confidence of the local population and how this impacts relations with states and IGOs, by promoting and sharing principles and practice, contributing to the innovations of crises management, and strengthening the civilian dimension of intergovernmental intervention.

However, the roles of NGOs in the humanitarian system are also marked by ambiguity. Rubenstein labels them Samaritans, describing a condition in which they have to face several ethical and legal predicaments and deal with state affairs (Rubenstein 2015). Even though their place in the system is not under question, it is not always (and not everywhere) clear and, in reality, the provision of aid continues to be a top-down and rigid matter (Donini et al. 2008).

So far, the topic may appear obvious: within the humanitarian system, international NGOs have increased and developed their influence and professionalised their tasks in parallel with other governmental actors, which are the relevant ones. Their performances should be analysed in the broader framework of the set of relations with international and regional organisations and states. The continuous changes in the humanitarian field, in the nature of crises, and in their political and social implications require not only more efficient tools but also more legitimate and responsive ones. The world is marked by recurrent crises and order needs to be restored. What emerges from current scholarly debates is a complicated analysis of how states, international organisations, and NGOs need one another to enrich responses with more competences and expertise to legitimise actions and to sustain multifaceted

programmes and interventions. In this respect, the nature of funding exerts an important influence.

Therefore, the topic is far from being obvious and requires more research. This work starts from here, to add to the current scenario more reflections based on a specific case. Given its intergovernmental nature and the ambition of its humanitarian agenda, the EU framework constitutes a significant example and can help shed new light on how governmental and non-governmental dimensions interact in this field.

2.3   The Need for a Comprehensive Humanitarian Aid Policy: The Role of ECHO

The EU is one of the world's largest providers of humanitarian aid and can count on a long and established tradition of assistance and relief delivery. It is not only one of its main policies: tackling the needs of people hit by natural and man-made disasters constitutes a leading part of the EU's international actorness, strengthening its mission and its *civilian power*.

Therefore, any reflection on the EU humanitarian aid policy implies a more comprehensive analysis of its tools, mechanisms, and agencies, which feature the development of its security agenda.

Over recent decades, EU actions in the security field have involved a growing number of actors and have been operating at many levels with several instruments. The literature has produced a rich and wide list of contributions assessing the performances of traditional tools and the innovative practices and policies shaped on the present phase of instability and insecurity arising in many areas of vital concern to Europe. A strand of literature focused on the general strategy under which mechanisms should be viewed, and analysed the degree to which a European strategic culture has been built as a precondition for the EU to become a civilian and military actor (Jørgensen and Laatikainen 2013). In this respect, the literature on the EU's cooperation with third parties has played a relevant role, studying how the EU brings its different capabilities in the field (i.e., deployment of civilian and military missions), to provide financial support from EU and member state sources, and to coordinate its internal decision-making processes in accordance with the global security agenda. The first point has generated several quantitative and qualitative analyses on peace missions, the push factors that influence member states' propensity to intervene and the impact on crises (Attinà and Irrera 2010; Attinà 2013).

The Lisbon Treaty has inevitably introduced more issues into the debate, calling for more openness to the multi-lateral security agenda and more coordination among actors involved at all levels (Van Elsuwege and Orbie 2014).

As will be clarified in the Chap. 3, this is a consequence of the fact that the EU's emergency policies and mechanisms are part of an overall humanitarian framework, which is subject to different preferences but common problems and needs (Attinà 2012). It also deals with the increasing complexity of the crises to which the EU is expected to contribute. Terrorist attacks, financial crises, and natural disasters add their effects and pressure to cooperate across geographical and functional boundaries. Since the crisis concept is more broadly defined, the more recent debate has been enriched with contributions from different backgrounds and expertise, involving practitioners and experts (Attinà et al. 2014; Boin et al. 2013).

More recent reflections have focused on the innovations introduced by the Lisbon Treaty and on their implications. Article 214 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) clearly states: "ad hoc assistance and relief and protection for people in third countries who are victims of natural and man-made disasters" is an EU external policy in its own right. This new legal basis complements Council Regulation 1257/96 concerning humanitarian aid and the European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid, which was adopted in December 2007 as a Joint Statement of the Council, the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the member states (Council 1996).

Some investigations have stressed the technical aspects of this policy, the areas of intervention, the categories of crises to be tackled, and its limitations (Van Elsuwege et al. 2016). On the one hand, this policy is very broad, including both natural and man-made disasters, such as floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, civil wars, and ethnic cleansing. On the other, Van Elsuwege et al. point out that Article 214 TFEU cannot overlap with other relevant policies or affect the actions exerted by other actors and agencies.

The first concern of EU humanitarian aid should be emergencies in third countries. This matches the long tradition the EU has advanced in the promotion of political stability and sustainable development in regions like Central and South Africa, the Western Balkans, the EU Neighbourhood, and the Middle East. Empirical data analysed in Chap. 3 explain the factors that push these trends. However, support given by the EU in an emergency event should be provided *ad hoc* and cannot interfere with other policies, like development cooperation

(Article 208 TFEU) or economic, financial, and technical cooperation (Article 212 TFEU). Tackling the humanitarian implications of a crisis involves an immediate condition of emergency, while the abovementioned policies entail long-term interventions and programmes and, necessarily, require the involvement of different actors and mechanisms (other than different budget entries). This is not, however, the main feature of EU humanitarian aid. Scholars have observed that the confinement of the policy to the so-called *humanitarian needs* makes it differ from civil protection cooperation, another tool at the disposal of the EU to provide relief assistance to people in distress, and this is directly linked to the more immediate consequences of natural or man-made disasters (Fink-Hooijer 2014).

Article 196 TFEU specifically enumerates those tools that can be mobilised, not only in third countries but also within the EU. Finally, scholars have also investigated how the EU's humanitarian aid differs from one of the most relevant EU policies in the field of security, Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). The EU's humanitarian aid is based on specific principles, derived from international humanitarian law. Over the decades, such principles have slowly but steadily changed and been reshaped, according to the constant changes in nature and implications of crises. Humanitarian principles drive assistance to reduce or prevent grief, irrespective of any political considerations. However, although they are based on common principles (which are coherent with those humanitarian principles that are universally accepted and recognised), EU humanitarian aid and CSDP cannot complement each other in the sense that humanitarian aid cannot be considered a tool for facilitating supporting crisis management missions (EU Commission 2015).

What emerges from this set of reflections is the consideration that, first, the spirit of the Lisbon Treaty is aimed at elaborating and specifying the EU's comprehensive approach to external conflicts and crises, and second, humanitarian principles are concretised in different policies, each clearly defined and confined within specific boundaries. In this respect, the EU's post-Lisbon response to emergency situations has been gripped by the need to reconcile the specific features of humanitarian aid with the ambition to establish more coherence among its external policies.

A second set of investigations has focused on actors, particularly the need to consider the plurality and diversity of actors in a non-hierarchical perspective (Lavallée 2013). States, European institutions, and bodies are directly or indirectly involved in the humanitarian aid mechanisms and

interact with external actors from civil society in terms of influence, consultancy, and expertise (Knutsen 2008; Irrera 2010, 2013).

Obviously, the relations between member states and EU institutions are the most visible and prolific. Member states have entrusted the European Commission with the execution of EU policies within specified domains mainly because of its ability to develop and deploy expertise. This process has been consolidated in several policies, particularly in those ones in which the technical character or complexity of some decisions would be not efficently manahed by the politicians in the Council. Therefore, the expertise of Directorates-General is the most appropriate (Tallberg 2002; Versluys 2007).

With humanitarian aid policy, the European Commission has traditionally played a pivotal role that dates to 1958, with the initial involvement in aid activities within the European Economic Community (Bretherton and Vogler 1999; Wallace et al. 2015).

Although member states have shown reluctance in providing a legal framework to recognise such Commission leadership, this continued to increase and develop, supported by a significant escalation of funds devoted to aid in the EU budget. At the beginning of the 1990s, the Commission was almost unanimously acknowledged as an effective humanitarian aid provider (Versluys 2007; Carta 2013; Tercovich and Koops 2013). This was one of the main effects of the changes enacted at the end of the Cold War. The need to react to some relevant events, like the violent collapse of Yugoslavia, and to the political crises in many European post-communist countries, to obtain a stronger coordinated involvement of the member states' governments in serious violent conflicts, like the 1991 Gulf War, led to the awareness that a stronger role of the EU in the world was essential but required more structure. Since the Petersburg Declaration and then the 1998 Anglo-French Declaration of St. Malò, the EU's foreign policy became a combination of different views about how to unite Europe beyond the single market and a single currency. The EU developed a structure of crisis management and humanitarian interventions, expected to be coherent with the global trends on humanitarian intervention, and with its own commercial, economic, cooperative, and diplomatic nature (Longo 2013). In parallel to the development of CSDP, humanitarian aid was regularly utilised and updated to fill the gaps of development cooperation and to maintain the vividness of the EU's role in some regions (Orbie et al. 2014; Tercovich 2018). Coordination with member states, but also with other competent UN agencies and NGOs (with those most active actors in the constellation of

humanitarian systems), was necessary and needed to be reorganised. This was the task assigned to the European Community Humanitarian Office (the initial denomination of ECHO), an administrative agency established in 1992 by the Second Commission Delors, initially for seven years, and expected to coordinate different actors and ensure efficiency in the delivery of aid. By applying Article 11 of the 1996 Regulation (according to which the Commission was conferred generous discretion to decide upon the best way to allocate and implement humanitarian aid), ECHO became responsible for the entire humanitarian cycle, identifying those crises for which money was allocated, evaluating the aid strategy to pursue, and selecting the partners entrusted with the task of implementing projects.

Within a few years, ECHO has become the most important executive agency in the field, with a significant increase of its budget and competences, following not only the evolution of humanitarian action on a global level, but also the EU inter-institutional dynamics.

Given the rivalries among member states and the Commission in applying the principles and mechanisms of common foreign policy and defence, ECHO became the vanguard of new public management approaches. This meant, for ECHO, a shift from the coordination of funding to UN agencies, NGOs, and other relevant actors to a more proactive and decisional task (Orbie 2009; Carta 2012; Tercovich 2018).

This apparently technical process is rather political. Within the global humanitarian system, in which the EU humanitarian aid policy plays an important role, ECHO has become a bridge between the governmental and non-governmental dimensions by enhancing the role and involvement of NGOs, without conflicting with the relations they have maintained with member states. This double channel is most visible in the funding of NGOs' projects directly implemented in the field. However, the analysis of the amount provided also reveals interesting facts about the member states' behaviour and trends in ECHO strategy, which can shed new light on the topic and launch further reflections.

Before reflecting more deeply, it is important to understand the mechanisms that rule the work done by ECHO, particularly in terms of funding. Since its creation in 1992, ECHO, which has enlarged its competencies to also become responsible for civil protection, has worked within the Framework Partnership Agreements (FPA), as the instrument that defines and oversees the principles of partnership with humanitarian organisations, specifies the respective roles, rights, and obligations of partners, and contains the legal provisions applicable to the humanitarian operations.

Agreements are settled with NGOs and with international organisations having a humanitarian mission, including UN agencies to which the EC/UN Financial Administrative Framework Agreement (FAFA) is applied. The first ECHO FPA was adopted in 1993, the second in 1998, and the third in 2003. Approximately half of the EU's relief aid has been provided by ECHO to NGOs, and to UN agencies and other organisations, like the ICRC and national Red Cross and Red Crescent Society. The new mechanism, established in 2004, represented a supplementary specification of the long and established relations with NGOs and a more sophisticated way to profit from the expertise they have in developing countries.

ECHO constitutes one of the preferred channels for NGOs to access EU funds and develop their projects in the field. The activities NGOs have carried out over the decades fit coherently into the overall policy framework developed by the EU institutions and member states, as stated by the abovementioned Article 214 of the TFEU,[1] which clearly provides the feature of the EU actions in the field of humanitarian aid. Such interventions should be complemented and reinforced by those of the member states, according to humanitarian principles, international law, and the common EU objectives. Despite the inevitable rivalries, humanitarian policy has been built through common efforts and attempts to identify shared ideas and practices. The result is a consolidated tradition of common policy-making and a set of programmes and resources which continue to complement the national ones. Member states remain relevant actors and maintain their entitlements. They finance both bilateral and collective assistance, that is, the opportunity to make direct donations to a foreign country as well as indirect donations via the EU's budget allocation to assistance programmes (Attinà 2014). In executing these important duties, member states have extensively exploited the expertise of NGOs—national or international—and delegated ample functions and executive tasks as implementing actors in the field.

Obtaining EU funds is important to NGOs' work to sustain their projects. The roles that civil society can play are, however, required and often claimed. NGOs can often serve as a bridge between the EU interventions and the local communities, especially in countries with low levels of trust in national authorities. Cooperation with civil society organisations can provide an important mechanism for increasing public trust and even legitimating any EU external interventions and, as a consequence, enhancing their effectiveness. In recent years, NGOs have gradually but intensely occupied a privileged place on the ECHO agenda. According to

official data, more than 37% of the ECHO 2016 budget was directed to proposals submitted by NGOs.

