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Editorial

„Capacity Building" hat sich bereits seit einigen Jahren als zentrales Konzept im akademischen und praktischen Diskurs von Entwicklungsfragen etabliert. Bei der konkreten Definition des Begriffes ergeben sich jedoch schnell Schwierigkeiten, wird das Konzept in unterschiedlichen Kontexten doch teils sehr unterschiedlich gebraucht.[1] Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) macht von dem Konzept etwa auf den folgenden drei Ebenen Gebrauch: Auf der regulatorisch-politischen Ebene (z.B. bei der Begleitung von Gesetzentwürfen und nationalen Strategien), auf der institutionellen Ebene (z.B. bei der Optimierung der Leistungs- und Funktionserbringung von einzelnen Organisationen und staatlichen Institutionengefügen), sowie auf der individuellen Ebene (z.B. in Form von Coachings, Seminaren und Hospitationen). Immer geht es darum, Kapazitätsaufbau zu leisten, sodass Probleme ohne dauerhafte Unterstützung von außen möglichst selbstständig gelöst werden können.
In diesem Sinne kann das Konzept des „Capacity Building" auch als Leitbild für die Arbeit von Nichtregierungsorganisationen und Internationalen Regierungsorganisation wie der OECD oder der Vereinten Nationen dienen. So fand das Konzept auch Eingang in die bis 2030 zu erreichenden „Sustainable Development Goals" (SDGs). SDG 17 benennt gleich an erster Stelle das Ziel: „Strengthen domestic resource mobilization, including through international support to developing countries, to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection."
Dieses Heft widmet sich aus unterschiedlichen – teils theoretisch-konzeptionellen, teils praxisbezogenen – Perspektiven der Frage, welche Rolle das Konzept des „Capacity Building" in dem Bemühen um nachhaltige Entwicklung spielt.

Wir wünschen allen Leserinnen und Lesern eine spannende und erkenntnisreiche Lektüre!

Jakob Lempp, Angela Meyer, Jan Niklas Rolf

[1] Zur Definition des Begriffs "Capacity Building" siehe u.a. die ersten beiden Kapitel in diesem Heft.

Inhalt

Capacity Building for Sustainable Development – State and Outlook

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Overview

This article portraits the evolution of the Capacity Building or Capacity Development (CD) concept in international development cooperation. It analyses commonalities and contradictions in the understanding of the concept between practitioners and the academic literature. Based on a computational text analysis of project descriptions of large multinational donor organizations, we analyze the significance of the concept in development practice. We can show that the first decade of the new millennium were the golden years of CD. In the second decade the idea regressed specifically with respect to the financial volume of CD projects. Based on our data we can reject the hypothesis that CD became a non-noteworthy integral part in any development intervention. We conclude by outlining challenges to the concept ahead and define an agenda for the revival of the concept.

The evolution of Capacity Development

Since the early 1990s CD became a standing term in development practice. Even though not clearly conceptualized, it found its entry into a growing number of development sectors. With the recognition of the concept by the OECD/DAC high-level forum in Paris 2005, it continued its way into the guidelines and frameworks of a growing number of donor organizations. Constantinou reports that as of 2007 "Capacity development [was] included as a development objective of two-thirds of the [World] Bank's lending operations" (2007, p.1).

In the academic literature, CD appeared as an alone-standing concept in the late 1980s (Lusthaus *et al.,* 1999, p. 2; Lavergne and Saxby, 2001, p.1), even though some authors see it rooting back to the early 1970s, when its basic version of "human resources development ware" (Huyse *et al.*, 2012, p. 131) is considered.

For the following three decades (from 1980s), CD has been gaining prominence as both topic of academic study and approach in development practice. The dispersion of the concept may have been not least fueled by the works on institutional change of Nobel laureate Douglass C. North in the early 1990s. Thus, many scholars conceptualize CD as a modern approach to development that evolved from a set of previously existing concepts around "institution building"[2] (Huyse *et al.,* 2012, p. 130), in response to the changing needs of the development community and the environment (Merino and Carmenado, 2012, p. 966). As the "development as usual", i.e. predominantly donor-led projects, failed to deliver promising and sustainable results, there emerged a dire need for improved concepts, which resulted in CD (Bolger, 2000, p. 1).

The curse of complexity

The complexity of the concept and its discontents were pointed at by practitioners and academics alike. CD emerged as a multidimensional and a rather abstract concept, which safeguarded its openness and applicability to a variety of problems and sectors on the one hand, but at the same time made it unwieldy for direct application on the

[2] Pielemeier and Salinas-Goytia (1999) suggest that "the concept of capacity-building is not necessarily different from concepts such as institution-building, institutional strengthening, development management and others".

other hand. Bossuyt (1994) emphasized that "this lack of clarity on what capacity development actually means is a major obstacle to effective implementation" (cited in Potter and Brough, 2004, p. 337). and by 1998 it is reported that 60% of surveyed multilateral donor organizations "did not have a common agency definition that was authorized or in common use throughout the organization." (IWGCB 1998, as cited in: Lusthaus *et al*., 1999, p. 5)

Academic papers that provide a review of CD mostly arrive at the conclusion that CD cannot be viewed in any unified manner. They propose frameworks, hierarchies and classifications that would reflect the multidimensionality of the concept. Lusthaus et al. (1999) split CD into four approaches ("Organizational", "Institutional", "Systems", and "Participatory Process" approaches), Potter and Brough (2004) introduce a four-level hierarchy of CD needs ("Structures, systems and roles"; "staff and facilities"; "skills"; and "tools") . Merino and Carmenado (2012) report of attempts to describe capacity building in terms of components, objectives and dimensions in order to operationalize the concept. Finally, they propose a conceptual framework to analyze critical CD elements at individual and societal levels across technical, behavioral and contextual dimensions.

Towards a common understanding of Capacity Development

In general, our literature review revealed that the need for a common definition seems to be a practitioners' driven phenomenon, while academia could more easily embrace a multi-facetted discourse. However, also definitions that rely on a bigger amount of practical evidence seem to grasp CD in a rather abstract way.

The commonality of the definitions by the OECD (Enemark and Williamson, 2004, p. 640), UNDP (UNDP, 2009, p.5) and CIDA (Bolger, 2000, p. 2; Morgan, 1998, p. 2) from late 1990s to 2010s is the view of CD as a process of improving, strengthening, enhancing, maintaining, increasing, reinforcing, augmenting the capacities at various entry points. The scope of possible entry points has been widening over time from organizations and systems alone to "individuals, groups, institutions, organizations and societies". The CD process in these definitions is treated as both means to achieve development and the objective itself.

Most remarkably, the high-level forum of the OECD/DAC in Paris 2005 did not come up with an official definition of what CD is. It rather preferred to take the second step by allocating roles and responsibilities for CD between partner countries and donors (OECD, 2005/2008, p.4). The follow-up meeting in Accra detailed the priority areas of CD, again without giving a definition.

Thus, the most comprehensive definition that we reviewed is from UNESCO in 2010:

"Capacity building or development is the process by which individuals, groups, organizations, institutions and societies increase their abilities to: (a) perform core functions, solve problems, define and achieve objectives; and (b) understand and deal with their development needs in a broad context and in a sustainable manner." (UNESCO, 2010, p. 82)

Capacity Development by intervention area

The Accra Agenda for Action, the resolution of the High Level Forum of the OECD/DAC in 2008, named the following priority areas for capacity building in international development cooperation along the following order:

1. Development Management,

2. Country Systems (i.e. systems for public financial management, procurement, audit, monitoring and evaluation, and social and environmental assessment),

3. Local firms' competitive capacity,

4. Core functions of the state in fragile situations, and

5. Statistical infrastructure.

Evidently, the focus of the priority areas on this list circle around the building of capacity for development as such. The partner countries' ability to manage their own development process is seen as a fundamental success factor for development assistance. Thus, CD in these five areas aims to make the counterpart fit-for-purpose, i.e. provide core functions as a state (area 4), implementing projects and programs (areas 1 and 2) including the definition and prioritization of own needs, producing local content for development (area 3) and to fulfill accountability (areas 2 and 5) to stakeholders and donors. With a given level of capacity-for-development, all other areas and sectors that are in need can become the focus of CD measures.

