HUMANITARIAN – DEVELOPMENT DIVIDE:

TOO WIDE TO BRIDGE?

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Abstract

This paper aims at explaining *why humanitarian and development actors have been unable to bridge the humanitarian – development divide*. The special focus is put on the latest attempt on a global level to address this issue – the World Humanitarian Summit. This paper analyses the global policy level and aims to examine whether the challenges that were present in the past and identified in the literature are still relevant today, how they were addressed during and after the World Humanitarian Summit, what new challenges have appeared and what is the state of the global policy today.

In order to answer the question, the network on bridging humanitarian – development divide is conceptualized as a network of various humanitarian and development actors, acting on multiple levels. The framework for analysis stems from the five challenges identified in the literature on humanitarian – development divide. And the governance and network theories act as theoretical sources to explain and analyse these challenges. For the purpose of this paper, four interviews were conducted with policy experts from Doctors Without Borders, United Nations Development Programme, European Commission department for humanitarian aid, and NGO network Voice. Additionally, various policy documents were analysed from the World Humanitarian Summit, UN agencies, and various reports from different actors.

The analysis revealed, that challenges that were identified in the previous literature are still valid today. In addition, the analysis has revealed that new challenges and problematic areas have emerged since the World Humanitarian Summit. The World Humanitarian Summit did propose some solutions to the well-known challenges, however, some of them are not popular amongst the actors, or are unclear, or lack political will or leadership. On the other hand, the analysis revealed that as long as the humanitarian - development sector is fractioned and shaped by mandates, it will be hard to achieve the collective outcomes. While the guidelines on preserving the humanitarian principles are not clarified, the humanitarian actors will keep distrusting the development and state actors. Most importantly, as long as the concepts of humanitarian - development nexus and the divide are not agreed upon, the actors will have different interpretations of their common goal. If the leadership is not clear and the accountability frameworks are not set up, the policy will lack ownership and might end up being another semi-failed attempt to bridge the divide. Finally, if the resource flow is not ensured, the actors will remain independent and will not have an incentive to pursue the policy.

The humanitarian and development actors do acknowledge the need to address the nexus and there is willingness from the actors to work on it on global, state and field levels. And the momentum of the World Humanitarian Summit is still there. It means that future will show whether humanitarian and development actors will be able to overcome their differences and advance the policy to bridge the divide in order to meets people's needs, reduce vulnerability and enhance their resilience.

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2. INTRODUCTION

In the past decades, human suffering from conflicts and disasters has reached astounding levels. Close to 60 million people worldwide have been forced from their homes by violence and conflict, while 218 million people each year are affected by the disasters in the past two decades (UN 2015). Peace, stability and sustainable development seem unachievable goals in many places in the world today. As UN Secretary General has acknowledged that we – the humanity – must "*agree that we can and must do better to end conflict, alleviate suffering and reduce risk and vulnerability*" (UNGA 2016: 3) At the same time, the international aid system has not adapted to a changing humanitarian and development context to respond adequately.

The complexity of today's crises, especially the protracted crises, requires the efforts of both: humanitarian and developmental actors. It has once again brought to light a long-standing discussion of bridging humanitarian and development efforts in order to *Leave No One Behind*. The need to link humanitarian assistance and development cooperation has been discussed for decades. The academia and practitioners have been trying to find ways to reconcile this divide, as discussed in Chapter 3. The divide has been observed for the past few decades in various man-made and natural disaster hit areas, where humanitarian and development actors were expected to work together. For example, the 1984-85 famine in Darfur (Adams & Hawksley 1989), Uganda (Sande Lie 2017), Haiti and Afghanistan (Voice 2012), just to name a few.

Despite of several decades of debates and attempts to bridge the humanitarian – development divide, it still exists and is more apparent than ever. The fact that these efforts have been constantly failing are reflected in the ongoing debate on how to address it. It is discussed in UN, amongst donors, research institutes and amongst the NGOS. It is important to note, that there have been and are attempts to bridge the divide, however, overall it is clear that on the policy level the debates are ongoing, even if some efforts and good practices have been reported. Therefore, the presumption of this paper is that on the global scale, as well as in the field in most cases, the divide has not been bridged. Therefore, the problem question of this paper is:

Why have humanitarian and development actors been unable to bridge the humanitarian – development divide?

This paper understands humanitarian and development actors as performing in a global network, therefore, actors in this paper refer to all those state, non-state, non-governmental organizations, UN agencies and international institutions – all those who work to bridge the humanitarian - development divide. This paper is analysing the global policy level. Therefore, it is important to highlight that no single actor was interpreted as the most important one. All the interviews were conducted with policy experts, because the aim is to analyse the policy level rather than one particular case. On the other hand, two interviews were conducted with actors working on the European level, therefore, the paper reflects some European perspectives.

The focus of this paper is on the World Humanitarian Summit (WHS), which took place in Istanbul in May 2016. After a two-year consultation process, the Summit brought together 9 000 participants from 180 states, "including 55 Heads of State and Government, hundreds of civil society and non-governmental organizations, and partners including the private sector and academia" (Agenda for Humanity). The WHS put forward an Agenda for Humanity – "a five-point plan that outlines the changes that are needed to alleviate suffering, reduce risk and lessen vulnerability on a global scale. To achieve this, global leaders and all humanitarian actors are called upon to act on five core responsibilities" (Agenda for Humanity). While the discussion on bridging humanitarian – development divide has been ongoing for the past three decades, WHS was the latest global effort to address the issue. The aim of the paper is to examine whether the challenges that were present in the past and identified in the literature are still relevant today, how were they addressed during and after the WHS, did it induce new challenges, and what is the state of the process today.

This paper aims to contribute to an old debate on bridging humanitarian – development divide with a fresh look and new data, which became available after the World Humanitarian Summit in May 2016. In global policy terms, two years is not a long time to observe a substantial change and the conceptualization of the policy proposals are still ongoing, as well as testing in the pilot countries. This paper will analyse the challenges that are observable today and aim to understand – *why is it so difficult?*

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Theoretical approach

This paper aims to answer why humanitarian and development actors have been unable to bridge the humanitarian – development divide. In order to do so, the global governance and network theories are used. First, the general concept of governance is introduced, based on the work of Ansell & Torfing. Then, the global governance theory is discussed, with a focus on concepts such as 'global governance complex' by A. McGrew and 'global agora' by Stone. This is followed by a network governance theory discussed via O'Toole, Keast and other authors. The policy network theory mostly stems from Rhodes. Finally, the theory of multilevel governance and the concepts of cooperation, conflict and trust are discussed using the work of Seybolt, Keohane and others.

The theoretical discussion of governance and network theories allowed to extract main concepts and ideas, which characterize the global governance and network. These characteristics were then linked to the identified challenges by the literature on linking humanitarian and development fields. It was identified that the governance and network theories have many linkages with the literature on the humanitarian – development divide. Such theoretical framework enabled to discuss the identified challenges in light of the governance and network theories, informing the analysis and discussion (Chapter 6, Chapter 7). The way that theory and literature link together is explained in Chapter 5.

3.2. Analysis

The analysis of this paper is divided into five parts, which represent a challenge which was identified by the literature on linking development and humanitarian aid, and informed by the governance and network theories. First chapter "Two worlds apart challenge" analyses the humanitarian and development aid systems, looks into the challenge of mandates, and the Sustainable Development Goals as a framework for humanitarian and development work. The second chapter "Principles challenge" analyses the humanitarian principles with particular attention to working with authorities. Third chapter "Conceptual challenge" analyses the understanding of humanitarian – development nexus and an emerging humanitarian – development – peace nexus. Forth chapter "Leadership challenge" analyses the UN as a leader

in bridging the divide and the governance of the World Humanitarian Summit. Finally, the fifth chapter "Resource challenge" analyses the resources for linking humanitarian – development divide. Every chapter is followed by a short summary, which encapsulates the main messages of analysis of each challenge. Chapter 7 is the discussion of the findings from the analysis in light of the theoretical framework.

3.3. Sources

To answer the problem question, a number of sources was used. This paper looks at the global policy level of the humanitarian – development divide, therefore, the sources used are more related to global policies than to specific case studies. Four semi-structured interviews with humanitarian and development actors were conducted for the purpose of this paper. The interview questions were prepared in advance and followed the logic of the framework for analysis. However, depending on the context, time and the attitudes of the interviewee, some questions were skipped or additional questions added.

First interview was conducted with Velina Stoianova – project manager of the Emergency Gap project in the Centre for Applied Reflection on Humanitarian Practice, run by Doctors Without Borders (MSF). MSF has been a loud critic on the World Humanitarian Summit and has pulled out of the Summit.

Second interview - with Sara Sekkenes - United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Conflict Prevention & Partnerships Advisor and co-chair of Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Task Team on Strengthening the Humanitarian/Development Nexus with a focus on protracted contexts, which is mandated to work towards the expected outcomes of a humanitarian - development nexus and the New Way of Working. This interview has provided insights into the UN processes and perspective on the humanitarian – development divide.

Third interview was conducted with Gaelle Nizery – a policy expert on humanitarian – development nexus in the European Commission department for Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid (ECHO). This interview has shed light on the EU perspective on the nexus and how the global policy initiatives translate into donor action.

Finally, the fourth interview was conducted with Celia Cranfield - Senior Advocacy Officer in NGO network Voluntary Organisations in Cooperation in Emergencies (VOICE), which is the main NGO interlocutor with the European Union on emergency aid and disaster risk reduction, and promotes the values of 85-member organisations. Interview with Celia has shown an NGO perspective on humanitarian – development divide.

In addition to the interviews, other sources were used as well. First, to analyse the World Humanitarian Summit proposals, a number of various WHS sources were used: Secretary General's report for WHS, 2018 Annual report on progress of WHS, Synthesis of Consultation Process for WHS, a think piece by UN agencies on the nexus, and others. From IASC sources used were: Task Team on Strengthening the Humanitarian/Development Nexus Terms of Reference, progress report 2018, Summary of Copenhagen High-Level Workshop on Humanitarian – Development Nexus, and others. From United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA): The New Way of Working, and others. Other sources such as Voice Newsletter on Humanitarian – Development Nexus, EU Communication on Resilience, Alnap State of the Humanitarian System Report 2015, Oversees Development Institute briefing on governance after WHS, and others.

As mentioned before, the sources that focus more on the global policy level were selected in order to remain coherent with the decision to analyse the global policy level of the humanitarian – development divide. The interviews were conducted only with policy specialists, based in either policy units or headquarters. As two of the interviews were conducted with more European focused actors, the European perspective, in addition to UN, is more occurring in the analysis. This allowed to put the global policy into perspective and see how it is perceived by the global, but more concise to one region, actors.

3.4. Limitations

This paper aims to look at the global level of the identified network to bridge the divide, which means that it does not analyse the field level, where, at the end of the day, all the policies have to be implemented. This is the analysis of the global policy level, trying to understand and explain the global processes. Therefore, it has been decided that looking at one specific case in the field, while could bring very interesting angle and insights, would not explain the global policy processes as such.

The governance and network theories, chosen to explain why humanitarian and development actors were unable to bridge the divide, are good at explaining and categorizing the structures, on the other hand, these theories have limitations in explaining what are the pitfalls and shortcomings of such structures and how they might affect the policy. In order to overcome this challenge, a number of concepts and ideas from the theories have been discussed in light of the literature on humanitarian – development divide to come up with a framework for the analysis.

For the purpose of this analysis four interviews have been conducted, they represent humanitarian and development actors, such as UN, EU - donor, humanitarian NGO, multi-mandated NGOs. The interviews were conducted on purpose with various actors in order to present as broad as possible range of opinions. On the other hand, it is important to note, that these actors do not represent the whole network and that it is possible that different actors would express different opinions and highlight different challenges. One of the disappointments was that an interview with OCHA – the main UN humanitarian agency - was not possible, however, to compensate that, many official texts from OCHA are used.

4. LITERATURE OVERVIEW: linking humanitarian aid and development

Linking humanitarian and development is not a new subject. The divide between humanitarian aid and development cooperation has been discussed by policy-makers, humanitarian and development practitioners for few decades. The roots of the debate trace back to the food security crises in Africa in the 1980s. Back then linking relief and development was conceptualized by a linear one-way transition from humanitarian phase to development phase – the continuum. The crises were seen as disturbances of the 'regular' development path and links between humanitarian and development were conceptualized as preparing the ground for the development aid phase (Mosel & Levine 2014). In the 1990s the linear conceptualization was also applied to the political emergencies as well. Such emergencies were perceived as costly, disrupting or displacing development and required long rehabilitation periods (Buchanan-Smith & Maxwell 1994). The idea was that linking humanitarian and development would address such challenges as: "better 'development' can reduce the need for emergency relief; better 'relief' can contribute to development; and better 'rehabilitation' can ease the transition between the two" (Buchanan-Smith & Maxwell 1994: 2). This early thinking already highlighted that the aid system as such should be changed fundamentally, instead of only focusing on the linkages between humanitarian and development.

During the 1990s the concept of continuum was challenged and slowly replaced by continguum. The European Commission was the first to introduce the term Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD) in 1996 in their LRRD Communication. This Communication has focused on the linear approach – continuum, however, a footnote referring to continguum was included: "term "contiguum" would be more appropriate, reflecting the fact that operations in relief, rehabilitation and development may all be ongoing simultaneously within any given country" (European Commission 1996: ii). Later on, the European Commission Communication on LRRD in 2001 has differentiated between "emergencies related to conflict and those related to natural disasters. For the latter, the EC sees room for a linear approach, whereas for conflict related emergencies it is concluded that the 'transition from relief / humanitarian aid to development co-operation is rarely a linear chronological process'" (Otto & Weingärtner 2013: 26). Mosel and Levine claim that European Commission's approach "did not address the fundamental problem that development assistance is frequently absent in protracted crises, leaving it unclear what relief should actually be linking to" (Mosel & Levine

2014: 4). The idea of linking humanitarian assistance and development was generally accepted, as it was included in the Good Humanitarian Donorship principles in 2003 by 16 donor governments, the European Commission, the OECD, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, NGOs, and academics (GHD Initiative 2003).

The latest trends of LRRD approaches, especially after the 9/11 attacks, have been focused on linking humanitarian, development and security objectives. This approach, named by donors "whole of government" has raised challenges not only to LRRD but also to a perceived erosion of separation of security and foreign policy and international aid. This approach has changed LRRD arguments how to address those in need, to the political motivations of allocating aid (Mosel & Levine 2014). The trend of bringing security to the humanitarian – development nexus is very topical now.

Another recent trend, widely recognized internationally, has been a focus on resilience. The concept of resilience is broader as it doesn't encompass only people in crises, but also those who are vulnerable to crises. The resilience approach focuses on countries, communities, households and individuals to resist, recover or to adapt to the shocks and stresses (USAID 2012). It is recognized that LRRD is one of the means to bring humanitarian and development actors together to achieve resilience. Otto and Weingärtner write that "There is – at least in theory – a direct link between humanitarian aid and development cooperation in the sense that a humanitarian crisis, and ultimately a humanitarian response, can be avoided by developing resilience" (Otto & Weingärtner 2013: 29).

The New Way of Working, introduced during the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016, also focuses on building resilience, reducing vulnerabilities and combining humanitarian and development efforts: "reducing people's needs, risks and vulnerabilities and increasing their resilience, requiring the combined effort of different actors" (OCHA 2017: 7). This most recent attempt to link humanitarian and development cooperation is named 'humanitarian – development nexus'. Nexus is not a linear approach, but rather sees humanitarian and development actors working alongside before, during and after crises. It is claimed that the nexus goes beyond the LRRD approach and brings "a genuine opportunity for organisations to work better together, build resilience, increase the participation of crisis affected population and to multiply activities on disaster risk reduction and preparedness" (VOICE 2017: 5).

To conclude, the need to link humanitarian aid and development cooperation has been discussed for decades. Many concepts have been developed, staring from the need 'to fill the gap' in a linear approach, to later accepting that the challenges involved are more complex. The negative effects have been recognized: the fact that humanitarian aid should not be only life-saving assistance, but also should support the longer-term development; as well as the fact that development assistance is often absent in protracted crises and making it unclear of what humanitarian aid should be linked to. Recent trends confirm that bridging humanitarian – development divide is still relevant today. Concept of resilience aims to align various policies under one common goal and is mainstreamed throughout the New Way of Working. And the efforts to include security into the nexus is a new attempt to a 'whole of government' approach. The development – humanitarian nexus is another effort to bridge the divide between the two and bring an change in the aid system.

5. THEORY

The theoretical part of this paper will discuss the concepts of global governance, network governance, policy networks as well as the multilayer governance. The discussion will allow to identify humanitarian and development divide as a global issue, which is being addressed by numerous humanitarian and development actors due to the fact that one single state would be unable to solve it. This is an outcome of a globalized world where cooperation of state, non-state and intergovernmental organizations is required to address the global issues in a comprehensive and effective manner.

The concepts of global governance complex and global agora will demonstrate that global policy making is a subject of achieving a common goal, which requires joint responsibility and collective action. It will also reveal certain issues that surround the global policy making, such as unclear authority, accountability and ownership, which also apply to addressing the humanitarian - development divide. The network governance and multilevel governance theories will enable to explain and place the humanitarian - development divide and the global policy driving it in a multilevel and multi-actor set up, where both humanitarian and development actors form a network to address the humanitarian – development divide.

The policy network theory will allow to explain that *linking humanitarian and development policy* is a policy network made up of numerous international organizations, UN agencies and state, non-state actors. The network governance, policy network and multilayer governance theories, as well as the concepts of cooperation and trust will enable to extract the main characteristics, challenges and linkages within a global network. This will allow to glance at the complex humanitarian and development aid structure and governance, and explore the interactions between the two.

These theories, together with the literature of linking humanitarian and development aid, will allow to extract a number of challenges, common for both - the abovementioned theories and the literature on humanitarian-development divide. These identified challenges and concepts will serve as the framework for analyzing the challenges faced by the policy network on linking humanitarian and development aid. It will enable a discussion of what these challenges are and how they have been/or have not been addressed with the latest attempt to solve this long-lasting issue.

5.1. Governance

The notion of governance can be defined as "the interactive processes through which society and the economy are steered towards collectively negotiated objectives" (Ansell & Torfing 2016: 4). The concept of governance rose through a fundamental problematization of the role and function of the state. Governance offered an observation that governing often occurred outside of the formal chain of the government, but in the interactions between public and private actors. Governance was able to take account of complex patterns of networked interactions which break the linearity of the chain of government and provide a more realistic picture of real forms of governing society and economy. The notion of governance indicates the weakening state-centric view of power and social steering, and perceives private and civil society actors as active agents of public policy making, instead of passive subjects of public regulation (Ansell & Torfing 2016).

Nowadays governance is one of the most frequently used social science concepts. Governance theories are interdisciplinary – with roots in political science, sociology, public administration, law and economics. There is no single theory of governance, but rather a number of overlapping theoretical discussions and debates. Each domain, such as public policy, law, administration, development studies, international relations, or organization theory, faced the same question: how to govern democratically and effectively when political authority, power and capacity and fragmented, distributed or constrained? Each domain produced specific theoretical responses, and terms such as network governance, good governance, global governance, multi-level governance and democratic governance were born (Ansell & Torfing 2016).
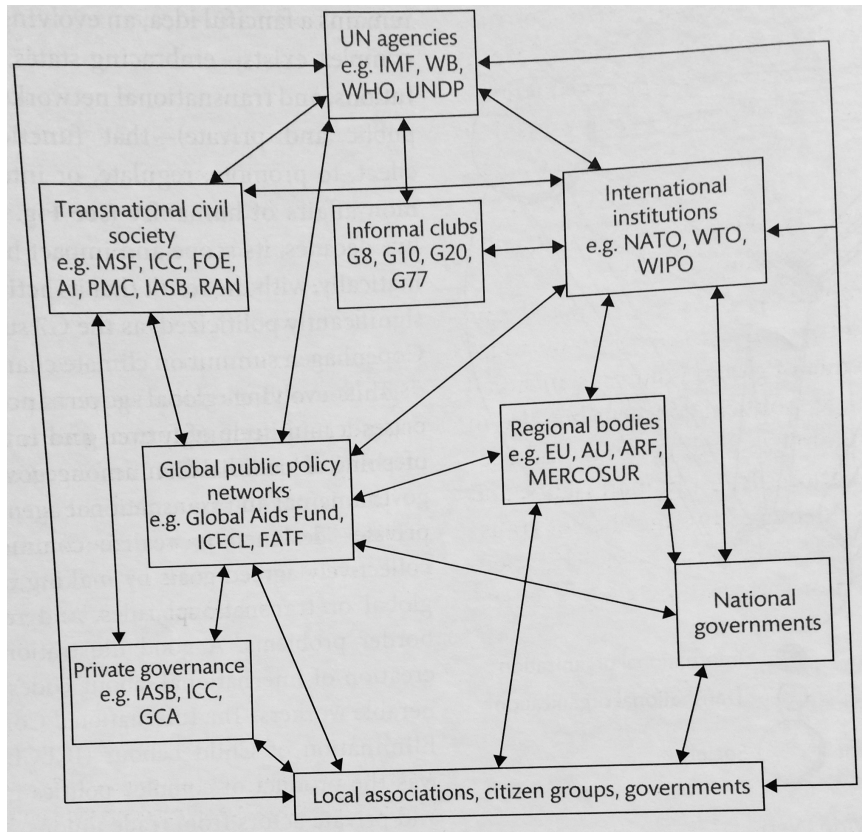
5.2. Global governance

Global governance is a product of paradigm shifts in the international political and economic relations. The civil society and private sectors assumed authoritative roles to respond to the governance gaps, which were previously assumed only by the states, and explained by the study of international regimes. According to the global governance theory, collective or individual entities from various backgrounds form networks, which engage with each other to address issues which threaten the local or global community and are too complex for a single state to address alone, such as humanitarian crises, conflicts, or climate change (Jang, McSparren &

Raschupkina 2016). Global community attempts to devise regulatory policies in response to global problems in the absence of an overarching political authority (Ansell & Torfing 2016), in other words, global governance is 'governing without a government'. It is important to note, however, that global governance theory treats states as key actors in the international realm, however, international organizations and non-state entities such as NGOs are given an essential place in governing the global issues (Weiss & Ozgercin 2008). The aid system is a subject to global governance. It contains a variety of actors – from state to NGOs – who try to address the global issues of poverty, conflict, vulnerability and so on. The humanitarian – development divide is one of the global issues observed in the delivery of international aid throughout the globe in conflict and disaster situations. The state alone would be incapable to address such issue due to its complexity, variety of actors involved. The humanitarian - development divide requires trans-border solutions devised and implemented by the global aid community.