Scholars have sustained the support to NGOs' programmes and projects on crucial aspects, such as community policing, mediation, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), and peace-building, constituting the real strength of ECHO activities (Mowjee 1998; Gourlay 2006).

Where concerted action in monitoring or capacity-building is required, NGOs may be important during the comprehensive planning processes to ensure the complementary application of EU funding instruments. In parallel, criticisms have been raised. Some analyses have underlined how funding roles, like the one played by ECHO, can uphold the politicisation of humanitarian aid regarding NGOs, although the EU aims at strictly adhering to the universally recognised humanitarian principles (Dany 2015).

2.4   Critical Actors in a Critical Policy Field

The analysis of the impact of NGOs in the EU humanitarian aid policy is part of a wider reflection on the influence that civil society organisations try to exert on global politics, and reflects the need for greater democratisation and transparency in the policy-making processes at various levels.

As already clarified, within the constellation of non-state actors in the humanitarian system, NGOs represent the most visible and active, able to play extensive roles and to interact with states and international and regional organisations. The level of commitment, the volume of resources they can mobilise, and the ability to build networks make them useful and required, but also controversial.

In many policy fields—particularly those related to security and humanitarian issues—NGOs are often criticised and accused of ambiguity, lack of transparency, and/or inappropriate performances. Within the complex set of actors, norms, and practices that constitute the EU humanitarian aid policy, NGOs have gradually, but efficaciously, developed their relations with the communitarian institutions, identifying their main interlocutor in the ECHO structure. They have maintained and strengthened their cooperation with member states, which remain a powerful and consolidated channel.

In both contexts and towards both interlocutors, NGOs have offered themselves as *implementing actors*. The investigation at the core of this book aims at using this interesting and meaningful notion to understand

current trends in the EU humanitarian aid policy as a platform on which member states, ECHO, and NGOs interact in parallel ways.

The notion of an implementing actor can be understood in different terms, connected to the relations between the actor requested to implement (NGOs) and those that commend (ECHO/member states). Scholars have stressed at least three features. First, implementation can be directly linked to the relations with donors, and with NGOs used to promote their donors' preferences and/or discharge their moral responsibilities (Rubenstein 2015; Pogge 2006). Second, it can follow an economic dynamic, in the sense that NGOs may 'sell' the emergency aid they can provide, like multi-national actors to their donors, acting as entrepreneurs towards their recipients (Bob 2005). Third, in a broader sense, NGOs can trust considerable levels of private funding, with the opportunity to choose between various sources of public funding. In this respect, the financial dependence of NGOs on their donors should not be exaggerated, since they can count on ECHO and member states (Petiteville 2001).

One may consider different qualitative aspects of implementation, for example, the different impacts of projects on the local community. To reply to the initial research questions and to understand how the double channel influences the EU humanitarian aid policy and contributes to shaping its trends and aims, in this book the notion of the implementing actor is intended to be even broader. Even though the relationship between ECHO and its NGO partners is one of mutual dependence, with ECHO trusting NGOs for the actual execution of humanitarian assistance, NGOs preserve autonomy and, far from being simple executors, are aware of humanitarian principles and ECHO's policy objectives, and fulfil their tasks accordingly, being able to select intervention zones and being responsible for the planning and implementation of humanitarian operations.

As shown through this initial overview, this is a crucial policy field, abundantly examined, yet deserving fresh investigations. In an age of uncertainty, marked by humanitarian crises that escalate and require more interventions, non-state actors that are as contested as they are needed, and a set of EU responses that reflect divisions and confusion, there is room for more politically-oriented research.

NOTES

1. Part Five Title III Cooperation with Third Countries and Humanitarian Aid, Chap. 3 Humanitarian Aid.

References

Attinà, Fulvio. 2012. *The Politics and Policies of Relief, Aid and Reconstruction*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2013. Multilateralism and Conflict Management: Assessing Peace Operations. In *Globalisation, Multilateralism, Europe. Towards A Better Global Governance*, ed. Mario Telò, 373–387. Farnham: Ashgate.

———. 2014. European Aid to Foreign Countries in Emergencies – Are ECHO and the EU Large-Donor Countries on the Same Track? *Romanian Journal of European Affairs* 14 (3): 5–21.

Attinà, Fulvio, and Daniela Irrera, eds. 2010. *Multilateral Security and ESDP Operations*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Attinà, Fulvio, Arjen Boin, and Magnus Ekengren. 2014. Designing EU Crisis Management Capacities: Filling the Glass. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 22: 129–130.

Bob, Clifford. 2005. *The marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media and International Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boin, Arjen, Magnus Ekengren, and Mark Rhinard. 2013. *The European Union as a Crisis Manager. Patterns and Prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bretherton, Charlotte, and John Vogler. 1999. *The European Union as a Global Actor*. London: Routledge.

Carta, Caterina. 2012. Inside the Machinery: the Long Journey of the EU Diplomatic nService. In *Handbook in Europe and International Institutions: Performance, Policy, Power*, ed. K.E. Jørgensen, 41–52. London: Routledge.

———. 2013. *The European Union Diplomatic Service: Ideas, Preferences and Identities*. Basingstoke: Routledge.

Chandler, David. 2001. The Road to Military Humanitarianism: How the Human Rights NGOs Shaped a New Humanitarian Agenda. *Human Rights Quarterly* 23 (3): 678–700.

Crawford, Neta. 2002. *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dany, Charlotte. 2015. Politicization of Humanitarian Aid in the European Union. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 20 (3): 419–437.

Donini, Antonio. 2006. Is Universality Under Threat? Humanitarian Aid and Intervention in the 2000s. In *Building a Transnational Civil Society. Global Issues and Global Actors*, ed. Ingo Richter, Sabine Berking, and Ralf Muller-Schmid, 217–240. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.

———, ed. 2012. *The Golden Fleece: Manipulation and Independence in Humanitarian Action*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.

Donini, Antonio, Larissa Fast, Greg Hansen, Simon Harris, Larry Minear, Tasneem Mowjee, and Andrew Wilder. 2008. *Humanitarian Agenda 2015: Final Report: The State of the Humanitarian Enterprise*. Feinstein International Center, 11.

EU Council. 1996. *Council Regulation on Humanitarian Aid*, 1257/96, in OJEC L 163, 2, July.

European Commission. 2015. *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, 'Towards the World Humanitarian Summit: A Global Partnership for Principled and Effective Humanitarian Action'*. COM (2015) 419 final.

Fink-Hooijer, Florika. 2014. The EU's Competence in the Field of Civil Protection. In *EU Management of Global Emergencies: Legal Framework for Combating Threats and Crises*, ed. Inge Govaere and Sara Poli, 137–146. Boston: Brill Nijhoff.

Gourlay, Catriona. 2006. *Partners Apart: Enhancing Cooperation Between Civil Society and EU Civilian Crisis Management in the Framework of ESDP*. Jyväskylä: Gummerus Kirjapaino.

Holzgrefe, J.L., and Robert Keohane, eds. 2003. *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Irrera, Daniela. 2010. NGOs Roles in Humanitarian Interventions and Peace Support Operations. In *Multilateral Security and ESDP Operations*, ed. Fulvio Attinà and Daniela Irrera, 71–86. London: Ashgate.

———. 2013. *NGOs Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Jørgensen, Knud Erik, and Katie Verlin Laatikainen. 2013. *Routledge Handbook on the European Union and International Institutions: Performance, Policy, Power*. London: Routledge.

Jury, Allan, and Giammichele De Maio. 2007. Cluster Approach – A Vital Operational Tool. *Forced Migration Review* 29: 37–38.

Kent, Randolph. 1987. *Anatomy of Disaster Relief*. London: Pinter.

Knutsen, Bjørn Olav. 2008. *The EU and the Challenges of Civil-Military Coordination at the Strategic Level*. Kjeller, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), FFI-rapport 2008/01463.

Lavallée, Chantal. 2013. From the Rapid Reaction Mechanism to the Instrument for Stability: The Empowerment of the European Commission in Crisis Response and Conflict Prevention. *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 9 (3): 372–389.

Longo, Francesca. 2013. The Relevance of Security Sector Reform in Humanitarian Intervention: The Case of the European Union in the Mediterranean. *Democracy and Security* 9 (1–2): 177–192.

Minear, Larry. 2002. *The Humanitarian Enterprise: Dilemmas and Discoveries*. Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Mowjee, Tasneem. 1998. The European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO): 1992–1999 and Beyond. *Disasters* 22 (3): 250–267.

Natsios, Andrew S. 1995. NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation? *Third World Quarterly* 16 (3): 405–420.

Orbie, Jan, ed. 2009. *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Orbie, Jan, Peter Van Elsuwege, and Fabienne Bossuyt. 2014. Humanitarian Aid as an Integral Part of the European Union's External Action: The Challenge of Reconciling Coherence and Independence. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 22 (3): 158–165.

Petiteville, Franck. 2001. La coopération économique de l'Union européenne entre globalisation et politisation. *Revue française de science politique* 51 (3): 431–458.

Pogge, Thomas. 2006. Moral Priorities for International Human Rights NGOs. In *Ethics in Actions*, ed. Daniel Bell and Jean-Marc Coicaud, 218–256. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rubenstein, Jennifer. 2015. *Between Samaritans and States.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rucht, Dieter. 2006. Critique of Capitalism in the Era of Globalization – Old Wine in New Bottles? In *Building a Transnational Civil Society. Global Issues and Global Actors*, ed. Ingo Richter, Sabine Berking, and Ralf Muller-Schmid, 109–2134. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.

Seybolt, Taylor B. 2009. Harmonizing the Humanitarian Aid Network: Adaptive Change in a Complex System. *International Studies Quarterly.* 53 (4): 1027–1050.

Spearin, Christopher. 2001. Private Security Companies and Humanitarians: A Corporate Solution to Securing Humanitarian Spaces? *International Peacekeeping* 8 (1): 20–43.

Stoddard, Abby. 2003. Humanitarian NGOs: Challenges and Trends. In *Humanitarian Action and the 'Global War on Terror': A Review of Trends and Issues*, ed. Joanna Macrae and Adele Harmer. London: HGP Report 14.

Stobbaerts, Eric, Sarah Martin, and Katharine Derderian. 2007. Integration and UN Humanitarian Reforms. *Forced Migration Review* 29: 18–20.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. Delegation to Supranational Institutions: Why, How, and with What Consequences. *West European Politics* 25 (1): 23–46.

Tercovich, Giulia. 2018. A Quest for Legitimacy: The Evolution of the EU in the Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management Field. In *Security Beyond the State. The EU in an Age of Transformation*, ed. Claudia Morsut and Daniela Irrera. Barbara: Budrich Publishers. forthcoming.

Tercovich, Giulia, and Joachim Koops. 2013. *Assessing the EU's Joint Communication on the Comprehensive Approach: Implications for EU Crisis Response and Conflict Prevention.* GGI Briefing Paper, December. http://

www.globalgovernance.eu/press/publications/assessing-the-eus-joint-communication-on-the-comprehensive-approach-implications-for-eu-crisis-response-and-conflict-prevention/

Van Elsuwege, Peter, and Jan Orbie. 2014. The EU's Humanitarian Aid Policy After Lisbon: Implications of a New Treaty Basis. In *EU Management of Global Emergencies: Legal Framework for Combating Threats and Crises*, ed. Inge Govaere and Sara Poli, 21–46. Boston: Brill Nijhoff.

Van Elsuwege, Peter, Jan Orbie, and Fabienne Bossuyt. 2016. *Humanitarian Aid Policy in the EU's External Relations, The Post-Lisbon Framework*. Stockholm: SIEPS no. 3. http://www.sieps.se/sites/default/files/2016_3_rapp_en.pdf

Versluys, Helen. 2007. Explaining Patterns of Delegation in EU Humanitarian Aid Policy. *Perspectives the Central European Review of International Affairs* 28: 63–84.

Wallace, Helen, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, eds. 2015. *Policy-making in the European Union*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Willetts, Paul. 2001. Transnational Actors and International Organizations in Global Politics. In *The Globalisation of World Politics*, ed. John Baylis and Steve Smith, 356–383. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The EU Humanitarian Aid Policy and NGOs: A Theoretical Overview

Abstract The EU humanitarian aid policy constitutes a paradigmatic example of how governmental and non-governmental dimensions interact directly and indirectly. This chapter is a theoretical introduction to the main arguments and is based on International Relations theories, as well as the main interdisciplinary debate. Based on the assumption that, in the current phase of world politics, the global institutions are undergoing a process of change, and that the relations among civil society organisations and institutions in public policy-making need further research, the chapter introduces the literature on the tasks and relevance of NGOs in the humanitarian actions, then discusses the innovative contributions on complex emergencies and transboundary crises, and finally combines diverse literature for postulating a more comprehensive framework that can be used to analyse empirical data and offer some preliminary conclusions.