Significance for International Development Cooperation

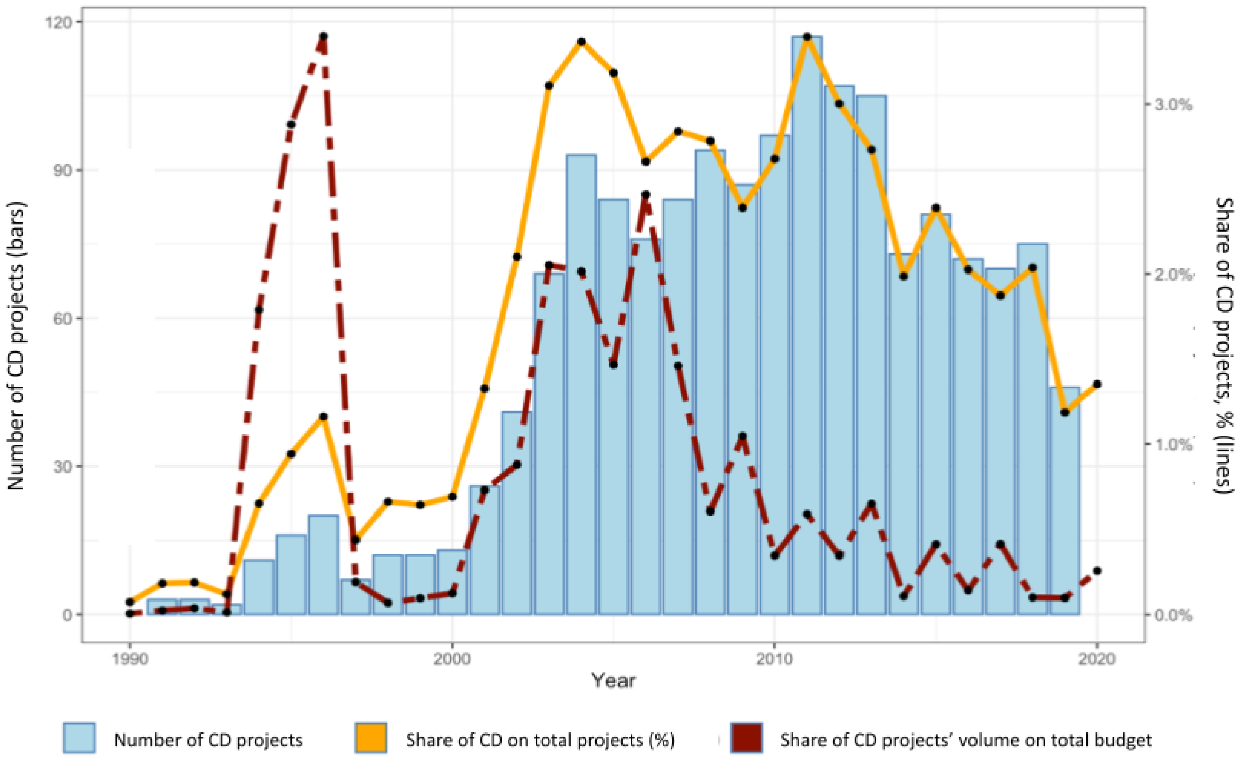
Besides the theoretical and conceptual literature there is no overarching empirical basis for the analysis of the significance of the CD concept in the day-to-day practice of development cooperation. For some development agencies there exist ad-hoc evaluations and reports, but cross-organizational, cross-country and cross-sectoral evaluations of the concept are lacking[3]. Within the research Project on "Capacity Building and Advice for Sustainable Development" at Rhine-Waal University of Applied Sciences, we have harmonized all publicly available project-data of the major multilateral development banks and organizations[4]. The resulting database consists of project-level information on title, description, country, sector, date of approval and volume, converted to US-Dollars. In order to cleanse and prepare the data for computational text analysis methods, project titles and descriptions in other languages than English had to be omitted. Using a text search algorithm, projects were classified as CD-projects when the bi-grams "capacity development" or "capacity building" occurred in the project title and/or description[5]. The so compiled data allows for an analysis of the distribution of CD-projects over time, by donor, region and sector. A shortcoming, however, is that there is no information on the share of CD measures per project that would allow a more realistic allocation of budget shares to CD-measures. Additionally, as there is no information on the duration and temporal breakdown of activities within a project, all project budgets were mapped to the year of approval, mostly corresponding to the start year of implementation. As the largest share of a development project budget is commonly spent towards the end of the implementation period, placing the whole budget in the year of approval as if it was spent right away does not quite correspond to the real picture. These limitations lead to the fact that the revealed results over-estimate the efforts on CD and place them too early, compared to what is implemented on the ground. However, with these shortcomings in mind the results are fairly indicative of the implementation of CD measures. Figure 1 shows (a) the number of CD projects of all observed multilateral donors between 1990 and 2021 as bars on the left scale. The lines refer to the percentage shares on the right scale of (b) the number of CD-projects relative to the total number of projects and (c) the budget share of CD-projects on the total project volume (dashed line).

Most notably, there was not a single identified CD-project before the year 1990 within our data, which is partly reaching back to the year 1947. This refines the finding from the literature that the concept made its way into development practice in the 1990s. To be more specific, for the observed multilateral donor agencies it was exactly the year 1990.

[3] See the article of Serfling and Sperlich in this volume for more information.

[4] i.e.: The World Bank Group (WB), Asian Development Bank (ADB), African Development Bank Group (AfDB), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), European Investment Bank (EIB), Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

[5] As a check for robustness, also other n-grams, as combinations of the stems of relevant words, e.g. "institution[] + change[]" or "capacity + strength[]" etc. were tested. It was shown that such n-grams occur at much lower frequency and are always co-located with "capacity building OR development".



The figure shows that each of the three decades of Capacity Building confounds a phase of its own: In the first decade of the 1990s the concept emerged and gained traction in terms of a small but increasing number of CD-projects (8.7 per year on average) but still small shares in numbers (0.51% of all) and budget volume (0.85% of total budget). After the millennium, the golden era of CD started. From 2000-2010 on average 67 CD-projects were approved per year, a share of 2.5% of all projects, claiming 1.3% of the total development project finance. The simple math reveals that CD-projects claim 45% the budget compared to other projects on average and only 15% by median.

Most remarkably, the concept came into recess in its third decade: The average number of projects slightly increased to 70 per year and this share remained at a 2.3% level. However, when it comes to finance, we see a large drop of the share of CD-projects on the total budget to a mere 0.3%. This also implies that the average CD-project size was reduced by nearly three quarters, which indicates a trend towards fragmentation of CD projects.

Notably, we see similar patterns across all major multilateral donor organizations.

One of the hypotheses brought about by the literature is that CD measures became a non-noteworthy, integral part of any development intervention over the years. With reference to our data we can clearly reject this hypothesis. If the hypothesis would hold, the difference in project volumes would disappear / the volume of CD-projects would converge toward that of non-CD projects. Here we see that the relative CD-project volume constantly decreased since the 2010s. This lets us conclude that donor organizations talk the talk but they don´t dance the dance. CD became a cheap talk in the development sector.

Outlook to challenges ahead

After the first emergence of the CD concept in the late 1980s, it took almost one and a half decades to be officially recognized by the OECD donors and to be defined in a comprehensive and actionable way.

But even by passing these milestones, criticisms towards the ambiguity of the concept and the poor theorization did not fall silent. Challenges to the operationalization and the search for the right instrument against a specific background did and will remain. However, the project-requirement of ideation, customization and invention of a solution may be a necessary part of the process that brings about an innovation that finally leads to improved capacity.

Another strand of criticism originates from the decolonization discourse and argues that CD is a concept of “the North to address capacity ‘deficits’ in the South” (Girgis, 2007, p. 356) and its goals are not “power-neutral” but prescribed by donor-strategies. This, the argument goes, makes it prone to misunderstanding of the local goals and existing local capacities which finally leads to inefficient results. This view may be seen as a reminder and obligation for international agreements to put the recipient of ODA into the driving seat.

Lacking sustainable effectiveness is also in the focus of other voiced criticism. The exaggerated focus on training, supply of equipment and constructions at worst helped bolster systems that were corrupt. (Potter and Brough 2004, p. 337) Others criticize the lacking adaptation of results and evaluation frameworks. Lastly, the standard critique against the nature of projects, seeking for short-term results also in interventions with long-term outcomes, is naturally applicable to the case of Capacity Building interventions.

Our quantitative analysis based on an encompassing development-project database has shown that the popularity of CD in the programming of development interventions remains on a consistently high level. However, the funding for CD-projects has fallen by almost three quarters compared to the previous decade 2000-2010. CD-projects are now significantly de-funded compared to other interventions. This provides evidence against the hypothesis that CD measures became an integral part of any intervention. Furthermore, the consistently high number of mentions in project titles and descriptions might point to the criticism that CD has become a cliché – a concept repeated so many times that it lost its weight, becoming a buzzword of limited practical value.

On the backdrop of these findings, we conclude that the concept of CDis not doomed to fail. Rather, it requires the adaptation of special approaches to increase its effectiveness and practicability. From our point of view, the following steps could build a backbone of resilient Capacity Development practice:

- Adapt to the common understanding of CD as a multidimensional approach and a long-term process.
- Name and list the identified dimensions in the project development objective as components and allocate activities and resources to it.
- Raise awareness of the power-relations and ethical conduct in designing and implementing CD interventions.
- Improve the public availability of harmonized data on development interventions by following the “open data by default” principle, and include capacity development as a statistical category in databases and reports
- Include CD as a sixth DAC Principle for Evaluation of Development Assistance and adapt evaluation frameworks to consider all dimensions of CD.

