

A Humanitarian-Development nexus?

A discourse analysis on the current Danish focus



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Abstract

In our thesis, we are investigating the current focus on the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid in the light of the new Danish development strategy from 2017 *The World 2030*. We are investigating the focus through a discourse analysis on conducted interviews from informants from the Danish civil society and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. We argue that the current focus is unique but that the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid has been a topic of discussion both in Denmark and on an international policy level since the 1990s. We have identified different discourses within international negotiations by analyzing documents and reports from the United Nations and related organizations and argue, that the different focuses on optimizing the work in the nexus are due to international articulations and events. Currently the migration situation and other complex crises of the world are causing a severe underfunding of humanitarian aid, which is visible in the report *Too important to fail* and initiatives are presented in the action plan *Grand Bargain*, where the nexus again is being negotiated on an international level. Finally, we argue that the focus in Denmark is highly affected by the international negotiations and articulations and that we at the same time have identified some Danish national interests, which create paradoxes when being connected to the focus of combining humanitarian aid and development aid. We will further reflect on the power relation between the UN and Denmark.

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1. Introduction

In 2015 the United Nations (UN) presented the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* which were adopted by more than 150 world leaders. The *2030 Agenda* was presented at the Sustainable Development Summit in September 2015, where the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were presented too, as part of the *2030 Agenda* (UN, 2017a). The SDGs are unique because they are universal and call for a joint effort from all countries to mobilize efforts in order to “*end all forms of poverty, fight inequalities and tackle climate change, while ensuring that no one is left behind*” (World Bank, 2016). In other words, the aim with the agenda and the SDGs is to transform the world into a place without poverty and with prosperity for all.

The world is currently facing a financial funding gap for humanitarian assistance estimated to US\$ 15 billion and more than 130 million people are caught in humanitarian crises worldwide (OCHA, 2015). The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), seeks to address the need and they have currently funded around 60 % of these needs. Even though there is currently more funding than ever, the need has also increased exponentially due to the continuation of long and complex crises worldwide. In a report from OCHA it is stated, that humanitarian aid has been the largest expense for the UN since 2014 and the need is still increasing (OCHA, 2015). The underfunding creates a need for the world leaders and organizations to rethink the use and funding of humanitarian and development aid. There is a need for rethinking the mechanisms and finding out ways, where less money can contribute more to achieving the SDGs and humanitarian needs.

In order to address the humanitarian financing gap, the UN hosted the World Humanitarian Summit in May 2016. The general aim of the summit was to: “*generate commitments to reduce suffering*” (UN, 2017a). Before the Summit the UN acknowledged the gap and formed a ‘High-Level Panel’, with a task to rethink the humanitarian funding in order to address the gap. The Panel worked out the report *Too important to fail*, on how to find solutions on reducing the widening gap (OCHA, 2015, 5). The report introduced the concept of *Grand Bargain*, which at the Summit in 2016 was agreed upon by world leaders. The *Grand Bargain* report includes different initiatives on how to improve the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid. With these initiatives, the plan is to make

humanitarian aid more effective and thereby reduce the financial gap (UN, 2016).

When talking about bridging the gap between the humanitarian and development assistance, a great part of that is due to the big financial gap estimated by the UN. Numbers from the UN states, that in order to fulfill the SDGs over the next 15 years it will require between 1,9 and 3,1 billion US dollars. If these calculations are accurate it will require the world's richest countries to spend about 4 % of their gross national income (GNI) opposing the average of 0,3 %, that the countries spend today (Danida, 2017a).

In the wake of the UN's *2030 Agenda* and the World Humanitarian Summit, Denmark has adopted a new development strategy *The World 2030*. In the strategy it is stated, that it is unrealistic to contribute with the estimated 4 % of the GNI opposed to the 0,7 % that Denmark is currently contributing with. Due to this, the strategy underlines that a rethinking of the humanitarian aid is necessary, as proposed by the UN. With the new strategy, Denmark is the first country to incorporate humanitarian assistance and development aid into one strategy. In the new strategy, the SDGs have been incorporated along with the aim to “*break down the artificial divide of humanitarian aid and development aid*” (Danida, 2017a).

With the aim of breaking down the barrier between humanitarian and development aid Danida has created a new reality with consequences for civil society organizations in Denmark. With this new reality, new requirements for becoming a partner has been established. These requirements were released alongside the new strategy in the *Information Note*. Due to these new requirements for the organizations, we found an interest in investigating how the new reality affects the organizations. The new requirements were highly criticized by a number of central representatives of civil society and researchers in Denmark. An example of the critique is the statement from Vagn Berthelsen, former secretary general in Oxfam Ibis: “*I am also worried about how the new way of distributing funding will affect the diversity among the civil society organizations*” (Ankjærgaard, 2017: 12) and by Lars Engberg, senior researcher at Danish Institute for International Studies: “*I fear a centralization and unification of the bigger NGOs, which can have negative effect for the diversity. It requires huge resources to apply for big funds and that can hurt the smaller organizations*” (ibid: 12). This interest on the changed reality for civil society organizations was our first point of focus for writing this project. We therefore contacted different Danish organizations and two organizations agreed to talk to us about the changed reality. Further we

conducted an interview with an informant from Danida. Through the interviews, it became clear to us, that the focus on the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid had been influenced by international initiatives, which is how we narrowed down our focus to the following research question.

1.1 Research question

Departing from a fundamental interest of understanding why the focus on the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid is currently prevailing in the new Danish strategy we will, in this project, investigate the international initiatives that have led up to the current focus on the nexus in an international context and in a Danish context including the new Danish strategy. The strategy stresses that there is a need of rethinking the humanitarian aid in order to address the funding gap. In this project, we will investigate how the current political situation in Denmark can be related to the current international focus on the work in the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid. This problem area has led to the following research question:

How can we understand the current focus on the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid on a policy level in Denmark?

The following questions has been raised in order to help answer the research question:

- How is this focus expressed in an international context?
- What kind of interests emerge?
- And how are these interests being negotiated in a Danish context?

As mentioned, part of our investigation included three interviews with representatives from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and two larger civil society organizations in Denmark. Based on our research question, our interest in the topic and the material that we have been able to access, we have chosen to apply the theory of discourse because we find this to enable us to answer the research question. This will be further elaborated in chapter 3, but first we will outline some key concepts important for our investigation.

1.2 Clarification of concepts

Differences between humanitarian aid and development aid:

Humanitarian aid: Short-term aid. Delivered in disaster zones, responds to an incident or event and is focused on saving lives (Humanitarian Coalition, 2017).

Development aid: Long-term aid. Delivered in developing countries, responds to systematic problems and is focused on economic, social and political development (Ibid).

Nexus: When consulting the word nexus in a dictionary, words like connection and linking are used as description. When we refer to the term ‘nexus’, we refer to the area between humanitarian aid and development aid. In the following, we will describe how this area is often described with the image of silos, in the sense that they are two independent aspect. The focus of this project is the connection of the two aspects. The term nexus is used in the field that we are investigating, which is both shown in the conducted interviews and the collected material.

Protracted displacement: Today the crises in the world are longer and more complex. Many of the crises today cause displacement and due to the long nature of the crises, the average period of a displacement is currently 17 years (UNHCR, 2014). This is what we consider to be protracted displacement in this project. Displacement due to crises are related to humanitarian assistance, but when the crises are long and the displacement is protracted it becomes related to development assistance too, since the short term, lifesaving assistance is not fulfilling in these protracted situations.

United Nations: In the project, we will employ material from the United Nations, which we will refer to as the UN. The different divisions of the UN will also be referred to in their abbreviation. We will, for an example, employ material from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, which will be referred to as OCHA.

Danida: in this project material from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark will be employed. When using the material in this project, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark will be referred to as Danida. By referring to Danida, the project refers to an area of activity under the Ministry, where Danida is a term used for Denmark’s development cooperation (Danida, 2017b). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is divided into different offices, each with a specific area of work. For this project, we are not concerned

with the different offices, but view Danida as a joint unit. After having clarified some key concepts of the project, we will outline the content of chapters.

1.3 Content of chapters:

Following the introduction and the clarification of certain key concepts, we will introduce our delimitations and methodological choices and considerations. The section on methodology will be used to touch upon how qualitative methods are used and some of the main characteristics of qualitative case studies will be outlined. We will explain our approach to using interviews and our ethical considerations in relation to this and further our analytical methods of coding. In the next chapter, we will present and discuss the theory of discourse, that will be used to carry out the analysis. Following this, we will introduce the collected materials that will be applied when conducting the discourse analysis. Hereafter, a brief introduction to the historical aspect of humanitarian aid and development aid will be presented in order to understand the changing field that this project evolves in. This will include selected UN reports and the new Danish strategy *The World 2030*. We consider the methodological considerations, theory and empiricism to be important background information, that will allow us to carry out the analysis of this project.

Our analysis consists of four chapters. In the first chapter, we will analyze the historical changes and articulations on the relation between humanitarian and development aid. By doing this we will get an overview of the different articulations that have changed the understanding of the nexus. In the second chapter of the analysis we will investigate how the current reality is being articulated by investigating reports and new initiatives from the UN in order to understand the reality that this creates for our informants. The final two chapters will focus on the Danish reality in the context of the international nexus negotiations and the Danish interests and after this we will reflect on the power structure between the UN and Denmark. Finally, we will sum up our main arguments in the conclusion. Due to the timeframe and scope of the project, we have done limitations and narrowed down our focus. This will be explained in the following section.

1.4 Limitations

We have made certain limitations in order to comply with the scope and timeframe of the process of writing this project. In this section, we will explain certain choices we have taken,

that have affected the outcome of the project. We will furthermore explain certain limitations that we have found in our research.

In the beginning of this project our motivation was the passing of the new Danish strategy for Development Cooperation, *The World 2030* and the *Information Note*, which changed the eligibility and application process for strategic partnerships between Danish civil society and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Both of which were implemented in January 2017. With these new initiatives from Danida it was, as mentioned, argued by both representatives of Danish civil society organizations and researchers that the reality for Danish civil society organizations would change (Ankjærgaard, 2017: 10-11). After conducting the interviews, our focus shifted from the organizations when we realized, that we would not be able to make conclusions about the changed reality for the organizations, since the strategic partnerships with Danida were allocated less than a month before the hand in of this project. We would therefore not be able to fully investigate which changes the new strategy would entail. When conducting the interviews and investigating the negotiations of the strategy and *Information Note*, it became clear to us, that the focus on the nexus was currently very important for the new Danish strategy and in the international community, which is why our focus shifted to focus on this. An investigation of the changed reality for civil society organizations represents an interesting topic for investigation in other projects.

An important limitation in our project is that we are relying on a certain amount of material, and that our arguments are largely based on the accounts provided by three informants. We are thereby limited by those who agreed to talk to us and the material that we had access to. We would be able to answer our research question from another level than a policy level by interviewing some people affected by the new strategy and the nexus, who had not been part of the developing of the strategy. It will be explained later how our informants from the civil society had participated in the drafting and contributed with responses to hearing requests on the new strategy and *Information Note*. A group of people who could provide a different angle, would be persons working directly with displaced people in protracted crises or people from communities affected by protracted crises. Their statements would have enabled us to understand the nexus from more than a policy level.

We find it important to contemplate, that our informants all agreed that humanitarian aid and development aid should be integrated and that they all provided answers that showed

challenges in the integration process. We could also have obtained different points of view to this by interviewing people from humanitarian organizations in believe that states should not interfere with humanitarian assistance.

We collected data about the nexus both through our interviews and through reviewing documents and reports related to this. We want to stress that we are making our arguments based on the material which we were able to collect through a brief period of time and through a rather limited number of interviews. In the next chapter of this project our methodological stance will be elaborated in terms of our project design and methods.

2. Methodology

2.1 Theory of science

It is impossible to gain knowledge of the world without being in a specific paradigm or discourse (Dreyer Hansen, 2009: 389). According to theoretician Thomas Kuhn (in Dreyer Hansen, 2009) the knowledge of science is not just one paradigm of knowledge, but several paradigms, making different ‘realities’ (Dreyer Hansen, 2009: 389). The specific paradigm brings a certain understanding of the world or reality, and is therefore essential. Discourse theory is a way to understand how the different paradigms or discourses ‘creates meaning’ and which conditions and consequences this understanding brings for reality (ibid: 389). A discourse is a concrete ‘frame of meaning’ in which everything included in the discourse obtains meaning (ibid: 390). Discourse theory and the method of investigating different discourses is therefore essential when investigating how the current focus on the nexus in Denmark is, and to understand which paradigm, or discourse it is part of. We will investigate what paradigm or reality, and what ‘frame of meaning’ Denmark is situated in currently.

In the theory of discourse everything is constituted as having a meaning, nothing can be without meaning. However, that established meaning is not universal. Because the world is always seen through a specific paradigm, which a certain understanding or meaning of the world, that understanding will never be the ‘essence’ of any object, which makes a universal truth impossible to obtain (Dreyer Hansen, 2009: 390). With this notion, discourse theory is considered an approach under social constructivism (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 4). Social

constructivism is a theory of science concerned with how the world is conceived. In this theory, the way that we perceive and recognize the world is not a direct reflection of reality but an interpretation. This is the notion of anti-realism (Rasborg, 2009: 351). Further the theory of discourse is built on a notion of anti-essentialism, where it is stated that nothing is given, but everything is a product of social processes and therefore everything is changeable (ibid: 351). With the notion of anti-realism where everything is an interpretation of reality, and with the notion of anti-essentialism, where nothing is given, language is important for how the world is conceived in social constructivism. Language is perceived as a social act, which becomes constituting for reality (ibid: 351). As there is no objective truth, understanding the world is produced by social processes, in which knowledge is: “*created through social interaction in which we construct common truths and compete about what is true and false*” (Jørgensen & Phillips 2009: 5). In social constructivism, the social processes are not eternal or universal, but rather a product of historical processes. They are therefore changeable and an understanding of the historical social processes are essential (Rasborg, 2009: 349). In this project, we will investigate which historical social processes have fixed the meaning of the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid and which social processes are creating the reality in which Denmark is currently.

The theory of discourse and social constructivism represent an understanding of nothing as given, that nothing exists inherently, and that everything is constructed through discourse. For this project, the theory of science will be the social constructivist approach and the theory of discourse theory will be the premise of analysis, because it presents a way to understand which ‘frame of meaning’ is constituting a reality right now. Discourse theory will be elaborated in Chapter 3 and used as a way to analyze the construction and meaning behind the current focus on the nexus in Denmark. Now that we have reflected on the stance in theory of science, we will explain the design of the project.

2.2. Design

The design for this project is a single-case study design. When implementing this design, the aim is a: “*detailed and intensive analysis of a single case*” (Bryman, 2012: 66). In this project, the case is the study of the current focus on the relation between humanitarian and development aid and how this is currently being negotiated in an international and Danish

context. A single-case study design is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the chosen case (ibid: 66). In this way, this design offers a way to understand the unique case of the current focus in Denmark and the incentive to implement a strategy that combines the two areas while other national interests are also at stake. By employing a single-case study design, it is possible to achieve a more detailed and thorough understanding of the case we have chosen to investigate. Since this case follows a specific issue in a specific period of time, it is considered an extreme or unique case (Bryman, 2012: 70). The design will predominantly be inductive and be based on inductive reasoning, because our starting point in the research process was based on observations and not theory (de Vaus, 2001: 5). When studying the case of the nexus, we have applied the method of document analysis, which we will now explain.

2.3. Method

2.3.1. Document analysis

We have applied the method of document analysis and used it in regard to the different articles and reports in order to construct and investigate the different discourses. Material from the World Humanitarian Summit, such as different publications and the homepage will be subject for this method. The same will different publications from Danida, such as the strategy *The World 2030*, the *Information Note* and their homepage. Further, articles related to Denmark will be employed in this analysis. The material that we will apply has not been produced with the intention of being analyzed by either students or researcher and it is important to keep the credibility of the documents in mind. When the documents were created, they were created with a specific purpose and for a specific audience, hence it is important to pay attention to the purpose and context of each document. We are aware that the documents of the UN and Danida represent statements of beliefs, but we find them valid for this project, since we are interested in the articulations, that are used in the material and the specific purpose they represent. The mentioned material has been used in our analysis along with our own empirical data, the interviews. The reports and material helped us outline the important themes for our interviews. Some of the sources and the interviews are in Danish and therefore based on our own translation into English. We consider the transcribed interviews as documents and the method of document analysis is therefore applicable to those. All the documents will be presented in the following chapter (Chapter 4). Issues

concerned with the use of interviews as documents will be elaborated further in the following section on interview.