3.1   EXPLAINING THE HUMANITARIAN SYSTEM: THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS

As discussed in the Chap. 2, the EU humanitarian aid policy constitutes a paradigmatic example of how governmental and non-governmental dimensions interact directly and indirectly. The multifaceted internal structure of the EU allows diverse competences and levels to co-exist and co-act. The Commission has 'invented' ECHO by conferring on it more and more political power, without upsetting the entitlements of member states. The focus of this book is NGOs and the ways they cooperate with ECHO and member states. Therefore, this chapter presents a theoretical framework that tries to explain this double channel, by including the complexities of crises and the changing nature of interventions. Even though theories of International Relations are considered dominant, the analysis also includes contributions from different literatures and links them. In particular, the literature on crisis management and the responses to transboundary crises are underpinned as the most efficient framework for reading the ways through which the EU humanitarian aid policy is developing and how NGOs fit into it.

Based on the main assumption that, in the current phase of world politics, the global institutions are undergoing a process of change, and that the relations among civil society organisations and institutions in the public policy-making need further research, the chapter introduces the literature on the tasks and relevance of NGOs in humanitarian actions, then discusses the innovative contributions on complex emergencies and transboundary crises, and finally combines diverse literature for postulating a more comprehensive framework, which can be used to analyse empirical data and offer preliminary conclusions.

International Relations scholars have extensively debated the ways through which the global governmental system has tried to provide security by managing emergencies and assisting people. As mentioned, this research is focused on the interactions between governmental and non-governmental actors and how these impact policies. Two main specific features of this copious literature are selected and exploited.

First, it is vital to understand how the shifting nature of crises and emergencies has been investigated. In this sense, International Relations studies on the complex emergencies should be complemented with the literature that stresses the various definitions of crisis. This is not only a definitional effort, but also an attempt to identify the most operational notions. This

leads to the second feature, the establishment of innovative and more sophisticated tools and mechanisms, which require additional competencies, abilities, and expertise. In this regard, different contributions are combined to explain what is happening within the EU.

3.1.1   Tackling the Complexity: From Traditional Humanitarianism to Transboundary Crises

In recent decades, the growth and diversification of crises have pushed the world governmental system to act more collectively, by implementing and adapting new and traditional instruments, driven by the notion of protection of people. Even though aid is intended to be provided to all human beings on an impartial basis, it is, in practice, properly given according to various grades of gravity, competence, and problem-solving capacities.

So-called classical humanitarianism is based on the ideas of Henry Dunant who, in his book *Memory of Solferino*, described the violence and suffering inflicted on soldiers and civilians during war. Having personally experienced such distress, he decided to promote a collective reflection on the provision of aid by neutral civilian agencies. This approach was developed through the Red Cross Movement and humanitarian law and was officially declared in the UN General Assembly Resolution 46/182. According to this Resolution, humanitarian assistance should be provided in accordance with the principles of humanity (to be addressed to the most vulnerable, wherever they are), neutrality (without engaging in hostilities or taking sides), and impartiality (without discrimination). The literature has discussed the ways through which such principles have been applied and interpreted (Fox 2001; Warner 2013). Actors' reactions to world events continued to affirm and consolidate principles, making them universally accepted. The humanitarian system started to be characterised—especially after the end of the Cold War—by a process of re-definition that, although faithful to its principles, tries to manage the most salient political aspects, namely, power relations, response effectiveness, and the ethical, legal, and moral consequences and challenges of humanitarian crisis response.

Not only have principles been developed and shaped over the decades, they have also promoted more interactions within the humanitarian system, involving a wide variety of actors, including NGOs.

The Humanitarian Charter, for example, was the final product of a communal project, the Sphere project, endorsed by the United Nations,

the major humanitarian NGOs, the Red Cross/Crescent Movement, and the International Committee of the Red Cross, with the partial funding of ECHO. According to the preamble of the Charter: "*We reaffirm our belief in the humanitarian imperative and its primacy … that all possible steps should be taken to prevent or alleviate human suffering arising out of conflict or calamity, and that civilians so affected have a right to protection and assistance.*"

It took a long and troubled journey to find agreement, but even though, in current times, most international humanitarian organisations agree on the same universal fundamental principles that underpin their activities, the process is still ongoing, strictly linked to the shifting nature of emergencies and crises.

Social scientists are increasingly concerned with the diffusion of the implications of armed conflicts, as well as natural disasters and crises of contemporary societies, like financial crunches, killings, and plagues (Duffield 1994; Attinà 2012). Official documents prefer to use the notion of *complex emergency* to refer to any humanitarian crisis in a country or region caused by the total or considerable breakdown of the official authority, which requires a response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of a single actor. Such emergencies may be associated with ethnic conflict, human rights abuse, food insecurity, mass population movements, and/or displacement (Natsios 1995; Weiss and Collins 1996). Collective response policies to address the causes and consequences of such crises, by avoiding the costs of duplication and overlapping, are essential for relieving human suffering and providing security to the system.

Attinà condenses emergencies into four categories, each producing different implications: (1) man-made disasters, namely, large-scale human violence like war, genocide, and mass persecution; (2) massive poverty of a society, causing little or no means for decent life like food, shelter, clothing, healthcare, and education; (3) natural disasters, like floods, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, droughts, wildfire, and geologic processes; and (4) systemic-risk problems, the collapse of important infrastructures and technological systems, or global crisis in the financial sector. Even though they are quite different, such emergencies can produce problems that have many aspects in common and require response policies, actions, and measures able to assist victims, strengthen political order and security, rebuild the infrastructures, and re-launch the local economy (Attinà 2013). Additionally, beyond traditional interventions in the post-crisis phase, they

require working on preparedness and prevention of emergencies and strengthening states' resilience (Attinà 2015).

This kind of investigation may appear more technical and related to the specific implications agencies must consider when preparing and planning adequate response. There are, however, more political aspects to consider.

Scholars who have widely analysed the notion of crisis have offered a broader framework for understanding how its changing nature impacts policies, and they have demonstrated how essential it is to clarify what is perceived as a real 'crisis'.

'Crisis' is a term frequently utilised loosely, in many instances largely because of the motivation to garner attention to a particular issue or to guide the current discourse away from its usual path. In order to distinguish events that are worthy of study from those that are not, it is imperative to streamline the definition of the concept of 'crisis' to have a more comprehensive label that can be operationalised.

Generally, a 'crisis' can be perceived as an event that marks a phase of disorder in the seemingly 'normal' development of a system (Boin et al. 2005; Saurruger and Terpan 2016). According to a more structured definition, crisis is "socially unsettled times" and implies the re-establishment of a condition in which "order is imposed upon disorder" (Mattern 2005). A workable conception of crisis that can be operationalised thus combines these two definitions, which clearly defines it and distinguishes it from general threats.

Summarising what emerges from these investigations, a crisis:

- is an immediate and ongoing situation of disorder that threatens the high-priority goals of more than one member of a regional integration project;
- occurs where the amount of time available for an urgent response is highly restricted and;
- occurs where it was previously unanticipated and therefore surprises the members of the integration project (Boin et al. 2005).

A crisis can take several forms and affect different dimensions in a given context. However, its spatial dimension is rarely limited to a single domain or issue. Scholars have stressed the notion of 'transboundary crisis' to label a problem that plays out across one or many types of boundaries (Boin et al. 2013). If the notion of a complex emergency describes the shifting

process occurring in the humanitarian system and implies the need to shape policies accordingly, a transboundary crisis better expresses the complexity of the reality and, more importantly, its practical implications. Therefore, it can be considered a comprehensive and workable label that can efficaciously serve the purposes of this research.

The major categories of man-made and natural disaster, whatever forms these may assume, definitively cross many boundaries. The management and resolution of such crises require a wide range of actions, mediators, and resources, and imply long-term effects that can lead to new forms of political and social organisation and can re-shape the present security conditions.

3.1.2   *Tackling the Complexity: The Management of Transboundary Crisis*

The second feature deals with the fact that the shifting nature of security and the diversification of crises have contributed to modifying the main assets of crisis management. Scholars have copiously investigated how this was brought far from how it was originally conceived. The literature has first concentrated on military missions and interventions, as vital components of humanitarian aid. In particular, the analyses on the increase of interventions during and after the Cold War have tried to explain how military operations have gradually developed a civilian dimension, which includes activities and personnel (Pugh 1997). Some scholars suggest that the influence of globalisation and a greater interest in human rights, as a result of the involvement of various actors, should be taken into account. The so-called CNN effect is relevant as well, since the media coverage (printed and televised) of suffering and atrocities can be used by journalists and opinion leaders to demand that Western governments react and respond (Jakobsen 2002).

Another factor that explains the diversification of crisis management tools and the involvement of more states would be the spread of democracy. According to quantitative research (Daniel and Caraher 2006; Lebovic 2004; Daniel et al. 2012), the number of non-democratic countries participating in operations is growing, but the democratic ones are the majority. The existence of a democratic political regime increases the propensity of a state to be involved in solving a crisis elsewhere, first to strengthen its own security dimension and second as required as a member of the multilateral system.

Recent research has also analysed how, as a consequence of the diversified nature of crises, various tasks that are commonly assigned to a single operation are added to the mandate. This may include military and civil personnel, carrying out military, political, civil, administrative, and police assignments simultaneously (Attinà 2011).

Diehl maintains that a taxonomy of operations can be made, including 12 categories, from traditional peacekeeping to the ones he defines as complex missions, because of their multifaceted structure. *Humanitarian assistance during conflicts* is a specific category and the one in which interaction between the military and civilian dimensions is most meaningful. While *pacification* involves a prominent role for traditional military forces, NGOs play more suitable functions in the humanitarian task. Last, appropriate coordination between the two would be preferable to having peacekeepers attempt both roles simultaneously (Diehl et al. 1998; Diehl and Regan 2015).

Therefore, the most exploited and meaningful tool in crisis management is changing, determining several implictions. The labels *peace support operation* and *integrated peace mission* are increasingly employed by scholars and practitioners to comprehend all-important forms of multilateral interventions for peace, security, and stability. The question of whether humanitarianism should exclusively focus on the distribution of emergency relief with conditions set by belligerents or address the root causes of conflict has been almost completely surpassed by the development of peace-building and related conflict resolution measures.

Scholarship specifically focused on the management of natural disasters and transboundary crises has offered a more comprehensive framework. Where crises are largely situations of high complexity and ambiguity, with regard to the problem encountered and the solutions envisaged—together with their expected consequences— crises usually call for action with a certain degree of innovation, however limited, on the part of the actors affected (Saurruger and Terpan 2016; Wong 2016).

The transboundary dimension produces effects that usually affect multiple sectors, groups, or countries (Boin et al. 2013). A transboundary crisis is a crisis that plays out across one or many types of boundaries. Boundaries exist on multiple dimensions; they involve geopolitical jurisdictions, organisational spheres of influence, the intergovernmental

allocation of legal competencies and financial and organisational resources, and conceptual boundaries.

A transboundary crisis affects multiple sectors, groups, or countries, leading to conflict over competencies and jurisdictions, and is characterised by contestation over sources of expertise.

As per the definition of crisis, as associated with a high degree of uncertainty, responding to crises normally requires controversial attempts to develop innovative solutions beyond the routine set of practices familiar to institutions and governments (Boin et al. 2005). Therefore, crises also imply a political dimension, since policy-makers are expected to reduce uncertainty and develop norms and practices to resettle a new status quo. However, this process may be complicated by the fact that, in case of very complex crises, it may be not clear which policy-makers are responsible and should intervene (Boin and Rhinard 2008).

To sum up the contributions of the literature, it can be assumed that crisis management involves the presence of distinct resources, structures, and/or standard operating procedures devoted to addressing situations identified as crises. In parallel, transboundary crisis management implies the implementation of a set of strategic activities thought to be effective in responding to crises in order to limit their impact.

A combination of the literature is useful for the purposes of this research and is an efficient framework for explaining what is happening in the policy field of humanitarian aid, at the global and regional level. To respond to crises that are more transboundary, minimise threats, and re-establish normalcy, political leaders need to co-decide and jointly accomplish crisis management tasks. The transboundary nature of crisis requires the identification and provision of more sophisticated tools, able to restore order and prevent the resurgence of the crisis.

In such circumstances, the expertise and contribution of different actors, particularly civilian actors like NGOs, may play an important role.

3.1.3   *Tackling the Complexity: Roles for NGOs*

Within the humanitarian system and facing old and new implications of emergencies, the roles played by NGOs have increased and developed in parallel with other actors. Therefore, their performances should be analysed in the broader framework of relations with international and regional organisations and states.