We believe that the 30-year-old concept, rightly implemented, is worth giving it a revival and to bring the discussion from Paris and Accra to championing the 2030 Agenda.

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Success Factors and Challenges in Capacity Development Partnerships of NGOs in the Global South and Germany

Lili Krause & Lukas Goltermann

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Introduction

Capacity development plays an important role in the partnerships of German Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) with NGOs in the Global South. To shed light on success factors that make capacity development measures thrive, VENRO, the umbrella organisation of development and humanitarian non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Germany, conducted a survey in 2017 with its member organisations working in different contexts of the Global South with partner organisations. The results of the survey were published in the capacity development manual *"What makes Capacity Development of NGOs successful?"* (VENRO, 2017).

In this paper, we use the term "Capacity Development Partnership" in order to highlight the importance of capacity development not being a one-way road where knowledge flows from an NGO in the Global North to another NGO in the Global South. Capacity development is about learning *together*, which is a challenge for development practitioners and organisations alike as development practice is still often shaped by patriarchal, racist and colonial assumptions and continuities.

Understanding the flow of knowledge as a reciprocal act of learning is a somewhat new approach in the history of development cooperation. The member organisations of VENRO have developed their own approaches to deal with postcolonial and feminist approaches in their work (VENRO, forthcoming).

The paper at hand summarizes the findings of the 2017 VENRO report on the challenges and success factors of capacity development of German NGOs. Furthermore, the paper adds a new perspective by emphasizing the need to address postcolonial and feminist perspectives in development practice and thus to include it in capacity development partnerships.

Conceptualising Capacity Development

The North-South partnerships of NGOs tend to have relatively clear roles. Whereas the Northern (in our case, German) NGO contributes financial resources, the Southern NGO contributes knowledge, time and energy in the conceptualization, planning and implementation of projects and programmes. The potential for (mutual) capacity development processes can easily be overlooked in this constellation. It is therefore of great value for both partners, to familiarize themselves with the concept, opportunities, challenges, instruments and methods of capacity development in order to improve the North-South partnership and ultimately increase its impact and sustainability.

At the heart of capacity development is the – sometimes reciprocal – development and advancement of technical, methodological and political competencies of partner organisations and their target groups in the Global South and of NGOs in the Global North. Due to the closeness of NGOs to civil societies in countries of the Global South, they can play an essential role in capacity development partnerships.

From our observation, capacity development approaches vary greatly between different NGOs. This is not a bad thing. To the contrary, capacity development is a very intimate aspect of NGO collaboration as it needs to be tailored to the specific contexts, aims, philosophies, resources, backgrounds and theories of change of the actors involved. We also observe that there is a great peer-learning potential within the NGO community to learn and benefit from different approaches in order to find the best suitable solution to their specific challenges.

From our practitioner perspective, we want to stress the importance of thinking about capacity development opportunities on at least three different levels: 1) the level of individuals / the target group, 2) organisational capacities and 3) political / system (decision-making) capacities. There may be capacity development needs on all three levels that organizations may want to be aware of and it should be a strategic decision which level is being targeted specifically.

Three challenges in Capacity Development partnerships of NGOs

A key challenge for NGOs from both North and South is to find a way to use their capacity development potential strategically and consciously. To further assist in this process, we have identified several context specific challenges that NGOs should be aware of and that we would like to introduce very briefly.

Challenge 1: Contexts of crises and fragility

Working in fragile contexts demands a more thorough preparation of projects. A thorough participatory context analysis - together with partners and local communities- is essential, that is however oftentimes taking longer and is comparatively more high-cost than in less fragile contexts. Despite these challenges, capacity development can be especially fruitful in fragile contexts by increasing methodological competencies and problem-solving skills of organisations. Moreover, the Do-No-Harm-Approach (VENRO, 2018) is specifically helpful in capacity development partnerships in fragile contexts. It allows partner organisations to implement impactful projects that improve living conditions of poor and marginalised people, empowers them to maintain their critical potential against government decisions as well as to contribute to transforming conflicts.

Challenge 2: Shrinking civic space

Shrinking civic space is an increasing challenge for NGOs worldwide and requires specific approaches in capacity development partnerships (Brot für die Welt, 2022).

The probability of conflicts arising between civil society actors and state actors logically increases the more politically active an NGO is. State repression and repressive legislation are usual means of trying to control politically active NGOs. NGOs have developed different strategies to deal with repressive government policies. They range from selective cooperation with public administration units on local levels to network with other civil society actors to lobby and advocacy work with governments. To strengthen the engagement of NGOs in politically volatile areas like legal advice or human rights, civil society networks and cooperation are becoming increasingly important.

In these highly charged contexts, capacity development should aim to strengthen competencies in the field of political analysis, in developing strategies in dealing with repressive policies and problem-solving capacities of partner organisations in the Global South. Capacity development partnerships also help to highlight specific challenges faced by partner organisations that need to be addressed in the Global North. Specifically, educating decision-makers in the North in order for them to address shrinking space challenges with their partner governments becomes increasingly relevant for civil society organisations.[6]

Thus, the reciprocal nature of capacity development is specifically relevant in shrinking space contexts when activists from the Global South support NGOs in the Global North in their advocacy and lobby activities and vice versa.

[6] In a recent position paper the VENRO working group defines policy changes that need to take place in order to strengthen civic space worldwide: Zivilgesellschaftliche Handlungsräume weltweit stärken (venro.org) (VENRO, 2022).

Challenge 3: Sustainable impacts

A more technical challenge – as opposed to the political challenges mentioned above – is the question of when do we achieve sustainable change with capacity development activities? Oftentimes, capacity development effects are sustainable when new competencies or subjects are established in the working structures of organisations in the Global South and North, at political / systems level or in their target groups. A change in behaviour or work processes – not just the acquirement of knowledge or attitude change – usually illustrates the sustainable effect of capacity development activities.

The practical examples of VENRO member organisations stress the imperative that objectives and theories of change for capacity development should be developed in partnership as this practice increases the probability of sustainable effects of capacity development activities. This means that decisions in the analysis and design processes should be shared and a voice be given to those meant to profit from the development partnerships. Impact orientation, the appropriate choice of participants in all phases of the partnerships and competent trainers as well as a follow-up of capacity development activities that is appropriately financed are all factors that increase the sustainability of capacity development activities of NGOs.

In lobbying and advocacy work, specifically, partners should monitor to what extent their activities have contributed to changes in the legal situation in their country or local context, or whether they have created a new social awareness that may bring about legislative changes. Capacity development in the field of impact orientation helps NGOs understand the changes they (want to) see (VENRO, 2019).

The factors that help shape impact orientation in NGO partnerships are described in the Handbook for the implementation of the VENRO guidelines for development projects and programmes (VENRO, 2019).

Success factors of Capacity Development

The 2017 survey identified several success factors that contribute to the sustainability of capacity development partnerships that are still relevant today.

- Ownership, acceptance and engagement
- Acknowledgement of organisational structures of partner organisations
- Process character
- Impact orientation

These success factors only work when the capacity development activities are based on true partnership between the NGOs from the South and North.

Specifically, the 2017 VENRO report identifies the following factors to be essential in the process of capacity development:

- <u>Partners in the Global South in the driver's seat:</u> Ownership, dialogue and consent building are important aspects in successful CD activities. From a decolonial perspective, this means shifting the decision-making power to those working in the communities that ought to benefit from the capacity development partnerships.
- <u>An open attitude towards learning:</u> The people involved should be ready to learn from the CD partnership.
- <u>Resource orientation:</u> CD activities should be oriented towards the existing strengths of partner organisations in the Global South, not focussed on the weaknesses or deficits.
- <u>Change needs time:</u> Trust and reliability are key aspects of successful CD activities, so these partnerships should be based on long-term efforts.
- <u>Efficiency:</u> Every additional activity can be a burden for organisations and people ought to check carefully what CD activities are truly needed.
- <u>Flexibility and cultural sensitivity:</u> Some colleagues of organisations might display their expectations only in the process of the partnership, thus flexible changes should be part of the planned process.

- Chose the participants wisely: Trainings are cost-intensive and the participants should be identified carefully, in order to achieve effects.

A Postcolonial and Feminist Perspective on Capacity Development

Capacity development needs to be particularly aware of the historical legacy of colonialism and the existing power asymmetries inherent in development cooperation. First and foremost, it should not be a donor driven exercise. Successful capacity development partnerships need to be anchored in a partnership characterized by mutual trust and respect for each other's capacities, resources and strengths and the ability to reflect upon inherent power asymmetries. And NGOs themselves have to reflect in how far they carry that legacy. When partnerships are sensitive, transparent and frank with each other and aware of the system they are working in, they can develop strategies to balance asymmetries and jointly address the often systemic changes that are needed to have an impact in the Global North and South.