The global governance complex (see **Figure 1**), as coined by A. McGrew, encompassed states, international institutions, and transnational networks and agencies, and it is 'designed to realize common purposes or collectively agreed goals by making or implementing global or transnational rules, and regulating trans-border issues' (McGrew 2014: 25). Within this complex, non-governmental or private entities have become growingly influential in the formulation as well as implementation of the global policies. Nowadays, NGOs, transnational organizations, advocacy networks, and citizens' groups play a major role in mobilizing, organizing and exercising power across national borders. A so called transnational civil society has been facilitated by the modern global communications and increasing awareness of common interests between groups in various countries. However, it raises the question of accountability as well as considerable resources, influence and decision-making inequalities between the agencies of transnational society (McGrew 2014).

Figure 1. The global governance complex (McGrew, 2014: 26)

Other authors refer to 'global agora' – a social and political space generated by globalization, where global policy is being made. It is a global public space, formed by the exchanges of its actors. Some actors are more visible, persuasive, or powerful than others. The global agora is characterized by a relative disorder and uncertainty "where authority is diffuse, decision making is dispersed and semiprivatized, and sovereignty is muddled by recognition of joint responsibility and collective action" (Stone 2008: 35). There is no global decision-making process and the solutions to the global problems are usually open for a debate between a variety of actors, where authority to mediate and the ownership of the policy is unclear (Stone 2008). While world government remains a far-fetched idea, we must admit that current shape of world governance incorporates a wide variety of actors ranging from states to NGOs, from UN to advocacy groups, who work together on global issues, such as poverty reduction, humanitarian or development aid. Global governance can be characterized as chaotic, lacking accountability and clarity, however, it is also giving voice to numerous non-state actors and civil society, therefore, it can also be characterized as inclusive and adaptive.

The notions of global agora and global governance complex can be also applied when looking into global aid system. The policies governing aid are subject to a global discussion by international and national NGOs, UN agencies, donors: states and regional bodies, and international institutions. The global agora or global governance complex is where the global policy network on linking humanitarian – development aid is formed to address the long-lasting divide. The theories of network governance and multilevel governance will permit to conceptualize the relations between humanitarian and development actors and the system they work in. The policy network theory will let to conceptualize global policy network on linking humanitarian and development aid and place it in the global governance complex.

5.3. Network governance theory

O'Toole has described networks as "structures of interdependence involving multiple organizations or parts thereof, where one unit is not merely the formal subordinate of the other in some larger hierarchical arrangement" (O'Toole 1997: 45). He claims that networks exclude formal hierarchies and includes a variety of structures in between. The glue holding the network together is a common interest of the actors involved (O'Toole 1997). Network governance has become a cornerstone of the institutional architecture across many fields and is said to be suitable to solve global problems that neither states or markets can resolve (Schulze & Ries 2016).

It represents a form of organization in which relational aspects such as trust, reciprocity and pursuit of mutual benefit or goal form jointly agreed and achieved outcomes (Keast 2016). Network governance takes horizontal approaches to decision making, and can be characterized by affect, communication, dialogue and knowledge exchange. It is claimed that network governance is particularly viable in conditions of crisis, complexity and uncertainty, as well as for the issues which require input from various experts and need creative solutions. Network governance marks a shift from government to governance where organization is decentralized and no longer controlled by central units, but rather by a broader set of participants. These entities comprise multilevel and usually multisector actors, who are involved in public policy debates. The relationship is built through ongoing social and resource exchanges between previously separated bodies, and is built on trust and strengthened through persistent interactions to achieve mutual results (Keast 2016). In other words, the members of the network need to be interdependent in order to achieve their goals. The actors come up with rules, agreed

ways of working as well as the guidance for behaviour, ongoing flow of resources and level of cohesion to facilitate the exchanges (Klijn & Koppenjan 2000). Network governance, however, also face some problems: it requires an investment of time and effort to build and sustain the relations between actors, which also increase coordination requirements and can take a considerable time to achieve mutually agreeable goals and outcomes. The network governance is complex and it is evident in the nature of problems it addresses, the diversity of actors, their expectations and arrangements and procedures in place. At the same time, network governance can produce problems itself, such as goal discrepancy, loss of direction and oversight, opportunistic behaviours, dispersed coordination and unclear accountability. These problems can be overcome with strategic relationship building and cautious network leadership (Keast 2016).

5.4. Policy Network

Policy network is a set of "formal institutional and informal linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared if endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests in public policy making and implementation. These actors are interdependent and policy emerges from the interactions between them" (Rhodes 2008: 426). In this paper, the efforts by humanitarian and development actors in a multilevel set up to bridge the humanitarian – development divide are understood as a policy network. This categorization is based on the fact that the humanitarian – development divide is a global policy issue, with a variety of state and non-state and international actors trying to collaborate in order to address it. The other features of this network and how they link to the network theory are described in Chapter 5, where the correlations between the theories and literature on linking humanitarian and development aid are discussed.

Policy networks, according to Rhodes, are categorized into policy communities and issues networks, which mark end points of the continuum, meaning that the nature of networks vary along the continuum and any network can be located at some point along it. Policy networks "can vary along several dimensions and any combination of these dimensions; for example, membership, integration, resources" (Rhodes 2008: 428). **Table A** summarizes the differences between policy community and issue network characteristics.

Rhodes explain the behavior within a policy network with 'power dependence' theory. This approach understands policy networks as "as sets of resource-dependent organizations. Their relationships are characterized by power dependence; that is, any organization is dependent on other organizations for resources, and to achieve their goals, the organizations have to exchange resources" (Rhodes 2008: 431). Therefore, he claims, there are known rules of the game for the actors to employ their strategies to seek for advantage. Actors deploy their resources (financial, organizational, knowledge, etc.) to maximize their influence and try to avoid becoming dependent on other actors. The behavior in policy networks is rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game (Rhodes 2008).

Dimension	Policy community	Issue Network
Membership a) Participants:	Very limited number, some groups consciously excluded	Large number
b) Type of interest:	Economic and/or professional interests dominate	Encompasses a large range of affected interests
Integration a) Frequency of interaction:	Frequent, high - quality, interaction of all groups on all matters related to policy issue	Contacts fluctuate in intensity and quality
b) Continuity:	Membership, values and outcomes persistent over time	Access fluctuates over time
c) Consensus	All participants share basic values and accept the legitimacy of the outcome	A measure of agreement exists, but conflict is ever-present
Resources a) Distribution of resources – within network:	All participants have resources; basic relationship is an exchange relationship	Some participants may have resources, but they are limited, and basic relationship is consultative
b) Distribution of resources – within participating organizations	Hierarchical; leaders can deliver members	Varied and valuable distribution and capacity to regulate members
Power	There is a balance of power between members. Although one group may dominate, it must be a positive-sum game if community is to exist	Unequal powers, reflecting unequal resources and unequal access. It is a zero-sum game

Table A. Types of policy networks: characteristics of policy communities and issue networks (Hudson & Lowe 2009: 157)

Policy community is small, stable and consensual grouping (Duncan 2007), characterized by a limited number of participants frequently interacting on matters related to the policy area. The members have consistent values and long-term policy goals, ideology, and broad policy preferences. All members of such community have some resources and is shaped by the balance of power, not necessarily where all members equally benefit, but where everyone holds some benefit (Rhodes 2008).

Issue network is defined as "network of those interested in policy in some area, including government authorities, legislators, businessmen, lobbyists, and even academics and journalists...[that]...constantly communicates criticisms of policy and generates ideas for new policy initiatives" (Rhodes 2008: 428). It is a looser and more flexible arrangement than a policy community, which comprises all the actors who are collectively involved in shaping policy in any given sector (Duncan 2007). Issue network differs from other forms of transnational relations, as it is primarily driven by shared values or principled ideas of right and wrong. A global issue network consists of set of organizations, bound by their shared values and exchanges of information and services, who work together on an issue. NGO's play a major role in issue networks due to their strong commitment to principles. The members of an issue network are interconnected through their shared values, exchange of information and services, and through flow of resources. Networks often work through governments and other powerful actors to achieve the greatest impact. The effectiveness of the network often depends on gathering support from the governments (Sikkink 1993). Issue network is characterized by fluctuating interaction and access for various members, absence of consensus and presence of conflict, interaction based on consultation, unequal power relationship where some participants have few resources (Rhodes 2008).

5.5. Multilevel governance

When discussing governance, it is important to note that the structure sometimes encompasses different levels, in other words multilevel governance. According to multilevel governance theory, "inter-organizational relations encompass a complex combination of formal and informal processes, interactions and outcomes brought about by initiatives and developments at the level of the international system, as well as at the state, individual, bureaucratic and inter-institutional/inter- secretariat levels" (Koops 2017: 190). Multilevel governance theory allows to understand the complexity between the levels. The effect of multilevel governance is that policy making is transformed from being centered and driven by the state to a complex mix of hierarchies and networks (Richard & Smith 2004). The theory has two dimensions: vertical dimension refers to the linkages between higher and lower levels, while the horizontal refers to cooperation arrangements between different actors to address the relationship between state and non-state actors. The multilevel governance model claims that decision-making is decentralized and is shared between multiple actors working in supranational, national and subnational/field

levels (Mbaye, 2001). The higher degrees of multilevel governance can result in implementation deficits because it requires longer and more complex implementation chains. This means that the coordination between actors and levels is more difficult to achieve (Milio 2014).

Understanding power and control in multilevel governance theory plays an important role. The literature considers power to be expressed by the dependency on the resources between lower/subsidiary and higher/parent levels. According to Kostova & Roth, the degree, to which the subsidiaries will adopt practices instructed by the parent, depends on the level of their dependence on the parent's resources as well as their identification and trust in the parent (Kostova & Roth 2002). Seybolt argues that systems which "rely on few points of access for their resources are more beholden to the interests of the resource providers than those with multiple sources" (Seybolt 2009: 1032). Also, important to note that this relationship between parent and subsidiary can be influenced by the local context, meaning that the subsidiaries face the institutional duality: pressures from the parent and from the host country (Kostova & Roth 2002).

Collaboration in the multilevel governance means that the actors have a shared goal and will try to achieve the goal by taking up shared tasks. However, the individual actors or their subunits may not be perfectly aligned with the approach, form or process adopted by the high-level goal initiators and try to pursue their own goals (Maldonado & Maitland & Tapia 2009).

5.6. Cooperation, conflict and trust in governance

Keohane notes that 'Cooperation requires that the actions of separate individuals or organizations – which are not in pre- existent harmony – be brought into conformity with one another through a process of negotiation, which is often referred to as "policy coordination"' (Keohane 2005: 51). According to him, cooperation is linked to interdependence: the more interdependence, the more cooperation is possible. According to Alter and Hage "collaboration is most likely to occur when organizations are willing to cooperate, and perceive a need for expertise, resources, shared risk, and adaptive efficiency" (Seybolt 2009: 1038).

Cooperation is always accompanied by a potential conflict that actors need to overcome, thus without some conflict, there would not be any need to cooperate. Therefore, rivalry, competition

and conflict are the drivers of cooperation. The major causes of conflict between actors are strive for autonomy, visibility and asymmetry between partners. The differentiating effect takes place when actors seek to build their reputation and distinguish themselves by claiming uniqueness from other actors. The rivalry might also occur when the actors expand into each other's domains. Many factors which stimulate cooperation also inhibit it in their absence. For example, lacking system-level stimuli for cooperation, lack of openness, no immediate resource needs, perceptions of illegitimacy, mismatch of organizational cultures and designs, distrust among actors or previous negative experience with cooperation (Biermann & Koops 2017).

The cooperation is needed to pursue common goals, and a condition to do it is a need to overcome a conflict through various trust building initiatives and policies. Cooperation between actors is not automatic nor natural, it is rather a major challenge which requires significant efforts. Cooperation can be also described as joint problem solving in order to achieve outcomes that would be impossible to achieve separately. Cooperation can take a shape of information sharing and mutual representation, coordination of policies, and most far reaching - joint decision-making. Cooperation mechanisms vary in their intensity, level and formalization, meaning that the cooperation might change in time as well as in intensity (Biermann & Koops 2017).

Trust plays an essential role in securing cooperation and coordination between actors. Stephenson argues that cooperation requires a "degree of trust among participants and in this instance that trust clearly would have to exist on different levels and perhaps be of different types to encourage inter-organisational coordination" (Stephenson 2005: 339). It encourages actors to reach across the boundaries and negotiate shared aims and pool their resources for coordinated actions. Seybolt argues that "units within the system must develop trust in each other if they are to work collectively", meaning that trust is essential in a successful collaboration (Seybolt 2009: 1030).

6. FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS: identifying the challenges

The debate on linking humanitarian and development divide has demonstrated how complex this topic is. Linking humanitarian aid and development cooperation is not an easy task which falls on the shoulders of development and humanitarian actors across all levels. Buchanan-Smith and Maxwell, have called for a close examination of the "underlying obstacles and analytical issues, which beset the topic" (Buchanan-Smith & Maxwell 1994: 2). The literature on linking humanitarian and development aid has established a number of challenges which stand in a way of bringing humanitarian and development efforts together, and these challenges were taken as a basis for the analysis framework. On the other hand, the global governance and network theories also identify important concepts to describe a well performing policy network, which, as discovered during an extensive review, bond well with the challenges identified by the literature on humanitarian – development divide. **Table B** shows the linkages between the literature and the governance and network theories described in Chapter 4. The ideas from the governance and network theories will inform the analysis of each challenge identified by the literature.

The recognized challenges are described below in correlation with the global governance and network theories. This chapter will present the challenges that the humanitarian and development actors face and will serve as the framework for the analysis in order to answer the question "Why humanitarian and development actors have been unable to bridge the humanitarian – development divide?".

Challenges identified in the literature	Main ideas in governance and multilevel governance theory	Main ideas in network and policy network theory
Two worlds apart challenge (mandates, ways of working)	• Mismatch in cultures and designs leads to lack of cooperation; • Asymmetry between actors leads to lack of coordination; • Strive for autonomy and uniqueness can cause conflict.	• Contains multi-level and multi-sector actors; • Network requires rules and agreed ways of working.
Principle challenge (humanitarian principles)	• Trust enables to negotiate shared aims;	• Members share beliefs, ideas of wrong vs right; • Networks are built on trust and common 'rules of the game'; • Trust allows lower level actors adopt higher level proposed policies.
Conceptual challenge (what is humanitarian – development nexus)	• Common purpose, agreed goal, jointly agreed outcomes increase a chance of collaboration.	• Networks are based on common interest, agreed outcomes, mutual results
Leadership challenge	• Diffuse and unclear authority, dispersed decision making, joint responsibility; • Driven not only by states, but also other actors; • Ownership and accountability of global policy is unclear.	• Network characterized by unclear power relations and hierarchy; • Interaction based on consultation.
Resource challenge	• Inequalities between actors; • Dependency on resources between actors; • Shared resources.	• Networks are based on resource exchange and require flow of resources; • Network is based on interdependence of actors.

Table B. How governance and network theories inform the analysis of challenges identified in the literature. Created for this paper.

The first challenge identified in the literature on linking humanitarian and development aid can be described as '**two worlds apart challenge'**. The humanitarian and development actors have different working cultures, different values and mandates. Humanitarian aid can be described as action – oriented, short - term, technical, not focused on strengthening local capacities and based on humanitarian principles. Humanitarian aid is focused on saving lives, often by working around governments. On the other hand, development aid supports structures and systems, and is delivered through governments. It focuses on fighting poverty and strengthening

livelihoods in the long term (Otto & Weingärtner 2013). The fundamental distinction on who/what kind of aid is for and how it should be delivered creates obstacles to changing the way in which humanitarian and development aid is carried out (Mosel & Levine 2014). The governance theory claims that the mismatch between actors' cultures and design, as well as the asymmetry between them hampers the coordination between the actors. Furthermore, the strive for autonomy and uniqueness can be causes of conflict between the actors. Finally, the network should be based on agreed rules and ways of working. In the analysis section 'Two worlds apart', the humanitarian aid structure and development aid structure will be described, their mandates and working cultures analysed. It will allow to identify resultant challenges and analyse solutions proposed by the World Humanitarian Summit and how they are perceived by the humanitarian and development actors.

Another dominant challenge coined by the literature on linking humanitarian aid and development cooperation, is the **principles challenge.** Humanitarian action is based on the humanitarian imperative and humanitarian principles, which have practical implications on the way humanitarian actors work. Humanitarian actors are worried about the politicization of aid and the fact that engaging with state actors and development actors who work through state can hamper the principles (Hinds 2015). On the other hand, some analysts argue that humanitarians should take a pragmatic, context specific decision on whether engaging with local institutions is in the interest of vulnerable people. According to them, humanitarians and development actors working together would allow to divide the tasks more easily and make decisions which are politically informed (Mosel & Levine 2014). For example, Macrae notes that an integrated humanitarian – development approach "does not mean dumping humanitarian principles of impartiality and neutrality. Rather it means protecting them and using them when doing so is in the interests of the most vulnerable and at-risk populations" (Macrae 2012: 9). The policy network theory argues that such networks are structured around the negotiated beliefs and the behaviour of the actors is rooted in trust. The issue network theory claims that the actors in a network are bound by shared values and ideas of right vs. wrong, which enables them to seek common goal. Trust plays an essential role in such networks, because the actors behaviour is shaped by trust and common 'rules of the game' and the lack of these would lead to lack of coordination. The multilevel governance theory emphasizes the importance of trust, especially between actors in higher-lower levels, which can enable actors on a lower level to adopt higher level proposed practices. Therefore, for the 'Principles challenge' the role and understanding of the humanitarian principles will be analysed. The main clashing points will be discovered

and discussed. It will enable to analyse whether there is a needed level of trust between humanitarian – development actors in order to negotiate a shared aim. The way forward proposed by the World Humanitarian Summit will be analysed to see whether it has fairly addressed this challenge.

The third challenge, identified in the literature, is the **conceptual** one. The discussion on linking humanitarian and development overtime has changed the concepts and understanding of what is the divide (see Chapter 3). Even though there is a broad consensus among the humanitarian – development actors that this 'divide' exists, it is not clear what exactly this issue entails. While some talk about 'transition', others about 'linkages' or 'bridges', some understand the divide as linear process or a complex ongoing relationship (Otto & Weingärtner 2013; Mosel & Levine 2014). The global governance addresses the issues that are too complex for single state to address alone. The actors, state, non-state and others, come together as a network to address such issues through global policy. However, first and foremost, the actors in a policy network must have a common goal in order to increase their chance of collaboration. Therefore, it is important to see whether the actors in the network for linking humanitarian and development aid have a common understanding of what is the divide and what does linking it entail. To analyse this challenge, I will discuss whether the World Humanitarian Summit brought together actors around a common aim, and whether it has been accepted amongst humanitarian and development actors.