A structured concept of development aid started to be implemented, thanks to the action of an array of NGOs that, from the 1950s and 1960s onwards, engaged in the political struggle for decolonisation, human rights protections, and humanitarian assistance in Western countries, and at the UN, particularly within the General Assembly.

The events that characterised the 1970s and 1980s—especially student revolts in several countries in 1968—contributed to the creation of voluntary organisations by people influenced by the political and cultural ideas they expressed. These pushed many NGOs to become more radical, less neutral, and more institutionalised (Ryfman 2007). According to Fitsduff and Church, at the end of the Cold War, some factors explained this process and the subsequent rise of NGOs' influence in humanitarian action. The first was the new international order, no longer based on superpowers, but on a multilateral system; second, the shifting nature of conflicts and crises, as already discussed; third, the increasing importance of human rights; and, finally, that NGOs wanted to be more active within IGOs, upon accreditation to ECOSOC (Fitzduff and Church 2004).

Working with states and IGOs was undoubtedly a challenge to NGOs, since they perceived themselves as representatives of civil society and willing to preserve the legitimacy and credibility of their members. The peculiarities of humanitarian action and the ways through which the humanitarian system evolved made such dialogue important. NGOs rapidly realised that the success of crisis management depends on the number of people and groups involved and the capacity of such people to get involved and cooperate (Anderson and Olson 2003). The good practices developed in the field by NGOs became an important added value, to be offered to both states and IGOs. Empirical research and case studies have demonstrated that NGOs have been able to advance managerial capacities, which replicate the entrepreneurial ones (Oloruntoba and Gray 2006; Irrera 2016). Therefore, this approach was useful to governmental actors for complementing their programmes.

At the same time, the timely nature of humanitarian aid has contributed to making NGOs controversial actors and to building dilemmas connected to the complicated dialogue with states and IGOs.

First, as shown in Chap. 2, NGOs may suffer the excesses of humanitarianism. Scholars have observed that the search for the best quality of assistance and aid is almost an obsession. Far from being merely a technical provider, but at the same time scared of being affected by excessive politicisation, NGOs may underestimate the potential misuse of their aid and be

unaware of the unintended political consequences produced. NGOs some-times cannot properly manage the excesses of their actions, despite good faith (Hilhorst 2002; Bornstein 2011; Bornstein and Redfield 2011; Gourevitch et al. 2012; Maxwell et al. 2012; Lischer 2015). A sec-ond dilemma, related to the first, is that humanitarian aid operations some-times fail to achieve the expected results, because of the lack of (or poor) coordination among organisations. While most of the literature on this topic is dominated by 'lessons learned' studies, others have analysed the main causes of failure by focusing on the quality of relations among actors. Seybolt has used the systemic network theory to demonstrate that the humanitarian system works as an adaptive system in providing aid, in which the interaction of structure and processes explains the quality of the response to environmental demands. Therefore, aid is properly delivered and the expected outcome achieved when clusters of organisations learn to coordi-nate more closely. In contrast, the system is constrained by the workload of a crisis environment, lack of trust among organisations, and the political interests of donor governments (Seybolt 2009). Related to this is the last dilemma, the dependency on funding. At the strategic scale, NGOs depend upon the often-unpredictable decisions of key states for funding, are entan-gled in a service delivery structure characterised by competition and diffuse authority and accountability, and are divided by growing differences in how participating organisations define their identities (Stephenson 2010).

What emerges from the literature is not surprising. NGOs are part of the humanitarian system and participate by offering their expertise and capacities. They do their best to preserve their independent and neutral soul but, being involved in the mechanisms and tools as they have been developed, cannot avoid interactions (dialogue, cooperation, frictions) with governmental actors.

Tackling the crises in current times involves confronting the complexity that concerns the responses that need to be built and the actors requested to do so.

As an active humanitarian actor, the EU has developed its particular role within the global system, based on a dominantly civilian approach to conflicts and crises and a set of structured policies towards natural emer-gency and crises response. This is part of an overall humanitarian frame-work, subject to different preferences, and common problems and needs, and deals with the increasing complexity of the crises to which the EU is expected to contribute (Attinà 2012).

3.2   The EU Humanitarian Aid Policy: Managing the Complexity

As previously shown, the EU studies on EU global actorness have produced many relevant findings (Rodt et al. 2015; Koops 2011; Wong 2011). However, most contributions are focused on the outcomes, and different policies and their boundaries, rather than on the building process and its inclusiveness. Numerous challenges arose in the implementation of an independent EU humanitarian aid policy. It was essential and operationally vital to separate this policy from others and to avoid perilous overlaps with other policies, particularly CSDP, development, and human rights protection.

As stated by the European Union in its Consensus on Humanitarian Aid (EU Consensus):

> "EU humanitarian aid encompasses assistance, relief and protection operations …" and "protection strategies against sexual and gender based violence must be incorporated in all aspects of humanitarian assistance". (European Commission 2007)

EU aid is intended to be apolitical, inspired by the humanitarian imperative, and incorporated in the EU secondary law.

Scholars have intensely debated such challenges, mainly raising the difficulties in understanding the involvement of diverse actors (member states, ECHO, NGOs). The term "humanitarian" is often abused in those contexts in which its essential feature of impartiality is undermined. For example, the notion of 'humanitarian intervention' involves the threat and use of military force to halt or avert large-scale human suffering, far from the understanding of "humanitarian aid." The involvement of EU member states in humanitarian interventions—even when they are not acting under an EU mandate—almost unavoidably interferes with the perception of the EU as an independent donor.

Additionally, the humanitarian principles are not uncontested. Despite what is maintained by the Commission, humanitarian aid simply cannot be apolitical and neutral, because it cannot be disconnected from the political context in which it is provided. Humanitarian assistance is challenging in relation to disputed areas. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, through data on allocation of funds by ECHO and member states per region, specific interests and bilateral relations can significantly affect the

nature of aid, and thus sometimes the parties regard each other's efforts as foreign policy actions.

Related to this is the fact that providing access and assistance to people in need may require negotiations with dictatorial regimes and armed non-state actors, providing them power and legitimacy. Therefore, the desirability of a principle-driven humanitarian approach has almost always been under discussion (Van Elsuwege and Orbie 2014; Van Elsuwege et al. 2016).

Finally, as Versluys points out, if member states abandon their commitment to non-political humanitarian aid—for a wide variety of reasons—they can provoke a transfer of power and competencies from ECHO to the Directorate General for External Relations (DG RELEX) (Versluys 2009).

Despite these challenges, ECHO continues its work and has expanded the political boundaries of its role, as already shown. In the words of the European Commission, DG ECHO does "provide a needs-based emergency response aimed at preserving life, preventing and alleviating human suffering and maintaining human dignity" in humanitarian crisis situations resulting from natural disasters or man-made crises. This response contributes to human rights but does not address them. Therefore, ECHO supports financially non-structural activities aimed at reducing the risk for and mitigating the impact on individuals or groups of human-generated violence, coercion, deprivation, and abuse in humanitarian crises, and in compliance with the humanitarian principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence. The term 'structural' refers to a long-term process of building or strengthening of institutions, such as most environment-building actions detailed here (European Commission 2009).

In terms of the roles of NGOs in the field of humanitarian aid policy, the EU considerably increased its support, especially during the 1980s and 1990s. It provided foreign assistance through funding to NGOs in the mid-1970s with a co-financing programme which was originally quite small. The work done by ECHO and most of the refugee work by other Directorate-Generals was implemented by NGOs (Hooghe and Marks 2001; Reinmann 2006). The dialogue between the Commission and the NGOs contributed to the development of some conflict prevention norms and schemes that explicitly strengthened the relationships between the structural causes of instability and violence and the need to link aid and foreign policy.

The relationship between NGOs and the EU Commission has been shaped and strengthened through the aid policy and humanitarian

assistance in developing countries, especially in Africa. By participating in official programmes, European NGOs have promoted many initiatives of humanitarian aid, especially in Africa (Ryelandt 1995). The pressure exerted by NGOs working on cooperation has turned the EU's attention towards strengthening humanitarian aid, pushing it to develop specific policies and programmes, and creating an important standard of consultation.

Direct funding to NGOs' initiatives and projects to be promoted and implemented in communities in need has become the privileged method for driving from the top the competencies and knowledge non-state actors are provided with. The European Commission established the European Community Humanitarian Office in 1992 to handle the EU's evolution of relief operations. In 2004, it was upgraded to Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid, with an annual budget of over Euros 500 million and fortified with the inclusion of specific responsibilities in civil protection services in 2010. First, ECHO is expected to monitor the application and respect of universally accepted humanitarian principles of neutrality, impartiality, and independence in the deployment of any EU intervention. Second, it has to manage a wide range of practical tasks, mobilisation of the resources on the scale required to deliver emergency relief supplies, provision of rescue teams, setting up of emergency measures, and installation of temporary communications systems. The delivery of emergency supplies requires not only the selection of partners able to rapidly provide logistics and skill, but also extensive coordination efforts to bring together very different actors. ECHO relies on several humanitarian partners, including NGOs and the ICRC, and the UN agencies, like UNHCR and WFP (Irrera 2013).

All of this means, despite the uncertainties and weakness that permeate the policy, the complicated network put in place by the Commission continues to save lives and impact the destiny of millions of people outside EU borders. As has been observed for EU global actorness, the networks built in various policy fields increase EU structural power by ensuring that member states continue to pursue their interests and agendas, within a EU framework (Holden 2016).

Next chapter empirically investigates whether this applies to the double channel that involves ECHO, member states, and NGOs. To provide a closer and more coherent link between the theoretical framework described and the research questions that drive the research, some methodological explanations are provided.

3.3   NGOs as Implementing Actors:
From Theoretical Puzzles to the Empirical Analysis

ECHO constitutes one of the most useful instruments within the EU humanitarian aid policy for the purposes of NGO. The new financial mechanism created in 2004 was also the channel through which the long and established experience gleaned by NGOs in developing countries was conveyed.

In order to measure trends and perspectives in the NGOs' actions within the EU humanitarian aid policy, this analysis makes use of more recent data contained in the EDRIS dataset and differentiated by region.

EDRIS contains real-time information on contributions to humanitarian aid by ECHO and the EU member states. Its core objective is to capture all humanitarian aid contributions, according to the definitions provided by Council Regulation (EC) no 1257/96. Humanitarian aid is intended as a comprehensive concept that '*shall comprise assistance, relief and protection, operations on a non-discriminatory basis to help people in third countries, particularly the most vulnerable among them, and as a priority those in developing countries, victims of natural disasters, man-made crises, such as wars and outbreaks of fighting, or exceptional situations or circumstances comparable to natural or man-made disasters*' (EU Council 1996: 2).

EDRIS offers a comprehensive set of data and information related to aid provided by EU member states and ECHO to a wide range of crises and countries. It has been used because of its high level of reliability, since all information in EDRIS is electronically transmitted to the FTS managed by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), which is based in Geneva.

However, it is also worth mentioning that providing information on national humanitarian aid contributions is assigned to the Member States' Ministries of Foreign Affairs. EDRIS data are provided by member states; therefore, they may constitute only a partial overview of investments in humanitarian aid. However, such analysis allows the investigation of traditional practices and new trends in humanitarian aid.

In the next chapter, analysis is made on aggregate data, that is, at the level of international regions, focusing on the funding (in euros) of projects by ECHO and EU member states and implemented in the field by

NGOs in third countries, in the period 2005–2016, when the reformed funding mechanisms entered force.

Based on the theoretical overview presented and considering the research question this book aims to answer, data on funding to NGOs and their selection as implementing actors are used to understand—and empirically measure—first whether there is a difference between the support provided by ECHO and that given by states; second, the propensity of member states to support NGOs in fulfilling their humanitarian agendas; and third, whether member states are pursuing a humanitarian agenda coherent with the EU strategy.

These two last aspects are used to reflect on those variables that are more relevant in driving the propensity of EU member states and ECHO to choose cooperation with NGOs in fulfilling humanitarian needs.

Data cover a limited period of time and may provide only an initial overview of the actors' dynamics. However, this allows a gap to be filled in a topic that deserves further research and for the discussion of some trends destined to increase and impact the future perspectives of EU humanitarian aid.

References

Anderson, Mary, and Lara Olson. 2003. *Confronting War: Critical Lessons for Peace Practitioners*. Cambridge, MA: Collaborative for Development Action.

Attinà, Fulvio. 2011. *The Global Political System*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, and Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2012. *The Politics and Policies of Relief, Aid and Reconstruction*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2013. Multilateralism and Conflict Management: Assessing Peace Operations. In *Globalisation, Multilateralism, Europe. Towards a Better Global Governance*, ed. Mario Telò, 373–387. Farnham: Ashgate.