The feminist and postcolonial perspective can help NGOs to identify and deal with some of these challenges. They bring blind spots and imbalances on the stage of problem analysis and the development of solutions. They point towards the appropriate participants, to ownership and to resources for change. Strengthening these perspectives will lead to more successful circular capacity development processes. These processes might not be comfortable all the time. They will however strengthen civil society partnerships and be more effective in reaching their goals.

So far, only limited materials exist to help NGOs on this matter, but an increasing number of organisations and platforms such as BOND (UK), Partos (Netherlands) or WACSI (Ghana) and VENRO (Germany) are working on this topic and publish guidelines, handbooks and other materials that can be used by NGOs to improve their capacity development.

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European Stakeholders in Capacity Development

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Capacity Development as an official instrument in Development Cooperation

After the first emergence of the concept of Capacity Building or Capacity Development (CD) in the late 1980s[7], it took almost one and a half decades to be officially recognized by the OECD donors. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness in 2005 and the Accra Agenda for Action 2008 acknowledged that the success and effectiveness of development cooperation efforts are closely related to the existing or developed capacities in the recipient country:

„Without robust capacity – strong institutions, systems, and local expertise – developing countries cannot fully own and manage their development processes. We agreed in the Paris Declaration that capacity development is the responsibility of developing countries, with donors playing a supportive role, and that technical co-operation is one means among others to develop capacity." (OECD, 2005/2008, p.16).

But who are the main stakeholders driving capacity building in the international development cooperation arena? How is the CD-process designed and implemented? What is the significance of the concept to the organizations? And how can the success be measured and is it actually? This paper seeks to shed light on these questions by reviewing published policies, frameworks, tenders and impact evaluations of bilateral development agencies. As Europe, together with the European Union, is the biggest donor-bloc within the OECD/DAC[8], we restrict our analysis to bilateral European Development Agencies. We conclude by giving an outlook on how the CD approach could be assigned a more central and visible role in development.

Research challenges

Despite its recognized importance by donor organizations, publicly available data on CD activities is scarce. Official documents such as annual or thematic reports provide spending figures by sectors, regions and countries, and in some cases on individual programs or projects. However, CD is not yet a statistical category and typically only used as a key term in connection with the presentation of good practice examples.[9] Hence, official cross-program, cross-organizational, or cross-country data on the topic are not available in a structured manner.

Evaluation reports are one of the few exceptions that address the issue of CD in a more structured way. However, the majority of evaluations are limited to sectoral CD or have a regional focus. Organization-wide or cross-program contributions to capacity building are even scarcer. Thus, we rely on an explorative review of published guidelines, (evaluation) reports, statistics, and tenders. We limit our analysis on the development agencies of big donor countries in absolute terms and with ODA-shares exceeding the

[7] See the article of Serfling & Lebedeva in this volume.

[8] Development Assistance Committee of the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development).

[9] As an example, see the 16th Development Policy Report of the German government: *"In the field of soil protection and soil rehabilitation, about 170,000 smallholder farmers were trained in 7 countries"* (BMZ, 2021, p.55).

average of 0.32% of GNI in 2020 and present the results of nine agencies.[10]

The Scandinavian triangle

The three Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway together spent 12.1 bn. US-Dollar on ODA in 2021, i.e. close to 1% of their GNI and nearly half of the German contribution. Also with respect to CD they qualified as giants according to our analysis. DANIDA, Norad, and Sida devoted several background studies and parallel evaluations to the program- and organization-wide analysis of activities and support towards CD. The findings were summarized in a synthesis report in 2016. The goal of this initiative was to measure the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability, and impact of their CD interventions and to provide evidence for a more comprehensive design of CD strategies. The study found that the Scandinavian contribution was welcomed by the partners, and that the combination of long-term donor commitment and an approach to achieving short-term successes helped to motivate partners and sustain momentum for change. According to the evaluation report *„The interventions were sampled from the portfolios of the three Scandinavian agencies, and included projects and programmes in which CD was either a primary objective or a subsidiary component of programmes with other primary objectives*" (Sida, 2016, p.23), e.g. the enhancement of agricultural productivity of Bangladeshi smallholder farmers funded by Danida (DANIDA, 2011, p.27), the Sida-funded improvement of the Cambodian education system at the policy-, managerial and teacher-level (Sida, 2022, pp.7-8), or the Norwegian support for the Moldovan National Statistical System, to name but a few.

Furthermore, the report concludes that most of the evaluated interventions achieved planned results (outcome level) also in terms of improved capacity and organizational performance. However, due to a weak evidence base, it cannot be concluded whether the capacity effect was causal to the specific CD-measures or just correlated with the intervention success. Furthermore, no correlation was found between the complexity and the effectiveness of the Scandinavian CD measures. Instead, the evaluation report concludes that the degree to which donor and partner match that complexity is a key determinant of intervention success. Thus, it can be assumed that if the interventions met the context specific needs on the ground, the better the chance for a successful implementation. The study also found no evidence that the CD interventions led to significant unintended effects, but also no effects on poverty reduction. A notable finding is, however, that the CD activities focus mainly on the individual level and tend to neglect the organizational or institutional level, despite being anchored in the program objectives (Sida, 2016, pp.8-9).

Another key finding is that the results frameworks that were regularly applied in the interventions had no specific focus on CD, not even in interventions with extensive CD components. Therefore, the CD-specific monitoring, evaluation, and reporting were not possible in the vast majority of cases. In the few cases where results frameworks have been adapted, the following weaknesses were identified: lack of impact frameworks, inadequately developed indicators, lack of specification of instruments for measuring indicators and results, and their inadequate monitoring. Consequently, the study attests that the low dissemination and application of the generally accepted logic of theory of change and CD-concepts, as well as the limited capacity of partners, are the main obstacles to successful CD.

The big three

Germany

The German Agency for International Co-operation (GIZ) is a federal enterprise that works on behalf of various ministries, predominantly the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), as a service provider for sustainable

[10] In addition, our explorative analysis found that the excluded development agencies also did not publish significant information on CD measures, at least in English.

development and international education. Together with companies, CSOs and academia, it develops and provides expertise in a wide range of fields, from economic development and employment promotion, energy and environmental management, to the promotion of peace and security, based on the Agenda 2030 with its 17 sustainable development goals.

. In 2013, GIZ developed a guideline for capacity building in Development Cooperation (GIZ, 2013) based on the OECD/DAC definition of 2006 (OECD, 2006). At GIZ CD takes place at two levels. First, GIZ carries out CD measures as a service provider with its own experts to both, its own staff and external stakeholders. For this, it has established a competence centre for human resources development, the Academy for International Cooperation (AIZ). Second, GIZ acts as a client and commissions external organizations and companies to implement projects and activities.

For GIZs self-conception, CD forms an integral part of any commissioned development project. GIZ sees its contribution, inter alia, by: (1) consulting individuals and organizations, (2) promoting learning and adaptation, (3) empowering societal institutions through the transfer of specialist knowledge, action and management competencies, (4) making their organizational, management and production structures more efficient, and lastly (5) providing policy advice to governments in the implementation and anchoring of goals and change processes in laws and strategies.

The goal is to create and establish frameworks that are able to deliver effective and sustainable reforms through involvement of a variety of stakeholders from government, private sector, and civil society.

However, in contrast to this clear vision on how CD should take place, there is nearly no data available. The published procurement data does not reveal the share of CD-measures on total contract value. Furthermore, Terms of References (ToR), which carry the biggest amount of information about an intervention, become unavailable as soon as contracts are awarded. Thus, there is no basis to judge about the significance of CD-measures in GIZ operations and the hypothesis that CD is an integral part of their projects remains a hypothesis, empirically untested.

The United Kingdom

The former Department for International Development (DFID) was the UK´s government agency responsible for administering foreign aid until its duties were transferred to the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), established under the Foreign Office, in September 2020. While UK committed to spend 0.7% of GDP on Development Assistance, the DFID/FDCO with 77% of all ODA spent is the main channel for the UK's development assistance. Its goal is to "promote sustainable development and to eradicate poverty in the world" across the full set of areas and sectors: education, health, social services, water and sanitation, government and civil society, economic sector (including infrastructure, productive sectors, and development planning), environmental protection, research, and humanitarian assistance.

With respect to CD DFID developed an own guideline, based on the OECD/DAC definition (DFID, 2013). The aim is to bring about sustainable change through the capacity of partners. The guidelines target DFID managers and consultants who are responsible for the design and implementation of country strategies and programs. CD is understood as an endogenous process in which external actors facilitate local leadership in the design and implementation of their own strategies for developing institutional capacities, by emphasizing the need for greater transparency, empowerment, and accountability.