2.3.2. Interview

In order to investigate the case of the Danish development strategy, we decided to use the method of interview and succeeded in conducting three interviews with relevant informants. The conducted interviews further helped us narrow down our aim of the project to the focus on the nexus. The conducted interviews are placed in the genre of qualitative research interviews and were based on a phenomenological approach as a mode of understanding the qualitative research interview (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015: 23). The purpose of this approach is: “*an interest in understanding social phenomena from the actor’s own perspectives*” (ibid: 26). In terms of the different kinds of interview types, we found that the phenomenological approach is well suited with the semi-structured interview, that we conducted. The aim of a semi structured interview is to: “*understand themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects’ own perspectives*” (ibid: 27). This type of interview has a purpose and a certain approach. It focuses on themes and is neither an everyday conversation or a closed questionnaire (ibid: 27). The themes of the conducted interviews were, among others, the divide between humanitarian and development assistance in regard to Danidas’ new strategy and strategic partnerships. Our empirical impact is our informants and we understand the current focus from their perspective. We acknowledge that this makes our investigation positioned and that we are limited to answer the research question from this perspective. We can assume, that the same reality is playing a prominent role for other civil society organizations but since single-case study designs do not enable ‘grand generalizations’, but rather ‘petite generalizations’, our findings cannot necessarily be applied to other similar cases (Mabry, 2008: 223).

For the executing of the interviews, we created and employed an interview guide (Appendix D) where several possible themes in relation to the new strategy were included. As mentioned, we narrowed down our focus after conducting and processing the interviews. The processing of the interviews will be described in section 2.3.6.

In this project, our qualitative research interviews have been marked by the aspect called ‘focused ’ (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 29). With this aspect, the interview is: “*focused on particular themes*” (ibid: 28). In this aspect, the interview is neither strictly focused or

entirely without direction (ibid: 31). In regard to using the qualitative research interview, this type of interview can provide a knowledge about the selected subject or theme and is therefore a knowledge-producing activity (ibid: 47). The way for the interviewer to gain knowledge through interview can either be described as a ‘miner’ or a ‘traveler’ (ibid: 47). The miner and the traveler are metaphors for a way of collecting data or construction knowledge. For this project, we applied the ‘miner approach’. With this approach, knowledge is understood as ‘buried’ and the miner uncovers it (ibid: 47). The traveler on the other hand, transform the interviewer into a: “*traveler on a journey to a distant country that leads to a tale to be told upon returning home*” (ibid: 47). The metaphor of the miner is equivalent with the way this project aims at collecting knowledge, which is seen in the way that we have collected knowledge through the conducted interviews. This will be elaborated in the following section.

2.3.3. Interview respondents

In this section, we will introduce our informants, since our empirical impact is based on the information that they provided in the interviews. Our aim was to talk with both small and larger civil society organizations, and this was fulfilled. Our conducted interviews included both a policy advisor from the large organization; Danish Refugee Council and the chairman of an umbrella organization for civil society organizations; Globalt Fokus. Both informants agreed to be interviewed about the new Danish strategy *The World 2030*. Further, we were able to add the aspect of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the informant from Danida, who also agreed to talk with us. It should be mentioned that we in the process also contacted other Danish civil society organizations without getting interviews. We decided, that the representations of the three interviews were adequate in order to investigate the current focus on the nexus. At the same time we acknowledge, that our arguments are based on their perspectives and are therefore positioned, but as the aim is to understand their exact point of view, we argue that they each provide a valid a representative extract of the investigated field and that these three informants therefore were sufficient. Each informant represents the field we wanted to investigate in a different way and could therefore provide a unique opinion of the relation between humanitarian and development aid. We can only point at a bigger coherence of the Danish focus, but are aware, that we cannot directly apply our findings to other similar researches. Because our informants represent different parts and aspect of the field, we constructed three similar, but slightly different interview guides for each informant. The following will be a short presentation of the selected informants.

2.3.4. Presentation of the interview participants

Danish Refugee Council (DRC) - Klaus Ljørring Pedersen

From DRC, the informant was Klaus Ljørring Pedersen, Policy Advisor at DRC. Klaus Pedersen was part of DRC's consultation response on both the new strategy *The World 2030* and the *Information Note*. DRC is one of the largest civil society organizations in Denmark. DRC was on the list of pre-qualified applicants for the new strategic partnerships and obtained a Danida partnership announced on July 3rd, 2017.

Ministry of foreign affairs - anonymous

Danida is a field of activity under the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The respondent from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs chose to be anonymous and will henceforward be referred to as the informant from Danida. The informant has been part of framing the requirements and expectations of future strategic partners.

Chairman of the organization Globalt Fokus - Laust Gregersen

Globalt Fokus is an umbrella organization for Danish organizations involved in humanitarian action, development and environmental questions. In the consultation process of the *Information Note*, Globalt Fokus with Laust as spokesman and key negotiator played a big role by facilitating several meetings between Danida and different civil society organizations. Several organizations that are members of Globalt Fokus, from bigger civil society organizations such as DRC and Oxfam Ibiz, to smaller organizations such as Plan Danmark and Sex & Samfund, are on the list of pre-qualified applicants for the new strategic partnerships. The final selection of partners were chosen on July 3rd and all the organizations on the prequalified list was chosen as partners. We will now present the ethical considerations we had in relation to the conducted interviews.

2.3.5. Ethics and critique on the method behind interview

When conducting an interview, several questions can be raised in regard to ethics. In the following paragraph, we will explain our ethical considerations and reflections behind the conducted interviews. The psychology professors Svend Brinkmann and Steinar Kvale raises some ethical issues, among others: *informed consent*, *confidentiality* and *consequences* (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 91). We have taken these issues into account when conducting the interviews and the analysis of the material.

Before, under and after the interviews, we have prioritized the issue of informed consent. Informed consent is about: “*informing the research participants about the overall purpose of the investigation [...] as well as of any possible risks and benefits from participation*” (ibid: 93). When we initially made contact with the participants and during the briefing and debriefing in each interview situation, the informants were informed about the overall purpose of our investigation and interest and also about the other informants, that we had or would be interviewing. We also presented the informants with the possibility of making the project confidential or the possibility for them to appear anonymous. The issue of confidentiality has therefore been raised and were chosen by the informant from Danida, which explains why the name does not appear in the project. We thereby considered both informed consent and confidentiality. The third issue of consequences, defines how the interview should not be at any risk or harm to the informant (ibid: 96). In regards to this issue, we made sure to address the option of not participating in the interview after our briefing to the informant or not to answer certain questions, but neither of the informants wished to do so. Moreover it should be mentioned, that all our informants agreed to the interview being recorded. Finally, we gave all informants a chance to access the transcribed interviews and the final outcome of the project, to make it possible for them to make corrections and withdraw from the investigation (ibid: 94). These options were not chosen by any of the informants. After conducting the interviews, we began to process them, which we will explain in the following section.

2.3.6. Processing the interviews

After we had conducted the interviews we transcribed them word by word in Danish. The statements we used in this project were translated into English in a more formal style (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 207). The transcription and translation of the interviews raise the question of reliability and ethics. The question of reliability is the question of accuracy of the transcription. We consider the reliability of the transcription of the interviews high, because we transcribed the interviews and were also present during the interviews. (Ibid: 211). Questions of ethics also arise when transcribing, such as the protection of the confidentiality of the informants. This has been an important question, since one of the informants chose to be anonymous and answered some of our questions by stating, that this was ‘off the record’. Parts of the interview has therefore been blacked out and we have not incorporated any of these statements in the project.

After the transcription of the interviews, we applied coding, or categorization of the interview statements in order to get an overview of the material (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015: 227). According to the qualitative data analysts Amanda Coffey and Paul Atkinson (1996), coding is about dividing the researcher's data into units that can be analyzed. The different categories that the material is divided into have elements in common, as Coffey and Atkinson states: "*Coding can be thought about as a way of relating our data to our ideas about those data*" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 26-27). Coding also enables the reordering of data, which allows the researcher to think about the data in a different way. Coding is about breaking data apart into analytically relevant parts that leads to further interpretation (Ibid: 28-30). We found coding very relevant for our investigation, since we gained a lot of data on various aspects relating to the new Danish development strategy. At first, we found the topics very connected and our informants included different aspects of the negotiation process that seemed to be connected by the way, it was articulated. After investigating the conducted data from the interviews several times, we found different aspects, that at first seemed to complement each other, but after a closer investigating we found paradoxes, which we found interesting to investigate further. We therefore found it necessary to reduce the data into more manageable units. We started our coding process by categorizing segments of our transcribed interviews into categories of 'the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid', the 'Danish national context', 'optimization' and 'underfunding'. Our starting point was investigating the new Danish development strategy *The World 2030* and the related *Information Note*. By reading articles, reports, drafts and hearing requests from the Danish civil society organizations, we became interested in the new reality that the strategy represented for the organizations. Throughout the process of conducting the interviews, our focus changed to the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid, since we found this to be an important aspect for our informants. This opened up for the question of how we can understand this current focus on the nexus in Denmark. We investigated the connection between humanitarian aid and development aid articulated in literature and reports and this enabled us to develop our interpretations of our data as well as understanding the historical aspect of the theme and the current international events, that have led up to the current focus. After having considered our design and interview method we will now contemplate on the chosen methodology in order to answer our research question, which will be done by considering the validity of the project

2.4. Validity

In accordance with the chosen research design we will touch upon our reflections of internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to the extent of which the structure of our research design allows us to draw clear conclusions from our findings (de Vaus, 2001: 28). In other words, we need to be confident that the chosen research design enables us to sustain the conclusions we draw from our results (ibid: 27). We argue, that with the specific view we have chosen, the single-case study design, is valid. In order to answer how we can understand the current focus on the nexus in Denmark we argue that the single-case study design can give some clear results. But we are aware that because of our research design, the single-case study design, we will not be able to generalize, according to Mabry (2008). The research design of a single-case is not able to make ‘grand generalizations’, but rather ‘petite’ generalizations (Mabry, 2008: 223). This brings up the question of external validity; to which extent our results can be generalized beyond our research and whether these results are likely to apply more widely (de Vaus, 2001: 28-29). Our findings are limited to this project and our findings would not necessarily lead to the same conclusions in similar cases. In other words, it would not be expected that our findings could be applied to other cases. At the same time, we argue that our findings could point at being relevant in a bigger context, but we cannot state this with certainty. In the next section, we will contemplate on the reliability of the project.

2.5. Reliability

“A reliable measure is one that gives the same ‘reading’ when used on repeated occasions” (de Vaus, 2001: 30). When writing a project, it is important to consider whether or not the findings from the project could be repeated by others, if they applied the same design, methods and material. In relation to the material we have employed, we view the reliability as high, as the documents chosen are representative for our aim of research. Others would be able to find the same documents and apply the same discourse theory. In regard to this project it is the interview method that can prove to be problematic for the reliability. When conducting an interview, the wording of the question is important, especially for how the informant answers. ‘Poor wording’ can give a certain answer that might not be repeated if asked in another way (ibid: 31). Further the person interviewing can evoke an answer that another interviewer would not get (ibid: 31). In order to surpass this, we have tried to be as clear as possible in our questions and we sought to put the questions to our informants in a

plain way. We have made many considerations about conducting the interviews and argue that we have a fairly high reliability, all things considered. At the same time we recognize that the premise of knowledge and understanding in discourse theory and social constructivism is not pre-given and is often taken-for-granted. This premise makes it difficult for us to be neutral in the research process. Especially transforming the taken-for-granted understandings into “*potential objects for discussion and criticism*” can be challenging, because “*how can researchers reveal common-sense understandings in their own society, if they, being part of society themselves, share many of those understandings?*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 178). We acknowledge that we are not objective when writing this project. After having presented our methodical stance we will now elaborate the theoretical framework we will employ when conducting our analysis

3. Discourse theory

Based on the chosen research question, an interest in the area surrounding the nexus and the material available for us to analyze, we have chosen to employ the theoretical and analytical tool of discourse theory. Discursive theory is an analytical tool that can be used to understand the process with fixation of meaning (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 7). When employing discourse theory in this project, we will apply the theory of discourse as presented by discourse theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in the book: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: towards a radical democratic politics*, from 1985. This will be the main source for understanding discourse theory in this project. Further the book: *Discourse analysis as theory and method*, by Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips will be employed, as Jørgensen and Phillips are heavily inspired by the theory of discourse presented by Laclau and Mouffe.

There are many different assumptions and definitions of what a discourse is. Laclau and Mouffe represent one way of understanding a discourse, where for example the approach ‘critical discourse theory’ of Norman Fairclough represent another way of understanding discourse theory. One aspect, the different meanings and interpretations have in common is the significance of language, and that: “*our ways of talking do not neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing them*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 1). We have chosen not to include the critical discourse theory from Fairclough, as this theory does not consider everything as discourse. As Laclau and

Mouffe consider discourse as constitutive (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 20) it is consistent with our stance in theory of science, social constructivism.

Discourse theory will enable us to understand the current focus on the nexus in Denmark and how this can be understood in relation to the international focus and the historical changes of the relationship between humanitarian aid and development aid. An important part of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is the focus on how articulations can change, challenge and reproduce discourses. With this in mind, the theory is central for understanding how and why the focus in Denmark is articulated the way, that is right now (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 30). By employing discourse theory, we will be able to get an understanding of how the discourses and thereby the fixed meaning has changed over time and how one discourse is partially fixed at this exact moment in time (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 112). An understanding of the change over time is central to this project, which is why we have chosen to employ discourse theory as our analytical view, as described in section 2.1. Because discourses are only partially fixed, and are constantly changing, the meaning in discourse theory is never ultimately fixed. Because the meaning is never fixed it opens for: "*constant social struggles about definitions of society and identity, with resulting social effects*" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 24). The role of the discourse analyst is therefore to: "*plot the course of these struggles to fix meaning at all levels of the social*" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 24). In this project, we are focusing on the current focus and it is therefore essential for us to understand how the meaning of the discourse earlier has had different partially fixed meanings.

By applying discourse theory, we will be able to get an understanding of the historical changes and what have led to the current focus on the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid in an international and Danish context. By applying this particular way of analyzing, we will not be able to analyze how changes are implemented in practice. We are aware, that discourse theory can give an understanding of historical changes of articulations, but that this does not necessarily reflect what happens on a practical level. A lot can change on a discursive level while the practices might not reflect this. Since we are interested in a policy level and focus on the current focus on the nexus in the new agenda for action presented by the UN and the new Danish strategy, we find the theoretical approach of discourse theory usable for our investigation.

According to Laclau and Mouffe: “*a discursive structure [...] is an articulatory practice which constitutes and organizes social relations*” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 96). According to Laclau and Mouffe, a social relation is aggregations of institutions, forms of organizations, practices and agents (ibid: 103). Laclau and Mouffe do not distinguish between discursive and non-discursive practices, as they regard every object as an object of discourse (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 107). The fact that every object is constituted as an object in a discourse, to Laclau and Mouffe: “*has nothing to do with the realism/idealism opposition*” (ibid: 108). They are not concerned with whether or not there is a ‘world external to thought’, and they state that events exist independently and free of will. They thereby acknowledge that there is a ‘world external to thought’, or an objective reality. Laclau and Mouffe find it important how the specificity of objects is constructed, which depends on the discursive field (ibid: 108). Laclau and Mouffe thereby understand all objects as existing, but how they are constructed depends on how they are articulated (ibid: 108).

In the following, we will present the analytical tools described by Laclau and Mouffe, which we will employ in this project. These analytical tools will make it possible to investigate the discursive change and development that has happened in the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid and which events and changes that have led up to the articulatory change over time. We have chosen to analyze our material by using the terms of signs, moments, nodal points, floating signifiers and chain of equivalence, since a plot of these will make us able to understand what fixed meanings of the focus, that articulations have entailed over time and currently. In the following part, we will introduce these terms.

3.1. Signs, elements and nodal points

According to Laclau and Mouffe, a discourse is the “*Structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice*” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 105) based on the assumption that articulation is any practice being able to establish a relation among elements, which can modify identities on the count of the articulatory practice (ibid). An element is “*any difference that is not discursively articulated*” whereas a moment is: “*the differential positions [...] articulated within a discourse*” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 105). According to Jørgensen and Phillips a discourse is: “*understood as the fixation of meaning within a particular domain. All signs in a discourse are moments*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 26) and a discourse is established, when: “*each sign is fixed as a moment through its relations to*

other signs” (ibid: 26). The establishment of a discourse, happens when all other possible meanings of a sign is excluded. The excluded possibilities of meaning for the sign is called the ‘field of discursivity’ (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 111), which can be described as: “*a surplus of meaning produced by the articulatory practice*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 27). When a sign is in the field of discursivity:

“*Any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a center, we will call the privileged discursive points of this partial fixation, nodal point*” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 112).