———. 2015. Diversity in Unity. The European Union and Member States Emergency Aid to the Countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region. *Romanian Journal of European Affairs* 15 (2): 42–56.

Boin, Arjen, and Mark Rhinard. 2008. Managing Transboundary Crises: What Role for the European Union? *International Studies Review* 10 (1): 1–26.

Boin, Arjen, Paul Hart, Eric Stern, and Bengt Sundelius. 2005. *The Politics of Crisis Management: Public Leadership Under Pressure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boin, Arjen, Magnus Ekengren, and Mark Rhinard. 2013. *The European Union as a Crisis Manager. Patterns and Prospects.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bornstein, Erica, and Peter Redfield, eds. 2011. *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism Between Ethics and Politics.* Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Daniel, D.C.F., and Leigh C. Caraher. 2006. Characteristics of Troop Contributors to Peace Operations and Implications for Global Capacity. *International Peacekeeping* 13 (3): 297–315.

Diehl, Paul, Druckman Daniel, and Wall James. 1998. International Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution: A Taxonomic Analysis with Implications. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (1): 33–55.

Diehl, Paul F., and Patrick Regan. 2015. The Interdependence of Conflict Management Attempts. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32 (1): 99–107.

Duffield, Mark. 1994. *The Political Economy of Internal War: Asset Transfer, Complex Emergencies and International Aid. War and Hunger: Rethinking International Responses.* London: Zed Press.

EU Council, Council Regulation on Humanitarian Aid, 1257/96, in OJEC L 163, 2 July 1996.

European Commission. 2007. *Towards a European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid.* COM (2007) 317 final.

European Commission Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid (2009), *Humanitarian Protection: DG ECHO's Funding Guidelines,* Brussels, April 21. http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/policies/sectoral/2012_protection_funding_guidelines_en.pdf

Fitzduff, Mari, and Cheyanne Church, eds. 2004. *NGOs at the Table. Strategies for Influencing Policies in Areas of Conflict.* Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers.

Fox, Fiona. 2001. New Humanitarianism: Does It Provide a Moral Banner for the 21st Century? *Disasters* 25 (4): 275–289.

Gourevitch, Peter A., David A. Lake, and Janice Gross Stein, eds. 2012. *The Credibility of Transnational NGOs: When Virtue Is Not Enough.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hilhorst, Dorothea. 2002. Being Good at Doing Good? Quality and Accountability of Humanitarian NGOs. *Disasters* 26 (3): 193–212.

Holden, Patrick. 2016. *In Search of Structural Power: EU Aid Policy as a Global Political Instrument.* London: Routledge.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multi-level Governance and European Integration.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Irrera, Daniela. 2013. *NGOs, Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

———. 2016. NGOs and the EU Emergencies Response Policies: A Quantitative Analysis of the Relations with States and EU Institutions. In *Partnerships in International Policy-Making. Civil Society and Public Institutions in European and Global Affairs*, ed. Raffaele Marchetti, 237–252. Palgrave: Basingstoke.

Jakobsen, Peter. 2002. The Transformation of United Nations Peace Operations in the 1990s Adding Globalization to the Conventional 'End of the Cold War Explanation'. *Cooperation and Conflict* 37 (3): 267–282.

Koops, Joachim A. 2011. *The European Union as an Integrative Power: Assessing the EU's Effective Multilateralism with NATO and the United Nations*. Brussels: VUB Press.

Lebovic, James. 2004. Uniting for Peace? Democracies and United Nations Peace Operations After the Cold War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6): 910–937.

Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. 2015. *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Mattern, Janice Bially. 2005. *Ordering International Politics: Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force*. New York: Routledge.

Maxwell, Daniel, et al. 2012. Preventing Corruption in Humanitarian Assistance: Perceptions, Gaps and Challenges. *Disasters* 36 (1): 140–160.

Natsios, Andrew. 1995. NGOs and the Un System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation? *Third World Quarterly* 16 (3): 405–419.

Oloruntoba, Richard, and Richard Gray. 2006. Humanitarian Aid: An Agile Supply Chain? *Supply Chain Management: An International Journal* 11 (2): 115–120.

Pugh, Michael, ed. 1997. *The UN, Peace, and Force, London*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Reinmann, Kim. 2006. A View from the Top: International Politics, Norms and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs. *International Studies Quarterly* 50: 45–67.

Rodt, Annemarie Peen, Richard G. Whitman, and Stefan Wolff. 2015. The EU as an International Security Provider: The Need for a Mid-range Theory. *Global Society* 29 (2): 149–155.

Ryelandt, Bernard. 1995. Pourquoi la Communauté européenne travaille avec les ONG. *Le Courrier*, 152.

Ryfman, Philippe. 2007. Nongovernmental Organizations: An Indispensable Player of Humanitarian Aid. *International Review of the Red Cross* 89 (865): 21–45.

Saurruger, Sabine, and Fabien Terpan, eds. 2016. *Crisis and Institutional Change in Regional Integration*. London: Routledge.

Seybolt, Taylor B. 2009. Harmonizing the Humanitarian Aid Network: Adaptive Change in a Complex System. *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (4): 1027–1050.

Stephenson, Max Jr. 2010. NGOs and Humanitarian Assistance. *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*: 1034–1039.

The Humanitarian Charter. http://www.sphereproject.org/dmdocuments/handbook/hdbkpdf/hdbk_hc.pdf

Van Elsuwege, Peter, and Jan Orbie. 2014. The EU's Humanitarian Aid Policy After Lisbon: Implications of a New Treaty Basis. In *EU Management of Global Emergencies: Legal Framework for Combating Threats and Crises*, ed. Inge Govaere and Sara Poli, 21–46. Boston, MA: Brill Nijhoff.

Van Elsuwege, Peter, Jan Orbie, and Fabienne Bossuyt. 2016. Humanitarian Aid Policy in the EU's External Relations, The Post-lisbon Framework, Stockholm: SIEPS no. 3. http://www.sieps.se/sites/default/files/2016_3_rapp_en.pdf

Versluys, Helene. 2009. European Union Humanitarian Aid Lifesaver or Political Tool? In *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union*, ed. Jan Orbie, 91–115. Ashgate: Farnham.

Warner, Daniel. 2013. Henry Dunant's Imagined Community: Humanitarianism and the Tragic. *Alternatives* 38 (1): 3–28.

Weiss, Thomas George, and Cindy Collins. 1996. *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention: World Politics and the Dilemmas of Help*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Wong, Reuben. 2011. The Europeanization of Foreign Policy. In *International Relations and the European Union*, ed. Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, 149–170. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wong, Rueben. 2016. Crisis and Regional Integration: Human Rights and Environmental Governance in ASEAN. In *Crisis and Institutional Change in Regional Integration*, ed. Sabine Saurugger and Fabien Terpan, 155–172. London: Routledge.

NGOs, ECHO, and Member States: An Empirical Analysis

Abstract EU humanitarian aid interventions are complemented and reinforced with those of the member states, according to humanitarian principles, international law, and the common EU objectives. The activities NGOs have carried out over the decades fit coherently into the overall policy framework developed by EU institutions and the member states.

This chapter provides an empirical analysis to enrich the theoretical framework and reply to research questions. Data are taken from the EDRIS dataset, which contains real-time information on contributions to humanitarian aid by the European Commission Directorate General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection and the EU member states.

Data are used to understand first whether there is a difference between the support provided by ECHO and that given by states; second, the propensity of member states to support NGOs in fulfilling their humanitarian agendas; and third, whether Member state are pursuing a humanitarian agenda coherent with the EU strategy.

Keywords ECHO • NGOs • States • Funding • Colonialism

4.1   ECHO, MEMBER STATES, AND NGOS: A COMPLEX TRIANGLE

As explained in previous chapters, EU humanitarian aid policy has slowly, but intensely, progressed over the years between member states' prerogatives and Commission attempts to promote more common activities. Thus, humanitarian policy has been built through common efforts and attempts to identify shared ideas and practices, contributing to building a consolidated tradition of common policy-making and a set of programmes and resources that complement the national ones. Additionally, the policy was designed to address efficaciously the complexity of new crises and to develop proper capacities to tackle transboundary effects occurring outside the EU, in third countries, coherent but separate from other policies that address similar tasks, but in different contexts, that is, development and CDSP.

However, as scholars have pointed out, it is not always easy to maintain the differences, and the relations among various humanitarian actors (both governmental and non-governmental) were marked by a growing complexity, similar to the one that affected crises.

As stated in Article 214 of the TFEU,[1] the EU actions in the field of humanitarian aid aim at matching the humanitarian needs of people in third countries who are victims of natural or man-made disasters.

Initially created with the task of ensuring and coordinating the EU delivery of aid to third countries, DG ECHO was upgraded in 2010, with the expansion of its competencies to the management of crises even within the EU (Versluys 2009). By bringing together humanitarian aid and civil protection, the Commission aims at creating a robust and comprehensive set of mechanisms of reactions and distribution. As for the first one (which is the focus of this book), the role of ECHO not only expanded in quantitative and financial terms, but also from a political point of view, ensuring that the efficacy and efficiency of EU humanitarian aid reflected a satisfactory role of the EU in the world (Versluys 2007). Therefore, technical aspects of delivery, selection of partners, identification of priorities, and funding are parts of the same sensitive process. In 2004, ECHO became a fully-fledged Directorate General, and humanitarian aid was included in the Reform Treaty. The mechanism of Framework Partnership Agreements was enhanced, and its budget consistently increased. The core of ECHO activities remains the funding of various humanitarian actors, which are essential for implementing projects and executing EU goals and priorities.

It provides funding to more than 200 partner organisations, including international organisations, UN agencies, and NGOs. The partnership with civil society is part of a broader initiative the Commission has launched in more recent years. Broadly speaking, the Commission has promoted the inclusion of CSOs[2] in the external activities of the EU, as agents of development with which it is possible to build more efficient initiatives (EU Council 2016, 2017). The conclusions of the Council are intended to be applied to a wide variety of contexts, that is, to several policies.

At the same time, aid interventions should be complemented and reinforced with those of the member states, according to humanitarian principles, international law, and the common EU objectives. Member states have the opportunity to finance bilateral and collective assistance, that is, to make direct donations to a foreign country and to make indirect donations via the EU's budget allocation to assistance programmes (Attinà 2014). The activities NGOs have carried out over the decades fit coherently into the overall policy framework developed by EU institutions and the member states, starting with development policy, as shown in Chap. 3. Member states have extensively exploited the expertise of NGOs—national or international—and delegated ample functions and executive tasks to them as implementing actors in the field.

Even though ECHO represents the privileged channel through which their activities can be funded and sustained, NGOs continue to maintain bilateral relations with member states, as a result of consolidated traditions and, in most cases, a legally disciplined framework. As already shown, NGOs have been responsive over the decades, interpreting their role of implementing actor at large and aware of their political responsibilities.

As discussed in Chap. 3, the empirical analysis is based on the allocation of funds by member states and ECHO to projects implemented by NGOs, starting from 2005 (the starting year of the new financial instruments) until 2016, since data on 2017 may be incomplete. While EDRIS provides data on all kinds of projects that fall under ECHO and humanitarian aid policy competence, only those labelled *humanitarian aid* have been considered. Additionally, the allocation per region is analysed; nine regions (obviously outside the EU) have been considered to catch the complexity of allocation and allow reflections on the coherence and consistency of the aid by member states and ECHO. The regions are the Caribbean and Central America, South America, Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) countries, the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Southern Caucasus, Central Asia, Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. While figures are used in the following

paragraphs, tables including effective amounts in euros are listed in the final Appendix to complete the overview.

Available data on the funding of NGOs' projects by ECHO and by member states can help understand many aspects of the topic. Not only is it possible to have a clearer idea of the impact of NGOs on the execution of the EU humanitarian agenda, but data also allow reflections on the member states' behaviours and their propensity to choose cooperation with NGOs in fulfilling their own national priorities.[3]

4.2   ECHO AND MEMBER STATES

The first question to be answered is: What is the propensity of member states to support NGOs in fulfilling their humanitarian agendas? Most crises—internal civil conflicts or natural disasters—are characterised by civilian populations being increasingly exposed to violence and suffering, and NGOs can, quite often, deliver aid even in situations in which access to beneficiaries is difficult due to logistical or security constraints. Thus, the employ of NGOs' help and expertise may reduce time and costs of aid. Additionally, the increasing use of civilian missions and the deployment of military personnel and tools in the field—on the part of the EU—for providing relief assistance expands the request for more civil-military coordination. Such interventions are obviously funded by member states. Therefore, the choice of supporting projects implemented by NGOs is considered a rationale investment. As discussed in previous chapters, this is a general trend in crisis management, not only due to practical reasons, but also to the need to provide more legitimacy and bottom-up support to interventions that are essentially governmental and may appear quite invasive, particularly in some countries (Irrera 2016). NGOs can contribute to making external aid more acceptable and functional. This general explanation should also be combined with different national preferences and practices that may have a diverse impact on the propensity of states to invest money and delegate its use to civilian actors. Many European states, like the UK, Germany, and Italy, have a long and established tradition of cooperation with CSOs, which, in many cases, is properly regulated. Figure 4.1 shows funds allocated by member states as contained in EDRIS.