An ad-hoc evaluation report commissioned by DFID examines the success of its CD-endeavors in Sub-Saharan Africa (DFID, 2016). Most telling are the limitations of the study design, as highlighted by the authors: many of the technical cooperation activities assessed were small and limited in scope, and many were not explicitly designed to contribute to capacity building 'per se'. This finding was somehow reflected by our explorative review of development projects. The UK Government's "Contracts Finder" and "Development Tracker" provide detailed information on international development projects of the FCDO, other government agencies and partners. These databases list approx. 5,250 active and closed tenders related to capacity building or CD since 2015. However, only mere 17% are from within the business segment of the FCDO. A concise statistical reporting on the spending for CD is not available.

France

The "Agence française de développement" (AFD) is a public institution that contributes to the implementation of the French policy in the areas of development and international solidarity. It works to combat poverty and promote fair and sustainable development, which is one of the three pillars of France's foreign policy activities, besides defense and diplomacy. Its objective is to support the economic, social and environmental progress of low- and middle-income countries.

When it comes to CD, its understanding follows the definition of the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and thus the DAC definition from 2006. This approach requires the transfer of knowledge and participatory creation of change, enabling the partner country to manage its own long-term development. Here, AFD distinguishes between three levels of intervention: (a) individuals (personal skills), (b) organizations (tools/systems, governance/management), and (c) sectors (networks, interactions between organizations, etc.). The identified challenge is to ensure that all three levels and their interdependencies are equally taken into account.

The importance of CD to AFD is demonstrated by the fact that it has a specialized unit that deals exclusively with organizational development, change management, and capacity building for project managers as well as their stakeholders. The unit has an overarching role of support, guidance, testing, and capitalization. In 2020 the unit was staffed with seven persons supporting 100 project managers (AFD, 2021). At times, AFD publishes evaluation reports that also examine CD in interventions. However, an overarching meta-evaluation of the CD-instruments is lacking. For the year 2014, AFD revealed in an ad-hoc publication that it had spent 276 million Euro on 'capacity strengthening', thereof 2/3 in grants and 1/3 in loans (AFD, 2015).

The small and mighty

The Netherlands

Unlike many other donor countries, the Netherlands does not have its own development agency. Instead, Dutch embassies implement bilateral programs in partner countries that are developed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for all partner countries.

As a complement, the government works with Dutch civil society organizations, which have joined together in the umbrella organization Partos. Funding for civil society organizations is provided through the 'Dialogue and Dissent' funding program. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is placing a great emphasis on strategic partnerships and lobbying.

Neither the Dutch government nor the umbrella organization of civil society organizations Partos have published any documents in English on CD. Furthermore, no publicly accessible statistical data is available in English. Project tenders above a value of 130,000 Euro are published via the Dutch government's online tendering system TenderNed.

Switzerland

As one of six directorates of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), the Swiss Development Cooperation's (SDC) goals are to alleviate hardship and poverty worldwide, to promote democracy and human rights, and to protect the environment. It also promotes economic and governmental self-reliance, helps to improve production conditions, assists in overcoming environmental problems, and provides better access to education and basic health care.

SDC understands the goals of CD to strengthen people and institutions in partner countries so that they can improve their living conditions themselves. The approach is based on the Paris Declaration (2005) and the Accra Agenda for Action (2008). According to SDC, CD is about changes at the individual, institutional, and societal levels on the one hand, and values on the other. Interventions should be guided by the question of which capacities are to be developed and for what purpose.

SDC's approach is based on the principles of ownership, flexibility, process orientation, and subsidiarity. Interventions are tailored to partner countries' specific development priorities, drawing on local knowledge.

SDC sees difficulties in measuring results in the context of CD. In 2020, Switzerland spent CHF 3,343 million on official development assistance (ODA), two thirds thereof being channelled through SDC. The published statistics concerning the use of funds do not provide a separate breakdown by CD measures. The annual and evaluation reports also do not provide structural monitoring of CD activities. Tenders and awarded contracts below a threshold of CHF 230,000 are published on SDC's homepage, however without project description. Above this threshold, orders from the last three years are published on Swiss public procurement platform[11] and mirrored on the TED-database (tenders electronic daily) of the European Commission. A search for the past three years reveals a total of nine projects related to CD. Thus, it is hardly possible to make a statement about the significance of Swiss CD activities in development cooperation.

Belgium

Enabel, the Belgian government's development agency, carries out public contracts in Belgium and abroad, providing tailored expertise, encouraging participation by all, and pursuing partnerships at the highest level, within the 2030 Agenda. Enabel strengthens Belgium's influence on international development by executing contracts for Belgian and international donors. Its vision is to help build a sustainable world where women and men can live and develop freely under the rule of law. Enabel sees itself as a knowledge centre and provides expertise and networks to exert political influence to promote sustainable development. This involves implementing sustainable development initiatives and coordinating Belgium's priorities and goals with partner countries. Enabel focuses primarily on the following sectors: agriculture and rural development, digitalization, education, training and employment, energy, gender, governance, health, private sector, water and sanitation.

In its corporate strategy CD is not listed as a separate topic but it is included as part of the principal policy orientation aiming to develop partners at all levels by integrating CD components wherever possible (Enabel, 2021). Rather, it is an inherent part of the various funding instruments, e.g. grants, technical assistance. Thus, Belgium's main policy guidelines for development assistance also aim to develop the capacity of partners at all levels. As a bilateral development agency, Enabel seeks both to build equitable, inclusive, and sustainable systems and to strengthen the capacity of the state and civil society to improve governance and strengthen the rule of law. Wherever possible, Enabel includes a capacity building component in its partnership relationships, particularly in fragile situations.

It publishes information on its projects, consisting of a title, a brief description, general and specific objectives, budget, duration, status, and a sector. Notably, an impressive 27% of all listed projects mention CD / capacity building in either the project title, description or objectives.

Challenges to the concept and way forward

After the emphasis of the importance of CD as a key success factor in development cooperation was recognized by OECD/DAC high level forums in 2005 and 2008, many of the European bilateral development agencies have since developed their own CD strategies, whereby the terms 'Capacity Development'

[11] https://simap.ch/

and 'Capacity Building' are used interchangeably. Even though many agencies share the three-level understanding of capacity, man-organization-society, their interventions remain predominantly focused on the individual level, implemented through trainings and educational opportunities. Agencies seem to be partly aware of the thematic, geographic, and institutional complexity in which CD approaches need to be implemented, but are not yet capable to deal with the resulting high demands on approaches and strategies, which e.g. require a higher degree of flexibility.

However, there is no valid reason not to start yet with the designation of CD as a statistical category and to provide more transparency and data in terms of budget, targets, and implementation processes.

On current statistical grounds, the hypothesis that CD has nowadays become a matter of course and an inherent component of every development intervention can neither be confirmed nor rejected.

We, therefore, recommend that the existing and future guidelines, M&E- and results frameworks should be detailed in a way that CD measures must address all three levels of intervention (the individual, organizational, and societal/governmental). In addition, the share of the project budget, channelled to CD activities, should be earmarked and published. CD should also be included as a sixth evaluation criterion in the OECD/DAC definition in order to give this actually important concept more rigour and effect.

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Capacity Building für eine nachhaltige Tourismusentwicklung in Madagaskar

Diana Marquardt

Diana Marquardt ist promovierte Geographin und arbeitet seit 2012 als Professorin im Studiengang „Nachhaltiger Tourismus" an der Hochschule Rhein-Waal. Ihre Forschungsschwerpunkte sind Tourismus in Entwicklungsländer, Öko- und Naturtourismus. 2017 und 2018 verbrachte sie mehrere Wochen in Madagaskar, u.a. als DAAD-Kurzzeitdozentin an der Université d' Antananarivo und der folgende Beitrag dient als Fallbeispiel für ein Capacity-Buiding Programm.

„Demographischer Druck trifft auf Bildungssysteme, die weder quantitativ noch qualitativ dem heutigen und zukünftigen Bedarf des Arbeitsmarkts und den nationalen Entwicklungsherausforderungen gerecht werden". So beschreibt der Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst (DAAD, 2014: 1) die Situation der afrikanischen Bildungs- und Hochschulsysteme, die angesichts stark zunehmender Schüler- und Studierendenzahlen sowie steigender Nachfrage nach qualifizierten Fachkräften vor enormen Herausforderungen stehen. Der DAAD sieht dringenden Handlungsbedarf dahingehend, die gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Relevanz der afrikanischen Hochschulen zu stärken, z.B. durch die arbeitsmarktrelevante Ausrichtung der Studiengänge (ebd.: 6f). Zudem will die Organisation ihre inhaltliche Arbeit stärker auf die Agenda 2030 für nachhaltige Entwicklung fokussieren (DAAD, 2020: 2).

Diese Leitgedanken spielten auch eine wichtige Rolle bei der Einrichtung der hier dargestellten 2018 absolvierten Kurzzeitdozentur im Bereich Nachhaltiger Tourismus im Département d' Etudes Germaniques der Université d' Antananarivo in Madagaskar.