Another challenge analysed is the **leadership challenge.** The global governance theory, more particularly the so-called global agora, is characterized by disorder and uncertainty where authority is diffuse, decision making is dispersed, and sovereignty is cluttered with recognition of joint responsibility. The network is characterized by the unclear power relations and unclear hierarchies, and the interaction is based on consultation between a number of state and non-state actors. The network on linking humanitarian – development is comprised of variety of state/donor and non-state actors, as well as UN organizations. It is multilevel and decision making is dispersed across levels, which makes the goals harder to achieve. It means that the authority, accountability and the ownership of the policy is unclear. The literature on linking humanitarian and development aid has recognized that there is lack of leadership for good linkages (Otto & Weingärtner 2013), particularly given the everlasting UN system reform. To analyse this challenge, the leadership of humanitarian – development systems will be scrutinized, paying particular attention to the UN and its role in the efforts to bridge the divide.

The governance of the World Humanitarian Summit will be analysed in order to see how does the proposed global policy is being implemented and who holds accountability and ownership of this policy.

Another important challenge, identified in the literature is the **resource challenge**. The evidence shows that there is a systematic funding gap for recovery activities and that fragile states do not receive enough developmental support (Streets 2011). Different budget lines for humanitarian and development aid as well as lack of flexibility in funding arrangements is recognized as a persistent challenge. In terms of budgets, humanitarian aid is the 'little sister' within the international aid (Otto & Weingärtner 2013). Experts have identified a need for quick release of funds to developmental actors to quickly respond to development needs in crises. On the other hand, in the absence of links between humanitarian and development assistance, the aid organizations are not able to predict whether they will receive follow up funding, which leads to short-term interventions that do not consider longer-term goals (Streets 2011). The network governance theory claims that the relationship between actors in a network is built through an exchange of resources, which means that the members of the network have to be interdependent to achieve their goal. The flow of resources between actors incentivize the actors to collaborate, and lack of resources leads to lack of coordination. Multilevel governance theory emphasizes that the flow of resources between higher and lower level is what encourages lower level actors to adopt proposed practices. This demonstrates that resources flow is a very important challenge, which can enable or hinder the collaboration within a network. To analyse this challenge, the funding of humanitarian and development actions will be analysed and compared, and the challenges identified. The solutions proposed by World Humanitarian Summit will be analysed in terms of their feasibility and acceptance by the humanitarian and development actors.

These five challenges described above will serve as a framework for analysis. These challenges, discussed together with extracted ideas from the global governance and network theories, form basis to understanding and explaining why linking humanitarian and development assistance is still an ongoing process.

7. ANALYSIS
7.1. Approach to understanding humanitarian – development divide

The global system in which humanitarian aid and development cooperation operate can be conceptualized through governance approaches: the multilevel and network governance. Humanitarian actors and development actors can be conceptualized as two separate groups/networks, made up from different actors, different mandates and ways of working. In order to address the humanitarian – development divide, these two groups form a policy network. It contains both humanitarian and development actors who aim to address the divide. **Figure 2** visualizes the approach taken in this paper to understanding the humanitarian – development divide and policy network.

As explained by the multilevel governance theory, the policy network exists on several levels. In this case, these levels are global, state-donor, and field. The actors of the multilevel policy network interact within a level as well as between levels: horizontally and vertically. The humanitarian and development actors work together to address the divide on global level – coming up with the global policy or consensus. The donors interact with each other to align themselves with the global policy and to synchronize their policies. And, on the field level, the humanitarian and development actors work together to implement these policies and put them into practice. The vertical interaction is between the global level, state-donor level and field level. It looks at how the levels interact between each other and how the policy is adopted.
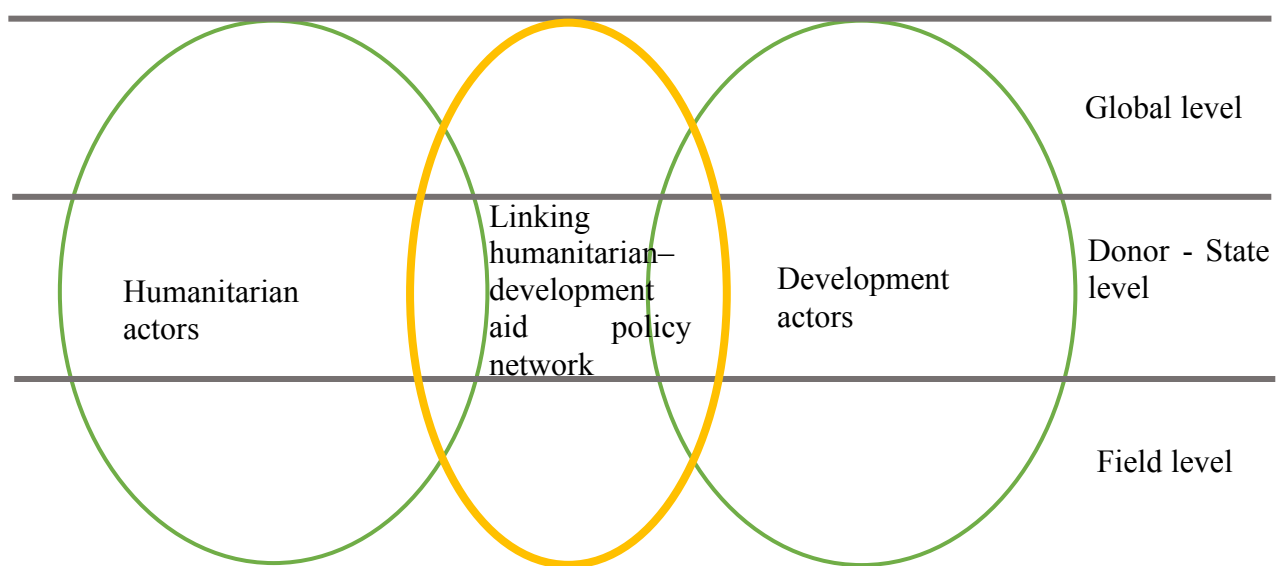
Figure 2. Approach to understanding humanitarian – development aid policy network. Created for the purpose of this paper.

This paper looks at the global level of the policy network on linking humanitarian – development divide. The aim is to analyse the latest global efforts to link two fields, particularly by looking at the policy change proposed by the World Humanitarian Summit. The analysis will not only analyse how these efforts have addressed the identified challenges, but will also look into the correlations between actors and how the global policy is being understood and operationalized by humanitarian and development actors. The discrepancies between the proposed global policy and an actual understanding will be identified, as well as the additional challenges it might pose.

7.2. Two worlds apart challenge

Humanitarian aid system

Humanitarian aid is best described as a network "without a common overseer, 'It appears helpful to view this organizational environment as an especially complex network form of governance or social action'" (Stephenson 2017: 491). The actors within a relief network build social capital and create a shared understanding and common culture across otherwise autonomous organizations. The humanitarian actors include United Nations agencies, donor governments, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), as well as host governments. There is no single entity in charge of the relief system and no entity holds direct authority over those actors with which they work. The humanitarian system can also be described as polycentric: having many autonomous units formally independent of one another, acting in a way that take account of others, and uses processes of cooperation, competition, conflict and conflict resolution (Stephenson 2017). Humanitarian aid system is "a complex, open, adaptive system, in which interaction of structure and processes explain the quality of the response to environmental demand" (Seybolt 2009: 1027).

Table I Humanitarian relief network actors, revenue types and incentives to cooperate

Organisation type	Roles	Revenues and incentives
United Nations	• Single year contracts with INGOs and NGOs awarded by specific UN entities—UNHCR, UNICEF etc.	• Coordination responsibility via OCHA, including accountability claims. • Information sharing. • Shared mission claims. • Resource mobilisation and alignment.
Donor governments	• Fiscal year donations. • Emergency donations to all other network participants.	• Accountability claims. • Shared mission claims.
INGOs	• Donor-derived revenues. • Shared mission claims.	• Contracts with UN and donor governments. • Information sharing. • Resource mobilisation and alignment.
NGOs	• Donor-derived revenues. • Shared mission claims.	• Contracts with host governments and INGOs. • Information sharing.
Host governments	• Own source revenues and donor-derived revenues. • Shared mission claims.	• Unique knowledge of political and social landscape. • Information sharing.

Figure 3. Humanitarian relief network actors (Stephenson 2005: 343)

The State of the Humanitarian System report describes humanitarian system as "the network of interconnected institutional and operational entities through which humanitarian assistance is provided when local and national resources are insufficient to meet the needs of the affected population" (Alnap 2015: 18). The key actors in the humanitarian system are operationally or financially related to each other and share common goals and normative principles, and their primary mandate is aid provision. The principal functions of the humanitarian actors are to provide rapid relief in response to disasters that overwhelm the state and local actors; meet the basic humanitarian needs of populations in crises caused by "conflict, repeated natural disasters, failures of development or governance, or some combination thereof"; support resilience and strengthen local capacity for independent response; and advocate on behalf of crisis affected people (Alnap 2015: 21). Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations department of the European Commission (ECHO) has observed that "humanitarians are quick, have quick instruments, and don't spend too much time on reflecting" (Nizery 2018). Humanitarian aid can be described as action – oriented, short - term, technical, not focused on strengthening local capacities and based on humanitarian principles. Humanitarian aid is focused on saving lives, often by working around governments (Otto & Weingärtner 2013).

Figure 4. Humanitarian system (Alnap 2015: 20)

Development aid system

The global understanding of development has changed over the years, and it has been agreed now that development "promotes prosperity and economic opportunity, greater social well-being, and protection of the environment – offers the best path forward for improving the lives of people everywhere" (UN website). Development cooperation has three defined tasks: (1) support and complement the efforts of developing countries to guarantee the universal social

basic standards for citizens, as means for people to have their basic human rights; (2) promote convergence of developing countries to a higher level of income and wellbeing, and correcting the international inequalities; (3) support developing countries efforts to actively participate in the provision of international public goods. The development cooperation aims to support national or international development priorities, is not driven by profit, discriminates in favour of developing countries, and is based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing country ownership (ECOSOC 2016). The international development policy is characterized by "the convergence of ideas of neoliberal reform, democratisation and poverty reduction within a framework of 'global governance'" (Moose 2005: 1).

Development cooperation is a broad category, which can include a range of activities. Three types of development assistance are identified: financial transfer, capacity support and policy change (ECOSOC 2016). The development aid can be either bilateral representing the "flows from official (government) sources directly to official sources in the recipient country" or multilateral representing "core contributions from official (government) sources to multilateral agencies where it is then used to fund the multilateral agencies' own programmes" (OECD website). United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has highlighted that development actors "work with the invitation and agreement of the authorities – national recognized authorities and/ or other sort of authorities" (Sekkenes 2018). ECHO added that developmental actors are slow compared to the humanitarians because they need time to "negotiate with the governmental counterparts" (Nizery 2018), while Voice argued that developmental actors "have a different way of working – longer term [with] more local ownership" (Cranfield 2018).
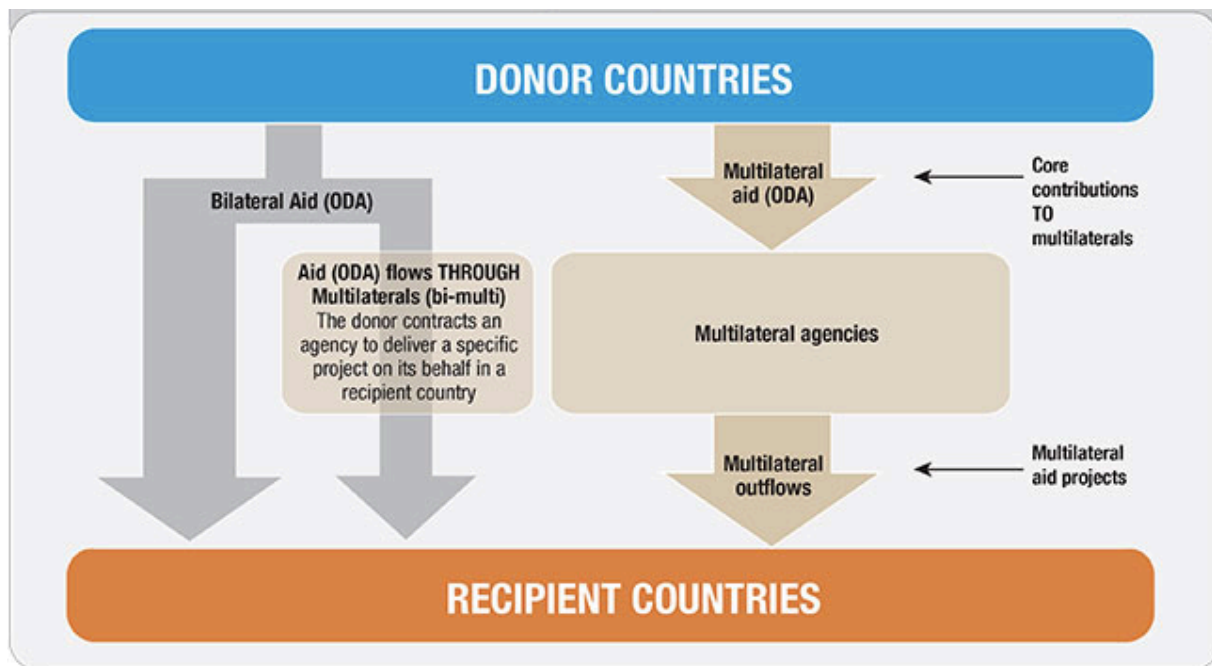
Figure 5. The flow of resources in development (OECD illustration)

Over the past two decades, the development cooperation system was affected by several changes in the aid doctrine, the actors involved, and the instruments. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have defined an ambitious agenda which requires renewed global partnership for development in order to mobilize resources and political engagement (Ocampo 2016). The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was launched in 2015 with the aim to eradicate poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all (UN website). The SDGs are not legally binding, however, the governments are expected to take ownership and establish national frameworks to achieve the Goals.

Figure 6. Sustainable Development Goals (UN website)

The brief discussion on humanitarian and development sectors shows that indeed they are 'two worlds apart'. While humanitarians are focused on saving lives and not much concerned about sustainability, the developmental side is the opposite – it works through the governments and takes time to achieve their sustainable goals. The humanitarian sector is bound by the humanitarian principles, while the development actors aim to achieve their ambitions 2030 Agenda and the SDGs. The two sectors not only have different mandates, but also different ways of working and different funding mechanisms. All these aspects will be scrutinized in the following chapters of the analysis.

Responsibilities, mandates, pitfalls

The first question that arises when analysing humanitarian and development mandates is that while in theory the lines of responsibilities are quite clear, there is an observable confusion of what humanitarians are responsible for. The State of Humanitarian System report observes that the humanitarians "expressed differing views, and sometimes confusion, about what they are trying to accomplish, their role in relation to other international players, and the proper scale of the humanitarian enterprise" (Alnap 2015: 77). It is noted, that development actors often do not

step up, particularly in unstable areas, therefore humanitarians adapt their programmes in order to fill the void. Doctors Without Borders (MSF), during an interview, argued that "development actors have been missing from many of the insecure and unstable contexts since at least early 2000s. [They] become progressively disengaged when there are clashes in protracted crises and humanitarians do the development work and the humanitarian – development nexus keeps existing" (Stoianova 2018). ECHO claims that development actors remaining in the crisis "is one of the prerequisites when we talk about nexus approach – the development actors should be present, should not leave a crisis situation and should be there from the beginning" (Nizery 2018). MSF highlighted that the development actors have "no understanding, reflexes, or tools to maintain an emergency response. The liking has always been in one direction – it is the humanitarians who have to adapt, do a better handover" (Stoianova 2018).

There was a growing recognition already in 2015 that there are some risks associated with such behaviour. First, it may stretch the limited humanitarian resources. Second, it might undermine the humanitarian principles if humanitarians have to work with governments. Third, it may set the expectations of humanitarian action high, letting the responsible actors, such as development and states, off the hook (Alnap 2015). International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) also notes that there are broadening expectations of the international community of humanitarian action (ICRC 2015). MSF observed that "humanitarians were building roads, paying salaries, and saving lives and do vaccinations, livelihoods, education – we do everything. It looks like circus – catering completely different things and places" (Stoianova 2018). For her, the biggest failure of World Humanitarian Summit was that "instead of looking and saying let's take a step back and think which part of this is for us, which part is for the others and calling other actors on their bluff, because they are not doing their job, we stepped in and we said let's make this one big problem for everybody" (Stoianova 2018).

The humanitarian actors have to evaluate whether they should take up additional roles, while they also lack the capacity to meet the core humanitarian needs. Furthermore, the humanitarians are increasingly supporting resilience efforts, which, some argue, blur the lines between the responsibilities of humanitarians, states and development actors (Alnap 2015). ECHO noted that "the nexus is an opportunity for ECHO and humanitarian actors in general to focus more on humanitarian needs and leave the grey zones to others [..] and will allow humanitarians to go back to basics and humanitarian funding, and leave the rest to others", especially on resilience which "should be for development actors" (Nizery 2018) or education in emergencies

which "humanitarians are doing it now, because development actors did not find a way to work in fragile situations" (Cranfield 2018). However, the development actors "are also very keen on safeguarding their ways of working" (Cranfield 2018).

Box 1: What do we mean by collective outcomes?

A collective outcome is a commonly agreed result or impact in reducing people's needs, risks and vulnerabilities and increasing their resilience, requiring the combined effort of different actors (SG's Report. One Humanity; Shared Responsibility)

1. **What is the basic idea?** The idea is a simple one: humanitarians have an interest in connecting their populations of concern to development opportunities; while development needs to ensure that assistance reaches those furthest behind, which often includes populations affected by humanitarian crises. Both approaches have an interest in creating sustainable local capacities and resilience, to reduce inequalities and to advance people's ability to live in safety and dignity.

Figure 7. Collective outcomes (Center on International Cooperation 2016: 7)

When it comes to the differences in mandates, we can see that World Humanitarian Summit called to move beyond mandates, sectors, institutional boundaries towards shared results. The former UN Secretary General, in his Report for the World Humanitarian Summit, called humanitarian and development actors to work collaboratively across silos and mandates. He writes: "international providers will need to set aside such artificial institutional labels as "development" or "humanitarian" working together over multi-year time frames with the Sustainable Development Goals as the common overall results and accountability framework." (UNGA 2016: 29). The New Way of Working (NWoW), put forward during the World Humanitarian Summit, can be described as "working over multiple years, based on the comparative advantage of a diverse range of actors, including those outside the UN system, towards collective outcomes. Wherever possible, those efforts should reinforce and strengthen the capacities that already exist at national and local levels" (OCHA 2017: 7). However, some actors admit that they "have doubts about collective outcomes – we are not convinced about the concept [because] collective outcome will always be aligned with SDG agenda" (Cranfield 2018). During the High - Level Workshop on the New Way of Working in 2017, it was concluded that NWoW does not aim to fit challenges into "narrow definition of mandates and rigid interpretation of roles and responsibilities" (Agenda for Humanity 2017: 1). UNDP noted that "there is a stronger call, not amongst everyone, for joint programming where you actually need to have planning and joint programming. And you would contribute towards the collective outcomes" (Sekkenes 2018).

Figure 8. New Way of Working definitions (OCHA 2017: 7)

Furthermore, the World Humanitarian Summit placed the emphasis on 'comparative advantage' to achieve an outcome. Secretary General's Report notes that "outcome should ultimately drive the determination of comparative advantage, taking into account mandate responsibilities [..however] mandate or mission statement alone may not automatically equate to a comparative advantage" (UNGA 2016: 34). On the other hand, MSF notes that "the different types of mandates and approaches are not acknowledged, but they are deliberately ignored" by the New Way of Working and humanitarian-development nexus and that "working on everybody's strengths is the best approach [..] It is not about the priority of what is more important, it's about the division of labour, but it is not what the sector is saying" (Stoianova 2018). On the other hand, some actors recognize that there is a "need to overcome your way of working to find out where on the nexus you can make progress, but it's always very context specific" (Cranfield 2018). A think piece, produced by OCHA, UNDP, UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP and the World Bank, note that there has to be a change in the mind-set to a joint humanitarian – development approach, which will require "changes in every step of our assessment, planning, programming and financing cycle" (Center on International Cooperation 2016: 20). UNDP raised a challenge related to the attribution of the results: "If you were to attribute each and every actor, that would contribute to collective outcomes, on an equal level – it is impossible if you want to achieve with keeping the mandates we have" (Sekkenes 2018).