In the period 2005–2016, governmental support tends to follow constant and stable trends. A general up and down trend can be registered, which becomes higher and more stable after 2010 and increases considerably in 2016. It is worth mentioning that, according to the data, only 23
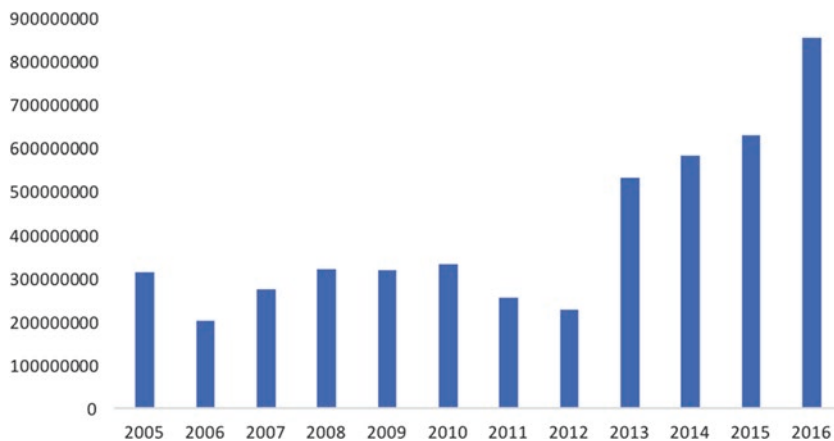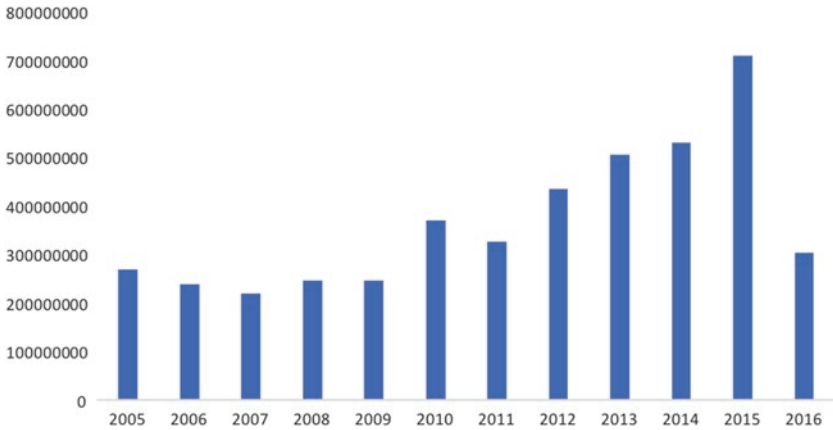
Fig. 4.1   Member State funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016). Source: EDRIS (2017)

out of 28 member states provided support, or at least there are no data about some of them.[4] The group of donors includes not only the founding members (France, Germany, Italy) and other relevant ones (the UK, Spain, Poland, Czech Republic) that have bigger and structured humanitarian agendas, but also the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden), traditionally very active in humanitarian aid, several small states (the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg), and more recent members (Cyprus, Lithuania, Estonia).

Data about member states should be compared to those about ECHO to have a clearer overview of EU aid intervention and to reply to the second question: Is there a difference between member states and ECHO in allocation of funds to projects implemented by NGOs? As shown, ECHO coordinates the activities of more than 200 humanitarian actors, including UN agencies and other international organisations. In its budget, NGOs constitute the second most important recipient. Figure 4.2 shows allocation of funds by ECHO in the same period.

Over the years, ECHO support has been constant and coherent, in line with the important political tasks assigned, representing and reflecting the EU commitment towards global crisis management. Funding is constantly increasing, except in 2016, an important year for the EU, marked by the provision of new budget lines dedicated to crises within the EU, that is,

Fig. 4.2 ECHO funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016). Source: EDRIS (2017)

migrant and refugee flows.[5] Data related to 2017 reveal that the commitment is growing again.

The comparison between member states and ECHO is essential, not only to reply to the previous question, but also to the next one: Are member states pursuing a humanitarian agenda coherent with the EU strategy?

In principle, this should happen, since states are expected to respect the EU principles, which are in line with humanitarian principles, as applied on a global scale. In practice, political constraints and national preferences may affect states' performances. According to Fig. 4.3, there are some slight differences. The figure reveals an up and down line, and in some years, member states seem to be more generous, except in 2016 (as previously explained). Member states are a bit more discontinuous in 2012 and 2013, probably due to the financial crisis, which has certainly produced implications for their ability to commit. However, ECHO and state performances are quite homogenous, and the commitment to humanitarian aid policy tends to converge. The relationship with NGOs, consolidated in many countries, constitutes an additional factor of convergence.

Other factors need to be analysed to understand such convergence. Within the wider community of governmental donors, even though most of them try to fulfil their duties, there are some member states that contribute more than others in terms of funding and, consequently, invest
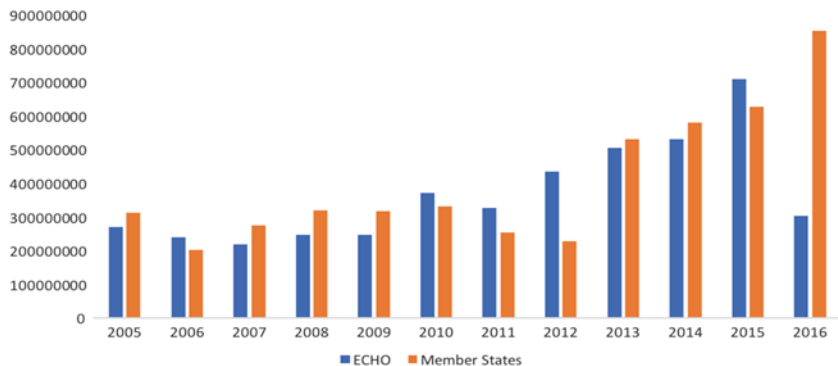
Fig. 4.3 Member State and ECHO funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016). Source: EDRIS (2017)

more in the use of NGOs to implement their agenda. Additionally, major donors have different geographical priorities that do not necessarily always coincide with those of ECHO. Therefore, data on funds allocation are used for identifying the group of Big Donors and to investigate their major investments in terms of regions. This allows for the clarification of more assumptions on the convergence on the humanitarian agenda, but also the anticipation of the last question, to understand whether NGOs have been able to influence states and ECHO performances, by interpreting their role of implementing actors, not as mere executors, but rather as active players.

4.3   MEMBER STATES AND NGOS

Data on funds allocation to NGOs by member states do not concern all member states, as already shown. Figure 4.4 demonstrates that there is a clear dichotomy among states between the upper donors (UK, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland, Belgium, France, Finland, Spain, Luxembourg, and Italy) and the lower donors (Austria, Czech Republic, Poland, Portugal, Hungary, Greece, Estonia, Cyprus, Lithuania, Croatia, and Slovenia). Italy represents the median, which separates the upper part of the chart from the lower one.[6]

It is worth mentioning that data are encoded by states to EDRIS; therefore, states' performances that show no data on humanitarian aid (or at least through the implementing help of NGOs) may be explained by

various reasons, including a low propensity to make use of civilian actors or a mere lack of information. It should be noted that all member states try to fulfil their duties and to be coherent with EU strategies. Data shown in Fig. 4.4 demonstrate that most member states, old and new, support aid policy, according to their domestic preferences and within EU cooperation. Wealth (or at least the capacity to face the effects of financial crisis) and a more consolidated practice of cooperation with NGOs can explain the higher propensity of some states compared to others. However, even within the states that demonstrated more commitment, the discrepancies are significant.

By considering the median, a group of 12 major donors can be envisaged, with the UK leading the list, followed by the Nordic countries. The Big Donors include very different countries, in terms of economic conditions, size, and tradition of cooperation with NGOs. In terms of economic conditions, some founding countries (France, Germany, Italy) are included, but the smallest states (Ireland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium) demonstrate a high propensity to support projects and, as a consequence, a more consolidated partnership with NGOs.

As demonstrated in Fig. 4.5, if the UK, Italy, Germany, and the Nordic countries have a longer tradition of cooperation with civil society organisations (through national partnerships or in sustaining EU mechanisms), the
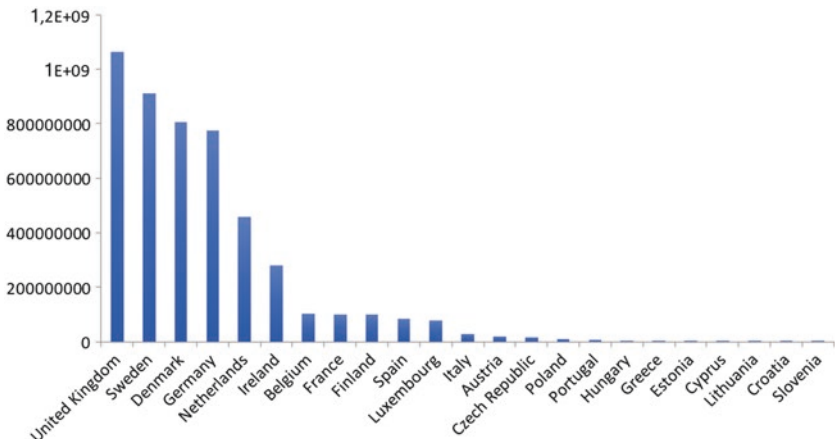
Fig. 4.4 Member State funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016). Source: EDRIS (2017)

increasing involvement of Luxembourg represents a new trend. Therefore, the Big Donors are quite representative of the multifaceted contemporary EU. A general trend of preserving a constant commitment towards EU humanitarian aid is confirmed, not only among those states from which a major involvement is expected, but also among those that have suffered more of the effects of financial crisis (Italy, Spain), and those that have less experience are exploiting civil society potentialities (Fig. 4.5).

The analysis of the recipients of funded project supplements shows more interesting insights. As shown in Chap. 3, even though ECHO competencies have recently been expanded to manage major disasters even within the EU, humanitarian aid policy has been traditionally conceived for tackling crises that affect third countries, and this research intends to continue analysing the regional commitment of member states to explore whether there is a convergence with the EU priorities.

According to the literature on European development policy, post-colonial legacies initially played an essential role in driving the first attempts to build a common policy. Member states, in particular, had privileged bilateral relations, which were closer to national interests (Brown 2000; Mold 2007). In other words, they were more likely to provide help to those countries with which they uphold this kind of relationship. Some investigations have demonstrated that these relations have contributed to shaping EU humanitarian policy by applying a method of prioritising aid similar to a structure based on the African Caribbean and Pacific countries
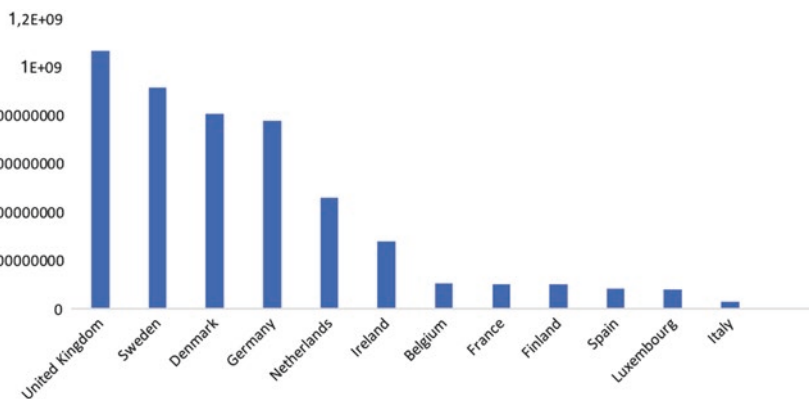
Fig. 4.5 The Big Donors (2005–2016). Source: EDRIS (2017)

at the top, the Mediterranean states in the middle, and the rest of the developing world at the bottom (Mayall 2005).

Data on the allocation of funds by member states to projects implemented by NGOs in the nine regions are summarised in Table 4.1 and then represented in Fig. 4.6. They are used to analyse the Big Donors' regional priorities to investigate whether former colonial ties continue to have an impact.

According to the data summarised in Table 4.1 and then reported in Fig. 4.6, African states are the first recipients of member states' aid. The UK, Germany, and France are the strongest donors, followed by Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Surprisingly, Italy has registered lower commitment, despite an institutionalised practice of cooperation with NGOs deployed on the African continent.[7] Here, colonial ties continue to influence bilateral relations and had an impact on the overall EU humanitarian policy, particularly if the high number of peace missions deployed in recent years to solve civil conflicts are considered. However, it is also true that the African states are most affected by natural disasters, conflicts, and deprivation. Those states situated in the north of the continent have been included in another region with the Middle East (MENA).