Bei DAAD-Kurzzeitdozenturen handelt es sich um einen ein- bis sechsmonatigen Lehraufenthalt eines deutschen Hochschullehrers an einer staatlich anerkannten Hochschule im Ausland. Gefördert mit Mitteln des Auswärtigen Amtes soll der Gasthochschule so ermöglicht werden, Wissenschaftler „zur Veranstaltung von Kursen in wissenschaftlichen Spezialgebieten oder für interdisziplinäre Zusammenhänge einzuladen" (DAAD, 2021a).

Die Hochschullandschaft in Madagaskar

Es gibt in Madagaskar sechs staatliche Universitäten (Antananarivo, Antsiranana, Fianarantsoa, Mahajanga, Toamasina und Tuléar), über hundert private höhere Bildungseinrichtungen und 29 Ecoles Doctorales (Ministère de l'Enseignement Superieure et de la Recherche Scientifique 2021). Die Qualität dieser Hochschulen ist sehr unterschiedlich und entspricht oft dem Niveau deutscher Berufsschulen (DAAD, 2017: 3).

Rund 5,35% eines Jahrgangs immatrikulieren sich an einer Hochschule (DAAD, 2021b). Das Bachelorstudium umfasst dabei i.d.R. drei Jahre, daran kann ein ein- oder zweijähriges Masterstudium angeschlossen werden (UNESCO, 2021). Die Zahl der Studierenden ist allerdings in den letzten Jahren stark gestiegen, wodurch die unterfinanzierten Hochschulen in Bezug auf die verfügbaren Lehrkräfte und ihre teilweise marode Infrastruktur zunehmend an ihre Kapazitätsgrenzen gelangen (DAAD, 2017: 3).

Warum eine Dozentur im Bereich nachhaltiger Tourismus?

Die Kultur und die einzigartige Naturlandschaft mit vielen endemischen Arten sind die wichtigsten touristischen Potentiale des Landes, (International Finance Corporation 2021, 75). Vor diesem Hintergrund will die Regierung sozial und ökologisch verantwortungsvollen Tourismus fördern und auf die nachhaltige Gestaltung des Sektors achten (Ministère du Tourisme, 2017: 4ff).
Der Tourismus war vor Ausbruch der Corona-Pandemie ein wichtiger Wirtschaftsbereich in Madagaskar: Laut WTTC (2021) trug er 2019 12,7% zum Bruttoinlandsprodukt bei und rund 10% der Beschäftigten arbeiten direkt/indirekt

im Tourismus. Dem Sektor werden viele positive Wirkungen zugeschrieben: „If well-managed, the labor-intensive tourism sector can generate jobs and additional income opportunities for a large cross section of the country's population – especially youth and women. Further, tourism is also one of the best tools available for conserving unique natural and cultural resources" (Weltbank, 2013: 25).

Allerdings schöpft das Land sein Potential aufgrund unzureichend qualifizierter Humanressourcen nicht aus (Ministère de l'Emploi, de l'Enseignerment Technique et de la Formation Professionelle, 2017: 20). Viele Tourismusbeschäftigte haben keine adäquate Ausbildung. Die Zahl der Aus- und Weiterbildungsstätten ist gering (International Finance Corporation 2021: 79) und nur wenige Unternehmen bieten eine geregelte betriebliche Ausbildung an. Es erfolgt eher informelles „on the job training" (Weltbank, 2013: 13).

Dies erweist sich zunehmend als Problem, denn um die Tourismusentwicklung zu lenken und die angestrebte nachhaltige Gestaltung des Sektors sicherzustellen, bedarf es einer Vielzahl an qualifizierten Fachkräften mit entsprechendem Know-How in Bezug auf Planung und Management.

Im tertiären Bildungsbereich (ab ISCED Stufe 5) bieten neben zahlreichen privaten Ausbildungszentren und Hochschulen auch vier staatliche Universitäten (Antananarivo, Fianarantsoa, Mahajanga, Toamasina) sowie das dem Tourismusministerium unterstellte „Institut National de Tourisme et d'Hôtellerie" spezielle Studiengänge mit Bachelor- (Licence) und Master-Abschluss an.

Doch das bisherige Angebot wird dahingehend kritisiert, dass die Curricula nicht den Branchenbedürfnissen entsprechen, qualifizierte Dozenten fehlen und wenig praktische Fähigkeiten vermittelt werden (eigene Erhebungen, 2018). Es fehlt v.a. an Modulen, die sich dem nachhaltigen Tourismus widmen sowie den Themen Unternehmensgründung, Naturtourismus und Destinationsmanagement (ebd.; Spenceley und Rozga, 2007: 83).

Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass Sprachkenntnisse eine Voraussetzung für eine Tätigkeit in dem Sektor sind (ebd.: 71), beschäftigt sich auch die Germanistische Abteilung der Université Antananarivo in ihren Kursen mit touristischen Themen, überwiegend jedoch aus einer sprach- und literaturwissenschaftlichen Perspektive. Tourismusfachliche Inhalte werden nicht vermittelt. Eine stärkere Ausrichtung der Studieninhalte an den Tätigkeiten in der Tourismusbranche und die Vermittlung von berufsbefähigenden, praxisorientierten Kompetenzen wären hier wünschenswert. Dies bestätigen auch Gespräche mit madagassischen Tourismusakteuren. Diese haben großes Interesse an den Germanistikabsolventinnen, müssen diese jedoch erst durch ein intensives „Training on the job" anlernen.

Ausgestaltung der Gast-Dozentur

Das Ziel der Kurzzeitdozentur wurde dementsprechend dahingehend definiert, Tourismuswissen für einen wichtigen aber neuen Bereich der Germanistikabteilung zu vermitteln.

Die Lehrtätigkeit umfasste drei Veranstaltungen mit den folgenden Inhalten (à 4 SWS):

1. **Grundlagen des Tourismus v.a. mit Bezug auf Madagaskar: (Bachelor-Vorlesung)**

Z.B. Angebots- und Nachfrageanalyse, Ansätze zur Tourismusplanung, nachhaltige Tourismuspraktiken.

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem internationalen Netzwerk ECPAT wurde zudem ein Sensibilisierungsworkshop zum Thema Kindesmissbrauch durchgeführt. Prostitution sowie die sexuelle Ausbeutung von Kindern durch Touristen sind in Madagaskar verbreitet und kommen in Touristenstädten wie z.B. Nosy Be, Antsiranana, Tulear und insbesondere in Antanananarivo vor (ECPAT, 2018: 10).

2. **Projekte zum nachhaltigen Tourismus (Master)**

Grundkenntnisse des Projektmanagements (z.B. Projektorganisation, Zeit- und Ressourcenplanung) und Bearbeitung einer praktischen Aufgabe (wahlweise die Planung eines Events oder einer Reise in Madagaskar).

Die Studierenden zeigten großes Interesse an den vorgestellten Themen. Gespräche mit den Kursteilnehmern zeigten, dass die Jobs im Tourismussektor aufgrund internationaler Kontakte und guter Bezahlung sehr begehrt sind. Viele möchten später als Reiseleiter arbeiten oder für einen Reiseveranstalter tätig sein. Der Tourismus ist damit ein wichtiges Beschäftigungsfeld für die Germanisten**.** Sehr positiv ist aus Sicht der überwiegend weiblichen Absolventen auch der hohe Frauenanteil, es gibt geringe nur Genderbarrieren in dem Sektor.

Ein weiteres Ziel der Kurzzeitdozentur war es, einheimische Dozenten in die Grundlagen des nachhaltigen Tourismus einzuführen und Potentiale für die Heranbildung lokaler Fachkräfte auszuloten. Diesem Ziel widmete sich die dritte Veranstaltung.

3. **Nachhaltiger Tourismus**

Überblick über das Thema und mögliche Lehrinhalte, z.B. Handlungsfelder einer auf Nachhaltigkeit ausgerichteten touristischen Entwicklung, nachhaltige Ansätze für Madagaskar (Ökotourismus, Community Based Tourism, Fair Tourism etc.).

Auch die Dozenten waren sehr interessiert an dem Thema. Allerdings ist ihre Kapazität, den Bereich in neuen Veranstaltungen voranzutreiben, begrenzt. Dies liegt daran, dass das Lehrpersonal viele andere Aufgaben erledigen muss und es keinen Tourismusexperten unter ihnen gibt. Es fehlt damit an fachlicher Expertise in der Abteilung. Hier könnte evtl. mit einer gezielten Stipendienvergabe eine Nachwuchskraft gefördert werden.