Another challenge imposed by the humanitarian – development nexus is the humanitarian's ability to preserve the emergency response capacity, as raised by MSF: "the question that nobody seems to be asking is how this continuous push to linking nexus in an alignment model is or isn't affecting the way humanitarians respond to emergencies?" (Stoianova 2018). She argues that if humanitarian action is integrated into the New Way of Working framework it "will progressively become less able to perform the emergency response aspect" (Stoianova 2018). On the other hand, ECHO notes that "there are very few occasions where it is important for humanitarians to really do things differently and be really there to preserve the humanitarian mandate and access" (Nizery 2018). Multi-mandated or 'double-hatted' organizations are seen as a possible solution to linking humanitarian – development nexus. These organizations "would be active both in development activities and objectives, and have a humanitarian arm of sorts" (Sekkenes 2018). Furthermore, they seem to have an advantage in bridging the divide because they "have experience of donors and are able to identify where are the gaps, things to be improved, and good practices of donors. In-house they have experiences in breaking down the silos and where are the necessary limits" (Cranfield 2018). MSF however claims that such organizations "do marvellous job. The main problem we keep seeing is that it is very difficult to maintain a fire brigade nucleus inside a multi-mandated organization, so that they could be very good emergency responders when the need occurs [and] emergency response muscle naturally disappears" (Stoianova 2018). The Secretary General of UN in his WHS report has expressed the need to retain the emergency response capacity, however he noted that "such approach cannot be a sustainable long-term mode of operation and should be the exception, even though certain needs for assistance and protection may remain" (UNGA 2016: 36).

SDGs as overall humanitarian – development agenda

Figure 9. SGDs and UN New Way of Working (Voice 2017: 6)

In 2015 the UN Member States put forward "the first full blown development programme for the world" (Sekkenes 2018) – the Sustainable Development Goals. During the World Humanitarian Summit, and in the discourses later on, the SDGs play a central role. Secretary General of the UN in his report for WHS noted:

"The Sustainable Development Goals constitute a new era in national and international cooperation and provide a comprehensive, transformational 15-year results framework for all actors working to meet the needs of people. Success will now be defined by the achievement of measurable reductions in people's risk and vulnerability and their ability to become more self-reliant rather than simply attain basic needs for years on end. This will put people and their humanity at the centre of all our efforts" (UNGA 2016: 28).

The New Way of Working is described as a starting point in responding to challenges collectively, working across institutional boundaries and seizing synergies to achieve the SDGs (Agenda for Humanity 2017: 1). The UN agencies all agree that in most situations the humanitarian – development nexus is compatible to link to the longer-term goals and targets of Agenda 2030 (Center on International Cooperation 2016). The SDGs mottos are Leave No One Behind and reach those further behind, which are a very humanitarian notion. UNDP noted that "SDGs have in a sense brought humanitarian principles to the development agenda. Or rather

development agenda closer to humanitarian principles" (Sekkenes 2018). OCHA also agrees that "ending needs by reducing risks and vulnerability is now a shared vision, under the SDG umbrella, that transcends this decades-old divide" (OCHA 2017: 4). OCHA states that the adoption of the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals provides a reference frame for both humanitarian and development actors (OCHA 2017). The EU approach to resilience "will be aligned with EU commitments in the 2030 Agenda, notably to "leave no one behind" (EU 2017: 4). MSF also notes that "humanitarian principles are perfectly aligned with SDGs as a conceptual framework", however, MSF notes that "the humanitarian side is caught unprepared and unaware of where this agenda is going" (Stoianova 2018). Overall, the motto Leave No One Behind "can represent a point of convergence for humanitarian and development actors" (Voice 2017: 5). However, it is not clear whether this will be put in practice, NGO network Voice hopes "that humanitarian objective will serve the collective – development – SDG agenda. However, responding to the SDG agenda is never going to be the first thing on our mind" (Cranfield 2018).

Figure 10. Core Commitments of Agenda for Humanity (Agenda for Humanity website)

The World Humanitarian Summit put forward the Agenda for Humanity and five Core Commitments, and one of them is change people's lives: from delivering aid to ending need. This commitment is strongly aligned with Agenda 2030. For example: "Aim for collective outcomes to have a positive impact on overall national indicators of advancement towards the 2030 Agenda and for multi-year plans to be instalments towards the achievement of national development strategies, in line with the 2030 Agenda" (UN 2016: 11). It seems that there is a consensus among the humanitarian and development actors that Agenda 2030 and SDGs are aligned with the humanitarian work.

Summary

The analysis of 'Two Worlds apart' challenge reveal that there is a discrepancy between the humanitarian - development actors when defining what the humanitarian side is mandated to do. Some argue that humanitarians are forced to step in beyond their mandate in order to address the needs that should be addressed by development actors who are sometimes unwilling to work in fragile situations. When it comes to the humanitarian and development mandates, WHS called to move beyond mandates and focus on collective outcomes achieved by comparative advantage. However, by some actors the humanitarian – development nexus is seen as a possibility for humanitarians to go back to basics and their original mandate, as described by ECHO. While other humanitarian actors, such as MSF, are highly critical of such approach and insist on keeping humanitarian and development mandates separate and focus on their separate tasks, because "the world is not becoming a quieter, more peaceful place, so emergency response is going to remain relevant" (Stoianova 2018). And others are not convinced by the idea of collective outcomes. Another issue, posed by the collective outcomes and the multi-annual frameworks, is that it is hard to align the humanitarian and development actors in terms of attribution, because humanitarians usually work with short timeframes, and development aid needs time to observe any results.

The differences between humanitarian and development actors can be described through the words of ECHO expert: "we work differently, we speak different languages. [..] We are really on different planets and getting together is not always easy. We have to [..] be conscious that [..] we won't share the same views from the beginning, but we have to try to find the consensus and find common priorities and objectives." (Nizery 2018). The World Humanitarian Summit did advance the linkages between humanitarian and development by presenting Agenda 2030 and the SDGs as a foundation for Agenda for Humanity. This approach seems to have a consensus among the actors, especially because the "mottos from WHS fit very well with the mottos that come with SDGs" (Sekkenes 2018), however, they still would not act as a primary goal of humanitarians.

Overall, the humanitarian and development aid are still Two Worlds Apart, however, the processes which started after the World Humanitarian Summit are aiming to address some of them. It is early to tell whether it will transform into a full-blown reform of the aid system, or what could be the repercussions of trying to move beyond mandates and divide tasks based on

comparative advantages. The analysis revealed that there are big discrepancies when it comes to understanding responsibilities and goals of nexus, not only between development and humanitarian side, but also within humanitarian sector.

7.3. Principles challenge

The humanitarian principles derive from the principles, which have long guided the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the national Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies (OCHA 2017). The humanitarian sector has adopted four principles of humanity, impartiality, independence and neutrality, which are guiding the humanitarian action. While these principles were present in the minds of humanitarian action pioneers, the formalization took few decades and the United Nations General Assembly has adopted these principles in 1991 and 2004 (UNGA 1991 & 2004). The humanitarian action is based on the understanding that suffering has no borders and all humans deserve minimum help during times of distress. The principles emphasize the value of human life and their source is found between humanism, philanthropy and the practical need to organize systemic and effective response to humanitarian needs. These principles are often perceived as an expression of Western values especially as most humanitarian organizations have a strong Western footmark, however the values such as help, protection and charity are rooted in all cultures (ICRC 2015).

Humanity	Neutrality	Impartiality	Independence
Human suffering must be addressed wherever it is found. The purpose of humanitarian action is to protect life and health and ensure respect for human beings.	Humanitarian actors must not take sides in hostilities or engage in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.	Humanitarian action must be carried out on the basis of need alone, giving priority to the most urgent cases of distress and making no distinctions on the basis of nationality, race, gender, religious belief, class or political opinions.	Humanitarian action must be autonomous from the political, economic, military or other objectives that any actor may hold with regard to areas where humanitarian action is being implemented.

Figure 11. Humanitarian principles (OCHA 2017: 1)

The humanitarian principles serve two main purposes in the sector: "they function simultaneously as "tools to do the job", and as catalysts for its identity" (ICRC 2015: 16). First, they allow actors to make choices in the field, especially gain trust with armed actors and

society during conflicts and violence. Second, it has significantly contributed to shaping the identity of humanitarian sector, including the limitations of its boundaries. For example, Voice claims that humanitarian principles "are not merely a doctrinal mantra of humanitarians, but quite simply the pragmatic guidelines for survival and continuity of humanitarian action" (Voice 2017: 5). However, as ICRC notes, the principals tend to be "invoked in a rhetorical, if not dogmatic, manner as a reminder of the sector's specific identity (and concomitant status) without being accompanied by action that is aligned with them" (ICRC 2015: 16). While humanitarian principles gained a broad consensus in the sector, the actors composing the sector are not homogenous and their interpretation of the principles may vary a lot (ICRC 2015). State of Humanitarian System report observed that there are actors that are concerned with strengthening the core principles, while others are urging for diversification of such principles based on context (Alnap 2015). The UN agencies stress the importance of context specificity, claiming that "one-size-fits-all approaches do not work" (Center on International Cooperation 2016: 3). The New Way of Working, and the discourse around the World Humanitarian Summit, also stress that the full respect to "the guiding principles of humanitarian action, namely, humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence" (UNGA 2016: 51) must be ensured. ECHO has also expressed the need to make sure that "humanitarian principles are preserved, and we want to stick to that" (Nizery 2018).

What is OCHA's role?

OCHA's mission is to mobilize and coordinate principled humanitarian action. OCHA promotes the humanitarian community's compliance with humanitarian principles in every humanitarian response. It does this by promoting practical compliance measures within a Humanitarian Country Team through its engagement with State and non-state actors at all levels, and by undertaking and contributing to policy development within the United Nations.

What does OCHA say?

1. Humanitarian principles govern humanitarian actors' conduct.

2. Humanitarian actors must engage in dialogue with all parties to conflict for strictly humanitarian purposes. This includes ongoing liaison and negotiation with non-state armed groups.

3. Our compliance with humanitarian principles affects our credibility, and therefore our ability to enter into negotiations with relevant actors and establish safe access to affected people. However, it is not enough to repeatedly recite humanitarian principles. Rhetoric must be matched by leadership and practice. In other words, humanitarian actors must "walk the talk".

4. There are multiple pressures on humanitarian actors to compromise humanitarian principles, such as providing humanitarian aid as part of efforts to achieve political ends. Maintaining principled humanitarian action in the face of these pressures is an essential task, but not an easy one.

Figure 12. Humanitarian principles and OCHA (OCHA 2017: 2)

There is a consensus amongst humanitarian and development actors that humanitarian principles must be protected. "Humanitarian principles are not an obstacle for pursuing strategic goals. They have to be weight in when pursuing strategic goals that make independent and neutral action possible for the actors that have committed to these principles, not for everybody else" (Stoianova 2018). Voice also echoes that "humanitarian principles are key methodology for humanitarians to work, so they are not a challenge as such" (Cranfield 2018). On the other hand, there is lack of clarity how to put it into practice. The New Way of Working claims that "determining whether humanitarian principles are at risk will require highly context-specific, pragmatic decisions to inform the best approach to increase coherence between development and humanitarian efforts" (OCHA 2017: 5). The humanitarian – development nexus entails that "the starting point is to get together and have common analysis" (Nizery 2018), which would allow "to understand what we can provide from humanitarian perspective, we would need to know and have a very clear idea of the intentions of the authorities, to know whether we agree with that or not" (Sekkenes 2018). The humanitarian actors are discussing within themselves

"how to not undermine the humanitarian principles, but work much more closely with authorities in their area of operations" (Sekkenes 2018).

Working with authorities

When analysing the humanitarian – development nexus in terms of humanitarian principles, one topic is dominant – working with authorities. Humanitarian principles entail that humanitarians must be neutral and independent, meaning not taking sides in hostilities and being autonomous from the political, military and other objectives. It is common for humanitarians to work with local institutions in protracted crises and for ECHO "it is not a problem that humanitarians have links with local institutions and entities, while development actors aim at more national institutions and local level as well" (Nizery 2018). MSF also acknowledges that the idea that "the humanitarian principles are somehow standing in the way is an oversimplification of the problem" (Stoianova 2018). UNDP emphasizes that working with authorities is necessary for both humanitarians and development actors in order to "negotiate humanitarian space and corridors, or to at least to find out to what extent authorities undertake humanitarian activities and [..] to see that it is done in a fashion that does not jeopardize the human rights or humanitarian law" (Sekkenes 2018).

The UNDP expert also recognized that "there are 'purists' in the humanitarian sector that will not have any contact whatsoever with authorities, and you have other that we can label 'pragmatists' that realize that there is no way that you can work, in particular in conflict footprints, without some sort of contact with authorities" and that the purists "will not collaborate with development actors, because development actors by definition are working with governments" (Sekkenes 2018). This will pose a major challenge to bridge the humanitarian – development divide, because WHS calls to ensure adequate coordination with the efforts of national authorities and international actors for the achievement of collective outcomes (Center on International Cooperation 2016). NGO network Voice also argues that "aiming at closer cooperation between humanitarian assistance and development activities potentially also comprise risks regarding the implementation of the humanitarian principles" (Voice 2017: 5). On the other hand, ECHO notes that "there are always possibilities for humanitarians to be connected with local authorities without damaging the possibility of being principled. [..] I don't see it as a big danger, we have to be careful and cautious in some situations." (Nizery 2018).

The way forward, put by the World Humanitarian Summit, is that operationalizing the humanitarian – development nexus is context-specific: "Where context allows without undermining humanitarian principles, the New Way of Working sets a path for contributing to shared outcomes of reducing humanitarian need, risk and vulnerability through a range of well-aligned short, medium and longer-term contributions by humanitarian and development actors" (OCHA 2017: 7). There seems to be a common understanding that context-specificity is the best approach to the nexus. It is reflected in most of the sources, for example Voice notes that "Context-specificity is a crucial attribute in operationalising the nexus" (Voice 2017: 5), UNDP says that "every single context is unique and whatever conclusions you can draw from one theatre may not be applicable somewhere else" (Sekkenes 2018), or ECHO "we always say it [nexus] has to be country led, because it is context specific" (Nizery 2018). On the other hand, even though MSF agrees that nexus varies across thematic sectors, types of crisis and moments in the crisis, they see "the problem with context specific approach is that it's a very cheap way of New Way of Working agenda to go around the issues that haven't been figured out yet" (Stoianova 2018). According to MSF, actors have "to ensure that a minimum of acceptable service is available regardless of the context specificity [and] we should not set up systems that do not recognize the accumulation of knowledge of aid" (Stoianova 2018). They claim that context specificity might "ignore the fact that risks, which did not manifest [in the beginning], might still be likely" (Stoianova 2018). However, some humanitarian actors are more flexible and think that "whenever there is a possibility of damaging the principles we have to step out of the relationship with authorities" (Nizery 2018).

Summary

There is a consensus across the humanitarian and development actors that humanitarian principles of neutrality, independence, humanity and impartiality are important to be preserved. Even though there are differences in the way actors interpret the principles, they form the identity of humanitarian actors and are tools for delivering humanitarian aid. The most debated part of the humanitarian principles is engagement with central authorities. While humanitarian actors are known to work with the local authorities, working with the central authorities pose a risk to humanitarian principles according to the 'purist' humanitarians. Although some actors admit that the need to preserve principles is rare, because most crises now are protracted. They see possibilities to work with developmental actors, who by definition work with governments,

and the government itself, as long as it is context specific and they have options to refuse such collaboration when it threatens the principles.

The context specificity is a very popular term in the discourse around humanitarian – development nexus, and is used widely by humanitarian and development actors as well as in the New Way of Working itself. Some claim that context specificity might have risks such as overseeing certain issues in the field, or to ensure the minimum services to all. Context specificity does not bring much clarity into the nexus, however, it is part of the localization efforts – bringing the decision making into the field. Overall, there are significant discrepancies between actors when it comes to interpreting the humanitarians' ability to work with authorities. WHS did not bring clarity on this issue, because it claims that preserving the principles is context specific, while, on the other hand calling for collective outcomes and action based on comparative advantage.
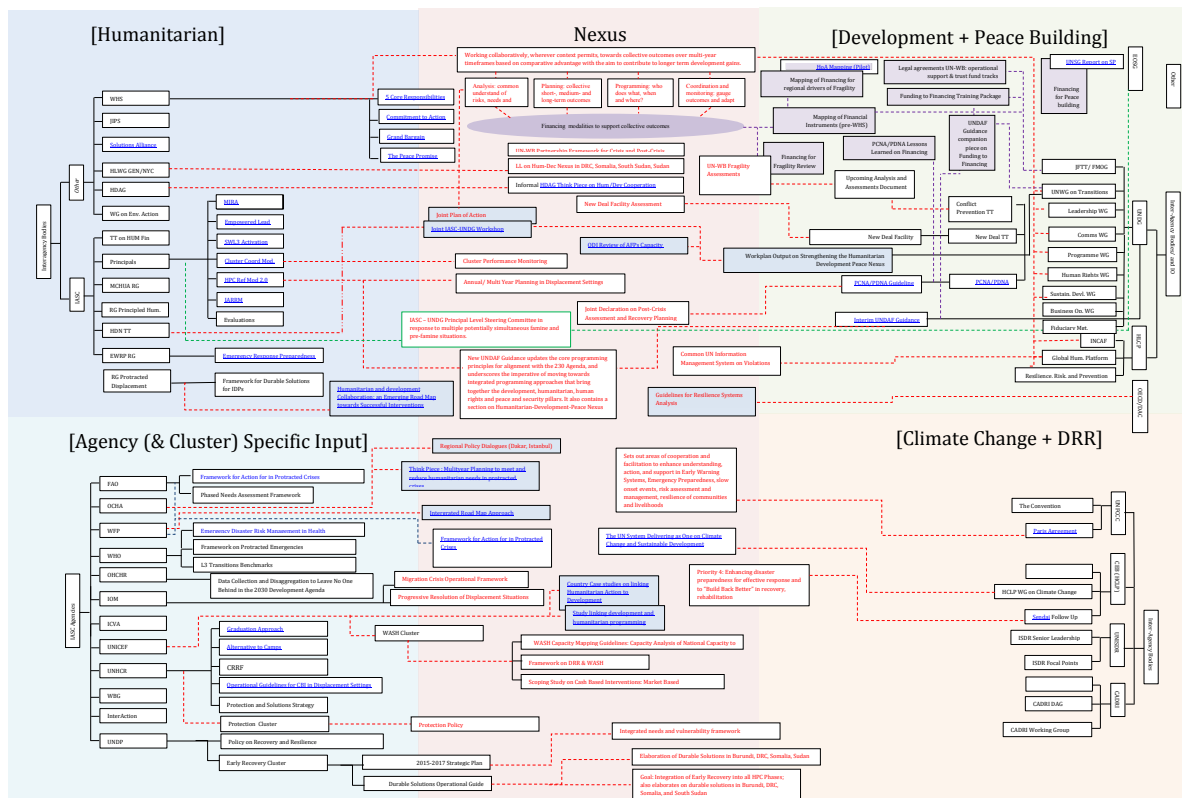
7.4. Conceptual challenge

Figure 13. UN humanitarian – development nexus mapping (IASC illustration)

The Oxford dictionary defines nexus as "a complicated series of connections between different things" (Oxford Learners Dictionaries website). This implies that the connection amongst those different things is not linear, but rather multiple and complicated. It is not easy to find a definition of the development – humanitarian nexus, because actually it does not really exist as it means different things to different actors. As MSF puts it: "it means different things to different people in different times, so definitely there is not a common understanding what the problem is and what the solution is" (Stoianova 2018). UNDP has confirmed that "there is no consensus, we might be closer to it, but there is not. A lot of things are in motion as we speak and the policy discussions are not finalized" (Sekkenes 2018). One of the tasks of the *UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee Task Team on strengthening the humanitarian and development nexus with a focus on protracted crises* is to "establish a common understanding of what is required to strengthen the humanitarian development nexus [..] this will involve agreeing on definitions for key terms and components of the humanitarian development nexus (such as "collective outcomes", "joint analysis" and "joined up planning" (where and when possible)" (IASC 2016: 4). MSF concludes that "the coherence debate in aid circles, so closing the humanitarian – development – political – military divide, is ironically incoherent one. I do not think there is a single understanding" (Stoianova 2018). Furthermore, the actors who have committed to the New Way of Working seem to be interpreting it in different ways, for example "the UN has one vision of the nexus, and the European one might be a bit different" (Cranfield 2018).

The World Humanitarian Summit called to "commit to a new way of working that meets people's immediate humanitarian needs, while at the same time reducing risk and vulnerability over multiple years through the achievement of collective outcomes" (Agenda for Humanity website). To achieve this, one of the commitments states: "Transcend Humanitarian-Development Divides: work together, toward collective outcomes that ensure humanitarian needs are met, while at the same time reducing risk and vulnerability over multiple years and based on the comparative advantage of a diverse range of actors" (Agenda for Humanity Website). WHS has called to strengthen the nexus and to "overcome long-standing attitudinal, institutional, and funding obstacles" (OCHA 2017: 4), while the NGOs call for nexus to be "limited and concrete" (Cranfield 2018). ECHO was the only interviewee that could define the humanitarian – development nexus: "It means getting together to agree on a common analysis, common understanding of the crisis and have common priorities and maybe joint planning and programming. Mostly the aim is to be complementary in a response in order to find durable

solutions to the crises." (Nizery 2018). While others, such as NGO network Voice, were vaguer: "It is the latest way to look at how humanitarian and development are working together. Perhaps with more of a focus on the people and their vulnerability" (Cranfield 2018).