A nodal point is a sign, where other signs ascribe their meaning in relation to this particular sign. This happens with the articulatory practice, where a nodal point partially fixes the meaning of the sign (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 113).

A concept called ‘order of discursivity’ is introduced by Jørgensen and Phillips. The concept is introduced in order to better understand the field of discursivity. Whereas the field of discursivity is all the excluded meanings of a sign, the *order of discourse* is: “*a limited range of discourses which struggle in the same terrain*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 27). We have chosen to include this concept of order of discourse, as there are some discourses struggling to fix meaning in the same terrain. A terrain we have called ‘the relation between humanitarian and development aid’. In this terrain, the struggling discourses have changed over time, and by including the order of discourse we will get a historical view of this. This will be elaborated in section 6.2. Similar to the order of discourse, Laclau has introduced a term called floating signifiers, which is a term used to describe the elements that are especially open to be ascribed different meanings. Further elaborated floating signifiers are: “*the signs that different discourses struggle to invest with meaning in their own particular way*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 28). This will also be elaborated in section 6.1.1.

3.2. Chain of equivalence

A discourse is thereby constructed by articulation, which transform elements in the field of discursivity into moments by reducing all other possible meaning they might have, by partially fixation them to the discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 28). This process is never ending, as: “*the transition from the ‘elements’ to the ‘moments’ is never entirely*

fulfilled’ (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 110). Because discourse is constructed, it is constantly changing, reproducing and challenged by other articulations and is therefore never complete (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 30). And as stated earlier it is the role of the discourse analyst to plot these struggles to fix meaning (ibid: 24). In this project, we will be able to plot how the meaning is fixed at this particular moment in time, a meaning that will eventually change according to Laclau and Mouffe, as mentioned earlier. In the analysis, we will investigate how the articulations create a fixation of meaning by identifying nodal point and chains of equivalence within the discourses. A chain of equivalence is a way that certain discursive forms link signifiers and establish a relation of equivalence, where a complete cancellation of different meanings has happened (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 128). By linking the different signifiers or moments together, an ‘identity’ is established in the chain of equivalence. In this project, we will investigate and identify the chains of equivalence, that the articulations of the UN have constructed. Further this will be employed in the analysis of the current focus in Denmark, and how the articulations on the topic are influenced by the established meaning from the UN, that we have identified. We will analyze how articulations by the UN has provided a fixation, that might be so fixated in its meaning, that it:” become *so conventionalized that we think of them as natural*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 26).

3.3 Discourse theory summed up

Since discourse theory is beneficial when investigating the change over time and the current focus, we have chosen this as the theoretical framework for this project. We will apply the different analytical tools, described in this paragraph to investigate our research question by employing discourse theory on our material, which will be presented in the following chapter.

4. Events and publications

We will in the following section present some of the key events and material, that we consider important for understanding the current focus on the nexus. A lot of the material will be employed when conducting our discourse analysis and the following is therefore a short timeline and presentation. We have made a timeline to get an overall idea of which events and publications are important for the current focus:

4.1. Timeline

- September 25th, 2015: Publication of the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals
- December 16, 2015: Publication of the OCHA report *Too important to fail - addressing the humanitarian financing gap*
- May 1, 2016: Publication of the Taksøe-Jensen report *Danish Diplomacy and Defense in Times of Change*
- May 23-34, 2016: World Humanitarian Summit was held
- May 23, 2016: Publication of the UN report *The Grand Bargain - A shared commitment to better serve people in need*
- January 18, 2017: Publication of the new Danish strategy *The World 2030*
- February 6, 2017: First draft of the *Information Note* was presented
- March 8, 2017: Publication of the *Information Note*
- March 29, 2017: Revised *Information Note* was published
- May 15, 2017: Deadline for application for strategic partnership with Danida
- July 3, 2017: Danida announces the chosen strategic partners

The first point in the timeline is the sustainable goals which we will present here.

4.2. Sustainable development goals

As mentioned in the introduction of the project, the UN presented 17 Sustainable Development Goals in September 2015 with the objective to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all (UN, 2017a). The goals are to be achieved during the next 15 years and many countries have adopted the goals, including Denmark. In the strategy, *the world 2030* it is stated that, Denmark will prioritize five goals to: “*be Denmark's global development policy key issues*” (Danida, 2017c: 6). The following goals, are the goals prioritized by Danida (ibid: 7);

- goal 5: gender equality
- goal 7: sustainable energy
- goal 13: climate
- goal 16: peace, justice and institutions
- goal 17: partnerships.

Danida states that the prioritization is due to the competencies and experiences in Denmark (ibid: 7).

4.3. World Humanitarian Summit

The World Humanitarian Summit is the first of its kind and was held in Istanbul in May 2016 from the 23rd-24th. More than 9000 participants from around the world attended the Summit and thereby outlined and supported a new shared ‘Agenda for Humanity’. The participants helped create more than 3000 commitments to action and initiatives to make the ‘Agenda for Humanity’ into a meaningful change for the most vulnerable people in the world (OCHA, 2016). The summit was established by the UN secretary-general Ban Ki-Moon. The following two documents that we will describe are related to the Summit.

4.4. Too important to fail

Before the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016 the UN Secretary-General appointed 9 experts to a ‘High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing’ to find solutions to the widening humanitarian financial gap that the world is currently experiencing. In December 2015, the panel published a report to the UN secretary-general, the *Too important to fail - addressing the humanitarian financing gap* report (OCHA, 2015). The report was published before the Summit in Istanbul and was aimed at informing and shaping the objectives of the Summit (ibid: introduction). The concept of *Grand Bargain* was first presented in this report.

4.5. Grand Bargain

During the World Humanitarian Summit, the report *Grand Bargain - a shared commitment to better serve people in need* was launched. The report is an agreement between 22 countries and 28 organizations, such as OCHA, UNICEF, IRC and UNHCR (UN, 2016c). The aim of the agreement is: “to get more means into the hands of people in need” (ibid). By changing working practices of donors and aid organizations the aim is to deliver an extra billion dollars over five years to spent on humanitarian aid (ibid).

4.6. The World 2030

In September 2015, the Danish ambassador Peter Taksøe-Jensen was asked to make a review on the Danish development policy, which led to a report in June 2016, where a number of changes to the development approach in Denmark were suggested. This report has had a great importance of the restructuring of the Danish approach and the new strategy. On the 18th of January 2017, a historical deal was made with all political parties in the Danish Parliament

but one, regarding a new strategy for Danish development cooperation and humanitarian action called *The world 2030*. replaced the former Danish development strategy *A Right to a Better Life* from 2012, that was a rights-based approach and focused on “*Universal and fundamental human rights serve as a powerful means of redistribution*” (Danida, 2012: Introduction).

The World 2030 was formed in relation to the current situation of the world: “*The state of the world concerns us all. No country is isolated from global developments*” (Danida, 2017c: 1). It is further stated that no country is unaffected by events in other places of the world, and because no country can take on the task alone, it becomes a joint responsibility, where: “*Denmark’s development cooperation is a tangible and visible contribution to the joint responsibility Denmark assumes for the world’s development*” (ibid: 1). The joint responsibility is to make the world a safer, freer, more prosperous and sustainable place for future generations (Danida, 2017c: 1). By doing this and by fighting poverty and promoting sustainable growth and development it can help further Danish interests, both domestically and internally (ibid: 1). The strategy and Denmark’s development policy is based on four strategic aims (ibid: 5):

1. Security and development – Peace, stability and protection.
2. Migration and development.
3. Inclusive, sustainable growth and development.
4. Freedom and development – democracy, human rights and gender equality.

Within these four strategic aims, the strategy prioritizes the action on activities and areas: “*1) Where we have the most at stake – interests and values, 2) Where we can obtain influence through strategic use of our strengths, expertise and experience and 3) Where we see a role for Denmark – where we can seek active partnerships on a common cause or need to take the lead to advance an agenda.*” (ibid :6).

The strategy stresses, that the main issue of today is irregular migration, which is closely linked to issues of development such as poverty, instability and overpopulation: “*The effort to stabilize fragile countries and situations and create a favorable, sustainable economic and political development is closely related with managing future migration flows*“ (Danida, 2017c: 22). In order to reduce migration, the strategy will focus on: “*improving the living*

conditions in countries of origin and transit and build a foundation that ensures that the populations, the young generation in particular, will not feel compelled to leave their country of origin” (ibid: 24). As mentioned, the new strategy collects Danish efforts on development and humanitarian aid into one joint strategy with the aim of removing the artificial barrier between short term humanitarian actions and long-term development efforts (Danida, 2017c). The removing of the artificial barrier is an important issue in our analysis, and will therefore be elaborated there. Further Danida has made new strategic frames for their co-operation with organization. This will be elaborated in the following paragraph.

4.7. The Information Note

Following the new Danida strategy *The World 2030* of January 2017, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark have been through a process of redesigning the former strategic partnerships between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Danish civil society organizations cooperating with Danida on international development and humanitarian actions (Danida, 2017d: 1). In order to clarify the requirements and expectations of the new strategic partnerships, Danida sent out an *Information Note* in March 2017. The new strategic partnerships will replace many of the existing projects and open the possibility for new partnerships, while at the same time cutting down the number of partnerships. The strategy *The World 2030* defines the priorities for the Danish humanitarian and development aid. The organizations that will, in the future, obtain a partnership with Danida should cover these priorities both thematically and geographically (Danida, 2017d: 1).

The process of obtaining a strategic partnership with Danida started as an open application process where organizations applied for partnerships within three lots; Lot CIV for civil society development, Lot HUM for humanitarian action and Lot LAB for labor market and private sector framework conditions (Danida 2017d: 5-8). The *Information Note* contains guidelines on how to apply for partnerships within the three lots and throughout the process of the first draft, Danish civil society organizations were invited to submit consultations and thereby form the guidelines of the *Information Note*. The first step of the process of obtaining a strategic partnership with Danida was an open application process, where Danish civil society organizations were invited to send an expression of interest (Ibid). This interest was then considered by Danida in order to decide if the organization would be able to meet the expectations of a strategic partnership. By March 27th, 17 Danish civil society organizations

had sent an expression of interest and all lived up to the requirements of Danida. The following process for the 17 organizations was to send a full application by May 2017. Before March 27, the deadline for Expression of Interest, the *Information Note* was to be considered a living document, where the organizations were invited to consult Danida in the process of outlining the criteria for new strategic partners. On July 3rd, all 17 of the organizations that had applied for a partnership was elected as strategic partners (Danida, 2017a).

4.7.1. Aim and nature of the Strategic Partnerships

The aim of the strategic partnerships is based on the civil society organizations own visions and strategies and the competences. The partnerships will last for 4 years (from 2018 till the end of 2021) where mutually agreed goals will be established from Danida and the partnership organization. Furthermore, the strategic partnerships will require full transparency and accountability on the results both to the Danish public and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Denmark (Danida 2017d).

Strategic partnerships will, where relevant, contain both humanitarian and development funding in protracted humanitarian crisis situations. One of the concerns of our informants was that the *Information Note* divides humanitarian and development into two different lots at the same time as the strategy is aiming to break down the barrier between the two. This will be elaborated further in the analysis. We have now outlined the reports that will be used in the analysis and we will now briefly explain the current migration situation in Europe, which we will also include in our analysis as a base of context for understanding the current focus.

4.8. The refugee context

In the analysis, we will also incorporate the current migration situation in Europe and Denmark. In order to understand the changed situation, this section will outline how Europe has experienced an increasing number of refugees since 2015.

In 2015 persecution, conflict and poverty forced over 1 million people to flee to Europe (UNHCR, 2017). The number of refugees reaching Europe was higher than ever: “*In 2015, and the first months of 2016, almost 1.2 million refugees and migrants reached European*

shores, most fleeing conflict and persecution” (UNHCR, 2017). The UNHCR points to the ongoing conflict and violence in Syria and Iraq and other parts of the world as the cause for the high number of refugees (ibid). As many of the conflicts are longer and more complex, the displacement situation for migrants and refugees are longer and thereby protracted. According to the UN, there is a need for: “*closer cooperation and coordination between humanitarian and development assistance*” when situations of displacement becomes protracted (OCHA, 2015: 8) which is why the current focus can be seen in the light of the refugee situation. In 2015 the term ‘refugee crisis’ were distinct and highlighted by the media, headlines like “[...] *Europe is being broken apart by refugee crisis*” (Farrer, 2015) and “*Germany expects 40.000 refugees this weekend - the South German city of Munich can't keep up, Mayor warns*” (Kristiansen, 2015).

Today an issue is the large amount of money being spent on humanitarian aid partly due to the prolonged crisis. Because the prolonged crises currently require an amount of funding, that is not available to raise, funds that are earmarked to development ends up being spent on humanitarian crises. In 2009, theoreticians Asger Christensen and Niels Harild argued in the paper 'Forced Displacement - the development challenge', that the relation between displacement and development is very complex, and that they influence each other in extensive manor (Christensen & Harild, 2009: 11). They exemplified their argument with the example of the stage before displacement, where the lack or absence of development can cause displacement (ibid: 11). This article stresses the importance of development, which is an argument that we also see in the strategy from Danida today. In the following chapter, we will present an outline for the relation between humanitarian and development aid, which will lead to an understanding of the new strategy and how states are very connected to the work of humanitarian organizations.

5. Linking humanitarianism to development

This chapter will include a review of how humanitarianism have transformed over time. This transformation gives an important premise for understanding the historical aspect of humanitarianism and how this relates to the nexus today. In this section, we rely heavily on Michael Barnett's (2005) article *Humanitarianism transformed*. Barnett is a professor in International Affairs and Political Science and he provides a detailed historical background

and understanding of humanitarianism and the change from an independent, impartial relief to an agent performing the state interest. Barnett offers an understanding of the correlation between state funding and practicing NGOs, which we find to be an important aspect to include in this project.

In the article, Barnett (2005) argues, that since the 1980s, humanitarianism transformed from the core humanitarian principles. The idea of humanitarianism comes from a human urge to help others in need, separated from politics but he argues that present day humanitarian work is done in close relation to the states and politics of those who carry out the work. Barnett further argues, that humanitarianism has become institutionalized and professionalized (2005: 723). There has been a great increase in the amount of money in official assistance to humanitarian crises. From 2 billion dollars in 1990 to 6 billion dollars in 2000 and the number is still increasing (Ibid: 723). There has also been an explosion in the number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and a growing number of international organizations that provide assistance. Barnett therefore argues that, whereas NGOs were formerly employed by people performing actions on the 'learning-by-doing' principle, today NGOs are staffed by trained professionals. Barnett points to the organization Medecins Sans Frontières (MSF) as an example of this transformation, because the organization: "*grew from a two-room office in the 1970s into an international network of 19 semi-independent branches, with a combined annual budget of 500 million dollars, running programs in over 70 countries, with 2000 international and 15000 national staff*" (ibid: 723). This shows a transformation of funds and the working staff.

5.1. The principles of humanitarianism

Humanitarianism is based on the four humanitarian principles; impartiality, independence, neutrality and humanity. The principles of humanitarianism are based on need and does not discriminate on nationality, race, religious beliefs, gender, political opinion, or other considerations (Barnett 2005: 724). The key component in humanitarianism is relief, but it does not seek to identify the underlying reasons of people in need (ibid: 724). According to Barnett, the reduction of the number of people in need is an issue for politicians opposed to the organizations, because it contradicts with the humanitarian principle of impartiality (ibid: 724). The impartiality enables humanitarian organizations to perform their activities but only if they are not acting upon the interest of states and their agendas. The agencies are in

consequence thereof able to perform actions in areas with conflict and people at risk without acting in a way, that benefits one side of the conflict (ibid: 724). In order to follow the four principles, many of the humanitarian agencies used to refuse state funding or funding from donors with a stake in the conflict, but this, as Barnett argues, changed in the 1990s (ibid: 724).

During the 1990s, the humanitarian agencies began to focus on the root causes for people in need, and thereby began working with states, thus entering the world of politics. The connection with states also had the effect that states began to share the agenda of humanitarianism. The states funded operations and used political power to construct pressure and to authorize military troops (ibid: 724). With funding from the states, humanitarian organizations had a growing potential: “*but worrying about the costs to their principles*” (ibid: 724), since working with states undermined their principles of impartiality, independence and neutrality (ibid: 724). Barnett further argues, that during the 1990s, humanitarianism became more institutionalized. Before the 1990s, only a few agencies provided relief aid with very little consideration of principles of acting, ‘code of conduct’ and professional standards and when humanitarian organizations were only a small part of the national budget, the focus on efficiency and monitoring mechanisms were almost nonexistent. But with the increased state funding, humanitarianism became central to the states questions of effectiveness and security goals. States began introducing new reporting requirements and developing new kinds of contracts and greater evidence on results (ibid: 730).