This is another area of concern for many European states. The area was at the core of humanitarian action because of the enduring turbulence in Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel, and Palestine, but became even more crucial after the Arab Spring and following the Syrian conflict. Among the Big

Fig. 4.6 Big Donors funding to projects implemented by NGOs per region (2005–2016). Source: EDRIS (2017)

Table 4.1 Big Donors funding to projects implemented by NGOs per region (2005–2016)

	Belgium	Germany	Denmark	Luxembourg	Spain	The Netherlands	Finland	Sweden
Caribbean & Central America	6,884,414.00 €	7,339,585.00 €	3,560,541.23 €	7,339,911.00 €	34,010,860.22 €	14,096,904.00 €	1,200,000.00 €	41,516,176.16 €
South America	200,000.00 €	9,855,909.56 €	257,149.01 €	5,048,493.26 €	1,700,327.33 €	3,984,330.00 €	0.00 €	10,378,171.00 €
MENA	18,903,415.46 €	259,153,195.10 €	130,399,028.62 €	12,560,060.91 €	23,258,644.33 €	92,215,017.67 €	6,000,120.00 €	144,734,554.05 €
Africa	71,773,270.76 €	266,170,242.72 €	374,813,282.46 €	31,998,561.32 €	18,784,304.27 €	220,022,228.93 €	66,635,381.33 €	391,531,542.29 €
Balkans	0.00 €	32,582,374.33 €	550,558.95 €	461,819.00 €	114,340.00 €	460,000.00 €	0.00 €	421,983.05 €
Eastern Europe and Southern Caucasus	0.00 €	18,370,028.41 €	9,098,088.84 €	733,000.00 €	0.00 €	14,835,727.67 €	400,000.00 €	8,846,194.58 €
Central Asia	999,988.00 €	70,705,137.87 €	69,651,806.38 €	2,639,263.00 €	0.00 €	5,975,413.92 €	5,733,000.00 €	31,701,410.19 €
South Asia	3,287,165.00 €	44,339,341.50 €	59,876,375.35 €	9,667,483.90 €	1,000,156.57 €	17,957,928.00 €	4,781,666.66 €	66,696,569.09 €
South East Asia	401,000.00 €	46,440,347.53 €	39,669,359.15 €	6,047,539.21 €	3,480,218.90 €	25,472,953.00 €	14,713,000.00 €	129,095,791.67 €

	France	The United Kingdom	Ireland	Italy
Caribbean & Central America	3,501,033.00 €	7,322,342.35 €	8,218,097.01 €	67,350.00 €
South America	278,000.00 €	1,731,000.00 €	0.00 €	0.00 €
MENA	36,179,790.00 €	582,294,395.81 €	18,186,621.97 €	10,441,638.98 €
Africa	444,557,144.67 €	331,341,889.83 €	184,428,229.77 €	16,323,313.08 €
Balkans	300,000.00 €	0.00 €	630,586.45 €	0.00 €
Eastern Europe and Southern Caucasus	2,291,819.00 €	251,720.00 €	114,500.00 €	0.00 €
Central Asia	631,860.00 €	13,163,118.95 €	9,877,433.33 €	700,000.00 €
South Asia	5,771,677.00 €	61,294,637.49 €	13,107,142.39 €	108,923.00 €
South East Asia	4,474,715.00 €	68,409,814.98 €	14,010,952.09 €	0.00 €

Donors, the UK is the major donor, and this is probably the most important case of colonial linkage. Once again, it is followed by Germany and the Nordic countries.

The Balkans, with Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus, are perceived as the neighbourhood of the EU and gain more specific attention, particularly when dealing with the need to develop lasting political stability, social cohesion, and sustainable economies at the threshold of the EU. The area has been the object of conflict resolution and long-term peace-building initiatives in different times and during diverse crises. Additionally, these countries are part of other policies and programmes, like the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Stabilisation and Association Process. Linkages with the Big Donors are not marked by colonial ties, but rather by geographical proximity and historical and cultural connections. Therefore, Germany and Italy are the most involved. Caribbean and Pacific countries, with Central and South America, receive minor attention (mainly during natural disasters). Spain is the most involved donor in the area. Finally, Asia emerges as one area in which international intervention is going to be more resolute, even in the near future. More recently, Southeast Asia has begun to receive a consistent amount of aid, due to the presence of political conflicts and disasters, like tsunamis and floods. All Big Donors are committed to providing aid in the area, with a major role played by the UK.

The overall picture of the regions that are recipients of member state aid—through the involvement of NGOs—reveals a mixture of trends.

It is probably true what scholars observed as the influence of colonial legacies: they were stronger at the beginning of the 1980s. European states were still committed to reducing the last effects of decolonisation, and the first efforts of collective aid policy were more dominated by economic issues, such as reducing barriers to trade and coping with inequalities (Chikeka 1993; Farrell 2005; Nugent 2006). Contemporary trends are different. Some special relations remain, but they are part of a global and European involvement of states in humanitarian principles and mechanisms. As explained in Chap. 3, various factors explain the propensity of states to invest in aid, other than the need to respect universal principles. Democracy plays an important role, with the consideration that the changing nature of threats and their transboundary dimension make security a collective good and the promotion of stability and peace a supranational interest.

When it comes to the EU, the choice of committing to common policies, practices, and behaviour shaped member states' agendas.

NGOs' actions influenced agendas as well. Even though they have been used by states to execute their programmes, including the initial post-colonial plans, they have tended to contrast them and push states' preferences towards humanitarian principles of impartiality, neutrality, and humanity. This is a visible case in which NGOs have interpreted their political role of implementing actor, also in respect to ECHO.

The abovementioned data are compared with those concerning NGOs' projects directly funded by ECHO in the same regions and in the same period (Fig. 4.7).

Major donors and ECHO tend to be active in all regions in an almost parallel way. In two regions, the discrepancies are greater. The African continent is undoubtedly the continent in which the majority of funds are allocated, more by states than ECHO, and MENA, where, as already shown, governmental commitment of some Big Donors is much higher than European collective efforts. Generally speaking, all regions receive support from both. Several changes have characterised the first aid programmes and contributed to shaping member states' propensity to support, beyond their political preferences and colonial past. The issue of who should be responsible for interacting with former colonies—the EU or the member states to which those colonies once owed their allegiance—is no longer significant. Therefore, consistent with general assumptions raised in the Chaps. 1 and 2, the specific field of aid policy constitutes a signifi-
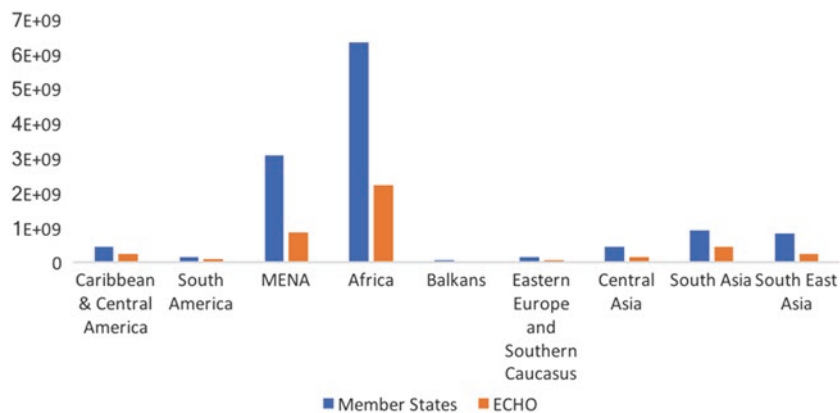
Fig. 4.7 ECHO and Big Donors funding to projects implemented by NGOs per region (2005–2016). Source: EDRIS (2017)

cant example for understanding consolidated trends, but also innovations in the relations between civil society, states, and EU institutions.

This empirical analysis and its research questions, far from being exhaustive, allow some general reflections that will require further research and investigations.

According to data, first, a substantial convergence among member states and EU institutions can be registered in the amount of support and in the selection of recipient countries. Second, there is a growing tendency to cooperate with NGOs and to delegate executive functions to them, as implementing actors. Third, these typical EU processes are consistent with the global ones. This is the result of several factors, including the changes in the humanitarian crises and emergencies, the need to develop a more coherent and common aid policy, and the necessity to fulfil the commitment to multilateral rules and procedures.

On one hand, budgetary powers and mechanisms are managed by member states (and mainly by major donors), but in a more concerted way, involving EU and non-state actors. On the other, funds allocation has a worldwide dimension, which maintains and protects special relationship, but opens to all regions in need.

Notes

1. Part Five Title III Cooperation with Third Countries and Humanitarian Aid, Chap. 3 Humanitarian Aid.
2. According to the Commission, civil society organisations (CSOs) include *all non-State, not-for-profit structures, non-partisan and non-violent, through which people organise to pursue shared objectives and ideals, whether political, cultural, social or economic.*

   They include membership-based, cause-based and service-oriented CSOs. Among them, community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations, faith-based organisations, foundations, research institutions, Gender and LGBT organisations, cooperatives, professional and business associations, and the not-for-profit media. Trade unions and employers' organisations, the so-called social partners, constitute a specific category of CSOs (EU Council 2012).
3. All data were accessed in April 2017.
4. The 23 member states which, according to the data, provided support to NGOs projects are Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Estonia, Finland, France, the UK, Greece, Croatia, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, and Sweden.

5. According to the EU Council Regulation (EU) 2016/369, from March 2016, the EU Commission can provide funds to emergency support operations designated for major disasters within the EU. The first provision started on 16 March 2016, to sustain migrants and refugees travelling to Europe.
6. See Table 4 in the Appendix.
7. It is worth noting that data are encoded by states themselves, and a lack of information is possible.

References

Attinà, Fulvio. 2014. European Aid to Foreign Countries in Emergencies—Are ECHO and the EU Large-Donor Countries on the Same Track? *Romanian Journal of European Affairs* 14 (3): 5–21.

Brown, William. 2000. Restructuring North-South Relations: ACP-EU Development Co-operation in a Liberal International Order. *Review of African Political Economy* 27 (85): 367–383.

Chikeka, Charles O. 1993. *Africa and the European Economic Community 1957–1992.* Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

———. *Council Conclusions—The Roots of Democracy and Sustainable Development: Europe's Engagement with Civil Society in External Relations.* COM (2012) 0492.

———. 2016. On the Provision of Emergency Support Within the Union, in OJEC L 70/1, March 16.

———. 2017. EU Engagement with Civil Society in External Relations, 10279/17.

Farrell, Mary. 2005. A Triumph of Realism over Idealism? Cooperation Between the European Union and Africa. *European Integration* 27 (3): 263–283.

Irrera, Daniela. 2016. NGOs and the EU Emergencies Response Policies: A Quantitative Analysis of the Relations with States and EU Institutions. In *Partnerships in International Policy-Making. Civil Society and Public Institutions in European and Global Affairs*, ed. Raffaele Marchetti, 237–252. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Mayall, James. 2005. The Shadow of Empire: The EU and the Former Colonial World. In *International Relations and the European Union*, ed. Chris Hill and Michael Smith, 292–315. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mold, Andrew, ed. 2007. *EU Development Policy in a Changing World: Challenges for the 21st Century.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Nugent, Neil. 2006. *The Government and Politics of the European Union.* Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Versluys, Helen. 2007. Explaining Patterns of Delegation in EU Humanitarian Aid Policy. *Perspectives The Central European Review of International Affairs* 28: 63–84.

———. 2009. European Union Humanitarian Aid Lifesaver or Political Tool? In *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union*, ed. Jan Orbie, 91–115. Farnham: Ashgate.

Conclusions: The EU Humanitarian Aid Policy in the Age of Change

Abstract The theoretical discussion and the empirical investigation allow some specific conclusions on EU humanitarian policy as well as some general reflections. Firstly, there is a growing tendency to cooperate with NGOs and to delegate executive functions to them. Humanitarian aid should involve a set of tools, mechanisms, and competencies which go well beyond the traditional ones. Despite their dilemmas, NGOs are quite functional and, more importantly, fulfil the need for more legitimacy, since they can obtain more responsive feedback from local communities and recipients of aid, and can make the intervention itself more acceptable and accepted. Secondly, a substantial convergence among member states and EU institutions can be registered, in the amount of support to NGOs. Thirdly, member states—at least the Big Donors, which are quite representative of the new face of the EU—tend to coherently follow the EU humanitarian aid principles and priorities. Far from being exhaustive, this research sheds new light on a policy which is still undervalued and contributes to a debate which is destined to grow.

Keywords Non-governmental dimension • EU humanitarian aid • Member states • Funding • Brexit

This book aims at analysing trends and changes in EU humanitarian aid policy by focusing on the relations between governmental and non-governmental dimensions.