Figure 14. Agenda for Humanity 5 core responsibilities (Agenda for Humanity website)

World Humanitarian Summit called actors to commit to Agenda for Humanity and it's 5 core responsibilities and 24 transformations. Over 3,700 voluntary commitments to deliver on the ambitious changes have been made by the Member States, non-governmental organizations, civil society, people affected by crises, the private sector and international organizations. The call to transcend the humanitarian-development divide received more than 350 commitments at the Summit, and Transformation 4C (4C Transcend the humanitarian-development divide) received the highest number of self-reports, with 74 stakeholders reporting on their efforts to transcend the humanitarian-development divide (OCHA 2017). However, it is important to note that these commitments are voluntary and self-monitored, meaning that the humanitarian development nexus might take different form and be understood differently by every actor depending on the commitments they made.

Humanitarian – development – peace nexus

The State of Humanitarian System Report notes that humanitarians are "being asked to play increasingly wider roles – including supporting securitisation, filling gaps left by development actors and substituting for weak or neglectful host governments" (Alnap 2015: 68). The actors are alarmed by the use of humanitarian aid to address root causes of conflict "and its alignment with stabilisation and state - building agendas, as political alignment with belligerent parties" (Alnap 2015: 108). For example, MSF says that "'the push for coherence', which from our perspective means us supporting stabilization effort or counter-terrorism effort [is negative]" (Stoianova 2018). While NGO network Voice notes that they "do not have an official position on it, we have questions" (Cranfield 2018).

The Secretary General of UN in his WHS report notices that "humanitarian, development, peace and security and other international institutions work side by side [..] too often, each sector brings different goals, time frames, disjointed data and analysis, and resources to those same communities, creating and implementing activities towards different objectives" (UNGA 2016: 32). Therefore, he calls humanitarians to move beyond short term interventions towards achievement of longer term results, and development actors to act with greater urgency and become more predictable (UNGA 2016). At the same time, the World Humanitarian Summit recognized that "humanitarian response, sustainable development and sustaining peace are three sides of the same triangle. This is the essence of the New Way of Working." (OCHA & UNDP 2017: 2). UNDP has noted that the aim of the Agenda for Humanity is "to meet immediate needs, decrease needs and look at risks and vulnerabilities and root causes of conflict in order to end needs" (Sekkenes 2018). It was acknowledged that tackling the root causes of the conflicts require the stabilization and peacebuilding efforts to be brought together with the humanitarian and development actors (IASC 2016). UN has moved from the humanitarian – development nexus, towards the humanitarian – development – security nexus, by moving from "delivering aid to ending need" (OCHA 2017: 70). On the other hand, MSF claims that "we are trying to address the symptoms of the dysfunction, rather than trying to look at what the problem is [..] and it's hard to bridge the humanitarian – development divide because we are not really tackling the root of the problem" (Stoianova 2018).

IASC Task Team on strengthening the humanitarian and development nexus with a focus on protracted crises is responsible to "shape and contribute to common understanding of what is

required to strengthen the humanitarian development and peacebuilding nexus" (IASC 2018: 1). The UN is already working with the humanitarian – development – peace nexus, as it's framework is the New Way of Working, which acknowledges the need to work with the security actors. ECHO has also acknowledged that the nexus "which is still called humanitarian – development, has a more political dimension. There is no way we can resolve crises if we don't take into account more political concerns and include peace aspects" (Nizery 2018). ECHO noted that the aim of the nexus is to "ensure that there are durable solutions to crisis, protracted crises and fragility", however, the EU has decided "to not include peace in the nexus in order to be able to preserve the humanitarian mandate and to not have confusion. In reality we want to include the peace element" (Nizery 2018). It seems that, at least on UN and donors side, there is a consensus that the peace element should be part of the nexus if the aim is to address the root causes of the conflict, as proposed by the World Humanitarian Summit.

On the other hand, there is criticism not only of including the peace element in the nexus, but also of the goals put forward by the World Humanitarian Summit. For example, MSF claims that the framework put forward by WHS is extremely unrealistic, while UNDP sees it as a doable agenda, which only requires "to overcome some of the definition issues, provide the definitions for the 'purists' to choose whether they are in or not" (Sekkenes 2018):

"WHS said that humanitarian action cannot be a solution, therefore, we will look for political solutions to conflict and sustainable solutions to protracted displacement, and we will try to end needs. We will solve the problem by making humanitarian crisis less occurent. To me this is like Miss Universe beauty contest. Their idea is that if we all come together, somehow, we will make the likelihood of crisis occurring smaller, the impact of crises lesser, and by empowering local actors we will increase their ability to cope with the crisis situation, therefore the need for the aid and the divide will be less. This policy is a big pile of bollocks. It doesn't stand on its two feet" (Stoianova 2018).

Furthermore, there seems to be lack of clarity who should be dealing with the peace segment of the nexus. For example, ECHO notes that "the peace and political element is more difficult for us to achieve, [..] going beyond, into more political aspects, lacks leadership. [..] this is not something for ECHO to lead. There should be someone else taking over" (Nizery 2018). The lack of leadership issue will be discussed more in **Chapter 6.5**. Also, MSF observes that it is not realistic for "humanitarian actors to behave as developmental, military to behave as

humanitarians, or developmental to care about the short-term lifesaving assistance" (Stoianova 2018). The World Humanitarian Summit called to "return our focus to the people at the centre" (UNGA 2016: 29), however, organizations such as MSF claim that "nothing in the New Way of Working framework is for the person, it is for the institutions and structures that serve persons" (Stoianova 2018).

Summary

The discussions of what is the humanitarian – development nexus are still ongoing, as well as the discussions of how to link the development and humanitarian aid. The World Humanitarian Summit and the New Way of Working put forward an understanding that nexus is about collective outcomes, joint analysis and programming, which means moving from only working together to working to end the needs. This understanding plays into the goal put forward by the Summit, which is to tackle the roots of the conflicts. There are ongoing discussions how this should be done and who should be in fact responsible for such an unsurmountable task.

The collective outcomes entail that humanitarian and development actors have to work together with security actors to address the underlying issue. This very closely relates to the issue of humanitarians working with state actors, therefore, there is no single view of how to address it. Even though, there is a push to include the peace element into nexus, some actors such as EU, have not done it yet, but are moving towards it. If the common goal of the actors is to tackle the root causes of the conflict, then peace actors obviously have to be included. On the other hand, it raises a question whether the humanitarian actors in fact should be responsible for such a task – is it a humanitarian problem? It is usually said that the solution to humanitarian problems is not humanitarian, but rather political and developmental. The WHS indeed propose a new understanding of the nexus and, even if it is still being developed, the main message is clear. The main goal is to reduce vulnerability and increase resilience, however, the means to do it are still debated and not all the actors are in agreement with it.

7.5. Leadership Challenge

The humanitarian system is composed of autonomous entities with individual governance structures and lines of accountability, which require coordination. State of Humanitarian System report notes that coordinated system is always inefficient in some degree, because

additional work is required to put the pieces into a coherent order. On the other hand, maintaining the independence of actors enables flexibility in approaches and encourages innovation (Alnap 2015). The UN admits that in order to transcend humanitarian – development divide there has to be effective coordination with national and local actors, all aid partners, and strategic and operational coherence within UN system must be achieved (Center on International Cooperation 2016). However, as ECHO observed: "it is hard to have UN speaking in one big voice, therefore it is difficult to see the New Way of Working being translated into reality" (Nizery 2018).

UN as a leader

Figure 15. UN flag (UN website)

There was hope that the Summit will encourage a process of renewal with the UN – working across mandates and responsibilities on humanitarian – development nexus. However, as ECHO notes, the UN is "still in the process and they don't have the leadership yet that they could eventually have" to bridge the divide (Nizery 2018). Furthermore, "the UN has very specific agencies with mandates, and they sometimes have problems to overcome" (Cranfield 2018). The MSF noted that the "humanitarian side is coming to the party late, confused, disempowered. OCHA [United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs] is in its weakest point in history, not that it has ever been strong" (Stoianova 2018). It is known that the big problems that the UN is facing have not been fixed, therefore, the UN system has

limited capacity to improve humanitarian and development action "without the kind of radical institutional reforms" (Collinson 2016: 7). In general, the global machinery of governance is not "fit for purpose" (Collinson 2016: 7) and MSF also notes that there is a "problem with legal frameworks and the roles of international institutions are not really respected" (Stoiavona 2018).

Another important angle for UN to be able to address the humanitarian – development divide is the resources and capacities. The Secretary General has called to strengthen UN leadership in the field in order to bring accountability of Resident Coordinators and Humanitarian Coordinators: "if we [the UN] are not sufficiently equipped, we cannot be held accountable. It is a little bit of a circular argument, but does put the ownership back on Member States: if you want this agenda, you will have to put more resources to it" (Sekkenes 2018). ECHO also notes that the UN in the field "could be fora for these [nexus] discussions also involving donor communities in addition to UN and NGOs. [..] but now [the UN] are focusing on their internal process" (Nizery). MSF noted that on the humanitarian side, OCHA would be "held accountable, but I don't think they understand what they are supposed to be defending, who's voices they are supposed to be voicing and what is their role around the table" (Stoianova 2018).

However, as Secretary General noted, the United Nations cannot substitute the leadership and political will of the states, especially if the overall goal of the World Humanitarian Summit and bridging humanitarian – development divide is to tackle root causes of conflicts. The UN is responsible to identify the ways to resolve conflicts and end suffering, however, all the state and non-state actors must accept their responsibilities and act upon them (UNGA 2016). Even though humanitarian actors ask for a stronger leadership they show "no willingness to concede autonomy" (Alnap 2015: 106). For example, the EU is leading their own process of humanitarian – development nexus and "do not see WHS commitments as joint priority. We do things differently" (Nizery 2018).

World Humanitarian Summit governance

The Secretary General of UN called to go beyond declaratory vision and emphasized that "accepting and acting upon our individual and shared responsibilities must therefore be the central theme of the World Humanitarian Summit" (UNGA 2016: 6). According to him, WHS has provided "a first test of the international community's commitment to transforming the lives

of those most at risk of being left behind" (UNGA 2016: 20). The World Humanitarian Summit brought together a wide range of state and non-state actors in a "common but diffused pledging exercise, leading to a complex patchwork of essentially informal governmental, organisational and network-based commitments" (Collinson 2016: 3). The participants of the Summit were asked, but not required, to sign up for voluntary commitments. Over 3,700 commitments to deliver on the Agenda for Humanity we made by more that 9000 state, non-state and other actors (Agenda for Humanity website). However, the lack of high-level political leaders in the Summit has in a way undermined the credibility of the WHS. For example, none of the 5P countries (Russia, China, France, UK and US) were represented at heads of state level (Collinson 2016). On the other hand, the WHS was a attended by a large number of NGOs and it is important because at the end of the day, the NGOs are providing assistance in the field. As Voice notes: "We think that it is likely to work better [nexus] if they talk to us [NGOs], because [..] we can see where are the gaps or need to bridge the gap. Also, because we are close to the communities and we see the needs. Overall, NGOs should be included in the nexus work" (Cranfield 2018).

The World Humanitarian Summit has promoted a "pick and mix governance framework" (Collinson 2016: 6), which offered something to everyone, leaving the participants to decide what part of agenda they would like to choose. Such commitments can be championed as the "triumph of multilateralism", however, it also raises questions of the accountability and ownership of the policy. The commitment to bridging the humanitarian – development divide was a very popular one, bringing more than 350 individual commitments. It must be noted that the World Humanitarian Summit was "not an inter-governmental process but rather a multi-stakeholder consultation intended to produce (hopefully) a shared roadmap for all actors" (Collinson 2016: 2), and its voluntary commitments are only self-monitored, meaning that there is a lack of any formalized follow up or review mechanisms. Even though some claim that "voluntary commitments of WHS have never worked in my experience for advancing policies" (Stovianova 2018), others are "pleasantly surprised when looking at the self-reporting platform. The degree of sincerity in the reporting on what was achieved and what are the obstacles is quite impressive" (Cranfield 2018). The report on the achievement after WHS notes that "a number of donors and international organizations reported on efforts to address institutional and structural divides" (OCHA 2017: 71), which means that there is some movement in advancing the commitments made by the actors.

However, all agree that there is not one single actor responsible for the agenda, its implementation and monitoring. ECHO notes that "every single institution has to be accountable for what they committed to" (Nizery 2018), while others see the weakness of the WHS "is that there is no responsibility for the whole agenda. No one is left accountable for WHS outcomes" (Cranfield 2018). And UNDP admits that "there is still a lot of discussion going on about how to clarify the accountability framework, how to pitch collective outcomes" (Sekkenes 2018). MSF also raises a question of who's responsibility the humanitarian – development nexus is: "it is said it's everybody's responsibility, but, if you read between the lines, it is humanitarians responsibility" (Stoianova 2018). To sum up, "at the moment everyone is doing their own stuff in their own corner, because it's a New Way of Working and it is evolving" (Nizery 2018). The WorldHumanitarian Summit took place less than two years ago, which means that the policy is only starting to move ahead and it is quite early to tell what will come out of it, however there is movement: "nexus approach on European level is just starting to kick off, so the momentum is still building. I get the sense that UN is moving ahead as well" (Cranfield: 2018). The system put forward by the World Humanitarian Summit is characterized by disperse authority and decision making, lack of accountability and no formal review mechanisms, and sovereignty of each actor is tangled with the idea of joint responsibility.

Summary

The leadership for bridging the humanitarian – development divide can be characterized as disperse and unclear. It stems from the fact that the issue is being tackled by a number of actors who prefer to keep their autonomy and not one single actor is leading the process. While UN is ongoing a decades lasting transformation, it is not fit for purpose of leading the global process. On the other hand, UN is currently working on its own understanding of the nexus, trying to overcome mandates and silos. It is not yet clear whether they will be able to do it and whether their network of Country and Humanitarian coordinators could lead the process in each country. The humanitarian side of UN – OCHA is described as weak and lacking resources to address the issue, which entails that there is an asymmetry between UN agencies themselves. At the same time, UN is made up of the Member States and is accountable to the Member States, meaning that at the end of the day part of responsibility falls on the states, especially if the overall goal of the WHS summit is to tackle root causes of conflict and bridging humanitarian – development divide is one of the ways to do it. It is also important to note that in general the

global governance and the role of the international institutions are not fit for purpose to lead such process.

The type of governance put forward by the World Humanitarian Summit offered something to everyone and called actors to commit to parts of the agenda they would like to. The variety of stakeholders (state, non - state, NGOs, etc) were invited to participate in the process leading up to the WHS, hoping for a broad ownership of the outcomes. At the same time, it has recognized the important role that the non-state actors play. Such approach lacks accountability frameworks, even if UN is at the moment trying to clarify it. The voluntary commitments made by the actors vary in scope and depth, and are only self-monitored. The bottom-up nature of the commitments also means that the structure of monitoring is also dispersed and bottom-up. Even though the self-reporting on humanitarian – development nexus is advancing, it leads each actor to find their own way of interpreting the New Way of Working and out it into practice. The World Humanitarian Summit and its proposals should be seen as voluntary and advisory framework: "nexus is more about strategies and priorities" (Nizery 2018), rather than binding commitments. On the other hand, there seems to be a "momentum at the moment" (Cranfield 2018) and these voluntary commitments might turn into something more practical. The analysis and interviews have revealed that there is no single understanding of who is responsible. While some say that each actor is responsible, others say that no one is responsible, or that in reality it is humanitarians responsible.

7.6. Resource challenge

There is a significant difference in how the humanitarian and development actors are funded. The humanitarian funding is usually annual, grant-based, and targeted at individual short-term projects. It might promote funding projects that are aligned with the priorities of the donor, rather than identified needs. Furthermore, as Secretary General claims, such approach leads to competition amongst humanitarian actors, and promotes mandate-based or pre-existing relationships funding instead of looking at who has the comparative advantage in a given situation. This poses a risk to aid actors' ability to address humanitarian – development divide. (UNGA 2016). As NGO network Voice observed: "it is hard for humanitarians and development actors to work together sometimes just for practical reasons such as funding instruments are not flexible enough" (Cranfield 2018). The development funding usually does not have flexible instruments, is long-term and usually stems via the government. The State of

Humanitarian System report claims that there is a "critical lack of flexibility and sufficiency in development funding instruments" (Alnap 2015: 81) in order to address the humanitarian – development divide. There is an understanding between aid actors that there is a need to "find new instruments that are flexible to be able to address the nexus approaches" (Nizery 2018).

The New Way of Working called to overcome not only long-standing attitudinal and institutional obstacles, but also a funding obstacle (OCHA 2017). The former Secretary General in his WHS report claimed that the aid actors "operate in silos created by mandates and financial structures rather than towards collective outcomes by leveraging comparative advantage" (UNGA 2016: 29) and called for a "fundamental shift from funding individual projects to financing outcomes" (UNGA 2016: 36). The WHS called for establishment of resource mobilization frameworks that would support multi-year planning and collective outcomes, which would be predictable and directed to the actors who have comparative advantage in a given situation (UNGA 2016). In order to advance the New Way of Working, polled and flexible financing mechanisms are needed (O'Brien 2017), however, such approach is "financially complex and will need time to operationalize" (OCHA 2017: 4). MSF has observed that "multiannual funding has been needed for decades, so nothing new has been invented" (Stoianova 2018).

Figure 16. Multi-year timeframes (Center on International Cooperation 2016: 9)

Even though the need for pooled multi-year financing has been acknowledged during the WHS and before, the progress is rather slow so far. The report on progress after WHS, published in November 2017, argues that the incentives for pursuit of collective outcomes must "emerge from strong institutional leadership and multilateral, bilateral, and private financing [..and] donor financing must be aligned with the achievement of collective outcomes if the NWOW is to succeed" (OCHA 2017: 71). The report notes that the success of such initiatives so far been extremely dependant on "political will to mobilize resources and get administrative structures

off the ground, and progress has been uneven" (OCHA 2017: 8). Voice also recognized that "not much was done on the nexus within Grand Bargain" (Cranfield 2018), while ECHO has admitted that they "need flexibility of instruments" (Nizery 2018).

A challenge that is faced by humanitarian actors is that the humanitarian needs are constantly growing and with the current "humanitarian funding we [humanitarians] can't address everything, so we have to find longer term solutions to protracted crises" (Nizery 2018) because "there is much more humanitarian work than funds" (Cranfield 2018). Humanitarian actors, such as MSF, welcome the World Humanitarian Summit aim to "get money out of the development side, because we are really short on money. If this is development sides' contribution - it is fine" (Stoiavona 2018). MSF also argued that for some actors, especially those that work in emergencies, the multi-year frameworks and funding is not acceptable, because when you "make the whole thing more comprehensive and strategic, it becomes slower. In the countries where humanitarian and development frameworks have been aligned, there have been further delays in delivery" (Stoianova 2018).

Summary

The humanitarian and development funding are very different from each other, while humanitarians work with annual projects, the development side has multi-year frameworks, such as United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks (UNDAF) which are negotiated and signed with the government. However, the need for pooled, flexible, multi-annual funding for humanitarians and development actors has been recognized long ago. The World Humanitarian Summit has reaffirmed the need for such funding in order to address the humanitarian – development divide. The New Way of Working is focused on collective outcomes, and the funds needed to achieve such outcomes have to be longer-term, flexible and disbursed based on the comparative advantage of the actors. While this message is loud and clear, the advancement of this goal has not been moving along a lot since the WHS. Some progress is being made by donors, however, as the commitments of WHS are voluntary, the degree to which this goal progresses is also not clear. The funding challenge is crucial for humanitarian actors, who would like development actors to take over or at least finance the efforts in protracted crises, in order to alleviate some of the burden from the humanitarian sector which is lacking funding. For some actors, however, the polled and multi-annual funding, might pose a risk of delays in the delivery, however, it depends on the context and the actor. Finally,

while all actors admit that multi-annual financing is important and beneficial, some are not convinced by the idea of collective outcomes, which shows a discrepancy between what the policy proposed and what is happening in reality, when for example EU is leading its own nexus process.

8. DISCUSSION

Why have humanitarian and development actors have been unable to bridge the humanitarian – development divide?

The analysis of five challenges allowed to explore the underlying issues that underpin the humanitarian – development divide, as well as identify additional challenges that are posed by the new global efforts to bridge the divide. This chapter takes the findings of the analysis and discusses them in light of the global governance and network theories, which shed light on why the humanitarian – development is not bridged yet. The discussion is focused on explaining the challenges, with particular focus on the efforts during and since the World Humanitarian Summit.

Two worlds apart challenge

• Mismatch in cultures and designs leads to lack of cooperation; • Asymmetry between actors leads to lack of coordination; • Strive for autonomy and uniqueness can cause conflict.	• Contains multi-level and multi-sector actors; • Network requires rules and agreed ways of working.