5.2. The institutionalization of the organizations

In the 1990s, humanitarianism became an acknowledged work field, where more and more agencies began to take action and donors and states began to expect accountability and signs of effect along with legitimacy, which created a worry and new focus about future funding (Barnett, 2005: 725). As a response to this, the field became more institutionalized by creating basic codes of conduct for interventions, developing mechanisms showing accountability and sets of rules were made. Alongside, the field became more professionalized with developed doctrines, specialized areas of training and career paths (ibid: 725). Barnett argues, that the institutionalization helped the organizations standardize their expectations and ease coordination in the field, but that self-preservation and survival

also became a part of the field that would now be referred to as an ‘industry’ and the organizations as brands (Barnett, 2005: 725). The humanitarian organizations had different responses to this growing politicization. Many accepted the new openings and became more political. Especially many new relief organizations shared the agenda of combining humanitarianism with politics. Others stuck to the principles of humanitarianism such as the ICRC and Medecins Sans Frontieres (ibid:728).

5.3. Changing events

The fall of the Soviet Union increased the demand for humanitarian assistance and the amount of humanitarian crises on the international agenda was higher than ever before. States began to pay more attention to the populations at risk and the articulation of security became important. The UN Security Council began to authorize interventions due to security risks which led to a new position as the coordinating body of humanitarian assistance, as Barnett describes: *“Responding to both the post-cold war humanitarian emergencies and the growing prominence of the Security Council, the General Assembly passed a watershed resolution in 1992 that made the UN the new coordinating body for humanitarian action”* (Barnett, 2005: 726).

This had the effect, that states began to support humanitarian interventions with the function of protecting people at risk and humanitarian action became integrated in the foreign policies. The events on 11th of September 2001 changed the discourse with articulations related to counter terrorism, and the western world changed the object of humanitarianism to crime-fighting. This shaped new opportunities for humanitarian action (ibid: 726). The encounter between humanitarianism and politics was also encouraged by ‘complex humanitarian emergencies’, characterized as a mixture of failed states, refugee flights, militias, and populations at risk of violence and hunger (Barnett, 2005: 727). Crises as such demanded a new type of interventions. Relief agencies working in extremely violent areas and warzones, lobbied foreign governments and the UN to authorize a protection force. This enabled, that relief agencies, human rights organizations and development organizations began to work in the same area with the same populations. The interaction and collaboration between the different sectors fortified a ‘relief-rights-development’ linkage within the humanitarian discourse and this became tied to the contraction of modern, legitimate, democratic states that furthered the inclusion of a wider range of practices and goals for humanitarianism (ibid:

727). Along with a clear right-based agenda, the articulation of empowerment was dominant. Where humanitarianism earlier had placed survival over freedom, the right communities used relief as an instrument to obtain human rights (Ibid: 727). The human rights movement became dominant and placed humanitarianism centrally on the international policy agenda, which is also seen in the former Danish strategy, *The Right to a Better Life* that had a clear right-based-approval as described in the former chapter. Many relief agencies adopted this right-based discourse on humanitarian relief, since this topic was in focus on the international agenda and enabled state funding.

Many organizations, such as Save the Children and Oxfam, started with the focus of saving lives in wartime, but have since expanded into development and other activities focusing on empowering groups of people at risk, as Barnett puts it: “*In attempting to relieve suffering, it is natural to aim for more than temporary relief, that is, for eliminating the conditions that produce a demand for humanitarian services*” (Barnett, 2005: 728). Development organizations were, by the end of the 1980s, given the purpose of post-conflict reconstruction and structural preventers, which became a central part in humanitarian action and international security (Barnet, 2005: 729).

Another issue when combining humanitarianism and politics is the earmarking of funding. Multilateral aid, is aid given to multilateral organizations and this is not earmarked. Bilateral aid means that the state either dictates to the multilateral organization how the funding should be spent or that the state gives money to a non-multilateral organization such as an NGO. When funding is earmarked, the donor orders the money to be spend in a certain way for example by identifying certain regions, groups of people, countries or other categories and can especially have a huge effect, when countries have geopolitical interests (Barnett 2005: 731). Since the late 1980s, there has been a shift toward more and more earmarking of state funding. An example of this is in 1988 where states directed about 45 % of humanitarian assistance to the UN agencies, which is then multilateral aid. Compared to 1994, the number had decreased to 25 %, which indicates, that state's own interests have been the focus of the funding decisions over the humanitarian principles of relief based need. The aid today is a bigger amount than ever before, as mentioned earlier, but fewer donors control it and aid is directed toward priorities and as seen in the example, in some cases undermining the principle of impartiality (ibid: 731). We have now outline our empirical material which we will employ in the following discourse analysis.

6. Analysis

The following analysis of this project is divided into four chapters. We will start out with an investigation of the ‘order of discourse’, which will offer a starting point in our analysis.

6.1 Order of discourse

In an ‘order of discourse’, two or more discourses covering the same terrain compete to establish their particular meaning of the subject, as the prevailing one (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 56). The order of discourse relevant for investigation in this project, we have identified as ‘the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid’. Over time different discourses have been competing and prevailing in this particular order of discourse. We have identified different discourses, both current and historically in this order of discourse and these will be elaborated in the following sections. In the analysis, we will analyze how the ways of articulating and focusing on the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid play an active role in creating and changing the reality. As described in section 2.1, is reality, in social constructivism not eternal or universal, but rather a product of historical changes (Rasborg, 2009: 349) describes it. This change is important because the different articulations can influence the principles and standards for working in this area.

6.1.1. Nexus as a floating signifier

The term introduced as nexus is a floating signifier in the order of discourse ‘the relation between humanitarian and development aid’. Floating signifiers are situated in the ongoing struggle between different discourses seeking to fix the meaning. Nexus is a floating signifier because it is especially open to be ascribed different meanings (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 28) as we will show in this analysis. Within the different discourse we have identified, we have found that the floating signifier nexus has been filled with different fixed meanings. The following analysis is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, we will argue that there have been different prevailing discourses over time within the order of discourse. The historical changes enable us to understand the current focus on an international policy level, which we will analyze in chapter 6.2 of the analysis. In the final chapters, we will argue that the current Danish focus on the nexus is influenced by the international discourse but also

have some differences, that make it unique for the Danish context at the current time. The four chapters of the analysis will lead us to answer our research question *how can we understand the current focus on the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid on a policy level in Denmark?*

6.2. Historical changes

In the following section of the analysis, we will argue that it is not unique for the current time, that there is a focus on the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid. Rather we argue that the topic has been on the international political agenda for a long period of time. As described by Laclau and Mouffe, a discursive formation is never a settled, unchangeable totality and the transformation of elements into moments is constantly changing (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 106). It is therefore important to understand how the discourses have changed and been articulated over time because it makes us able to understand the transformation that have led to the current focus and articulations. As it is not possible to analyze every subject on the matter, we have selected certain documents from central actors, as described in section Chapter 4. From the chosen material, we will be able to analyze the historical changes of the discourses. In the following section, we will argue that the focus and discourses have been an ongoing topic of negotiation and have changed over time and thereby changed the political landscape in the field as well. This will enable us to investigate how the current focus is being articulated on a UN level.

When looking historically at the order of discourse, which we have identified as ‘the relation between humanitarian and development aid’, different discourses have been prevailing at certain times with different focus points. With the different fixed meanings in the discourses, a certain ‘reality’ is created, where some fixations of meanings: “*become so conventionalized that we think of them as natural*” (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 26). In this project, the reality in which different meanings of the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid has been articulated as ‘natural’ for a certain period of time. The image of two silos representing respectively humanitarian aid and development aid has raised a range of questions over time – questions that relate to how to unite the two. The question has surfaced many times, but each time with a different way of articulating solutions to link the barrier or silos. This project focuses on actors and informants, that all agree, that the two should be even more united, which is why we will not focus on the question of whether or not it should

be united. When conducting the first interview with our informant from DRC, different aspects of combining humanitarian aid and development aid were mentioned. The historical aspect of the analysis takes departure in these different aspects. The informant from DRC stated, that there has been several attempts on combining the two:

“And this is why humanitarian, immediate, lifesaving relief is not what is needed, it is the long-term effort. This have been attempted for a long time with the ‘early recovery’ way of thinking and with the ‘linking relief, recovery and development’, of how to make the different instruments play together” (Appendix A: 3).

We have studied the two aspects, ‘linking relief and recovery’ and ‘early recovery’, and have identified different articulations about the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid within the two. We consider these articulations as constituting discourses as they have fixed the meaning of the relation at a particular time. The articulations therefore represent different discourses in the order of discourse and we will investigate how these have been articulated in the times they were prevailing. The first discourse is identified as the ‘linking discourse’ and will analyzed in the following section.

6.2.1. The ‘linking discourse’

By looking at documents from the UN from the 1990s and in accordance with the statement from the informant from DRC, we have found that the concept ‘*linking relief and development*’ was predominant in the 1990s. We consider articulations of this concept as constitutive for the discourse, that we have identified as ‘the linking discourse’. The concept was, among other, debated in the discussion paper ‘*Linking relief and development*’ by Jacob Ross, Simon Maxwell and Margaret Buchanan-Smith in 1994. The discussion paper originates from a workshop on the same topic; linking relief and development, held at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex (Ross et al, 1994: preface). The term has been on the international political agenda and was, for an example used in reports from central international actors, such as a report from 1998 by the UN Development Programme (UNDP, 1998) and a report from 1996 by the EU (Commission of the European Communities, 1996). The term is also evident in a Danish setting, exemplified by an article from 1995, called: ‘*Nødhjælp og udviklingshjælp må koordineres*’ (Ritzau, 1995) translated into ‘*Emergency aid and development aid must be coordinated*’. In the article, the main point is that development and humanitarian aid must be coordinated because the share of

development aid that goes to humanitarian aid has increased five times during the last ten years (Ritzau, 1995). The article points out that time have changed, crises last longer and therefore humanitarian actions can no longer be a fast in-and-out effort (Ritzau, 1995). Instead of using the ‘old’ structure of phases of aid; reconstruction, rehabilitation and long-term development phase, the long-term development phase must now, according to the article, be incorporated into the first phase of reconstruction (Ritzau, 1995). We base our understanding of the concept ‘linking relief and recovery’ on the discussion paper, the reports and the article.

In the paper from 1994 it is explored why the idea of linking relief and development together is prevailing and why an implementation related to this takes time. It is also being discussed how the growing number of NGOs are often in a holding position, providing food and supplies until long-term development programmes are possible (Ross et al, 1994). This issue is also described in the section of the transformation of humanitarianism in the 1990s (Chapter 5). By the articulations of a need for linking relief and development we identify the ‘linking’ discourse. We argue that the articulations in this discourse and the usage of the term ‘linking’, leads to a fixed meaning of humanitarian and development as two separate concepts and two silos, that need to be more intertwined in the first phase of ‘reconstruction’ after a crisis. This is further underlined by the description from Barnett, that states that the NGOs, in the early 1990s and in the aftermath of a conflict, were providing humanitarian assistance until they were replaced by development programmes (Barnett, 2005: 724). Linking relief and development, as a concept, seeks to make up with this, by suggesting that humanitarian assistance and development must be linked before the peace process, as stated in the following:

“Rehabilitation, reconstruction and recovery cannot await the completion of the peace process however. Relief efforts must be a step towards development and must be delivered in ways that promote, rather than compromise, long term development objectives” (Ross et al, 1994: preface).

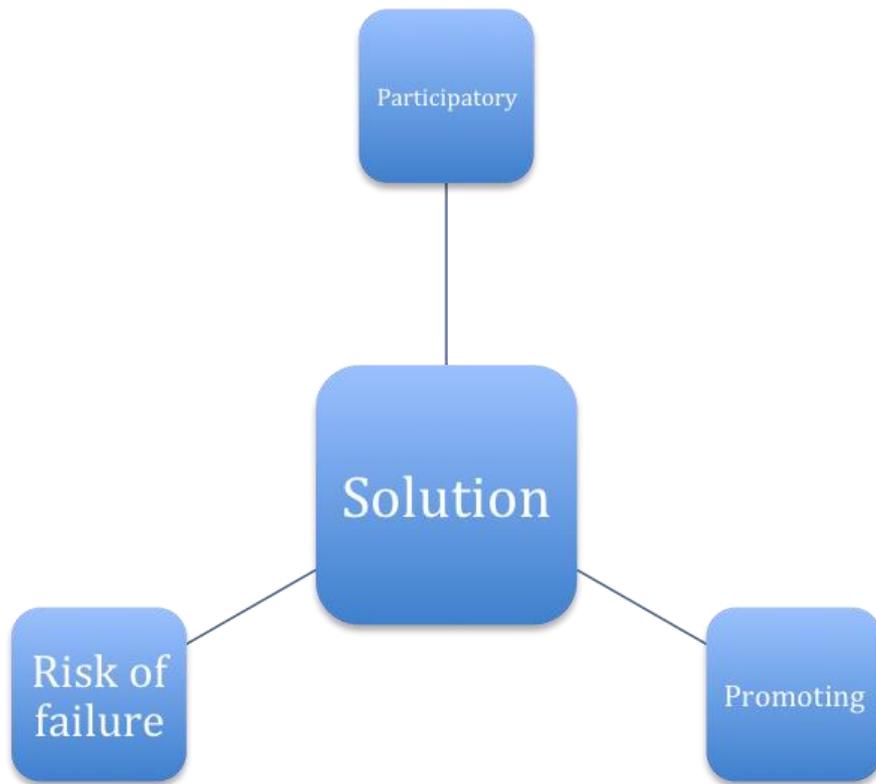
We consider the different aspects in the discussion paper and the reports as constituting for the ‘linking discourse’ and when articulated, these aspects become moments in this discourse.

Within the 'linking discourse', we have identified the nodal point 'crises' to which certain signs obtain their meaning by being ordered around it. The signs articulated in relation to the nodal point 'crises' are 'post-cold war', 'challenges', 'threat to national security' and 'complexity'. The nodal point 'crises' in the 'linking discourse' is illustrated in the figure:



Within the 'linking' discourse, crisis is linked to a threat to national security, which is also visible in Chapter 5, where Barnett states, that threats to national security was a part of the political articulations in the wake of the Cold War.

Another nodal point that we have identified in the 'linking discourse' is solution. This shows how the solution to the crises by linking development to humanitarian assistance are articulated. Around the nodal point 'solution', the signs 'participatory', 'promoting' and 'risk' are ordered and obtain their meaning in relation to the nodal point. In this discourse, risk is linked to as a risk of failure, if development is not linked to humanitarian assistance. The nodal point 'solution' in the 'linking discourse' is illustrated in the figure:



Within this discourse, solution is therefore articulated as a need of participatory approaches, relief that promotes long-term effort and a risk of failure, if this is not being applied. The second discourse we have identified in the order of discourse ‘the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid’ is the ‘recovery discourse’, which we will analyze in the following.

6.2.2. The ‘Recovery discourse’

In the 2000s, the focus changed from the concept of ‘linking relief and recovery’ and the term ‘Early recovery’ was introduced. Early recovery is articulated by the UN as follows:

“a multidimensional process of recovery that begins in a humanitarian setting. It is guided by development principles that seek to build on humanitarian programmes and catalyze sustainable development opportunities. It aims to generate self-sustaining, nationally owned, resilient processes for post crisis recovery” (UNDG-ECHA, 2008: 6).

In the UN report ‘Guidance on Early Recovery’, it is stated, that an UN review of the global humanitarian system revealed a number of gaps in the overall humanitarian response, which led to a rethinking of humanitarian aid (ibid). The rethinking was articulated as the concept of ‘Early recovery’, that intended to be an effort applied immediately after the onset of a humanitarian crisis (Ibid: 7). The platform ‘Humanitarian Response’, provided by OCHA, categorizes Early recovery as the following:

“Early Recovery is never just a ‘phase’. It is a multidimensional process of recovery that begins in the early days of a humanitarian response. An Early Recovery approach means focusing on local ownership and strengthening capacities; basing interventions on a thorough understanding of the context to address root causes and vulnerabilities as well as immediate results of crisis” (Humanitarian Response, 2017).