Ausblick

Im Rahmen der einmonatigen Lehrtätigkeit konnten ein Überblick über nachhaltigen Tourismus gegeben und Möglichkeiten zur Verankerung dieses Themas ausgelotet werden. Dabei wurde ein praxisorientierter Ansatz verfolgt, um Potentiale zur Verknüpfung mit dem Tourismussektor und zur Vermittlung von berufsbefähigenden Fähigkeiten aufzuzeigen. Während des Aufenthaltes hat die Autorin Gespräche mit vielen Tourismusakteuren geführt, z.B. mit Vertretern der Confédération du Tourisme (Interessensverband der Tourismuswirtschaft). So wurden der Aus- und Weiterbildungsbedarf erhoben und Ansätze für eine Zusammenarbeit mit der Hochschule entwickelt, was zur Stärkung der Praxisorientierung der Kurse beitragen kann. Für die Studierenden erwies sich das Thema „Nachhaltiger Tourismus“ als sehr relevant und es besteht der Wunsch, sich tiefergehendes Fachwissen anzueignen. Es wäre möglich, zwei bis drei deutsche Tourismus-Veranstaltungen in das Curriculum zu integrieren und evtl. noch weitere Wahlpflichtfächer einzurichten, die in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Institut „Science du Tourisme“ angeboten werden könnten.

Der Erfolg hinsichtlich der Verankerung eines neuen Themas war insgesamt aufgrund der recht kurzen Aufenthaltsdauer begrenzt. Ein solcher Einsatz kann nur Impulse für ein eigenes weitergehendes Engagement setzen und durch weitere externe Beratung die Etablierung des neuen Fachs begleiten. Wie bedeutend die Ergänzung um arbeitsmarktrelevante tourismusfachliche Inhalte ist, zeigt ein von der Deutschen Botschaft und dem DAAD Madagaskar gefördertes Modellvorhaben der Germanisten: durch fachliche Beratung wurde einigen Studierenden ermöglicht, touristische Dienstleistungen wie Städtetouren, Gästebetreuungen etc. anzubieten und dadurch Einkommen zu generieren (DAAD, 2021c)**.**

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Capacity Development – Out of Fashion or an Evergreen of International Cooperation?

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Capacity Development has long been on the international agenda and featured prominently in the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the 2008 Accra Agenda for Action. While there is no uniform definition of the term, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH understands Capacity Development as a "process through which people, organisations, and societies as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt, and maintain capacity over time and continuously realign it with changing conditions" (GIZ, 2013: 3). Capacity refers to "the ability of people, organisations and societies as a whole to manage their affairs successfully and to continuously adapt in response to changing conditions. This involves identifying development constraints, designing solutions and successfully implementing these" (Ibid). While this is always an endogenous process, GIZ can support the Capacity Development of its partners in various ways e.g., through the cooperation with local or external experts or the use of financing instruments to support measures implemented by partner organisations or development partners. This support usually materialises on different levels of government and society, ranging from local government, enterprises, and community-based organisations to regional structures to the national level, in line with the multi-level approach implemented by GIZ. Naturally, the needs and priorities of partner countries should be at the forefront of this effort to ensure its relevance and effectiveness. Equally, projects should consider complementary efforts of other development partners to assure the best possible and efficient use of resources. Both require a thorough analysis and continuous dialogue with project partners and the broader stakeholder community throughout the lifecycle of a project and partnership.

Though Capacity Development has long been the primary model of cooperation within the OECD/DAC community, in recent years the approach has become increasingly questioned, both by actors from the global North and South. Common criticism relates to the perception that Capacity Development continues to be understood as 'one-way street' that perpetuates outdated dynamics between the global North and South, that it is no longer demanded or relevant, and that it is not effective.

This is not the experience of GIZ, however. Over the past years, GIZ's portfolio has continuously grown, including both commissions from the German government as well as other donors, such as the European Union. In many countries where GIZ is present, the organisation has worked for decades in close partnership with host governments, civil society and the private sector. As a result of this cooperation, millions of people have gained access to education, healthcare, or employment. More details on the results of GIZ's work can be found in the GIZ Results Data.

While discussions around the achievements of international cooperation and questions of aid effectiveness are important, the approach remains highly relevant in a world that is far from achieving its potential. In order for it to be effective, however, certain principles apply:

1. Understanding support to Capacity Development as a mutual learning process

Capacity Development – or earlier, Capacity Building – has often been misunderstood as a process by which one person, institution or country teaches another or where one starts at zero. Such an approach not only negates the immense knowledge and innate capacity that exists within any individual, organisation or society, but also suggests that there is one proper way of development. We know there is not. Comprehensive change processes are neither linear nor straightforward; they are complex and at times chaotic. In such environments, drawing on experience is key but nevertheless everyone remains a learner. Roles of those who contribute knowledge or experience and those who benefit are fluid and interchangeable and expertise is developed on all sides of those who are involved in the implementation of Capacity Development measures.

2. Understanding support to Capacity Development as a comprehensive and complementary approach

Naturally, there is no one-size-fits-all approach to international cooperation and there are cases in which the preconditions to embark on such a joint journey simply are not (yet) met. This is particularly the case in situations where conflicts or other catastrophes strike and basic needs of populations must be met first, e.g. through emergency relief. Acknowledging that crises can also mark new beginnings – when old structures erupt, space often emerges for new solutions – foundations for medium-term, sustainable development can be established, but longer-term Capacity Development efforts may become more tangible once the immediate crisis has subsided. Not only in times of crises but also generally, support to Capacity Development should draw on the full range of instruments available, including personnel and financing instruments, and align with other interventions, such as infrastructure projects, to holistically support development processes. Simply put, any support provided needs to consider the individual circumstances and challenges a society faces. Wherever possible, forces, also between different development partners, should be joined to ensure that the support needs are met.

3. Understanding support to Capacity Development as a long-term and endogenous effort

Given the definitory fuzziness, the term is often associated with numerous interventions ranging from short-term trainings or consulting assignments to long-term advisory processes. While short-term interventions can provide a meaningful addition, it is GIZ's understanding that support to Capacity Development is a long-term effort and a comprehensive change process that requires close cooperation and exchange between partners. Trust and a strong understanding of the context in which partners operate are key factors contributing to its success. It is for this reason that GIZ has a global network of country offices and projects in partner countries that often work for many years with key partners to achieve sustainable results. Acknowledging the vast amount of experience and expertise present in our partner countries, GIZ aims to combine these local capacities with external perspectives, where helpful, to best address the challenges at hand. Consequently, more than 70% of GIZ's staff are nationals of their respective home countries.

4. Building on the evidence that exists

Support to Capacity Development is not a new approach, though the circumstances under which it is applied keep changing. Nevertheless, numerous evaluations and studies published by international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) or the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), as well as evaluations carried out within the context of German Development Cooperation have provided guidance on success factors and good practices. Often, it is rather too much information than too little that inhibits its application. All those involved in advising, designing, or managing interventions in the field of international and development cooperation are asked to familiarize themselves with state-of-the-art expertise while not losing sight of what really matters. Joint reflection processes, continuous evaluations and effective knowledge management are key to ensuring that lessons learned translate into future decision-making and increase the effectiveness of any support provided.

Ultimately, ample experience has shown that there is no one way for individuals, organisations, and societies to learn and develop their institutions, policies, and norms. But there are many good practices to pursue. In that sense, while far from being perfect, support to capacity development continues to present an invaluable approach in international cooperation.

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Towards an Enhanced Community Resource Management Approach: Civic Capacity Building – Wassa Akropong

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Background

In community development approaches, the role of local actors, in recent times, has experienced an interface. International organisations as well as civil society groups seek the opportunity to collaborate with local communities in supporting poverty reduction initiatives.

Critical weaknesses towards meeting these opportunities include the relatively little documented information which should act as a guide for development actors to enable them create inroads together with traditional authority and local indigenous organization as partners in development.

Hindrances in sustaining local industry implies communal leaders increased role in mobilizing local organization to fulfil this task. In re-examining tools in community development execution, it is expected that the increase in range of stakeholders at the community level should create an avenue in providing the needed support to increase sustainability in local industry.

In the *Saaman* and *Grumisa* communities within Wassa Akropong, western region, Ghana, the local development challenge identified in enterprise calls for a revision of an arena of actors.

Local industry in Wassa Akropong faces a range of weaknesses. Within most communities in the district, at least 65% of inhabitants, as well as over 50% count of women, largely depend on natural resources and cultivation as a major source of livelihood. For most local actors, directly engaged in, and whose livelihood is dependent on these resources, the challenge remains their inability to advocate and identify channels for opinion representation, due to weak civic engagement channels. Urgent issues of pollution in illegal gold mining with low advocacy channels for actors has impacted negatively on resources.

Over time, this has led to an unsustainable local industry and a continued cycle of poverty, creating a stalemate in income generation and improved living standards.

Former civic participation bordered on local government minimal interaction with local actors. Recent community development approaches focus on actors in Wassa Akropong, community development witnessing a reversal as a result of community-oriented approaches towards reviving local actor identification and participation.