The Two worlds apart challenge has revealed that the linking humanitarian and development policy network (H-D network) contains many actors, which are working in different sectors and on different levels. It contains UN agencies with separate mandates, donors with separate humanitarian/development departments, and numerous NGOs which are either humanitarian, developmental, or increasingly multi-mandated containing both humanitarian and development capacities. All actors are present on global, state, and field levels: coming up with policies on the global level, donors and NGOs adapting, adopting or not such policies, and implementing these policies in the field level by actors present there. It is clear that such network is complex and asymmetric, with some actors playing more important roles than others. For example, UN has much more leverage than a local NGO, while also there is asymmetry within UN with OCHA having sixteen times smaller budget than UNDP, or between European Commission departments for development cooperation and humanitarian aid.

The humanitarian and development actors are not only different in their size or budgets, but also in their mandates and ways of working. Humanitarian action is described as focused on saving lives, short-term, not reflecting too much or trying to strengthen the local capacities. On the other hand, the development aid is the opposite, it works towards sustainability, invests in local ownership, and aims at longer term results. Important to note that while development actors always work with the governments, humanitarians are not required to do so in order to preserve the humanitarian principles guiding their work. Such mismatch in the cultures and designs of two sets of actors already implies that the coordination and cooperation between them is not easy to obtain. Furthermore, both humanitarian and development actors strive for autonomy and are not always willing to give up their mandates easily, as was observed during the interviews with the actors. It was observed that humanitarian actors are particularly doubtful about their current role, because lately, due to the fact that development actors are not comfortable with working in fragile situations, have taken over various activities such as resilience building or education in emergencies, which are stretching the humanitarian budget, capacities and might pose risk to the humanitarian principles. There is a noticeable frustration amongst humanitarian actors who say that they are asked to step in and provide solutions to situations where political and development actors have failed, letting such actors 'off the hook'. This shows that humanitarians have lack of trust in the developmental and political side of the H-D network.

The World Humanitarian Summit has proposed new rules and ways of working, which go beyond humanitarian and development mandates. The former Secretary General has called all actors to brake their silos and focus on collective outcomes, which should be achieved not based on mandates, but on comparative advantage. What World Humanitarian Summit has proposed is rather radical. The humanitarian and development actors have been working based on mandates for many decades, therefore, such policy proposal is quite hard for actors to process, especially the humanitarians. The UN is moving towards the collective outcomes, however, the other actors have their reservations. It shows that the global policy, proposed by the UN and based on consultations with humanitarian and development actors, does not have a consensus in the sector, which again demonstrates that there is not enough trust in the H-D network. Another change introduced by the World Humanitarian Summit is to take the Agenda 2030 and Sustainable Development Goals as an overarching framework for development and humanitarian assistance, which should guide all the actors towards the achievement of the better world. There is a consensus among the humanitarian and development actors that SDGs are

very much compatible with the achievement of humanitarian and development nexus, however, some argue that even so, the SDGs will not be the guiding principal for the humanitarian actors who are bound by other principles.

This new way of working, proposed during World Humanitarian Summit, has raised some discussions and challenges in the H-D network. There are differences in opinion between actors what would be the effect of this new way of working: some say it will allow humanitarians to go back to their mandate and core responsibilities, while others are concerned that it means humanitarians taking up even more work and again being accountable for the issues that are not humanitarian in nature. Others, such as MSF, argue that there is a risk of losing humanitarian emergency capacity if actors were to let go of their mandates and calls to rather discuss a fair division of labour instead of integrating the two fields. For the development side, the issue of attribution is topical, because humanitarian achievements are quicker and results tangible, while development actors need time to see substantive change or cannot observe the results at all.

To sum up, the Two worlds apart challenge is still very much on the H-D network agenda. The proposals put forward during the World Humanitarian Summit indeed suggest a way forward, however, there is resistance among actors. It is very difficult to overcome the traditional way of working and agree on the new 'set of rules'. On the other hand, the discussions and clarifications about the new way of working are ongoing and the future will show whether more actors will get on board.

Principles challenge

• Trust enables to negotiate shared aims;	• Members share beliefs, ideas of wrong vs right; • Networks are built on trust and common 'rules of the game'; • Trust allows lower level actors adopt higher level proposed policies.

The Principles challenge has shown that humanitarian actors in H-D network are bound by the humanitarian principles of humanity, neutrality, independence and impartiality. These principles are the underlying code for humanitarians of what is wrong vs right and is part of the humanitarian identity. They also serve as practical tools of delivering humanitarian aid, particularly for negotiating access to populations in need. On the other hand, the development actors are not bound by these principles, which means that there is a discrepancy between H-D

network members in their beliefs and understanding of the 'rules of the game'. It is important to note, however, that all H-D network actors stress that the humanitarian principles must be preserved and protected, even if their interpretation of the principles may vary. The humanitarian and development actors do not see humanitarian principles as an obstacle to bridging the divide, however, there seems to be different perceptions about working with state actors, which are related to neutrality and independence principles.

World Humanitarian Summit called to tackle the root causes of conflict, which is the main source of peoples' vulnerability. The logic of this policy is that by eradicating conflict, the humanitarian action will become obsolete and, therefore, the humanitarian − development divide will not be relevant anymore. The Summit called all the aid actors to cooperate closer with the authorities in order to recognize the comparative advantage and achieve collective outcomes. On the other hand, the Summit also stressed that the humanitarian principles must be preserved. There is a collision between the two ideas: working closer with authorities and preserving the humanitarian principles. The solution to this, widely used by almost all H-D network actors, is that each situation is different and therefore the way forward is context specific. While humanitarian actors are known to work with local authorities, if the context allows, to some 'formalizing' context specificity pose certain risks. For example, that there should be a minimum standard and regulation for the way humanitarian aid is delivered. It is claimed by MSF that context specificity is a term used in the current global policy to name the issues that have not been addressed. The policy proposed by the WHS is indeed not very clear when it comes to the humanitarian principles, and the haziness may cause some distrust between actors. For example, UNDP expressed frustration that some 'purist' humanitarians are inconsistent in their policies: working with authorities, but claiming to protect the principles.

To sum up, there is consensus that humanitarian principles are crucial to preserve, however, the guidelines proposed by WHS are not clear, because the focus is on context specificity. If the goal is to achieve collective outcomes and work across mandates, then principles indeed might have to be adapted slightly. The discrepancy between H-D network member ideals and views is obvious, and not only between humanitarian and development actors, but also within humanitarian sector, which leads to the lack of trust. The Principle challenge remains relevant, however, the abundance of various actors with different perceptions might be a positive thing in bridging the humanitarian - development divide.

Conceptual challenge

• Common purpose, agreed goal, jointly agreed outcomes increase a chance of collaboration.	• Networks are based on common interest, agreed outcomes, mutual results

The governance theories emphasize that the common goal and agreed outcomes increase collaboration between actors. The analysis of the Conceptual challenge attempted to see whether members of H-D network have a common goal and whether the humanitarian – development nexus mean the same thing to all the actors. Humanitarian and development actors have admitted that there is no common definition of the nexus, furthermore, it means different thigs to different actors. For example, the UN and EU understanding of the nexus is distinctive. While the UN is working on coming up with the definitions, the EU is leading a separate process. The different perspectives of the humanitarian - development divide, its meaning, and ways to bridge it entail that there is no single goal in the H-D network, however, there is a common interest. All the actors express the urgency of bridging the divide, even if the divide is not defined as such, and is usually described as 'context specific'.

The World Humanitarian Summit has called to tackle the root causes of conflict and work towards bringing peace and security to affected populations. The Secretary General called for a close collaboration between humanitarian, development and political actors to address this goal. Stemming from that, a new concept has emerged – the humanitarian – development – peace nexus. The UN is already using this term, while other actors are not yet, but might be using in the future, and others have questions about how it would work and who on the 'peace' part hold the responsibility. The discrepancies of understanding what is nexus, what elements it includes, and how to operationalize it are daunting the H-D network.

To sum up, the H-D network actors have different understanding of the divide and how to bridge it, which actors are responsible for it, and how to operationalize it. This entails that, even if there is a recognition for the need to bridge the divide, such inconsistencies do not allow for effective cooperation, as actors do not have one common goal. On the other hand, this new global policy is very young and the clarifications, definitions and clear ways of working might be developed with time.

Leadership challenge

• Diffuse and unclear authority, dispersed decision making, joint responsibility; • Driven not only by states, but also other actors; • Ownership and accountability of global policy is unclear.	• Network characterized by unclear power relations and hierarchy; • Interaction based on consultation.

The H-D network is very well characterized by the global governance and network theories. The authority is unclear, decision making is dispersed and the ownership of the policy is blurred. The H-D network is made up of numerous actors and the hierarchy and power relations are unclear. The actors interact via consultation and on voluntary basis. In general, the global governance of the world is not adequately set up to face the global issues. It is mostly seen through the global organizations such as United Nations, which is ongoing reforms and lacks leadership to lead the global efforts to bridge the humanitarian - development divide. The World Humanitarian Summit was a UN led initiative, which brought together thousands of actors, however, the attendance of political leaders was disappointing. Furthermore, the UN is lacking capacities and resources to lead such efforts in the field, which brings back the responsibility to the states of the world.

On the other hand, as the World Humanitarian Summit has demonstrated, the H-D network member ask for stronger leadership and, at the same time, are unwilling to concede their autonomy. This is well illustrated by the fact that EU is leading its own separate process of humanitarian - development nexus, and does not see it as a joint responsibility. The type of governance proposed by the World Humanitarian Summit can be called the triumph of multilateralism, where each actor is free to pick and choose the parts of the policy they would like to voluntary commit to. The process leading to the WHS was based on consultation, which is a feature of a network. Furthermore, the commitments made during the Summit, including for the humanitarian - development nexus, are informal and network based, with no formal monitoring or accountability networks. The actors in H-D network have different understanding of the humanitarian - development nexus responsibility: some say that each is responsible for what they committed to, others say that it is a joint-responsibility, while others say no one is responsible, or that it is humanitarian responsibility. But it is clear, that there is no single actor that would be responsible for the humanitarian - development nexus.

The lack of leadership and dispersed responsibility also raises a question of the ownership of the policy. While the actors are keen on reporting on their progress regarding humanitarian - development nexus, each commitment made varies in depth. On the other hand, this is also a positive thing – bringing the non-state actors into the picture and everyone pitching in as much as they can. Furthermore, the World Humanitarian Summit took place less than two years ago and the momentum for the humanitarian – development nexus is still there, which means that more progress will be achieved in the future.

To sum up, the H-D network has the traditional characteristics of a network when it comes to leadership, accountability and ownership of the policy. It might be a triumph of the multilateralism, however, without state support and clear accountability frameworks, the WHS efforts to bridge the humanitarian – development divide might end up being just talk or a 'box to tick'.

Resources challenge

• Inequalities between actors; • Dependency on resources between actors; • Shared resources.	• Networks are based on resource exchange and require flow of resources; • Network is based on interdependence of actors.

The analysis of Resource challenge has shown that the resources in humanitarian and development fields are very different and unequal. While humanitarians work with annual funding and short-term projects, the development actors use multi-annual frameworks which are first negotiated with the governments. The humanitarian assistance requires quick funds in emergency settings, however, when working in protracted crises such funding can hamper the sustainability of the efforts. It is noted that development funding lacks flexibility, furthermore the Official Development Assistance (ODA) is decreasing each year. The need for more flexible and multi-annual funding in order to bridge the divide has been recognized long ago.

The theory argues that network is based on interdependence of actors and requires an exchange and flow of resources. The World Humanitarian Summit has acknowledged and urged the H-D network actors to pool resources and enable a collective outcome driven work. The humanitarian and development actors are slowly advancing towards coming up with funding structures that would allow such work, however, the progress is slow. The availability of shared

resources would increase the cooperation between humanitarian and development actors and would give incentives to work together to find ways to bridge the divide. On the other hand, some actors, while acknowledging the need for multi-annual funding, are not quite convinced by the idea of collective outcomes which would mean distributing the funds based on comparative advantage.

To sum up, even though there are reported efforts to come up with multi-annual pooled financing, the progress has been slow, considering that this challenge has been recognized few decades ago. The flow of resources is not combined yet in H-D network, which could increase the interdependence of network's members and give an incentive for increased collaboration to address the humanitarian - development divide.

9. CONCLUSION

This paper aimed at explaining why humanitarian and development actors have been unable to bridge the humanitarian – development divide. The special focus was put on the latest attempt on a global level to address this issue – the World Humanitarian Summit. In order to answer the question, five challenges have been identified in the literature on humanitarian – development divide, and the governance and network theories acted as theoretical sources to explain these challenges. The network on bridging humanitarian – development divide was conceptualized as a network of various humanitarian and development actors, acting on multiple levels.

The challenges identified by the literature on humanitarian - development divide are still valid. And, furthermore, since the World Humanitarian Summit, some additional challenges have emerged, which are now being discussed between humanitarian and development actors. The World Humanitarian Summit did propose some solutions to the well-known challenges, however, some of the solutions are not popular amongst the actors, or are unclear, or lack political will or leadership. On the other hand, the global governance and network-based policies are indeed a work-in-progress and could be seen as a triumph of multilateralism. The H-D network contains a variety of actors who are not willing to let go of their autonomy. Furthermore, the WHS governance is characterized by voluntary commitments and joint-responsibility. As long as the global governance will lack the needed support and resources, the bottom-up network approach will be the best chance to bridge the humanitarian – development divide. The humanitarian and development actors do acknowledge the need to address the nexus and there is willingness from the actors to work on it on global, state and field levels.

However, as long as the network on humanitarian - development divide is fractioned and shaped by mandates, it will be hard to achieve collective outcomes proposed by the WHS. While the guidelines on preserving the humanitarian principles are not clarified, the humanitarian actors will keep distrusting the development and state actors. Most importantly, as long as the concepts of humanitarian - development nexus and the divide not agreed upon, the actors will have different interpretations of their common goal. If the leadership, even informal, is not clear and the accountability frameworks are not set up, the policy will lack ownership and might end up being another semi-failed attempt to bridge the divide. Finally, if the resource flow is not ensured, the actors will remain independent and will not have an incentive to collaborate to

pursue the policy. On the bright side, the World Humanitarian Summit did propose some solutions and the momentum is still there, therefore, the future will show whether all these challenges can be overcome.

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Annex A. Interview with Velina Stoianova (MSF)

How do you understand the humanitarian – development divide?

MSF does not have a set position as a movement on the New Way of Working, but we are working on it. MSF released a position paper on the World Humanitarian Summit, after we decided to pull out of the Summit. Now MSF is working on a similar position paper on the New Way of Working and out thinking is being developed. The interesting part, which may not be apparent to the outsiders, is that MSF is far less homogenic than what it looks. The five operational centres, which are the five MSF branches that run the operations as opposed to the other 18 MSFs that we have, have thematically, geographically, sectorally different priorities. The operational centre is Barcelona is much more centred around conflict, violence and acute emergencies, and has to do less with traditional tuberculosis, HIV or disease control. The way we read policy is different from the colleagues in Brussels who work on migration and displacement. The position I will say will be the one of the Emergency Gap project, purely because we are still working on the common understanding.

We have been struggling to keep on top of all the policy developments, it has been slightly manic for a year before the World Humanitarian Summit. Keeping track of what has been formulated and what it means is also a full-time job. In MSF we are not very good with that, we are more concerned about how to get the job done.

Humanitarian – development nexus for MSF has not been considered as a major challenge in the sense that our approach as a medical organization is always to work with the health authorities in the country. The idea that a lot of people have that MSF goes to a country and sets up a hospital, which we do sometimes, is just a fraction of the work we do. We take up from the health structures and health institutions that for whatever reason - violence or outbreak, has broken down structures. We work with their staff, health authorities and eventually there is some formal handover. We also have projects where we have been working for 10 or more years. In a way our own programming, which is medical - humanitarian, has a more protracted nature. We have never seen humanitarian-development nexus as a major issue, because we never really worked in areas where the disconnect is visible a lot. Organizations working with livelihoods such as Oxfam, or education, experience the divide more as an issue, whereas for us, it has been something that has a negative connotation. It is not a humanitarian – development divide that is negative, but more an issue of what we call 'the push for coherence', which from

our perspective means us supporting stabilization effort or counter-terrorism effort. For us, anything that sounds like bringing the humanitarian closer, usually has a negative connotation. Not because we think that our work should be in isolation, bur probably because of the type of work we do the nexus is not so much of a challenge.

The humanitarian – development nexus varies with humanitarian context. If you are thinking about acute violence and conflict, which is the setting where we would work, the humanitarian development nexus looks very different. I think nexus varies across thematic sectors and types of humanitarian crisis and moments in the crisis.

Do the actors, who work with humanitarian – development divide, have the same understanding of what it entails? Did the World Humanitarian Summit bring the actors closer to understanding the divide?

We have a sentence in the Emergency Gap that the coherence debate in aid circles, so closing the humanitarian – development – political – military divide, is ironically incoherent one. I do not think there is a single understanding. There are deepening reiterations of the humanitarian – development nexus or UN stabilization perspective, or Linking Relief Rehabilitation and Development, or early recovery. I think it means different things to different people in different times, so definitely there is not a common understanding what the problem is and what the solution is. I don't think it's clear who's problem is the humanitarian – development divide. In my perspective, the problem has always been imposed on the humanitarian community. We are linking with development. Niger has had humanitarian appeals for at least 15 years and a big community of developmental or humanitarian organizations are working in a grey area between humanitarian and development and are not able to respond to the crisis. Why is that? It is because the developmental side has no understanding, reflexes, tools to maintain an emergency response. The liking has always been in one direction – it is the humanitarians who have to adapt, do a better handover, which in many cases is true. MSF is really terrible at doing handovers, we have very specific way of doing things, which is very counter-natural to the development actors. It would be very hard for developmental actors to take on our work. If protracted crises are our main problem, as put forward in the World Humanitarian Summit, it is implied that there will be periods of calm and of less calm. Therefore, we should be able to work towards maintaining during these protracted situations. So, who's problem is the humanitarian – development nexus? Development actors have been missing from many of the insecure and unstable contexts since at least early 2000s. The development actors become

progressively disengaged when there are clashes in protracted crises and humanitarians do the development work and the humanitarian – development nexus keeps existing. We continue to try and align better with the other side. The main question is, and there is no consensus on it, who's responsibility is the nexus? It is said it's everybody's responsibility, but, if you read between the lines, it is humanitarians responsibility. Part of the World Humanitarian Summit was to get money out of the development side, because we are really short on money. If this is development sides' contribution - it is fine. The questions that nobody seems to be asking is how this continuous push to linking nexus in an alignment model, where we are all trying to come together, is or isn't affecting the way humanitarians respond to emergencies? It does and we have seen that in DRC, Niger, Yemen to a certain degree.

The WHS went about addressing this whole mess of what does it mean, to whom, and who's responsibility it is, so we can start setting the policy to address it, by saying we need an overarching framework that would make sense to everybody. And we will set this overarching framework on the development cause and we will say humanity first. Because as a humanitarian you can't really say you don't care about it, so that's what was done. WHS said that humanitarian action cannot be a solution, therefore, we will look for political solutions to conflict and sustainable solutions to protracted displacement, and we will try to end needs. We will solve the problem by making humanitarian crisis less occurent. To me this is like Miss Universe beauty contest. Their idea is that if we all come together, somehow we will make the likelihood of crisis occurring smaller, the impact of crises lesser, and by empowering local actors we will increase their ability to cope with the crisis situation, therefore the need for the aid and the divide will be less. This policy is a big pile of bollocks. It doesn't stand on its two feet. Crisis occur because governments want them to occur, that's fact. Doesn't matter how many speeches you do, the conflicts will happen. Unless we reorder the world order, which will not happen, the conflict will continue to occur. So as a solution this is extremely naïve. We have a summit, we have to say something. Basically, the idea of the WHS is radical: we tried to coordinate and plan better, it doesn't work so we need overarching objectives aiming to achieve the SDGs and we should work on it together. New Way of Working is one step further. We should also address the political and security aspect, and it is not surprizing that it comes from UN agencies initially and humanitarian donors. If your perspective of humanitarian issues is fragile states, the New Way of Working is perfect.

The framework put forward by WHS is extremely unrealistic, as it's assumption is that the solution to humanitarian ability to perform adequately vis a vis accumulation of crises, protracted crises, and complexity is to align ourselves better with others, so the occurrence of the events diminishes. I think this is a completely flawed basis. It means that humanitarian action, if integrated into this framework, will progressively become less able to perform the emergency response aspect.

Is there enough leadership on the global scale to address the humanitarian – development divide? Who is responsible and accountable for it?