We consider the articulations of the concept to constitute a new discourse, the ‘recovery discourse’, that differs from the formerly identified ‘linking discourse’. An important signifier in this discourse is that the foundations for sustainable recovery and long-term development should be planned from the very beginning of a humanitarian crises (UNDG-ECHA, 2008: 6). By stating that development should be planned into humanitarian action at an early point, as also articulated in the concept of ‘linking relief and recovery’, it indicates that humanitarian aid and development aid are still articulated as two silos but that the development need to happen immediately after the humanitarian response. There is a clear similarity with the ‘linking discourse’, but the articulations and the signs that we have identified as ordered around the nodal points are different, and therefore we chose to identify this as a new discourse.

The description of the new approach and understanding of the relationship between humanitarian aid and development aid in the ‘recovery discourse’, articulates that immediately after a humanitarian crisis, development needs to be set in. Thereby we also find ‘crises’ to be a nodal point in this discourse. Around the nodal point ‘crises’, we have identified certain signs that contribute to fix the meaning of the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid in this discourse. The elements around the nodal point ‘crises’ are ‘weakened’ ‘destroyed livelihoods’ and ‘displacement’, ‘complex emergencies’ which we have illustrated in following figure:



We have identified another nodal point as ‘solution’, which is also identified in the ‘linking discourse’. The articulations in the ‘recovery discourse’ differ from the earlier mentioned fixed meaning in the ‘linking discourse’. The nodal point ‘solution’ in the ‘recovery discourse’ is illustrated with this figure:



Around the nodal point ‘solution’, the signs ‘self-reliance’, ‘long-term recovery’, ‘national ownership’, ‘multidimensional process’ and ‘restoration of national institutions’. We have identified two different discourses, which are in the same order of discourse, but with different fixed meanings. We argue that the fixed meaning of the relationship between humanitarian aid and development aid has changed over time. In the following section, we will analyze the differences of the two discourses.

6.2.3. The differences

After our investigation and identification of the two discourses, we argue that the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid has been articulated differently throughout time. We have identified the same nodal points in the discourses, where both ‘crisis’ and ‘solution’ as nodal points represent privileged signs of the partially fixed meanings of the two discourses. The signs ordered around the nodal points are filled with different meaning and thereby the fixed meanings of the two discourses are different. We have identified the same nodal points in the two discourses, which underlines that the discourses evolve around the same topic, but within each discourse, the filling of meaning is different.

The different discourses illustrate two different ways of seeking to combine humanitarian aid and development aid. And as the informant from DRC described there has been many attempts to combine the two. We have demonstrated, that the negotiation of the topic on a policy level is not a new tendency in 2017, but have been an ongoing process. In both the ‘linking discourse’ and the ‘recovery discourse’ different ways of combining humanitarian aid and development aid have been articulated. In 2017 the topic of combining these two are still a prevailing topic, as we will argue in the next chapter. According to Barnett it can be difficult to combine the two, as humanitarianism recognizes the principles of impartiality, neutrality and independence, whereas development organizations are heavily based on political agendas, as stated by Michael Barnett (see Chapter 5.).

As described in Chapter 5, the principles of humanitarianism and political agendas has been separated, but this changed in the 1990s where humanitarian organizations went through a transformation. With this transformation, the focus changed from centering on relief aid towards on the root causes for people in need. With this focus the majority of humanitarian organizations entered politics and states began to adapt the humanitarian agenda and donated more funding to the growing number of humanitarian organizations.

The focus for action with a humanitarian agenda, performed by states changed remarkably in the time after the Cold War which is also the time where the ‘linking discourse’ was the leading discourse within the field. Again, after September 11th, 2001 the agenda of humanitarianism was renegotiated and in the time followed by this, the ‘recovery discourse’ was the leading discourse. We argue that changes in the meaning of the nexus, and thereby the changes in the fixed meaning, have happened due to events that have changed the focus on the humanitarian assistance. These events have affected the articulations on the topic of humanitarianism and the optimization of efforts in a field of growing needs, larger funding and bigger state interference. In the following chapter we will argue, that the current situation, with an increasing number of people in need of humanitarian assistance have led to a changed way of articulating the way that the lack of funding is forcing a changed agenda, which is visible both in an international and Danish context.

6.2.4. History summarized

As described, in the linking discourse; crisis is articulated as a threat to national security, post-cold war, challenges, complexity and long-lasting. Solution is being articulated as a need of participatory approaches, long-term efforts and a risk of failure, if this is not being applied. In the ‘recovery discourse’, crisis is articulated as ‘destroyed livelihoods’, ‘displacement’ and ‘complex emergencies’ and the nodal point solution has fixed the meaning with the signs ‘self-reliance’, ‘long-term recovery’, ‘national ownership’, multidimensional process’ and ‘restoration of national institutions’. The differences around the nodal points in the two discourses show how different articulations from different approaches to optimizing the work in the nexus between humanitarian and development aid.

We have argued, that articulations about the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid and negotiations of the topic has been present for a long period of time resulting in changing discourses. The discourses have shifted from a focus with articulations of linking relief and recovery to early recovery. In the ‘linking discourse’, the focus was on ‘linking’ relief and recovery in an early stage and coordinating the two. By using the term ‘linking’ and ‘coordinating’ we argue that in this discourse the image of silos of humanitarian and development aid is still present. In the discourse ‘*recovery*’, the focus was on planning development from the start of a humanitarian crisis. By employing the term ‘planning’ we argue that humanitarian aid and development aid were still seen as silos.

With this chapter, we have shown how different discourses in the order of discourse has fixed different meanings to the nexus over time. Currently we identify another meaning as being fixed. The current fixation creates a certain reality for our informants. It is this reality we want to investigate in the following chapter in regards to which possibilities and limitations it sets for our informants.

6.3. The nexus discourse

In the following chapter, we will analyze how the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid is currently being articulated by the UN, and what reality this creates. In the reality, certain possibilities and limitations are created, and this is affecting the Danish reality and thereby our informants. By studying current reports and material from the UN about the relation between humanitarian and development aid, we have identified a discourse; the

‘nexus discourse’. Because the UN is a large organization with comprehensive influence, the way that this particular organization articulates different issues, is not a neutral reflection of the concept (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 1). Rather this articulation is heavily affecting the way, that the concept is being created and changed. The way that the UN articulates what we have identified as the nexus discourse, creates a new reality. The discourse identified as the ‘nexus discourse’ enables us to observe a clear change compared to the two discourses that we have identified in the former chapter. The ‘nexus discourse’ is distinctively different from the ‘linking discourse’ and the ‘recovery discourse’ as analyzed in the former chapter.

We will analyze two documents from the UN, and thereby investigate how the nexus is being articulated. Within the two key documents, we find the identified nexus discourse to be very distinct. The two documents, as presented in Chapter 4. are: *Too important to fail - addressing the humanitarian financing gap* and *Grand bargain - a shared commitment to better serve people in need*.

6.3.1. Nodal points

In May 2016, the UN hosted the *World Humanitarian Summit*. By being the first of its kind, the Summit denotes a change of the focus for the UN, relating to the relation between humanitarian and development aid. In the Summit, more than 3000 participants from more than 30 countries participated, which shows what influence the UN have. The aim of the Summit was to: “*generate commitments to reduce suffering and deliver better for people around the globe*” (World Humanitarian Summit, 2016). By reducing suffering, it is anticipated that the need for humanitarian assistance will be lowered. The summit was held because: “*the scale of human suffering is greater than at any time since the Second World War. More than 130 million people around the world need humanitarian assistance*” (ibid). The aim of the Summit is to reduce suffering and it is in the light of this aim, that the two documents we will analyze, have been made.

In both documents, different initiatives or aspects are presented on improving aid and thereby reduce suffering. In the *Too important to fail* report, three aspects are identified and examined by the ‘High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing’, (referred to as the Panel), as being important for addressing and closing the humanitarian financing gap. The three aspects are: ‘*reducing needs*’, ‘*mobilizing additional funds through either traditional or innovative mechanisms*’, and ‘*improving the efficiency of humanitarian assistance*’ (OCHA, 2015: 5). In

the *Grand Bargain* report 10 different initiatives are presented. These initiatives state different ideas or concepts, on how to help a transformation on the work in the nexus and thereby deliver better aid. The 10 initiatives are (the ones chosen for this project is accentuated):

- 1. Greater transparency**
2. More support and funding tools for local and national responders
3. Increase the use and coordination of cash-based programming
4. Reduce duplication and management costs with periodic functional reviews
5. Improve joint and impartial needs assessments
6. A participation revolution: include people receiving aid in making the decisions which affect their lives
- 7. Increase collaborative humanitarian multi-year planning and funding**
- 8. Reduce the earmarking of donor contributions**
9. Harmonise and simplify reporting requirements
- 10. Enhance engagement between humanitarian and development actors**

For this project, four of these initiatives will be analyzed as to how we see them as constituting the nexus discourse. These four have been chosen because we identify them as having a special influence on the ‘Danish nexus discourse’ which we will analyze in chapter 6.4. The other initiatives are also part of the identified ‘nexus discourse’ but as our focus is on how we can understand the current focus in Denmark, we have chosen only to investigate those that we have observed directly in a Danish context. The four initiatives, chosen for this project, are: ‘*greater transparency*’, ‘*increase collaborative humanitarian multi-year planning and funding*’, ‘*reduce the earmarking of donor contributions*’ and ‘*enhance engagement between humanitarian and development actors*’ (UN, 2016c).

The three aspects presented in the *Too important to fail* report and the four initiatives, that we have chosen from the *Grand Bargain* report are all articulations and we identify them as constructing the ‘nexus discourse’, that we have identified. We consider the three aspects and the four initiatives to be signs, or moments in the ‘nexus discourse’ and we have identified two nodal points, where these moments are ordered around. It is only by being ordered around the nodal points of ‘crises’ and ‘solution’ that the three aspects and four initiatives obtain their meaning. The two nodal points we have identified are ‘crises’ and ‘solution’. That the nodal points are also ‘crises’ and ‘solution’ in ‘the linking discourse’ and ‘the

recovery discourse’, further underlines the similarities within the discourses in the order of discourse. Again, what make the discourses differ, are the different signs that obtain meaning around the identified nodal points ‘crises’ and ‘solution’ in each discourse. In the nexus discourse, we have identified new signs and thereby new ways of articulating the relationship. In the following figure is an illustration of how we identify the ‘crisis’ as a nodal point:



Besides the identified nodal points, we argue that a chain of equivalence has been articulated in relation to both ‘crises’ and ‘solution’, which we illustrate further in the next sections. We will now analyze the two nodal points to see which articulations are creating the ‘nexus discourse’. We will start with the nodal point ‘crises’.

6.3.2. ‘Crises’

Both documents from the UN are concerned with crises in relation to current humanitarian crises that need solutions in relation to a combined humanitarian and development approach. By articulating crises in a certain way, it enables us to understand how the UN perceives current humanitarian crises, and what these crises persists of. In the ‘nexus discourse’ crises are articulated as being protracted and underfunded. It is stated by the Panel in the *Too important to fail* report, that the number and duration of crises and natural disasters in the world has led to the current funding gap in humanitarian aid (OCHA, 2015: 5). As a result of

the number of crises and conflicts in the world today, humanitarian assistance has been the biggest cost for the UN since 2014 (OCHA, 2015: 14). The Panel points to protracted crises as being the: “*single biggest driver of these spiraling costs*” (ibid: 6). With these articulations, it is clear that crises are viewed as protracted and that this leads to underfunding. The problem with these protracted crises, according to the Panel, is that situations that start as short-term humanitarian situations turn into long-term development challenges, such as long-term displacement situations (OCHA, 2015: 8). The Panel elaborates this further: “*without investing to reduce fragility where it is most profound, the humanitarian bill will continue to rise*” (ibid: 5). With this statement, it is clearly stated that humanitarian aid cannot stand alone and development aid needs to be thought into the solution. The Panel further states, that political will is a key factor in this. Lack of political solutions along with the occurrence of natural disasters are some issues that cause humanitarian crises to become protracted and when this happens, development is already lost or in decline (ibid: 7).

With these articulations the signs ‘protracted’, ‘underfunding’ and ‘spiraling costs’ are moments in the ‘nexus discourse’ because their meaning is obtained in relation to the nodal point ‘crises’. We further argue that these signs are signifiers in a chain of equivalence, linked together and thereby creating an ‘identity’ for what crises are articulated as. In the figure below we have illustrated the chain of equivalence, which we have identified for crises:



As illustrated in the figure we have also identified the signs ‘suffering’ and ‘need’ as part of the chain of equivalence. We have also identified both ‘suffering’ and ‘need’ as part of the ‘nexus discourse’ ordered around the nodal point ‘crises’. It is especially how the UN articulates reducing needs and suffering that constitutes what we identify as the ‘nexus discourse’.

As described in section 4.3 the focus of the World Humanitarian Summit was on how to reduce suffering and address the increasing need of those caught in humanitarian crises. It is articulated by the UN that an increasing number of people are suffering and in need of humanitarian aid and that this is related to the protracted crises. The ‘suffering’ and ‘need’ are thereby related to crises, and we argue, that these signs are ascribed a certain meaning by being ordered around the nodal point ‘crises’. When connected to the nodal point, the meaning articulated is, that because the crises are currently even more protracted than earlier, the number of people suffering is also increasing rapidly at the current time. The identity of crises, created by linking different signifiers together in a chain of equivalence is therefore also linked with the signs ‘suffering’ and ‘need’.

As the aim of the reports *Too important to fail*, *Grand Bargain* and the World Humanitarian Summit is to reduce needs and make the aid more efficient, our three aspects and four initiatives are ordered around the nodal point ‘solution’, which we will now demonstrate.

6.3.3. ‘Solution’

We have analyzed how the UN articulates crises and how this is a nodal point in the ‘nexus discourse’. The other nodal point we have identified is ‘solution’ which is related to ‘solving’ humanitarian crises. Because the aspects and initiatives are aimed at reducing needs and improve aid, we argue that they represent ‘solutions’ on how to obtain this, which is why we have identified the second nodal point as ‘solution’. The articulations about crisis and solution in relation to improving humanitarian aid by involving development aid are constituting the identified nexus discourse. We consider the four initiatives from the *Grand Bargain* report actions to achieve the overall goals of making aid more efficient and reducing needs, and the four initiatives are a way to obtain that by improving humanitarian aid and incorporating development aid. This is seen in relation to the goal of the SDGs, a goal of creating a ‘better future for all’ (UN, 2017a). In order to do this, additional funds need to be

found, which is the last aspect of the *Too important to fail* report. In the following figure, we have illustrated the ‘solution’ nodal point:



The articulations about the ‘solution’ connected to growing humanitarian need have created a new reality. This change is very present in the articulations of our informants, which we will show in chapter 6.4. In the following sections, we will outline the articulations of the signs ordered around the nodal point 'solution' in order to clarify the 'nexus discourse', that we have identified. Further we will argue that these signs are linked together as signifiers in a chain of equivalence, creating an ‘identity’ for how a solution to the current humanitarian need is being articulated on an international policy level.

6.3.3.1 Closer cooperation

The Panel argues, that there is a need for closer cooperation between humanitarian aid and development aid. This need is especially visible in situations of protracted displacement (OCHA, 2015: 8). The need for closer cooperation is ordered around the nodal point ‘solution’. A closer cooperation or ‘bridging’ the divide between humanitarian and development is, according to the Panel a way of addressing the humanitarian financial gap. In

an effort to bridge the humanitarian and development divide, the Panel suggest: “*redirecting development assistance quickly and flexibly - for example by using crisis modifiers to where it is needed most, and even, where appropriate, using the implementing modalities of humanitarian aid*” (OCHA, 2015: 15). The closer cooperation is articulated as ‘*enhance engagement between humanitarian and development actors*’ and represents one of the four initiatives (UN, 2016c: 14). We consider this articulation to be important for how the ‘nexus discourse’ is constituted. We consider it to be a clear articulation from the UN that humanitarian aid and development aid needs to be ‘engaged’ for the aid to be more efficient and thereby reduce suffering. As the focus is on ‘engaging’ the two, the aim is not: “*about shifting funding from development to humanitarian programmes or from humanitarian to development actors*” (ibid: 14). Rather the aim, is: “*about working collaboratively across institutional boundaries on the basis of comparative advantage. This way of working does also not deviate from the primacy of humanitarian principles*” (ibid: 14). These articulations are very distinct in their way of stressing the need for ‘enhancing engagement’. Further the phrase ‘working collaboratively’ is emphasizing that within the ‘nexus discourse’ it is articulated that humanitarian aid and development aid need to be engaged or to be collaboratively working. This is a clear change from what we identified in the ‘linking discourse’ and the ‘recovery discourse’, where the articulation revolved around combining or linking the two. The *Grand Bargain* report shares similarities with the concepts of linking relief and development and early recovery but in *Grand Bargain* it is stressed even more that the principles need to be respected in order to link the two in the most effective way, which underlines the complexity of compromising the principles at the same time as the costs are increasing to a point where rethinking is necessary. We argue that ‘engagement’ and ‘working collaboratively’ are signifiers in the chain of equivalence constituting an identity for ‘solution’. It is stressed, by the UN, that this way of working needs to be incorporated by the private sector, civil society, aid organisations and donors as well as national governments. The focus on how humanitarian aid and development aid can be linked and better aligned, while still respecting the principles of both, is very important for what we have identified as the ‘nexus discourse’, where articulations about reducing suffering and efficiency are predominant. In the chain ‘engagement’ of humanitarian aid and development aid is closely linked with ‘efficiency’, since it is articulated, that the engagement will cause efficiency.