Based on the general assumption that, in the current phase of world politics, global emergencies are imposing on the global institutions a process of change which is demanding and producing rules and policies, NGOs' performances and their relationship with member states and EU institutions are theoretically and empirically investigated.

Far from being exhaustive and conclusive, this research sheds new light on a policy which is still undervalued and contributes to a debate which will grow in the near future, due to the level of internal and external crises the EU is facing and the effect of some structural phenomena, like Brexit.

The research starts from the consideration that the growing participation of NGOs in conflict management and humanitarian intervention is part of the their struggle for effective international contributions to world politics and, at the same time, a significant political innovation. They have developed a wide range of approaches, but have managed to preserve, to date, their independence and neutrality. NGOs' approaches fit easily into governments' and international organizations' practice, even though they may sometimes differ. These approaches are tightly connected to the NGOs' individual identity and their specific approaches to conflict management and humanitarian intervention. In the specific case of the EU humanitarian aid policy, the relations with NGOs have been strongly developed over the years through the aid programme and within ECHO activities. At the same time, they have settled and strengthened direct relations with member states that have produced some interesting results and contributed to shaping the policy itself.

From a theoretical point of view, two features should be considered and deepened. Firstly, the spirit of the EU aid policy is rapidly moving from a demarcated policy, separate from others, like development, human rights, and, more importantly, Common Security and Defence Policy, towards a more comprehensive framework. DG ECHO was 'invented' by the EU Commission with the initial task of coordinating various actors and is now at the core of such change. Its role is more political than technical and it is dealing with the need to promote the image of the EU around the world and to demonstrate efficient capacities of cooperation and innovation.

Secondly, in parallel with the diversification of the competences and power of DG ECHO, it is clear that member states have maintained their

prerogatives to preserve and execute their agenda, without violating common principles, and rather continuing to commit to common efforts.

Towards this double channel, humanitarian NGOs have continued to offer their expertise, presenting themselves as useful and proficient implementing actors to ECHO and states (with which there is a long-established tradition of cooperation). Controversies and dilemmas are not missing. Despite their efforts to remain neutral and to be strictly adherent to humanitarian principles, it is often hard to avoid the excesses of politicisation and to always ensure that all services are properly delivered to the right recipient. This theoretical discussion has left some empirical expectations which are presented at the end of this book.

Data provided by EDRIS, concerning the projects implemented by NGOs and directly funded by ECHO and supported by member states and ECHO, have been compared. Data have been collected starting from 2005 (when the new financial instruments entered into force) and up to 2016.

Investigations on data were aimed at replying to some specific research questions, in particular to understand how great the propensity of member states is to support NGOs in fulfilling their humanitarian agendas. This includes whether there is a difference between member states and ECHO in the allocation of funds to projects implemented by NGOs, as well as whether member states are pursuing a humanitarian agenda which is coherent with that of the EU.

The analysis of data allows at least some general conclusions. First, there is a growing tendency to cooperate with NGOs and to delegate executive functions to them. This is one of the unintended consequences of the changes which are affecting contemporary crises. As the debate on transboundary dimension has pointed out, a crisis (whatever its nature) rarely affects only one sector; it rather involves multiple ones and requires an immediate and ultimate intervention to restore order. Political élites are increasingly aware of this. Humanitarian aid should involve a set of tools, mechanisms, and competencies which go well beyond the traditional ones. Despite their dilemmas, NGOs are quite functional and, more importantly, fulfil the need for more legitimacy, since they can obtain more responsive feedback from local communities and recipients of aid, and can make the intervention itself more acceptable and accepted. This process is replicated in respect to ECHO.

Therefore, a substantial convergence among member states and EU institutions can be registered in the amount of support to NGOs. Not all

member states are committed to investing in humanitarian aid, even though they are the majority. And, at the same time, not all states which are committed do so at the same level.

Within the group of donors, a list of 12 Big Donors can be envisaged, including the biggest countries, which have a more established tradition of cooperation with NGOs, but also small ones, like Luxembourg. An analysis of the recipients of aid, divided per region, reveals that colonial legacies are no longer the most striking aspect in the relationship between donors and recipients, as is claimed by some scholars. On the contrary, in aiding all regions of the world, member states, particularly the Big Donors, pursue the general interest of preventing systemic instabilities and sustainabilities as well their own particular interests, either political or economic. Additionally, the selection of third countries to support made by member states and by ECHO does not differ.

In the end, member states—at least the Big Donors, which are quite representative of the new face of the EU—tend to coherently follow the EU humanitarian aid principles and priorities. NGOs have definitely contributed to shaping governmental agendas, in respect to member states and ECHO, by interpreting their role of implementing actors, not only as mere executors of planned activities, but also exercising some level of autonomy, always according to humanitarian principles and ECHO's policy objectives.

Empirical questions allow us to make some more general reflections on the potential future perspectives of the policy.

This book is being published in uncertain times, in which more political trends will continue to develop and possibly change. Therefore, the rationale of this research is challenged and strengthened at the same time, because of at least three factors.

Firstly, the roles of NGOs and their involvement in the application of policies at various levels are constantly under question. Ethical and legal predicaments are usually accompanied—and sometimes dominated—by political opportunities. Whether NGOs will continue to implement programmes and policies at an ever-increasing rate depends on the willingness of main actors (states and organisations) and on the functionality of the interventions.

Secondly, Brexit is destined to impact the EU humanitarian aid policy, in quantitative and qualitative terms. As clearly demonstrated through data, the UK was one of the most generous donors in such policy and provided the EU with a high capacity to sustain NGOs as implementing

actors. Such a contribution will surely continue outside of the EU, but it is likewise certain that its withdrawal will decrease the level of investment in ECHO and will influence relations with NGOs.

Thirdly, the inevitability of the changes which are occurring in the global system can be ignored or underestimated but certainly not avoided. As explained in the overview of how humanitarian mechanisms have been developed and shaped within the UN system, any EU political process needs to be coherent with the global ones. The rising implications of the contemporary humanitarian crises and emergencies, the need to develop a more coherent and common aid policy and to involve civilian actors, and the necessity to fulfil the commitment to multilateral rules and procedures are part of the game.

Finally, two additional and more practical conclusions can be made, which are attempts to understand potential future perspectives.

Firstly, the expansion of ECHO competencies, activities, and budget have brought—and is indeed bringing—a massive diversification of actions and implications to be applied to more sensitive fields, like assistance to refugees and internally displaced people in conflict zones like Syria.

As analysed in the book, ECHO does not act on the ground, but rather provides mandates and resources to its partner organisations. The same mechanisms have been integrated by additional funding instruments, like the Refugee Facility for Turkey, in order to support humanitarian projects in favour of refugees hosted in camps in Turkey, along the Syrian border. To date, several international NGOs have been involved in the implementation of these projects. The operation seems to be a relocation of funds and a diversion of budget invested in a new set of humanitarian objectives. In reality, though, the expansion of the EU humanitarian agenda, the multiplication of its goals, the inclusion of more sensitive issues beyond the traditional cooperation with third countries, and the management of transboundary and complex crises can only have serious political implications that, in the long term, will produce their effects, particularly in terms of legitimacy and accountability. Understanding how NGOs and member states will continue to fit into this complicated and fast-growing set of mechanisms—with ECHO performing as a supplementary member state—can be clarifying.

Secondly, EU humanitarian aid policy is certainly driven by universal humanitarian principles and obeys rules and practices which have been established on a global level, but it should be, first of all, an expression of EU solidarity. As discussed in this book, the EU committed to a role of

international actor, to manage crises, to assist people in need, and to provide security and stability in the neighbourhood and in the world. Member states agreed to invest their resources in such policy and to pursue national agendas accordingly. The use of NGOs as implementing actors has been a factor that has complemented and enhanced both channels. However, performances are diverse and flexible. Data have demonstrated that, despite some general constant trends, the ECHO budget and member states' funding capacity may be affected by several political variables and considerations. Even the 12 Big Donors reflect an image of the EU which is marked by old and new trends, with founding members and the bigger ones as the most committed, together with some small states which are increasing their participation, and a large number of members marked by a very low involvement.

Obviously, the EU humanitarian policy represents only one of the various policies and cannot be considered exhaustive, and moreover, the aid provided through NGOs is a large part but not the only one. However, this analysis shows how the principle of solidarity is far from being perceived at the same level everywhere, which cannot be imposed by the EU institutions.

In sum, the debate is open and ongoing and requires the contributions of scholars, policy-makers, and practitioners.

Despite its weaknesses, inefficiencies, and gaps, within the EU, humanitarian aid policy can only continue to progress together with its double channels and components.

NGOs and other civil society actors are critical ones but, in the above-mentioned system, they are unavoidable.

Appendix

Funding by Member States and ECHO to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016) (data accessed in April 2017)

Member State funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016)

Year	Amount of aid
2005	313,546,509.00 €
2006	201,565,318.99 €
2007	274,291,100.02 €
2008	319,485,486.01 €
2009	317,008,637.00 €
2010	332,573,722.20 €
2011	254,589,560.00 €
2012	227,266,026.38 €
2013	530,621,318.74 €
2014	581,333,543.68 €
2015	627,681,064.67 €
2016	853,381,597.44 €

Source: EDRIS (2017)

ECHO funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016)

Year	Amount of aid
2005	270,611,606.00 €
2006	240,257,448.08 €
2007	219,607,287.53 €
2008	246,741,391.72 €
2009	246,898,392.31 €
2010	371,815,457.60 €
2011	327,305,265.05 €
2012	435,049,076.27 €
2013	505,657,266.38 €
2014	531,977,478.31 €
2015	710,085,899.74 €
2016	303,326,935.20 €

Source: EDRIS (2017)

Member State and ECHO funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016)

Year	Aid by ECHO	Aid by Member States
2005	270,611,606.00 €	313,546,509.00 €
2006	240,257,448.08 €	201,565,318.99 €
2007	219,607,287.53 €	274,291,100.02 €
2008	246,741,391.72 €	319,485,486.01 €
2009	246,898,392.31 €	317,008,637.00 €
2010	371,815,457.60 €	332,573,722.20 €
2011	327,305,265.05 €	254,589,560.00 €
2012	435,049,076.27 €	227,266,026.38 €
2013	505,657,266.38 €	530,621,318.74 €
2014	531,977,478.31 €	581,333,543.68 €
2015	710,085,899.74 €	627,681,064.67 €
2016	303,326,935.20 €	853,381,597.44 €

Source: EDRIS (2017)

Member State funding to projects implemented by NGOs (2005–2016)

Country	Amount of aid
Austria	20,284,120.00 €
Belgium	102,409,253.22 €
Cyprus	201,413.00 €
Czech Republic	14,752,314.02 €
Germany	774,767,271.27 €
Denmark	804,088,388.69 €
Spain	82,700,851.62 €
Estonia	1,013,413.00 €
Finland	100,023,167.99 €
France	100,124,618.67 €
The United Kingdom	1,062,160,329.84 €
Greece	1,995,752.00 €
Croatia	132,434.21 €
Hungary	2,632,806.07 €
Ireland	278,501,054.59 €
Italy	28,091,175.06 €
Lithuania	166,267.00 €
Luxembourg	78,909,237.54 €
The Netherlands	456,764,328.05
Poland	7,967,262.69 €
Portugal	5,064,048.00 €
Slovenia	27,500.00 €
Sweden	910,566,877.57 €

Source: EDRIS (2017)

Top 12—The Big Donors (2005–2016)

Country	Amount of aid
The United Kingdom	1,062,160,329.84 €
Sweden	910,566,877.57 €
Denmark	804,088,388.69 €
Germany	774,767,271.27 €
The Netherlands	456,764,328.05 €
Ireland	278,501,054.59 €
Belgium	102,409,253.22 €
France	100,124,618.67 €
Finland	100,023,167.99 €
Spain	82,700,851.62 €
Luxembourg	78,909,237.54 €
Italy	28,091,175.06 €

Source: EDRIS (2017)

ECHO and Big Donors funding to projects implemented by NGOs per region (2005–2016)

Region	Big Donors	ECHO
Caribbean & Central America	436,625,925.02 €	218,306,897.53 €
South America	144,260,397.21 €	89,407,022.79 €
MENA	3,073,332,750.37 €	836,394,068.08 €
Africa	6,319,735,807.31 €	2,214,518,124.66 €
Balkans	45,485,625.28 €	7,689,575.00 €
Eastern Europe and Southern Caucasus	139,363,619.75 €	56,949,580.00 €
Central Asia	429,831,944.16 €	147,632,013.13 €
South Asia	915,555,970.60 €	448,280,877.12 €
South East Asia	832,879,338.55 €	218,438,881.07 €
Total	12,337,071,378.25 €	4,237,617,039.38 €

Source: EDRIS (2017)

Index[1]

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.