We have been trying to map out the interests behind the different positions, so I cannot comment on the global leadership. But there is insufficient leadership on the humanitarian side. In the current set up, the only organization that can participate in a more or less equal footing with the others in these policies, is OCHA. Presumably they would be help accountability, but I don't think they understand what they are supposed to be defending, who's voices they are supposed to be voicing and what is their role around the table. I think the humanitarian side is caught unprepared and unaware of where this agenda is going. Which is not to say, I think everybody knows where this agenda is going. I have deep doubts that there is a master plan and everybody knows where it's going, it's just we are not aware where it is going. I have a feeling that there is a general lack of clarity on all levels on how the New Way of Working is going to work out and how it will be different practically. What I know for sure is that humanitarian side is coming to the party late, confused, disempowered. OCHA is in its weakest point in history, not that it has ever been strong. It almost like the horse has run away with the carriage and they are hanging on the back trying to make sense of it. That will be problematic at some point.

WHS is based on commitments, which are self-monitored. Who is leading the process and make sure that the policy will be implemented and actors will be held accountable?

For the New Way of Working there is a group of donors who are interested. That will probably become a little bit more practical. But yet again in number of years when the humanitarian response is evaluated, who is going to be responsible for the results? Is it the individual agencies that are taking part, is it the government of the country – it is not at all clear. The fact is that the voluntary commitments of WHS have never worked in my experience for advancing policies. We have the Good Humanitarian Donorship in 2003 example, which has been extremely weak in progressing. At the end of the day, it just fizzles down. Probably the WHS commitments will

end up being something similar. The New Way of Working may land something more practical, but not at the field level probably. Practical accountability is very far.

Are there enough resources to bridge the humanitarian – development divide? How did the World Humanitarian Summit address the resource challenge?

There are two issues: the resource issue around the WHS and the resource issue around the humanitarian – development nexus or the New Way of Working. The Grand Bargain was how WHS addressed the resources, which is a push for efficiency in existing mechanisms, so the agencies will be clearer in how they are spending the money, and in exchange the donors will be more predictable and more generous with their funding. And we need to bring other forms of funding to the table. The idea is that by humanitarians aligning their planning with development frameworks by working more towards multiannual timeframes, we will also merge funding in a way. We will bring the development money to the table and we will try to align the way we plan and work, so that we can meet somewhere in the middle. Multiannual funding has been needed for decades, so nothing new has been invented. You have simultaneous need for rapid disbursement funding to reach the organizations who actually deliver the assistance. At the same time, in the same country in a different part of the country, there are longer term development projects done by humanitarian actors, because development actors are not comfortable enough to come to the country. It makes sense that you should plan emergency project for 6 or 12 months. Multiannual planning yes, challenges: when you make humanitarian planning more strategic and heavier, even within itself, decisions time and disbursement of funding becomes slower. Scientifically demonstrated by evaluations, pool funds in countries. The moment you try to make the whole thing more comprehensive and strategic, it becomes slower. In the countries where humanitarian and development frameworks have been aligned, there have been further delays in delivery. Can we live with it – it depends who you are asking. I am sure many people think they can. They argue that if our main problem is protracted crisis and we are spending 2/3 of our funding in the same country for 8 or more years, then the timeliness of funding surely is not important, because you are not saving lives but keeping people alive. Sound arguments, but the problem is what happens in for example Yemen, late Chad Boko Haram crisis, Nigeria, Niger, South Sudan, when you have unexpected or more or less expected peek of crisis. I am only talking about conflict related, because it is where emergency gap is. In these cases, surely timeliness is critical. The answer of the system is we will retain the rapid response mechanisms. The problem with that approach is that money does not get things done, organizations get things done. If you have rapid response mechanism,

but you don't have qualified partners (technically, logistically, organizationally or sector specialists) than your rapid response mechanisms are meaningless. I think the big question is not whether multiannual planning is a good thing, but rather where the pitfalls are. Working only with emergency mind-set has major problems. If I take off my MSF hat and become a multi-mandate or development actor who looks at health in 20-30 year timeframe and I look at what MSF does – it makes absolutely no sense. It is because MSF is a humanitarian emergency organization. The strength of the whole perspective is that each should play into their advantages. Because in 20 years humanitarian – development nexus hasn't shown us that putting everyone together actually works better. Bring development donors money on the table.

Do the humanitarian principles and mandate affect the efforts to bridge the humanitarian – development divide?

I think there is a general feeling that humanitarian principles, when interpreted very narrowly, stops us with working with other actors, which is not purely true. I think that humanitarian principles are perfectly aligned with SDGs as a conceptual framework. If humanitarian principles tell you that action should be independent from your political and military objective and if you are a military commander in Mali working on quick impact projects, then there is no way your action is going to be disconnected from your military goal because you are a military commander. Does is mean that in a country you can't have a stabilization agenda and humanitarian agenda working towards a common objective? No, it just means that it is not realistic to expect humanitarian actors to behave as developmental, military to behave as humanitarians, or developmental to care about the short-term lifesaving assistance without considering institutions and structures. To me the idea that the humanitarian principles are somehow standing in the way, is an oversimplification of the problem. The problem is how can humanitarian principles help humanitarian organizations and humanitarian donors which are the only ones bound by them. What do they compel us to do? To what extent the new frameworks take this into account and actually provide channels for this to happen. If the New Way of Working applies in a country like Myanmar where the main cause of displacement is that the state doesn't admit those people are theirs, there is no way to do humanitarian work under this framework. It makes sense that in places with conflict or politically contested crises, you can have humanitarian actors that look at the person and do not look at the problem. Looking at the problem might actually preclude you from addressing the person. This reality, for some reason, for current policy development is completely blind to. Moreover, they turn the discourse around and say that everything they do is for the person. Nothing in the New Way of

Working framework is for the person, it is for the institutions and structures that serve persons. To assume that institutions and people under the same institutions have the same interests is wrong. There is this nice talk: let's leave no one behind, humanitarian principles will be protected. And there is a clear cut when looking at how this policy is actually going to make that happen. I don't think humanitarian principles are the obstacle, I think it is the different types of mandates and approaches are not acknowledged, but they are deliberately ignored. I haven't seen yet a document, whether new Danish Humanitarian policy, or outcomes of Copenhagen meeting on New Way of Working, that go any further beyond saying that humanitarian principles will be protected. Which is the same as saying we will carry on burning fossil fuels and keep caring about the climate change. It is exactly the same issues. Humanitarian principles are not an obstacle for pursuing strategic goals. They have to be weight in when pursuing strategic goals that make independent and neutral action possible for the actors that have committed to these principles, not for everybody else.

It is not black and white. MSF has been working with sate actors in places like Mozambique, natural disasters in stable countries. The problem with context specific approach is that it's a very cheap way of New Way of Working agenda to go around the issues that haven't been figured out yet. This is the example I give to the officials during the meetings: you go to the hospital with a problem and your treatment will be context specific. We will see who you are, how much money you have, if you are a drug addict. If you are, maybe you should not get the treatment because it is expensive and the mother of 4 should get it. It is not how it works, we have protocols for a reason – to ensure that a minimum of acceptable service is available regardless of the context specificity. The problem with context specificity is not as types of crises but seeing case-by-case. The potential risks may not be apparent at the moment of examination. Does it mean that the risks will not arise? We should not set up systems that do not recognize the accumulation of knowledge of aid. Such system might work when the conditions are stable, but will not work when they are not. For example, Ethiopia: we all love Ethiopia, it is an example of how everything works perfectly. And then the Ethiopian government does not allow humanitarian workers to do humanitarian appeal (all planning in Ethiopia goes through government), because it has issues with part of its population. And this framework (New Way of Working) will be used to provide assistance to people? How? It is not going to happen. The humanitarian side of humanitarian – development nexus and the New Way of Working, must have answers to such things. It is not a problem for Ethiopian

government, or World Bank, but it is a problem for humanitarians, because it is our job. Context – specificity ignores the fact that risks, which did not manifest, might still be likely.

What is the role of donors and is there trust between donors and NGOs? How does it affect the efforts to bridge the divide? How did WHS address the issue of politicized aid?
MSF traditional position is that it is hard to disconnect humanitarian financing from the strategic interests of the donor. Which is why MSF does not work with government funding in conflicts ever. I have a slightly cynical view on this idea. The idea that money is somehow automatically tainted depending on where it is coming from is not true. I think the way money is used depends on the understanding between the donor and recipients. A private foundation can be much more manipulative in the use of funding than a governmental donor. The fact that one is private and the other is governmental doesn't mean that private is better. When we speak of independent organizations we always think of ICRC and MSF. MSF is more than 92% privately funded and ICRC is 70% governmental funded. Many governments have made extreme efforts to protect their humanitarian budgets. And have very good systems and practices in selecting projects and partners. I would not look for politicization through the humanitarian financing, I would look at it through the way humanitarian action is used or not used in a country, rather than how the resources for that action are given. I don't think politicization is in the form of funding as such. When you choose to withhold humanitarian assistance from a crisis all together – that is politicization. Or when you use humanitarian assistance instead of what is needed – political action.

There is always distrust between aid actors. It is more a day-to-day distrust between donors and NGOs.

Did WHS propose a proper way to bridge the humanitarian – development divide? Why the humanitarian – development divide hasn't been bridged before?
I think it's hard to bridge the humanitarian – development divide because we are not really tackling the root of the problem. It is funny, because humanitarian action is apolitical, almost a-contextual form of aid where you are helping a person purely on the basis of needs, regardless of their ideals, gender, social extraction. In a perfect sterile environment, that doesn't exist, how an element will perform? It is hard to say, because such environment doesn't exist. Humanitarian action is by definition performing in a very strongly political context all the time. My feeling is that we are trying to address the symptoms of the dysfunction, rather than trying

to look at what the problem is. I think most of the problems we try to address are not humanitarian in nature. We have a problem with legal frameworks and the roles of international institutions are not really respected, whether its countries wanting to leave the EU, or US with their new policies. Is it humanitarian problem that the frameworks we have on how we should relate with each other doesn't work? No, it is not. These things have to be revised for the past 30 years, Security Council for example. The main problem is that we have crises where there is no solution due to lack of political action, either because of too little or too much interest in maintaining this type of world – Palestine, Syria, etc. Or nobody gives a damn, or we do give a damn but now we have bigger fish to fry. We have purely social and economic changes that we see in our own countries. They are happening in the global south as well, where the relationship of citizens with their institutions is difficult. We have been curbing poverty like never before, but the inequality is on the rise. This is a social and economic problem. It is not really humanitarian. Counter-terrorism and obsession that every movement that goes against a government, elected or half-elected, somehow has a terrorism agenda and you have to label it as terrorism. It impacts a lot how humanitarians work. For me, the biggest failure of the World Humanitarian Summit is that it took place when the humanitarian sector is struggling with funds and it overstretched in its mandate. Humanitarians were building roads, paying salaries, and saving lives and do vaccinations, livelihoods, education – we do everything. It looks like circus – catering completely different things and places. The demands are so unequal all the time, and, instead of looking and saying let's take a step back and think which part of this is for us, which part is for the others (political action, social action, human rights, political rights, the real development - involvement in the development of the country) and calling other actors on their bluff, because they are not doing their job, we stepped in and we said let's make this one big problem for everybody, we are going to step in and do better. How exactly will we do better? We want to do better at something that, honestly, is not our job. The human suffering at the end is not our job, we do not have the mandate. Why is it a humanitarian problem? We are not equipped nor prepared, we do not have the mandate or skills. But we think that if we give it some sort of technical solution, like closer alignment, more planning we are going to solve it. I think this is why we are failing, we are trying to solve a problem which is not ours to solve. I have always been critical, not because I think that these problems are not real or need to be solved, I am a political scientist before I was a humanitarian. I honestly believe that working on everybody's strengths is the best approach. If we take a step back and think what would happen if we have working frameworks, international bodies, political action was demanded and given. How much of the things we are trying to desperately solve would be there to be

solved? So many of the issues are humanitarian problem because there is inaction from the other sides. And by trying to make it more humanitarian problem, we will not find a solution. I think if we do an evaluation in 10 years on the New Way of Working, it will be seen as another flop, another policy flop, that didn't get the job done. It is a misdiagnosis of a problem, that's what it is. We are treating symptoms.

ICRC are much friendlier on humanitarian – development nexus. There was a division of labour in the Red Cross. Conflict settings were ICRC only, and they could use national societies for purely auxiliary basis. Natural disasters were the IFRC, where the secretariat was supporting the national societies. In the recent years, with the localization discourse, there's been a lot of internal tension within the Red Cross to shoot down ICRC at the expense of national societies. ICRC no longer is that autonomous body and the next step was the push to address the underlying causes of crises. Now the discourses are changing, but I think it's coming from a change of understanding what the Red Cross is and the role of different actors. You will find ICRC surprisingly aligned with the humanitarian – development nexus.

Are the multi-mandated NGOs useful in terms of humanitarian – development nexus?
They do marvellous job. The main problem we keep seeing is and they also admit is that it is very difficult to maintain a fire brigade nucleus inside a multi-mandated organization, so that they could be very good emergency responders when the need occurs. By changing the structure, the focus of the organization, that emergency response muscle naturally disappears. It is like there is no antidote. They become very good humanitarian responders in the early aftermath of crisis. A lot of the crises these days are an early aftermath of crisis. They do a great job there. They are very good at seeing the longer-term solutions. From the Emergency Gap perspective, we continue to need the brigades, emergency medical services. The world is not becoming a quieter, more peaceful place, so emergency response is going to remain relevant and it is hard for multi-mandates to be good at both. There is something in organizational culture, maybe has more to do with business administration. You have a lot of humanitarian spirit extremely frustrated in multi-mandated organizations. They are feeling irrelevant and unsupported, but I think the role of multi-mandated organizations is important. If you have 11-year displacements, education in emergencies. Education in emergencies is key for us not to lose generations, but why is it a humanitarian problem? It is not about the priority of what is more important, it's about the division of labour, but it is not what the sector is saying.

Annex B. Interview with Sara Sekkenes (UNDP)

What does IASC Task Team on Strengthening the Humanitarian/Development Nexus do? How does it work towards humanitarian – development nexus?

IASC functions at principal's level and also as a working group. They set strategic priorities that they want to work on. IASC includes more actors than UN, who are engaged on humanitarian side. This working group in early 2016 set four strategic priority areas and outputs to look at: effective response to emergencies in protracted crises, accountability and inclusivity, displacement and protection outcomes, and financing. The outputs, if we focus on the first one, is very much where you find outputs on which we work in this Task Team. Primarily, policy support to advance coherent and accountable systems with wide response to emergencies, focused on protracted crises in urban contexts. They also looked at principled humanitarian action strengthened. And policy support to strengthen humanitarian – development nexus. As to the last-mentioned output, that's why the Task Teams has been put together. It focuses on a number of things, and with reviews, updates and revisions of our own workplan, this Task Team has been put to support the developing core elements of the new business model that could address needs and vulnerabilities in the comprehensive manner, including humanitarian – development actors and other relevant actors, address cross-cutting issues. We were also supposed to outline the key components of the nexus in different response scenarios and agree on definitions accross the board of members of the IASC. And ensure that IASC normative and operational frameworks are relevant for enhanced engagement between humanitarian – development sectors in protracted crises. It looks at natural vs conflict related footprints in protracted crises. If we look at the workplan of the Task Team, it has three different objectives: (1) shape and contribute to the common understanding and what is required to strengthen humanitarian – development - peacebuilding nexus; (2) review and assess current policy guidance and operational tools based on common understanding and identify gaps and best practices; (3) ensure coherence and field support for successful implementation of the New Way of Working with regards to improving this collaboration across.

Quite early on, when I took on the co-chairmanship which I hold together with WHO, we discussed at length with the group and concluded that in order to elaborate how we believe we can strengthen this nexus/ interlinkages, we cannot do so in a vacuum. We need to do that in dialogue with the development partners. We initiated a cooperation with UNDG, because as far as we have elaborated our concern there is no equivalent of IASC on the development side.

UNDG is a UN only body, it does not have counterparts on development from the NGO sphere. I guess this is truth with modification, because many humanitarian NGOs, similar to some UN agencies and bodies, are in fact double hatted. They would be active both in development activities and objectives, and have a humanitarian arm of sorts. This sounds fairly easy and straightforward, but one of the things I want to talk about is the humanitarian – development nexus on the one hand, and humanitarian – development - peace nexus on the other.

As you will recognize, one of the areas of the output of the working group that we belong to has to do with humanitarian principles and absolutely guarantees that we function mutually and impartially in all humanitarian work. On the other hand, development actors also act neutrally and impartially, but we are active in any given country context at the invitation of the host government. UNDP, for example, is active in some other territorial context such as Kosovo, but we would still have agreements and arrangements in place that make it possible for us to work there despite the fact that Kosovo has not been recognized by all Member States of the UN. We work with the invitation and agreement of the authorities – national recognized authorities and/ or other sort of authorities. When it comes to principled humanitarian action, there are 'purists' in the humanitarian sector that will not have any contact whatsoever with authorities, and you have other that we can label 'pragmatists' that realize that there is no way that you can work, in particular in conflict footprints, without some sort of contact with authorities. Either to negotiate humanitarian space and corridors, or to at least to find out to what extent authorities, whether recognized or not, undertake humanitarian activities and what would be of interest and relevance for humanitarians and also all of us in general to see that it is done in a fashion that does not jeopardize the human rights or humanitarian law. I would say that this does not necessarily mean that, from a development perspective, that they are not partial, because I would assume that authorities under conflict footprint would be partial. They would obviously be promoting activities that benefit those who are within their constituency. That doesn't necessarily mean that they would not be providing what should be expected as a minimum to all in their area of control. There are definitely authorities that do act according to some fashion of humanitarian principles, but for us it is interesting to ascertain what if any human right violations that may occur in any given context. Then we can decide to what extent 'purist' humanitarians will at all work with such authorities and/ or pragmatists would work with such authorities and help or assist or at least fill gaps in terms of trying to alleviate whatever shortcomings there may be. And development actors will absolutely work with these authorities from advocacy perspective, but also capacity building, and make sure that the

shortcomings are addressed. You have the whole spectrum of actors that will have some sort of view about working or not with authorities. That is a very important aspect when it comes to further policy consideration on the humanitarian – development nexus, or humanitarian – development – peacebuilding nexus if you wish.

Do humanitarian principles and the ways humanitarian and development actors work pose a challenge to bridging the divide?

For some actors it will be, absolutely. Because we have some examples of those who clearly that they will not collaborate with development actors, because development actors by definition are working with governments. The number of those actors is quite few and you have a much larger group of actors on the humanitarian side that do say that in order to achieve not only meeting the immediate needs, but also decreasing need and looking at root causes of crises (conflict and natural) and thereby shortcomings of authorities to provide public services that are necessary to alleviate suffering, then you would have to work with governments.

Are multi-mandated NGOs better placed to address the divide?

I would say even more than multi-mandated. There are humanitarians today that are not muli-mandated, but who still are discussing within themselves and others how to not undermine the humanitarian principles, but work much more closely with authorities in their area of operations. Speaking with practitioners and also looking at the overall policy arena out there today, there is little to say that humanitarians cannot continue working in complete silo from the interaction with authorities in their area of work. A number of things where the strengthening of collaboration is envisioned is context analysis, planning and programming, coordination of work and the leadership around it. Everybody that I have met say that there is a need to strengthen collaboration with authorities on the analysis and planning. In order to understand what we can provide from humanitarian perspective, we would need to know and have a very clear idea of the intentions of the authorities, to know whether we agree with that or not. There is an increased recognition of the need to sit down and discuss and have some sort of dialogue with authorities, even if it means that we say thanks, we agree to disagree and now we know where you are coming from, where you are heading, what your intentions are, where are your shortcomings, therefore we will go on our own. This channel of dialogue is necessary as an absolute minimum. Only then you will be able to plan your own work. I think that it is moving forward amongst all concerned parties from where we have been before, where some have said categorically we will not even discuss. That does not mean that there are many who

say that when it comes to planning and programming we need to be much more careful. I would say six months ago there was even a recognized need to say we can have joint analysis, but we need joined up planning, which would mean that we could sit in the same room and inform each other from development perspective and humanitarian perspective what our plans were, we can coordinate in terms of geographical areas and so on, but we would go separate and create our own plans. That was six months ago, today there is a stronger call, not amongst everyone, but increased number of actors, for joint programming where you actually need to have planning and joint programming. And you would contribute towards the collective outcomes.

What do collective outcomes mean, how does accountability framework look like, how would you attribute the contributions from humanitarians from one hand and developmental actors on the other, and is there somewhere you could ring-fence the humanitarian principles. That's very much up to debate today. It is a testing field out there, where we are learning from the practical work going ahead, because we also realize that every single context is unique and whatever conclusions you can draw from one theatre may not be applicable somewhere else. We have concluded that, if you generalize grossly and draw a decision tree, one of the things that we would start elaborating on would be what is the behaviour of the authorities in place in the area in which we would try to strengthen the collaboration. Elements that you would look at are related to human rights abuses, the capacity and willingness of authorities. In conflict situation there could be a complexity of authorities, in addition to recognized or by some not recognized national authorities, for example Syria. You would look at not only whether there has been human rights abuses or violations of international humanitarian law, but also try to understand the capacity and willingness of authorities to act. It could be that they want to, but they are not capable, or that are capable but they don't want to – these are two very different things. These are the primary things that you would start looking at in the assessments in order to determine whether you could strengthen the collaboration of actors on the ground.