6.3.3.2 Efficiency

In both reports it is stated that humanitarian aid needs to be more efficient, which is evident

in the aspect: *'improving the efficiency of humanitarian assistance'* (OCHA, 2015: 3). The Panel articulates, that humanitarian aid needs to be efficient in order to reduce suffering and end needs. According to the UN, one way of improving the efficiency is articulated as bridging the silos and engaging humanitarian and development aid.

The need for 'efficiency' is especially visible in the *Grand Bargain* report, where it is stressed that: *"We need to find and create efficiency - while also doing more to shrink overall needs and deepen the resource base for funding humanitarian action"* (UN, 2016: 2). In the report, the need for delivering better protection and assistance, as well as ensuring anticipation and preparation for crises, are emphasized: *"We have to do much more far better"* (UN, 2016: 1). Furthermore, the report accentuates that it is necessary to start using the different strengths of organizations as effectively as possible, and thereby: *"get more means into the hands of people in need"* (UN, 2016: 1). With these statements, we observe clear articulations on what the UN consider to be efficient humanitarian aid and thereby part of the 'nexus discourse'. In relation to the articulations of a need for more efficient aid, we have identified articulations about a need for development as well, which will be investigated in the next section.

6.3.3.3. Development

The Panel articulates the lack or decline of development to be a problem, as development is viewed as: *"the best resilience builder of all"* (ibid: 5). There is, according to the Panel, a need for development because: *"the best way to deal with growing humanitarian needs is to address their root causes"* (OCHA, 2015: 5). The argument from the UN is that without investing in development, it is not possible to reduce the number of crises, as their root causes are not being addressed solely through humanitarian assistance. Not focusing on eliminating the root causes can lead to more or longer crises, causing the need for humanitarian aid to rise even more. Furthermore, the Panel argues, that if the root causes are addressed by investment in development, the suffering in the world can be reduced. It is with these articulations that we argue that 'development' is related to the nodal point 'solution' and further linked as a signifier in the chain of equivalence. It is clear within the articulations, that development initiatives are vital. This is further noticeable, when the Panel suggests investing in *"preparedness, prevention and disaster risk reduction"* (OCHA, 2015: 14) as a way of reducing humanitarian need. As these suggestions are not traditionally understood as humanitarian instruments, but instruments of development, the Panel thereby articulates a

rethought strategy on solving the long and complex crises. The Panel further argues, that addressing the root causes will cause a need of additional funding.

6.3.3.4. Additional funds

In the aspect *'mobilizing additional funds through either traditional or innovative mechanisms'* it is stressed that additional funds need to be found (OCHA, 2015: 4). We argue that this aspect acquires its meaning in relation to the nodal point 'solution', as it is implicit in the articulation, that additional funding is needed in order to finance needs of current humanitarian crises and crises that may occur. It is clearly stated by the Panel, that: *"We need to do whatever it takes to make sure that we have the resources in place to respond to humanitarian needs when and where they arise"* (OCHA, 2015: 4). The aspect is both ordered around the nodal point and further it is articulated, that in order to optimize the work in the nexus, there is a fundamental need for additional funding. In addition to finding additional funds, there is a need of multi-year funding, which is the next sign we will analyze.

6.3.3.5. Multi-year

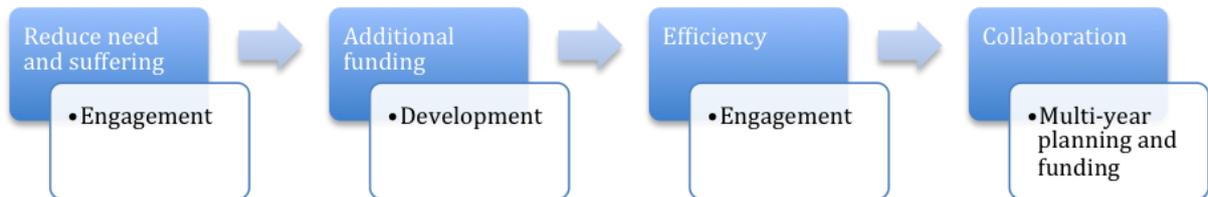
In the *Grand Bargain* report one initiative is to *'increase collaborative humanitarian multi-year planning and funding'* where it is stressed that: *"Multi-year planning and funding lowers administrative costs and catalyzes more responsive programming"* (UN, 2016: 11). In this statement 'multi-year planning' and 'multi-year funding' are important for how we see the nexus discourse as being constituted by these articulations. 'Multi-year funding' stresses a new way of working, where it is suggested that organizations should receive funding for longer periods of time instead of only a short period of time. By employing the development approach of long-term or multi-year effort, the argument from the UN is that the administrative costs will be lowered and that it can catalyze a more responsive programming. We argue that both multi-year 'planning' and 'funding' are to be seen in relation to the nodal point 'solution' and are linked in the chain of equivalence belonging to this nodal point. Further it is stated in the *Grand Bargain* report, that multi-year planning and funding can, by identifying results and sharing analysis of needs and risks, highlight the linkages between humanitarian and development and thereby better align the two while still respecting the principles of both (UN, 2016: 11). This is another important aspect for the 'nexus discourse', which we have already investigated, namely the 'engagement' between humanitarian aid and development aid. In addition to multi-year funding and planning, part of the 'solution' articulated by the UN is a reduction of earmarking.

6.3.3.6. Reduce earmarking

With the articulation of ‘*reduce the earmarking of donor contributions*’ it is stressed that flexible funding is key. With flexible funding, the argument is that it is possible to facilitate a: “*swifter response to urgent needs and investment in fragile, potentially volatile situations, emergencies and disaster preparedness, as well enables response to need in situations of protracted and neglected conflicts*” (UN, 2016c: 12). The idea is that a ‘swifter response’ will be more accessible in case of emergencies, because the funding is not being earmarked for a specific cause and can thereby include development aspects such as disaster preparedness. We identify ‘swifter response’ as a signifier in the chain of equivalence ordered around the nodal point ‘solution’. Further the removing of earmarking will enable a response in crises that break out. The last sign ordered around the nodal point solution is ‘transparency’, which we will analyze in the next paragraph.

6.3.3.7. Transparency

In the *Grand Bargain* report, it stressed that ‘transparency’ is needed in order to create a more efficient humanitarian aid. The need for transparency is articulated as: “*by increasing efficiency, we can shift resources away from draining backroom activities to frontline delivery*” (UN, 2016: 1). Transparency will be obtained by implementing a shared open-data standard, that demonstrates how funding moves from donors and all the way to the people in need (UN, 2016: 4). By making the funding more transparent, the aim is to improve the decision-making and thereby making the aid more efficient. ‘Transparency’ is arguably related to the nodal point ‘solution’ and linked together with the other drafted proposals to ‘solutions’ in a chain of equivalence. This chain is illustrated in the following figure:



In the figure, we have identified different signifiers, which linked together in this chain creates an ‘identity’ of a ‘solution’ to optimize the efficiency of humanitarian aid within the ‘nexus discourse’. The articulations of crises are connected to the current refugee situation, which we will connect to the nexus discourse in the following.

6.3.4. The refugee situation

The nodal point ‘crises’ is not only present when the humanitarian situation of crises is being articulated. The signs that are ordered around the nodal point crises, are also very visible in the context of the current refugee situation the refugee and migration situation in Europe, we argue, serves as a context and cause for the World Humanitarian Summit and its outcome. As described in paragraph 4.8 the refugee situation is often referred to as the ‘refugee crises’. Examples of where the refugee situation is described as a crisis can be found in articles from Center for Strategic and International Studies, CSIS, (Nielsson, 2015), the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees, UNHCR (UNHCR, 2015) and the European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations under the European Commission (European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations, 2017). All sources which we argue, are central actors in the humanitarian and development assistance field.

As refugees are considered a humanitarian issue. We argue that the high number of people fleeing is also one of the reasons for the current increased humanitarian funding gap. But the

situation of refugees and migration is not mentioned directly in the report *Too important to fail, Grand Bargain*, or at the World Humanitarian Summit, where only the total number of people in need of humanitarian aid and assistance was mentioned. The total number of people in need is based on many different causes, which among others, includes migration, war, crises affected areas and natural disasters. But as described in section 4.1.9, the migration situation in Europe changed in 2015, where a large number of people fled to Europe. As described in the section of the development of humanitarianism, certain events and points of impact have had a great effect on the formation of humanitarian aid. We argue, that in order to understand the current focus on the nexus on a policy level, it must be understood in the light of the refugee situation, that is calling for a response, since the need of humanitarian aid is increasing due to this current situation. While Neither *Grand Bargain* or *Too important to fail* refer directly to the current migration situation, we will show in the following section of the analysis, the new Danish development strategy is heavily focused on migration and how to find a solution to the influx in Denmark. We will now summarize the identification of the nexus discourse before moving on the current Danish focus on the nexus.

6.3.5. Summarizing the 'nexus discourse'

By analyzing the articulations from the UN, the Panel and OCHA we argue that a new discourse, the 'nexus discourse', is prevailing and is unique for the current time, as there currently are more people fleeing crises and Europe is experiencing a refugee influx due to unsolved crises and conflicts. In this chapter, we have through a discourse analysis investigated how certain nodal points are fixating a meaning for the current relation and work in the nexus between humanitarian and development aid in the international community on an international policy level. Within the identified nexus discourse, two nodal points 'crises' and 'solution' are present. We have argued, that around these nodal points, different signs ascribe their meaning through an articulatory practice (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 113). This is the case with the different initiatives and articulations on the 'crises' from the UN, that only obtain meaning in relation to the nodal point. Further the way, the two nodal points have been discursively articulated has established a chain of equivalence, where other possible meanings of the signs has been cancelled (ibid: 128). With the established chains, the UN has articulated a clear distinction of how the work in the nexus ought to be in regards to what crises are and solutions ought to be. In the nodal point 'crises' a chain of e is established, creating an identity for 'crises' which consists of the following signifiers: spiraling costs, root causes, protracted, underfunding, suffering and need. We further argue, that the current

refugee situation is related to this nodal point. The nodal point 'crises', is related to a main issue of a need for reducing suffering, induce better funding, as well as optimizing the actions taken by the organizations. This is articulated as being connected to root causes for conflict and crises and protracted crises, which needs to be solved in order to reduce the humanitarian need, which currently is bigger than ever. This solution is represented by the different initiatives and concepts stated in the two reports, which are ordered around the nodal point 'solution'. In this nodal point, the chain is filled with these signifiers: investment, development, bridging, swifter response enhancing engagement between humanitarian and development organizations, multi-year funding, collaboration, no earmarking of funds, additional funds, efficiently and transparency. Part of this solution is investing in development and creating a better link between humanitarian and development aid, that is long term.

When conducting a discourse analysis, it is clear that: "*our ways of talking do not neutrally reflect our world*" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 1) but play an active role in creating it and changing it. This is, as we have analyzed the different statements from the different reports, clear. As different discourses have been prevailing at different times, the reality and assumptions about the work in the nexus has changed and right now it is reflected in a certain way. We argue that the UN with the World Humanitarian Summit and the reports *Grand Bargain* and *Too Important to Fail* has created and negotiated a reality, that is affecting the organizations and governments. In this section, we analyzed which articulations that currently have been part of shaping the international political decision field of the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid. We will in the following part of the analysis investigate how this new reality is creating possibilities and obstacles in a Danish context, by analyzing the strategy *The World 2030*, the *Information Note* and the conducted interviews with informants from Danida, DRC and Globalt Fokus and how the chains of equivalence, that we have identified, have created an identity, that is very present in the reality for our informants.

6.4. The Danish nexus discourse

In the previous chapters of the analysis, we have shown what events and articulations that have been, and currently are shaping the decisions on a policy level in the relation between

humanitarian aid and development aid. We have identified changing discourses over time and identified a current international discourse, the 'nexus discourse' in which we have identified, that the current focus is articulated as an aim of reducing suffering through; collaboration, multi-year planning and funding, efficiency, additional funding and enhanced engagement between humanitarian and development aid. We argued that these articulations formed a chain of equivalence. In this chapter, we will analyze how these are being employed by our informants.

In this chapter, we will argue how the articulations within the identified 'nexus discourse' construct a reality for our informants from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark and organizations from the Danish civil society and how the focus is being negotiated in a Danish context. Our interviews with the informants have given us an understanding of the current Danish focus from their point of view, and after investigating the current articulations on an international policy level, we have found that certain elements are very present within the Danish political landscape. We will investigate how the current articulations and fixed meaning within the international community creates certain possibilities and paradoxes within the Danish focus. By conducting a discourse analysis on the interviews and other relevant documents, such as the new Danish development strategy *The World 2030* and national articles we will analyze how the current Danish articulations and focus are employing the fixed meaning of the 'nexus discourse'. At the same time, we argue that other interests are at stake, which make the current Danish focus unique for this moment in time.

In this section, we will analyze how this fixed meaning affects the Danish reality. Even though Grand Bargain is not binding and is not mentioned in the new strategy *The World 2030*, the articulations of the plan are noticeable in the articulations from the Danish strategy. The fact that *Grand Bargain* is not directly mentioned in the strategy or the *Information Note* has been criticized by our informant from Globalt Fokus, as he states: "*There is no doubt, that it (Grand Bargain) has been important. It is quite interesting, that it is not mentioned in the Information Note and we have complained about this because we really believe in Grand Bargain*" (Appendix C: 6). And as we will show in the following, the government and in particular our informants are highly influenced by the articulations about it and the fixed meaning, that we have argued, is currently constructed on the background of it. We argue that the 'Danish nexus discourse' is highly influenced by the 'nexus discourse' and we have identified the same nodal points 'crisis' and 'solution', since the articulations in the strategy

are somehow identical with the articulations in the nexus discourse. In the following sections, we will analyze how the reality and fixed meaning that we analyzed in the ‘nexus discourse’ is visible and have been employed in both the strategy, the *Information Note* and by our informants.

6.4.1. Longer-lasting crises

In the ‘nexus discourse’ ‘crises’ form a nodal point and in the discourse, a chain of equivalence is established to what ‘crises’ are. One of the signifiers in the chain is ‘protracted’ in the sense that crises are long and protracted. In the ‘Danish nexus discourse’ the sign ‘crises’ is also a nodal point with the sign ‘long-lasting’ ordered around it. In both the ‘nexus discourse’ and the ‘Danish nexus discourse’, it is articulated, that the consequence of the longer-lasting crises creates a need for a rethought and changed form of action. *Grand Bargain* is present a rethought form of action. In Denmark, the new strategy is also a rethought action plan addressing the current growing humanitarian need. This is supported in the interview with our informant from Danida, where it is stressed that the longer crises have had an impact on the decisions made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Further, it is stated that the new strategy is based on a recognition of the crises in the world lasting longer and affecting a larger amount of people (Appendix B: 2). The issue of long-lasting crises was already an issue in 1995 with the ‘linking discourse’, as we have shown in section 6.2.1. Further it was again renegotiated in 2000s. This accentuates that the articulations in Denmark are prevailing under unique circumstances, which we will touch upon in Chapter 6.5.

6.4.2. Incorporating the private sector

The underfunding gap in humanitarian assistance is emphasized in the identified ‘nexus discourse’. Both the Grand Bargain initiatives and the *Too important to fail* report seek to address this underfunding gap and find other solutions and ways to do much more far better (UN, 2016c). When considering the Danish development strategy and goals, we have found it evident that articulations of ‘mobilizing additional funds’ from the nexus discourse have impacted the strategy *The World 2030* and the support for the civil society in the *Information Note*. With these reports a search for additional and untraditional funds has been proposed and highlighted. The additional funds are thought to be the incorporation of the private sector. Our informant from Danida accentuated that the private sector and other actors will be able to bring other sources of finance and resources. According to our informant, the incorporation of private companies plays a much bigger part in the *World 2030* strategy than in former

Danish strategies (Appendix B: 8). By articulating a wish to incorporate the private sector and companies, we argue that this becomes a moment in the 'Danish nexus discourse'. We see part of the Danish nexus discourse to be a response to the current underfunding and a need for mobilizing additional funding. The articulations are very similar to the 'nexus discourse' and this underlines our argumentation that the current Danish focus on the nexus is to be understood, partly, from the articulations on the international policy level.

6.4.3. Breaking the barrier between humanitarian aid and development aid

An important theme in *Grand Bargain* is the bridging of humanitarian aid and development aid. In *Grand Bargain* one of the initiatives is to 'enhance engagement' in order to make the aid more effective. In the Danish strategy 'The World 2030' the importance of closing the gap between humanitarian and development aid is also emphasized. In the strategy, it is clearly stated that: "*The aim is to break down the artificial dividing line between short-termed humanitarian actions and the long-term development cooperation*" (Danida, 2017e). We consider the aim of 'breaking down the barrier' to be part of an ambition to be a pioneer country, as Denmark is one of the first countries to implement a strategy that combines humanitarian aid and development aid. Furthermore, we argue, that the articulations of 'breaking down the artificial line' stresses in a more direct way than 'the nexus discourse', that humanitarian aid and development aid should be combined. Further we consider the wish to break the barrier to be part of an aim of rethinking and optimizing the work of the organizations. With the *Information Note*, Danida has implemented a new set of criteria for their strategic partnerships. Our informant from Danida describes how organizations involved with humanitarian crises and development work across the two Lots (Lot CIV and Lot HUM) and which possibilities the organization is capable of contributing with, when applying for a partnership with Danida. With this, Danida aims at encouraging the organizations to incorporate the two aspects of development and humanitarian aid in their organizations, and to rethink this area in a new way (Appendix B: 18). Even though the strategy combines humanitarian aid and development aid, the *Information Note*, on how to obtain a strategic partnership with Danida, is still presenting humanitarian partnerships and development partnerships as divided into silos, which we will return to in section 6.5.2.2.

With the strategic partnerships presented in the *Information Note*, a new way of selecting partners has been implemented. It was clear to us, after having talked to our informants that

the former way of selecting partners was based on historical conditions. The condition being, that once you had been chosen as a partner, you were very likely to be chosen again and it was difficult for other organizations to obtain partnerships. Our informant from Danida states that one of the problems with the historical bounded selection was that it was unclear why certain organizations had a partnership and it was unclear and obscure what was needed in order to get a partnership, according to the informant (Appendix B: 21). According to the informant from Globalt Fokus it is also a question of a pressure to make it more visible why some organizations get a certain amount of funding while others get remarkably less (Appendix C: 2). With the *Information Note* we see a clear ambition of changing the conditions for obtaining a partnership. Further we argue that this ambition is closely related to the moment 'transparency' in the 'nexus discourse'. Although it is not stated directly that the ambition is to bring transparency, the new way of selecting partners will bring more clarity. Further it is stated in the Information Note, that reporting and final reports from the organizations have to be available for the public (Danida, 2017d) In this way, transparency both relates to the partnership organizations aims and the performed actions.

6.4.4. Long-term approach

In the strategy, *The World 2030* it is stated that the partnerships with the civil society organizations will be long-term (Danida, 2017c: 14). As described in section 4.7, the new partnerships are entered for a period of four years, making the partnerships last longer than before. One of the things that are highlighted in the strategy in relation to why the partnerships will now last longer, is the linkage between humanitarian aid and development aid. According to our informant the point of this connection is further to create some improvement and long-lasting changes in the affected societies (Appendix B: 3). One way of doing this is to implement long-term funding, which is also an initiative in *Grand Bargain* and part of the established chain of equivalence for 'solution' in the 'nexus discourse'. By implementing long-term funding, it is possible for the organizations to make long-term actions and do long-term planning, according to the informant from Danida (Appendix B: 8). This articulation is almost identical to the initiative from Grand Bargain of 'multi-year funding and planning' and the overall goal is the same. With this statement we, again, observe clear similarities from Grand Bargain to Danida, and the reality of our informant. Our informant further elaborated that a way to optimize the work of the civil organizations is to give them free means, which they can use, prioritize and allocate according to their own strategic goals (Appendix B: 7-8). This statement is also related to the 'multi-year planning'

in the ‘nexus discourse’.

6.4.5. Summarizing the ‘Danish nexus discourse’

In this chapter we have ascertained, that the ‘Danish nexus discourse’ is heavily influenced by the ‘nexus discourse’. We have argued that articulations and the ‘solution’ chain of equivalence from the ‘nexus discourse’ is incorporated in the Danish strategy, which we have shown by examples from the strategy and the *Information Note*. Articulations from the ‘nexus discourse’ are predominant in the ‘Danish nexus discourse’ and further we argued, that the articulations on the international focus has changed the reality for our informants. We experienced how our informants employed the articulations from the ‘nexus discourse’ in their own articulations, to a point where we will argue, that the ‘nexus discourse’ is appearing ‘natural’ (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 33). In the conducted interviews, we have at the same time identified what possibilities, limitations and paradoxes that this reality creates for our informants. These are to be understood in the light of Danish interests, which we in the following chapter will analyze.

6.5. Danish interests

We have now identified the ‘Danish nexus discourse’ in close connection with the ‘nexus discourse’, and shown how the articulations in the Danish strategy and *Information note* are highly influenced by the World Humanitarian Summit, Grand Bargain and the OCHA report. At the same time, we have identified another discourse, the ‘Danish interest discourse’ where articulations related to Danish interests, on a policy level, are present. With the ‘Danish interest discourse’ certain paradoxes are created in relation to the ‘Danish nexus discourse’. We have identified the two discourses within the current Danish context on a policy level, and will argue that the articulations within each discourse apply different logics. The ‘Danish nexus discourse’ apply the logic of the ‘nexus discourse’ and is situated in the reality created by the UN. The ‘Danish interest discourse’ applies a logic in regards to certain Danish interests, but with that some paradoxes are created, which we will now analyze.

6.5.1. The migration context

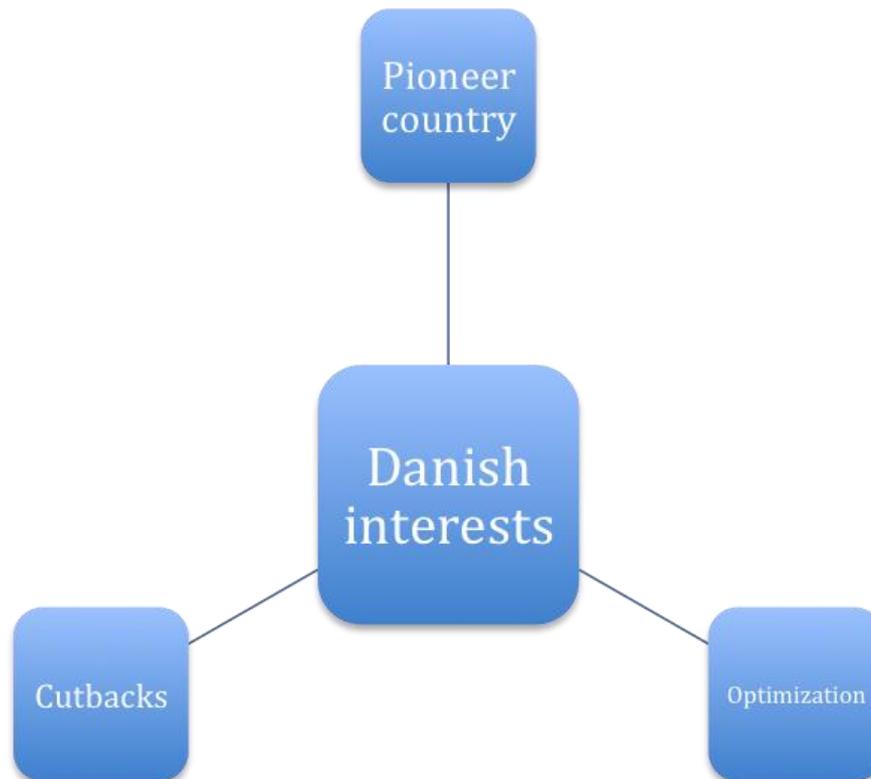
Migration and the refugee influx has been, and still is, a highly debated area in the political scene and the media in Denmark, especially since 2015, where Europe and Denmark experienced an increase in the number of refugees. The refugee influx has been described as a

‘refugee crisis’ in Danish media and has been evident in lawmaking and national politics. In the context of this topic, the Ministry of Immigration and Integration has made several tightenings on immigration laws, regulations and control (UIM, 2017). Furthermore, a spokesman from the governing political party Venstre has stated, that many of the implemented and tightened rules and regulations have been passed in order to “*send a clear signal to people outside of the Danish borders*” (Mortensen, 2016). With statements like this and tightenings and regulations on the migration area, Denmark has been mentioned as controversial in the international media and political scene (Bilefsky, 2016). We argue that the focus on the issue of migration creates a certain context for the Danish policy level and that this context is important for how we understand the ‘Danish interest discourse’. In the strategy *The World 2030*, migration, and especially irregular migration is one of the four strategic goals for the Danish development policy (see section 4.6). In the strategy, *The World 2030* it is stated how Denmark will: “*put migration high on the development agenda*” (Danida, 2017b: 22). The focus on migration is therefore closely linked to the issue of development. In the strategy, it is stated that irregular migration is a global challenge, and that lack of development in the “*neighborhoods of Europe*” affect “*our part of the world*” in an increasingly way (Danida, 2017b: 22). It is therefore an interest for Denmark to address the underlying causes of migration, and it is stressed how migration needs to be a part of Denmark's development cooperation (ibid: 23). We argue that the context of migration in Europe creates a unique context. In a Danish context, the issue of migration is high on the agenda and certain interests are prevailing on the basis of this. An interest that is articulated as improving the living conditions in countries of origin, in order to build a foundation, which ensures the that populations: “*will not feel compelled to leave their country of origin*” (Danida, 2017b: 24). It is thereby articulated as Danish interest to invest in development and create prosperity in order to stop the migration flow. We state that migration is a very influential issue in the interest of Denmark and therefore a part of the ‘Danish interest discourse’ and thereby we identify articulations about migration as being very important for the ‘Danish interest discourse’.

6.5.1.1. The Danish interest discourse

We have through a discourse analysis of the new strategy and information note, identified a nodal point in the ‘Danish interest discourse’. The nodal point is ‘interest’ where the signs ‘pioneer country’, ‘optimization’ and ‘cutbacks’ are ordered around and obtain their meaning in relation to ‘interests’. These signs will be elaborated further in the next sections. In the

following illustration, the ‘Danish interest discourse’ is shown, with the nodal point in the middle.



In the following the first sign of ‘optimization’ will be analyzed.

6.5.2. Optimization

With the *Too important to fail* and the *Grand Bargain* report the issue of underfunding related to humanitarian assistance was highlighted. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, smaller means are also a reality, which means less funds for Danida. In a reality with smaller funds, the Ministry has been compelled to make an order of priorities, according to our informant from Danida. The informant from Danida explains: “*we have fewer means, so we have to prioritize our resources on a smaller number of partners according to what we wish to accomplish*” (Appendix B: 13). This order of priorities is therefore part of the reason for the new strategic partnerships, according to the informant from Danida (Appendix B: 19). The informant from DRC has the same impression of the changed reality of Danida, and

mentions that part of this new reality is fewer means and a need for prioritizing (Appendix A: 2). In order to prioritize, Danida decided to reduce the number of partners and make a new plan for how to obtain partnerships, as described in the *Information Note* (Section 4.7). In the *Information Note* a focus on how to optimize development and humanitarian aid from Denmark is accentuated. This focus is also partly due to the new reality of smaller funds. Within the articulation of optimization, the signs ‘strategic match’ and ‘prioritizing’ represents different paradoxes, which is related to the nodal point ‘interest’.

6.5.2.1. Strategic match

Throughout the strategy *The World 2030* and the *Information Note*, a focus on a strategic match in the partnerships between Danida and civil society organizations is emphasized. In the strategy, it is stated that:

“partnerships with the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be redesigned over the coming years in order to ensure strong strategic partnerships that support Danish development policy and humanitarian priorities” (Danida, 2017d: 14).

As former stated, the selection of partners was formerly based on historical conditions. With the new strategic partnerships, the aim is to cancel the former historical approach of selecting partners and make it possible for a larger amount of organizations to apply: *“now we shake the bag and give these people an equal chance of actually presenting an offer on how they see a strategic fit and how they can contribute to the strategy”* (Appendix B: 5). The focus for selecting partners is now the organization's capability of cooperating strategically with Danida and the partnerships are articulated as ‘strategic partners’ or ‘strategic partnership’. With this new strategic focus for the partnerships, there are some new demands for the organizations, which the informant from Danida articulates as:

“We make demands for the humanitarian organizations by stating, that it is not enough to send emergency rations or give cash outs to local communities. The organizations have to contribute to counter resistance, prevent crises and think in long-term perspectives much more than what have been done until now” (Appendix B: 12).

and he continues by focusing on the increased demands for future strategic partner organizations and how it is supposed to encourage the organizations to work in new ways:

“We make demands in the application process, and we expect, that is will have a transformative effect in relation to the way that our partners get organized. In this way, they will be better and more capable of meeting the demands that humanitarian situations require” (Appendix A: 12).

Within the *Information Note*, the word ‘strategic’ combined with partner or partnership appears 166 times. The *Information Note* is a report of 65 pages which underlines its importance to Danida. We identify ‘strategic’ as a moment in the ‘Danish interest discourse’ ordered around the nodal point ‘interest’. We see it as a Danish interest because it is in the interest of Denmark to optimize the aid, make it more effective and one way of doing this is to ensure strategic matches with civil society organizations. With the strategic match and how the organizations contribute, the aim is to be able to deliver better results. We find this similar to Grand Bargain, where it is stated, that we have to: “do much more far better” (UN, 2016c: 2). After having investigated the strategic match we will analyze the sign 'prioritizing' in relation to the different lots presented in the information note.

6.5.2.2. Lot HUM and Lot DEV

A part of the optimization process from Danida is an ambition to better combine the humanitarian and development aid. As seen in section 3.3.1 this aim is highly related to the aim of the initiative in *Grand Bargain* of ‘enhancing engagement’ between humanitarian and development aid. In Denmark, a way to combine the two is presented within the new partnerships in the *Information Note*.

In the *Information Note*, it is stated that the selection of the new partners will be based on an open application process with three partnership lots (Danida, 2017d: 7). The three lots are; ‘Lot CIV’, Lot HUM’ and ‘Lot LAB’. The organizations can apply for more lots, but the lots cannot be combined. According to our informant from Danida, the organization will end up with one agreement in the end, even though it is different means from different lots (Appendix B: 16). This is a new approach, and is considered by our informants to be an improvement in relation to having several agreements. But the fact that the organizations can not apply for the lots combined, the informants from the civil society consider a contradiction. According to our informant from DRC, it is clear that there is a new ambition in the strategy, but that there are still two boxes; one for the humanitarian and one for the

civil society (Appendix B: 4). It is clear that there is an aim to break down the barrier between humanitarian aid and development aid but that there are some contradictions within the way that the partnerships have been divided into different lots. According to the High-level Panel from the *Too important to fail* report, the attempt to combine humanitarian aid and development aid is often being counteracted by governments: “*And donor governments frequently contribute to the problem by perpetuating inadequate funding and programming behaviors through separate humanitarian and development silos within their own ministries*” (OCHA, 2015: 15). It seems contradictory in the statements from Danida, that the aim is to break down the barrier but at the same time the application process does not allow organizations to apply for partnerships combined of Lot CIV and Lot HUM. As the informants from the civil society has noted, the articulations from Danida is contradictory, since the strategy aims to break down the barrier between humanitarian aid and development aid while the information Note reinforced the barrier with the division into Lots. Danida has articulated both as steps in order to optimize the work in the nexus, which represents a contradiction within the 'Danish nexus discourse'.