Some humanitarian actors raise an issue that humanitarians, when linking humanitarian – development divide, might lose their know-how and ways of working on emergency response and become part of developmental actors. Would you have a comment on that?
I had long discussions with MSF on this recently and I am a bit surprised that this would be the reasoning behind it. What they have constantly held very strongly is that they want to ensure principled humanitarian action and therefore do not want to work with authorities. But on the other hand, I am very familiar with MSF work. They do work with authorities and they are not

consistent with their policies. What they are very consistent with is that they do not want to be funded by the authorities. They can in the end set their course themselves and it is up to them whether they would or not. And because they are not bound by any loyalty to an authority, but only public funding, they can set the course themselves. Whereas we, and humanitarian actors who receive government funding, have their views pressed from many corners.

How would you define a humanitarian – development divide? Is there consensus among actors of what it is?

There is no consensus, we might be closer to it, but there is not. A lot of things are in motion as we speak and the policy discussions are not finalized. Couple of things are different from the past, because many say: is this new at all..? And particularly many double-hatted NGOs say that. From the UN perspective, and you need to keep in mind that UN is two things: a Member State organization of 193 states, and UN has its bureaucracy which works for the Member States. From the perspective of what is different, you have something that Member States put forward that was not there before – SDGs. SDGs is the first full blown development programme for the world and as opposed to previous MDGs which were very socially oriented. SDGs incorporate many other aspects of governance, for example Gulf 16 and 6Ps, many aspects that were not there before. You have elements that were there before, such as generational aspects of leaving the world in a better position for next generation. But the SDGs are new, and another aspect that comes with SGDs is that it comes with a moto of Leaving No One Behind, which is a very humanitarian principle notion. And further to that, reaching those furthest behind first. And those key components of SDGs have in a sense brought humanitarian principles to the development agenda. Or rather development agenda closer to humanitarian principles. Now they function much more within the development sphere of work. And this is 193 Member States, so you can say Syria, Yemen signed up to this, they all signed up on Leaving No One Behind and reaching those furthest behind first. So that is new, we did not have that before. The second thing which is new, and is more relevant for the bureaucratic side of the UN, is that we have a new Secretary General, that has marked his first, second and third priorities as prevention. By saying prevention, you actually need to address root causes. If we go back to WHS, summarizing all this, although we should remember that WHS was in consultation with Member States only and not a negotiation while SDGs were, summarized in the Agenda for Humanity spells out that we will work to meet immediate needs, decrease needs and look at risks and vulnerabilities and root causes of conflict in order to end needs. Those mottos from WHS fit very well with the mottos that come with SDGs. Having said that, we should remember

that SDGs is a political agenda, not a legally binding document per se. It is when states themselves mainstream the SDGs into their own national development plans and make sure that it is consistent with SDGs, these development plans to some sort of degree have governance platform that is legally binding and you can hold governments accountable. That is where they would turn into something where you could hold governments accountable.

WHS was based on voluntary commitments. The New Way of Working is not binding as well. Is there enough leadership, ownership of the policy and is there accountability?

That is exactly what Secretary General has put forward in his proposals for the reform of development system, which includes UN presence on the ground in all countries. He is seeking to strengthen the accountability of Resident Coordinators and Humanitarian Coordinators, who have not been to date in control of what they have are accountable for. He proposed a package of proposals to Member States of how to achieve that in order for Member State to hold UN funds, agencies and programmes more accountable for achieving exactly that. But if we are not sufficiently equipped, we cannot be held accountable. It is a little bit of a circular argument, but does put the ownership back on Member States: if you want this agenda, you will have to put more resources to it. We have donor states and developing states and the sphere of influence of the two groups is slightly different to say the least, but there is also recognition that the developing states can take more ownership of the development agenda in term of anti-corruption schemes, rule of law, etc. It is a balancing act of where politics get in the midst of it, because you can find corruption everywhere and behaviour of Member States differ in many places.

Did WHS and humanitarian – development nexus has proposed doable agenda to end the divide?

I think so. We still need to overcome some of the definition issues, provide the definitions for the 'purists' to choose whether they are in or not. And clarify very clearly how various actors would and could contribute, make sure that the accountability frameworks are very well understood. If you were to attribute each and every actor, that would contribute to collective outcomes, on an equal level – it is impossible if you want to achieve with keeping the mandates we have. It will be very blurry if we say that everyone will be equally attributed. What you could do, is pool the activities and recognize that everyone has a comparative advantage. It should be defined in accountability framework that collectively we made this outcome possible. There is still a lot of discussion going on about how to clarify the accountability framework,

how to pitch collective outcomes – whether stretch them into a couple of years or up to something more comparable with SDGs themselves. There's many different views on that. Of course, humanitarians would want, due to the nature of their work, to be shorter timeframe. Whereas development actors, who often do not see the outcome or output of their activities unless put in a longer timeframe, would want an additional number of years in order to have their contributions recognized. These things have to be tailor-made to each theatre in terms of what would be the needs there, identified as root causes and what needs to be in place to address those root causes. If we talk about climate change mitigation and adaption, it takes several years before we see the results, but you will still have humanitarian needs in the meantime. There are many things that take time.

Annex C. Interview with Gaelle Nizery (ECHO)

How do you understand the nexus? Is there a global consensus on what it is? Did WHS advance the understanding what the nexus is?

I think there are many policy documents and there is a consensus on what the nexus should be about. First, it builds on the existing links between humanitarian and development, but now the nexus, which is still called humanitarian – development, has a more political dimension. There is no way we can resolve crises if we don't take into account more political concerns and include peace aspects. Also, we should take it into consideration when we coordinate actions and when we try to have a common understanding and common response to crises. The objective of this nexus is to ensure that there are durable solutions to crisis, protracted crises and fragility. The new policy documents were adopted last year, there is a joint Commission – HRP Communication on resilience. It focuses on humanitarian – development nexus, but also says that the political dimension is important in order to address and build resilience of societies, states, communities and individuals. When we work on the nexus in practice, we see that usually for ECHO and DEVCO the focus is on the link between humanitarian – development, but when we go to EEAS or Member States there is more of a push to go beyond this simple nexus and to include peace aspect. The UN has peace in their nexus, so humanitarian – development – peace nexus, while we decided not to have it. We decided to not include peace in the nexus in order to be able to preserve the humanitarian mandate and to not have confusion. In reality we want to include the peace element.

We want to make it clear that ECHO was part of the drafting process of the resilience communications. We are working on the operationalization of the humanitarian – development nexus, and we want to make sure that humanitarian principles are preserved, and we want to stick to that. It is a question of semantics. I think maybe in a few years from now, we will talk about the humanitarian – development - peace nexus. Some colleagues, here and there, put the word nexus and we erase it. It is a stand that we have taken and we continue to have it. Most colleagues outside of ECHO agree on that.

When it comes to concepts, is there a global definition of what is the nexus?

There is. It means getting together to agree on a common analysis, common understanding of the crisis and have common priorities and maybe joint planning and programming, if the context

allows it and if humanitarian mandate is not put at stake. Mostly the aim is to be complementary in a response in order to find durable solutions to the crises.

How is the humanitarian – development nexus different from LRRD approach?
LRRD notion was more a continuum: when humanitarians end their job there has to be something afterwards, so development actors take over. The nexus is different, it is more a contiguum, so the humanitarian actors can perform in addition to development actors. The development actors have to be present from the beginning of the crisis to really set the scene for the future. Same with humanitarian actors, they still have to be present after the crisis, so that they can be better prepared for other crises. It is a difference between continuum and contiguum.

We would want LRRD to be replaced by nexus in ECHO. Another possibility to compare the two concepts is money-wise. LRRD is about money, finding the means to make sure that when ECHO leaves the country there is enough funding follow up by DEVCO and development colleagues. When we talk about nexus it is more about strategies, priorities and could be about joint programming approaches, but the starting point is to get together and have common analysis.

Do the different ways of working and principles affect the efforts to link the humanitarian – development divide?
I don't think they affect, because they are complementary. It is a combination and then you can have a better picture of what needs to be done in a crisis and analysis of the causes of the conflict, the needs that emerge. Humanitarian actors have a tendency to be more present at community level, have understanding of dynamics between communities and in society more broadly. And development actors traditionally work more with institutions, state actors. So there can be complementarity in their approaches and analysis. After crisis development actors have to build on what has been done by humanitarian actors that have been present with communities and have sensed the community tensions. I don't see any divides, opposite, I think it is very complementary and traditionally humanitarian actors have been efficient in providing good analysis on grassroots level.

Does the fact that humanitarians do not work with states is an issue?

There is no white or black answer. Humanitarians, in the protracted crises, have to work with institutions at the local level. They have to be close to local authorities and entities such as Ministry of health. For me it is not a problem that humanitarians have links with local institutions and entities, while development actors aim at more national institutions and local level as well.

This way of working was in practice even before WHS. It depends on the context. Humanitarians have to be engaged for the sustainability, even if it's only a beginning of the process of engagement with local authorities. They have always done that in coordination with development actors. It is not a big change, but in terms of programming, now they look more at complementarities at what humanitarians initiate and then what development actors can do.

Do you think that humanitarians risk losing their emergency response capacity if working close with developmental actors?

It depends on the context. There are very few occasions where it is important for humanitarians to really do things differently and be really there to preserve the humanitarian mandate and access. In most situations I have been confronted with, there are always possibilities for humanitarians to be connected with local authorities without damaging the possibility of being principled. I know it is a concern for MSF, they take a strong stance, but they mostly do substitution of provision of basic services, then building with local authorities. I don't see it as a big danger, we have to be careful and cautious is some situations. Our first and foremost objective is to address the needs of beneficiaries, whenever there is a possibility of damaging the principles we have to step out of the relationship with authorities. I think it is very much context specific.

Is there leadership, ownership and accountability of the New Way of Working?

There is not one single actor that monitors, every single institution has to be accountable for what they committed to. The EU takes nexus as a real priority. It is being implemented in pilot countries for testing. There is regular reporting to Member States and there is willingness to monitor the situation, but it is in isolation from what the UN is doing. Even though we want to involve them, we exchange information regularly, it is not something that we committed to do together. I do not see WHS commitments as joint priority. We do things differently.

Do you see results from the pilot countries?

It is a long process, we are progressing more in some countries than in others. We see that the peace and political element is more difficult for us to achieve, because we have long tradition of coordination between humanitarian and development, and going beyond, into more political aspects, lacks leadership. Clearly ECHO and DEVCO can have good leadership in humanitarian – development nexus, but, as far as the peace is concerned, this is not something for ECHO to lead. There should be someone else taking over, and in most cases, this is difficult in the pilot countries. As far as the UN is concerned, they are still in the process and they don't have the leadership yet that they could eventually have. It doesn't mean that common accountability won't come, but at the moment everyone is doing their own stuff in their own corner, because it's a New Way of Working and it is evolving. Cultural changes in all organizations are difficult to implement.

Is the peace element in nexus a humanitarian problem?

I think humanitarians can help, provided that we help in the beginning with in the joint analysis. But at some point, we have to say that we have our limits and have to stick to humanitarian mandate, and there are certain things that we cannot do, we cannot go beyond a certain border. The humanitarian needs are growing and with humanitarian funding we can't address everything, so we have to find longer term solutions to protracted crises. Therefore, we have to leave out part of the game.

Are there funding mechanisms in place for supporting the nexus?

Not yet. We know that we need flexibility of instruments. On our side, there are possibilities to work more in the grey zone, the resilience building activities, however because humanitarian needs are high, we'd rather want to take care of the humanitarian needs and make sure that other actors work more on this grey zone. With development funding it's difficult to find flexible instruments. There is an agreement that we need to find new instruments that are flexible to be able to address the nexus approaches. We see that the nexus is an opportunity for ECHO and humanitarian actors in general to focus more on humanitarian needs and leave the grey zones to others. That is what we see in Sudan and Iraq that are two pilot countries of nexus. This joint approach little by little will allow humanitarians to go back to basics and humanitarian funding, and leave the rest to others. Lately humanitarians have been taking more and more space on resilience, which should be for development actors.

Developmental actors are absent in crises sometimes, how does it affect the nexus?

That is one of the prerequisites when we talk about nexus approach – the development actors should be present, should not leave a crisis situation and should be there from the beginning. It really depends on security concerns. Even in the past I remember after big hurricanes in Central America, you would have development actors taking over from the beginning. This can be done, but again depending on each context. ECHO will be present in crises and will make sure that development actors are there to work together from the beginning.

Why is it so difficult to bridge the humanitarian – development divide?

We work differently, we speak different languages. Humanitarians are quick, have quick instruments, and don't spend too much time on reflecting. Development actors are the opposite and need to negotiate with the governmental counterparts. We are really on different planets and getting together is not always easy. We have to take account of this and be conscious that when we enter the room we won't share the same views from the beginning, but we have to try to find the consensus and find common priorities and objectives. And we can agree to disagree on some of the objectives, because humanitarians want to be able to help quickly and maybe not stay long.

Did WHS advance the goal of working together?

Theoretically, of course. On the policy level. Everyone if referring to the WHS commitments and WHS objectives. The Grand Bargain made things a bit more practical, well not really not practical, but at least it did put some commitments into more practical objectives. The New Way of Working takes on board Grand Bargain commitments, but its more on a theoretical level. The UN uses this process of getting more into the nexus. The UN also decided to focus on some crises and to see how it goes. I think it is being put into practice in some countries. However, in the UN there is no one voice, it is hard to have UN speaking in one big voice, therefore it is difficult to see the New Way of Working being translated into reality and implementation. It is a lot of joint missions, big commitments, but in reality – what does it mean?

Is there a some-sort of forum for the humanitarian and development actors to come together and discuss these challenges?

The UN has a role for this: UN Country Teams, Humanitarian Country Teams. Globally it could be fora for these discussions also involving donor communities in addition to UN and NGOs. There are spaces in various contexts and UN organizes big events such as UNGA, where

member states are in some way or another involved. For sure there should be interest by the UN, but now they are focusing on their internal process. In UN there is quite a lot of resistance from various agencies. Some of them have been traditionally more humanitarian, but they are entering this new zone, because of the Agenda 2030, which has influenced the New Way of Working in addition to WHS. Things happen slowly, and in also depends on individuals. In some countries you have very dedicated people who really understand the aim of nexus and how we have to work together, and in other contexts it is more divided. In the end we always say it has to be country led, because it is context specific. We are there to steer the process and to make general conclusions.

Annex D. Interview with Celia Cranfield (Voice)

How would you define the humanitarian – development nexus?

It is the latest way to look at how humanitarian and development are working together. Perhaps with more of a focus on the people and their vulnerability at least that's what we hope it is. It depends on who you talk to: the UN has one vision of the nexus, and the European one might be a bit different.

How do the NGOs perceive the humanitarian – development – peace nexus?

There is no one view. Some people call it humanitarian – development – security nexus. We do not have an official position on it, we have questions. From methodology perspective it is hard for humanitarians and development actors to work together, sometimes just for practical reasons such as: funding instruments are not flexible enough, our objectives are different in given situations, so at some point there will be a gap between what we are doing. When you bring in the peace part, it becomes all the more difficult, because the peace is highly political work. Humanitarians are impartial and independent and try not to be political. That's not to say that they are not conflict sensitive and that they do not support the objective of peacebuilding. But going to how to work together is another step.

What are the challenges to bridge the humanitarian – development divide?

At EU level we often ask for more complementarity, better joint analysis and more flexibility in funding instruments. Although nexus is not only about that, it is also about working cultures. You need to overcome your way of working to find out where on the nexus you can make progress, but it's always very context specific: what you will do, how and who will be involved. At EU level, the nexus has a great potential especially on protracted crises and forced displacement situations, but even in those situations there is still need for a very principled way of working. How much can development can come in will depend on how the EU sees development – how far are they willing to step away from their principles and ways of working. The development actors are also very keen on safeguarding their ways of working.

Do humanitarian principles pose a challenge to bridging humanitarian – development divide?

It is the other way around. The humanitarian principles are key methodology for humanitarians to work, so they are not a challenge as such. But they are not for development actors, who have

a different way of working – longer term, more local ownership. In specific contexts the difficulty might be there. We do want to do something longer term, and there is a need for the humanitarians to go into multiannual, however there is also a need for development to look at how it works in situations of fragility and how to be more responsive to needs. There is much more humanitarian work than funds. People in DRC say that it is great to have sanitation and food, but we would like at least one generation in a family to get education. Humanitarians do education in emergencies, but probably it should be a development activity. Humanitarians are doing it now, because development actors did not find a way to work in fragile situations.

Secretary General of UN called humanitarian – development actors to move beyond mandates. Does it pose risk to humanitarian mandate?

Nobody keeps their mandate for the sake of their mandate, they keep it for the sake of getting to the people in need. The mandates will continue to exist, the need for education, saving lives, dignified lives during crises won't go away. Mandate issue is more around the institutions, for example UN has very specific agencies with mandates, and they sometimes have problems to overcome. The NGO work is rooted in the field and communities, so it is a bit more natural. Multi-mandate NGOs work in a community and they find ways to work on what the community needs.

Is there enough leadership on the global scale to bridge the divide?

There is a momentum at the moment. The current Secretary general is very geared up on the prevention agenda, which is needed. The leadership comes and goes. In the countries where EU picked for working on the nexus there is a will to find different ways to work together and make sure that it is done in the most effective way.

Are NGOs optimistic about the humanitarian – development nexus?

Yes, there's always been a belief that you can always find ways to function better at institutional level and donor's perspective.

What is the role of the multi-mandated NGOs in bridging the humanitarian – development divide?

Multi-mandated NGOs have experience of donors and are able to identify where are the gaps, things to be improved, and good practices of donors. In-house they have experiences in breaking down the silos and where are the necessary limits. For example, if you can't react fast

because you are stuck with joint assessment and programming phase with development actors. The mandate is still to respond to people's needs in a timely way, before lives are lost.

Do you think that the emergency response capacity might be lost?

We have doubts about collective outcomes – we are not convinced about the concept. Humanitarians and development actors will have their separate objectives and our hope is that humanitarian objective will serve the collective – development – SDG agenda. However, responding to the SDG agenda is never going to be the first thing on our mind. The concept of collective outcome will always be aligned with SDG agenda, and I doubt whether it will work or not. The actors working together and assessing the complementarity of their actions is good. On emergency response, we did not think it through.

What is your opinion about the World Humanitarian Summit?

The New Way of Working, collective outcomes and the nexus were on the WHS agenda. And nexus is the 10th working stream in the Grand Bargain. Overall, after Summit the most work was done on the Grand Bargain side, but not much was done on the nexus within Grand Bargain. The UN leadership made the collective commitment on the New Way of Working, so it is turning into a nexus work. There seems to be movement. In my opinion, having World Bank (a development donor) making a significant shift in how they work in protracted crises and fragile situation is helpful.

Is there accountability and ownership of the nexus agenda?

We have similar questions. I am pleasantly surprised when looking at the self-reporting platform. The degree of sincerity in the reporting on what was achieved and what are the obstacles is quite impressive. Champions on initiatives moved forward quite well, for example Disability Charter, because specific organizations were responsible. The weakness of the WHS overall outcome is that there is no responsibility for the whole agenda. No one is left accountable for WHS outcomes.

The nexus is an interesting approach and the Member States seem to be quite enthusiastic about it at EU level. The European nexus and the UN nexus are two slightly different things. The Member States have an interest in sitting down with ECHO and DEVCO to map out the gaps. It gives potential to move things. It is only a bit unfortunate that it is not coming in line with any programming or funding cycles. The humanitarian programming in annual, but we can't

expect major changes on the development side for another couple of years. It might slow things down. It is really early days, only 2-3 countries had their first inception workshops. Seeing how it develops depending on the context will be very interesting, because it will look different from one place to another. I think it's good that EU is practical when looking at the nexus by attaching it to policies where the political commitment exists. Nexus is not for everything, but for resilience approaches and protracted forced displacement. I think making it limited and concrete might help.

We think that it is likely to work better if they talk to us [NGOs], because we are exposed to how they work, we can see where are the gaps or need to bridge the gap. Also, because we are close to the communities and we see the needs. Overall, NGOs should be included in the nexus work.

Do NGOs work on the nexus on the policy level?
Voice will be working on it. The Disaster Risk Reduction Working Group has just changed its mandate to Disaster Risk Reduction, Resilience and Humanitarian – Development Nexus Working Group. We are starting to work on it, but for now we don't have an official position.

Is the momentum still there?
The nexus approach on European level is just starting to kick off, so the momentum is still building. I get the sense that UN is moving ahead as well, but in a very different way.