When we interviewed the informant from Danida this contradiction was a question we raised. The informant explained, that there are rules according to the Danish finance act, that require a separate account for humanitarian aid and development aid (Appendix B: 15). According to this articulation it is clear that there are some limitations from the Finance act towards combining the different lots. The informant stressed, that there is an option of working in the area from either a humanitarian point of view or a development one. Also, it is possible to seek and obtain more than one partnership (Appendix B: 15). The informant from Globalt Fokus agreed that the division into lots seems rather illogical and contradicting. At the same time, he is aware of the Danish Finance act and recognizes a need for a budget in order to implement the work in the partnership (Appendix C: 5). It is apparent, that there is a clear ambition to improve and optimize the work, but that it is filled with a contradiction due to a specific Danish context, namely the Danish Finance act. We can assume that there might be similar situations in other countries as well, since the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid has been articulated differently over time and is still being articulated as an area in need of rethinking. After having investigated the optimization process we will analyze how current articulations show an ambition of Denmark to being a pioneer country.

6.5.3. Denmark as a pioneer country

In 2015, world leaders agreed on and committed themselves to the UN *2030 Agenda* for Sustainable Development including the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Denmark has committed to the SDGs and is therefore also responsible for delivering the *2030 Agenda* of the Sustainable Development. This is clearly stated in the new Danish strategy *The World 2030*. The SDGs have been included and have been influential on the outcome of the strategy. In the strategy four strategic aims have been selected out of the 17 SDGs. The four goals have been selected because these enable Denmark to work within areas of the national interest and to focus on specific areas, where Denmark, being a *small country in a big world* realistically will be able to contribute (Danida, 2017c: 1). The strategy focuses on activities and areas where Denmark has most at stake, both interests and values, and where Denmark can obtain most influence through strategic use of strength, expertise and experience (Danida, 2017c: 6). The informant of Danida explained:

“We acknowledge that Denmark is a small country that is not able to do everything, so that is why we have chosen to say, that we have four strategic aims and some specific SDGs, on which we have chosen to prioritize” (Appendix B: 4).

It is very clear in the articulations, that Denmark is seeking to live up to the responsibility of delivering the *2030 Agenda* by implementing the SDGs in *The World 2030*. At the same time, the interest for certain SDGs are very connected to Danish interests, namely the aspect of migration, which we will touch upon in section 6.5.4.2.

6.5.3.1. Ambition

Denmark is the first country to combine humanitarian assistance and development aid into one strategy, namely *The World 2030*. In the strategy, it is explained how Denmark will:

“strengthen the coherence of humanitarian action and development corporation in Danish country policies and country programs in fragile states. We will carry out a joint humanitarian and development analysis and programming in countries with humanitarian challenges” (Danida, 2017b: 20).

We argue that by being the first country to adopt a combined strategy shows a clear ambition in Denmark to be a pioneer country. Further it represents an interest for Denmark, and thereby ordered around the nodal point Danish interest. According to all our informants, Denmark sends a clear signal with the new strategy, that the country attempts to a pioneering country in the work within the nexus. On Danida's website, where the strategy shortly is described, it is further stated, that "*the aim is to break down the artificial dividing line between short-termed humanitarian actions and the long-term development cooperation*" (Danida, 2017e). With this statement Danida is articulating the distinction between humanitarian aid and development aid as artificial and that it should be broken down. Danida thereby articulates the work in the nexus as having to be combined in a more forward way than the 'nexus discourse', where it is articulated, that the engagement between humanitarian aid and development aid should be enhanced. In the 'nexus discourse', the 'linking discourse' and the 'recovery discourse' the focus was not a combination of the two, and the 'breaking down barriers' is therefore a unique articulation within the Danish context. The informant from Danida further explained, that it is an ambition from Danida to make a better connection between the humanitarian aid and development aid, and thereby create better results and a more effective use of resources (Appendix B: 16).

Both the informant from DRC and Globalt Fokus questioned the ambition of being a pioneer country due to the division of Lots in the *Information Note*, which they see a contradiction to the aim of being a pioneer country in this field. The informant of Globalt Fokus elaborated on this with the statement:

"You could have hoped, that there had been a braver approach. I know it is complicated in the Foreign Ministry, because there are two different offices but if it were an area in which we would have really wanted to be leading in the world, I think, we should have taken it a bit further. And I think this will happen. There is no doubt, that this agenda is highly supported in the Danish NGO environment and internationally" (Appendix C: 5).

Hereby underlining that the NGO environment supports the new agenda: "*I think that everybody supports the ambition of Denmark wanting to take the leadership here. But you could have wished for a little more courage*" (Appendix C: 5). The informant from Globalt Fokus stated, that if anything, the new strategy is a sign of an ambition, and that Denmark, to a greater extent than other countries, is a pioneer country in this field. This view is also stated

by the informant of DRC, who states that: “*Denmark is adopting an idea of the work in the nexus. [...] They (referring to Danida) could have been more ambitious in different ways and better at bringing out a new model of how to act in relation to the two pools*” (Appendix A: 5).

The informants from the civil society organizations agree, to a point, that Denmark is somewhat of a pioneer country, or at least has ambitions to be one. The informant from DRC states that Denmark is a pioneer country, whereas the informant from Globalt Fokus thinks that there at least is a clear ambition (Appendix C: 5). At the same time both the informant from DRC and Globalt Fokus highlights the absurdity in spending money on national asylum expenses when at the same making cutbacks, as described in section 6.5.4. 2. The informants from DRC and Globalt Fokus agrees with the informant from Danida, that the strategy *The World 2030* seeks to provides a renewed approach to the nexus and new strategic partnerships underlines this. The informant from Globalt Fokus argues, that the effect of the new partnerships is difficult to make predictions about, but that Denmark is known as a country with a history of reforms (Appendix C: 2). He underlines that just by talking about changing the historical based selection of partner and trying to make new ways for working in the nexus, is a step forward. The informant of DRC also mentioned, that the renewed approach is a step in the right direction.

6.5.3.2. Diplomacy

It is articulated by our informants representing the civil society, that placing Denmark as a pioneer country is ‘well recognized’. The informant from Globalt Fokus states:

“I think that this is a strategical movement, where it is stated, that this is something, we would like to invest diplomatic resources in - that this is something we would like to be good at. And I think that it is well recognized. This is about taking some strategic choices where Denmark can take leadership” (Appendix C: 6).

The informants from DRC and Globalt Fokus agreed, that *The World 2030* sets a new agenda for the Danish development and a new situation for the strategic partnerships with Danida. They agreed, that the change is a step in the right direction, but that time will show whether or not this will actually cause a change or if it is a political statement attempting to invest in diplomacy from the Foreign Ministry:

“It is part of the reality in the Foreign Ministry, that they have to do more with fewer means. So, they need some kind of prioritization and they also need some sort of optimization, both due to the Taksøe Jensen report and due to the fact that we have not invested much in the diplomacy and the aid to developing countries have been reduced. So, you have to consider how to specify the effort” (Appendix A: 2).

The informant from DRC further stated, that it is part of the reality, that there are less funds in the Foreign Ministry which forces the change of doing more with less funding. As stated in *Grand Bargain* and articulated in the nexus discourse, there is a need to ‘do more much more, far better’ (UN, 2016: 2). In the Danish context, it is also articulated that there is a need to do more with fewer means, which have resulted in the optimization process.

6.5.4. Cutbacks

In 2015 the Danish government decided to cut back 7 billion on Danish development aid (Heinskou & Reich, 2015). This cutback was the biggest in the history of Denmark and with the cutback, the amount of money from Denmark towards development aid is the lowest in 40 years (Folkekirkens Nødhjælp, 2015). We consider the issue of this cutback as a moment in the ‘Danish interest discourse’. Within the discourse cutbacks are related to development aid and asylum expenses, both of which create paradoxes, according to our informants from the civil society. We will analyze the articulation in relation to development aid and asylum expenses and which paradoxes this entails in the following section.

6.5.4.1. Development aid

The cutback is visible in the Danish contribution in relation to development and humanitarian aid and the percentage of GNI. In 2015 the government reduced the percentage of GNI from 0,87 % in 2015 to 0,7 % for 2016 (Heinskou & Reich, 2015). This represent a cutback in development aid given by Denmark and is in contrast with the ambition of being a leading country, as described in 6.5.3. The recommendation from the UN is that countries donate 0,7 % of their GNI to development aid. Denmark has lived up to this recommendation since 1970 (Søe, 2017). Denmark is thereby still contributing with the recommended amount but the 0,7% is the lowest contribution since 1970. From 1986 to 2014 Denmark has never contributed with less than 0,87 %, an amount that *“gave us (Denmark) the leadership of*

assistance” (Søe, 2017). The cutback is therefore a remarkable reduction, that means that Denmark is contributing with the lowest amount proposed. Further, the cutback means that Denmark is not in the lead position as one of the countries contributing with largest percentage of the GNI. The informant from DRC consider the cutback obscure:

“We are still in front but it is a relative decline and a bad signal. You are simply moving in the wrong direction. Regardless that you have been in the leading position, you are not supposed to turn around because you are leading. You have to continue and bring others along” (Appendix A: 3).

The UN's articulations of a crucial need for more funding, an articulation that Denmark recognizes. It is expressed by our informants as controversial that Denmark at one point seeks to become a leading country by intending to optimize the work in the nexus at the same time as cutbacks are a reality. In accordance with this, the informant from DRC explained the aim of being a pioneer country as an attempt to invest in diplomacy while cutting back funding. The first part of the cutback is a cutback on development aid to a smaller amount. The second part is represented by ‘asylum expenses’ which will be analyzed in the next paragraph.

6.5.4.2. Asylum expenses

Migration is one out of four key points in strategy and is therefore high on the agenda. Both the informant from DRC and Globalt Fokus underlines that migration have played a role in the outcome of the strategy. The informant from DRC states that migrations has become a European challenge and thereby a Danish challenge (Appendix A: 2). This point is elaborated by the informant from Globalt Fokus. He states that because of the big migration influx, something had to be done (Appendix C: 4). Further he states that there was a clear agenda for the government to reorganize foreign policy and the corner of it relating to migration (Appendix C: 1-2).

Part of the government's cutback on development aid in 2015, was that 3,3 billion were to be spent on national expenses for receiving refugees (Heinskou & Reich, 2015). It was articulated by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kristian Jensen that money was needed in Denmark to deal with the inflow, and this money was redistributed from Danish development aid (Heinskou & Reich, 2015). The government articulated this as a redistribution and was articulated as being necessary due to the large migration inflow,

especially in 2015. Since 2009, the amount of money spent on receiving refugees in Denmark has increased from 9 % to 30 % and at the same time the overall level of development aid has decreased (Kenworthy, 2017). The situation where funds are moved from development aid to national expenses on asylum is criticized by our informants from DRC and Globalt Fokus. They do not see the cutback as a redistribution, but rather as a regular cutback. Our informant from DRC consider the situation as: *“headless and sends an extremely bad signal when you hollow out your aid to developing countries in order to finance national asylum expenses. It makes no sense. It is not development”* (Appendix A: 2). According to our informant from Globalt Fokus, Denmark has been the biggest receiver of aid to developing countries for a couple of years and he describes this as an: *“absurd situation”* (Appendix C: 4). The informant further elaborates, that he thinks: *“other motives are evident here”* (Appendix C: 4). Which is further underlined with the articulations of cutback as a redistribution. In the strategy, the importance of development as a key factor for stopping migration is stressed. That the funding for development aid is cut back, and the money is spent on national asylum expenses represents a paradox in the articulations about optimizing humanitarian and development aid.

6.5.5. Summarizing the ‘Danish interest discourse’

In this section, we have argued that certain Danish interests prevail, but that within these interests there are some paradoxes. The Danish interest discourse is identified by the nodal point ‘interest’ where the signs optimization, pioneer country and cutback are ordered around. The paradoxes are the interest of being both a pioneer country and implement an optimization process while cutbacks are made. The current focus on the nexus is articulated as an opportunity for Denmark to be a pioneer country by being the first countries to implement a combined action plan for humanitarian and development aid. The implementation is recognized by the informants as a step in the right direction, but questioned since the *Information Note* still divides the application process and strategic partnerships into different lots and the aim to combine humanitarian aid and development aid is further questioned due to the cut backs of funding.

6.5.6. Summarizing the Danish discourses

In section 6.4 we investigated how the new Danish development strategy incorporates the articulations from the UN into the new strategy. In this chapter, we have argued, that the current focus on the nexus between humanitarian aid and development aid in Denmark is to be understood in the light of the negotiations on an international policy level, that we have argued to be happening due to the current migration situation and in the light of Danish interests. The current ‘Danish nexus discourse’ is very similar to the identified ‘nexus discourse’, but at the same time, there are certain interests at stake in Denmark, that are combined in the strategy and new approach. These interests create some paradoxes, when the international aim is being negotiated in a Danish context, which we have shown. Before concluding our project, we will in the following chapter reflect on a question related to power structures.

7. Reflection

After having conducted the discourse analysis, we will now reflect on the question of power relation, which we have found to be an interesting perspective for further analysis. The question is related to the UN and its potential power in relation to Danida. We found that the articulated reality, identified in the ‘nexus discourse’ has had a big influence on Danida. The influence was especially visible in the way that the action plan *Grand Bargain* was, without being mentioned directly, clearly adopted into the strategy *The World 2030*. Because the influence from the UN was very clear, it raises a question of power structures and how the relation of power between the UN and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is.

Whether the UN has power over Danida can be seen from two points of view. On the one hand, it could be that the UN, with the different articulations and initiatives have created a reality with articulations about how to optimize the work in the nexus and reduce suffering, that these articulations are so strong, that they come to appear as natural. Within the reality articulated by the UN, there would only be an option of following the articulation. In this scenario Danida and thereby Denmark, has no other choice but to follow the articulated initiatives, or else they would be going against the UN. If this first scenario is true, we argue that there is a clear power structure between Danida and the UN and that the UN has power to create a reality for Danida. On the other hand, it would be possible that the reason for Denmark to follow the UN is a self-interest. As we have seen in the analysis, there are some

clear interest articulated within Denmark. And it could be that it is an interest to follow the initiatives from the UN, for an example to obtain diplomacy. In this scenario Denmark would have implemented the initiatives either way, and there is therefore no power relation.

As Denmark has a history of following guidelines from the UN this could support the first stated scenario. On the other hand, we have identified some clear self-interest for Denmark in following these guidelines and since Denmark is not a country with a history for reforms this could speak for scenario number two. Regardless of how the power structure between the UN and Danida is perceived it is obvious through our analysis, that there has been a great influence of the articulations from the UN into the Danish articulations on the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid. Whether this has been an act of ‘free will’ or because there were no other option could be an interesting topic for further investigation and would have added a new aspect to our investigation.

8. Conclusion

In this project, we have investigated how we can understand the current focus on the nexus between humanitarian and development aid in Denmark on a policy level. In order to answer this question, we have employed the analytical tool of discourse theory. By investigating the order of discourse ‘the relation between humanitarian aid and development aid’, we have identified different fixed meanings and prevailing discourses over time. Currently we have found the ‘nexus discourse’ to be prevailing, in which a specific fixed meaning is articulated and have created ‘reality’ for our informants.

In the first chapter of the analysis we argued that the nexus has been an ongoing field of negotiation and that questions related to the nexus with different focuses have been articulated differently since the 1990s. By investigating this, we got an understanding of how the focus on the nexus has changed over time and have been articulated through different discourses. This led to an understanding of the current focus on the nexus on an international policy level. In the second chapter of the analysis we investigated how the identified discourse from key international actors currently create a unique reality. We argued that the current underfunding of humanitarian aid and the European refugee situation are currently forming the international political decision field. At this level, the topic is being renegotiated

and a new reality is being articulated and created. In the final chapters of the analysis we analyzed the possibilities and paradoxes that the reality creates for the informants through two identified discourses, 'Danish nexus discourse' and the 'Danish interest discourse'. Even though we found the 'Danish nexus Discourse' to be heavily influenced by the 'nexus discourse' in the way that they shared articulations and nodal points and thereby the same fixed meaning, we also found that another discourse was prevailing within the Danish context, namely the 'Danish interest discourse'. We argued that the current fixation of meaning creates a reality for our informants, where the Danish focus on one hand is articulated as a pioneer country on the work in the nexus and at the other hand the national interests are articulated in a way that enables cutbacks and controversial regulations on the migration area.

On the base of the four chapters of the analysis we can conclude that the negotiations of the nexus are not something new, since the focus has been articulated in different discourses each with a unique focus over time. We can conclude that the current articulations on an international policy level are creating a unique fixed meaning that are impacting the 'Danish nexus discourse' as they are very similar on several points. Further we can conclude that specific Danish interests create paradoxes when the focus is being negotiated in a Danish context. The current Danish focus is therefore to be understood in the light of the current articulations and negotiations of the nexus at an international policy level. And finally, that Danish interests and the context of the current migration situation in Europe and Denmark has shaped the current reality, in which the combining of humanitarian aid and development aid is a focus.

9. Litterature

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