Community Capacity Building approaches

Within the Wassa Akropong community, local industry challenges, coupled with climate and environmental threats, have taken a new face with a range of instrumental actors. These include:

- Local traditional leaders in interfacing traditional perspectives with community development
- Youth groups in community mobilizing
- Queen mothers in gender balance initiatives
- Local district government agricultural departments on women and gender approaches

The Sustainable Enterprise and Capacity Building Initiative (SENCAB), has in recent times begun the process of introducing

Community Development (CD) alternatives in advocacy channels in improving main stay of livelihood for the farming community towards creating an opening for local industrial development. This is expected to support increased participation of local enterprise groups coordinated by local traditional authority and local government towards an improved local resource management for livelihoods.

The introduction of a new community development approach for the local groupings within the community will create a multiplicator effect in compelling communal support towards the improvement of local industry within the district. The growth of stakeholder relations in the management of assistance will compel local stakeholders to fulfill their social responsibility with the local community.

SENCAB community development approaches include:

- Traditional authority commitment for ample interest and participation.
- Bottom-up approaches, involvement, clear needs identification, context based tailored made, suiting community needs.
- Clear actors and channel identification.
- Fostering linkage between traditional representation and district authority.

Local government information sharing participation, know how acquisition and recognition, including:

- Partnering workshop sessions with local government and community with SENCAB in facilitation.
- Identifying civic operators, and groupings.
- Resource mapping.
- Identifying investor relations, capacities in industry development.
- Community Self initiative building.
- Advocacy in civic participation- Gender representation in local government.

Findings

Collaboration with stakeholders within the Wassa community revealed a number of findings, suggesting in general that there is potential for active community engagement with revised community development approaches.

Strategies aimed at supporting rural industry will impact more positively on the marginalized groups if support institutions and organisations ensure a holistic inclusion of traditional authority and indigenous enterprise groupings in decision making processes.

- Within both communities, there is the dire need, in programme implementation, to consider clear ownership process for community involvement with external support teams creating the basis for a solid tailormade partnership friendly to indigenous organizational practices, as against development of external project planning tools foreign to community livelihoods and routine.
- Investment procedures and mobilization of resources should be built on adequate involvement and support from local groups.
- Initiation of project-maiden phases should include a clear draw up of external bodies and stakeholders, with functions in partnering with representatives of indigenous organization and traditional authority in the planning, implementation and monitoring systems developed. Criteria developed by stakeholders in partnership with community multiplicators should be measured, based on the development of impact indicators set, which provide the basis to create a multiplicator effect in extending achieved goals to identical target communities.

Germany's Enable & Enhance Initiative – Success Factors in Facilitating Sustainable Security

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Introduction

When reflecting about challenges for achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Khalida Bouzar of the International Fund for Agricultural Development ascertained that the "Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have an intrinsic relationship to peace and stability. Without peace, all other goals—from focusing on youth and women's needs, to addressing climate change and water, energy and food security—will be impossible to achieve" (Bouzar, 2015). Although these structural, historical, and economic dimensions of how security is intertwined with sustainable development are widely recognised (Bruch, 2021; see also GEF, 2020), a focus on security as the precondition and enabler for development efforts is rather scarce in theoretical and practical discourse on development policy.

In order to address this reciprocal relation, Germany introduced the idea of an institutionalised mechanism to support and strengthen local security structures in fragile regions at the 2013 EU Summit of Heads of State and Government, which has since been implemented as the *EU Capacity Building in Support of Security and Development* (CBSD; for a critical assessment see Bergmann, 2017). To follow European words with domestic deeds, in 2015, the German Federal Government established the *Ertüchtigungsinitiative* – Enable & Enhance Initiative (*EIBReg*, E2I) – as a versatile and flexible new instrument in its foreign policy toolkit. In the following, a closer look is taken at the initiative's goals and objectives, organisational structure, means and measures, critique and limitations, as well as factors contributing to its failure or success.

Prevention is better than cure – goals and objectives of E2I

To combine efforts and create synergy effects in shared areas of development and security in a comprehensive approach, the German government committed itself to promote the "establishment of legitimate and viable state and social structures by means of foreign and development policy, policing, and legal and judicial instruments. [While doing so,] [h]uman security and the possibility of self-determined and sustainable development are goals of equal importance" (BMVg, 2016: 60). In the preventive approach to security and development that emerges from this commitment – eliminating the causes of conflict and averting crises before they break out – E2I aims to provide the means necessary to stabilise a country from within by enabling local actors to guarantee regional security on their own (BMVg, 2016: 60). To overcome the prevalent lack of necessary capabilities to promote stability and development among local actors, E2I thus aims to train and equip states and organisations in fragile environments to "provide security and stability in their own neighbourhoods, ranging from crisis prevention to crisis management, post-crisis rehabilitation, and peacebuilding" (Puglierin, 2016: 1).

A burden shared is a burden halved – the organisational structure of E2I

E2I is jointly managed and implemented by the German Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Defence and receives its funding from Germany's federal budget. Since its establishment, funds have steadily increased – from 100 million EUR (2016), 130 million EUR (2017, 2018, 2019), 195 million EUR (2020), to 225 million EUR (2021) (BMVg & AA, 2019: 1, 4). In 2022, E2I was further instated for the processing and disbursement of German military aid to Ukraine and its budget was increased to 2 billion EUR (see Haushaltsgesetz 2022). In this context, E2I's existing structures are used to pay for military supplies from the German industry to Ukraine, financed by the federal government (Bundesregierung, 2022).

As noted by Puglierin, the budget title allocated to E2I is independent from the ministries' own budget, creating a flexible mechanism that can be utilised for a wide scope of programs "without restrictions on content, geography or time" (2016: 2). The decision on the funding of projects as well as their coordination and planning are made in and between the Federal Foreign Office and Federal Ministry of Defence after an official request for support is submitted by a partner state. After completion of projects, obligatory evaluations serve as a mechanism to ensure effectiveness and efficiency of projects and help to further develop the initiative itself (BMVg & AA, 2019: 3).

"Teach a state to fish…" – means and measures of E2I

As but one part of a comprehensive approach to preventive problem-solving, all E2I projects and measures are to be integrated in an overarching concept combining civilian and military instruments (BMVg, 2016: 60). By providing support to the security sector of partner countries and organisations, E2I follows the assumption that the pacification of local conflicts is only feasible in close cooperation with and through regional and local actors (Puglierin, 2016: 1; BMVg & AA, 2019: 2). In a "help to self-help" approach, E2I's main toolkit consists of training, education, advice, and provision of infrastructure and equipment of civilian and military nature. Since material support of partner states alone cannot guarantee long-term and sustainable effects on local conditions, it is supplemented by advice and training and intended to be embedded in various accompanying development measures geared towards strengthening good governance in the region (BMVg & AA, 2019: 2).

In the first four years of its existence, the initiative completed nearly 300 projects, ranging from training and educational measures, reforms in the security sector, provision of lethal and non-lethal equipment, support for border security, to disarmament and arms control measures (Grebe, 2017: 187; Puglierin, 2016: 2). According to the Federal Ministry of Defence, by the end of 2021, 350 projects had been funded to the tune of 600 million euros (Tagesspiegel*,* 2022).

When the initiative started in 2016, it focused on Iraq, Jordan, Tunisia, Mali, and Nigeria. In 2018, Burkina Faso and Niger were included and in 2019, additional projects in Somalia and Gambia were realised (BMVg & AA, 2019:4). Since then, Eastern and Southeastern European states like Ukraine and Moldova have been added to the group of partner states (see Tomelzik & Hak, 2020; BMVg, 2022a). As part of its efforts to increase presence and engagement in the Indo-Pacific, the German government announced in August 2022 that it had identified various possible projects for E2I in Southeast and South Asia (see BMVg, 2022b) – signals that could accompany and support U.S. and Australian attempts to counter Chinese influence operations on Pacific island states.

In addition, E2I funds and oversees individual projects in collaboration with or executed through the United Nations, NATO, G5 Sahel, and ECOWAS (BMVg & AA, 2019: 4). Following, to make the versatility and potential of E2I more tangible, a few examples of projects are highlighted.

In **Lebanon**, E2I funding supports the reconstruction of a Lebanese Navy base destroyed in the devastating explosion in the port of Beirut in 2020. With an immediate grant of 2,3 million EUR, workshops, offices, accommodation, and a dining hall were built (Fischer, 2021). Moreover, since 2017, Lebanese Coast Guard's radar stations have been modernised, enabling the navy to detect small vessels over a greater distance and increasing its anti-smuggling capabilities (Fischer, 2021). According to German Rear Admiral Schulz, then-commander of the Maritime Task Force of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), the reconstruction of the port gave the Lebanese Navy "a higher operational capability to take over the tasks of securing its own territorial waters in the long term" (cited in Fischer 2021). In **Tunisia**, together with U.S. agencies, a command centre and sensor-supported border security facilities have been constructed that provide Tunisia with increased reconnaissance capabilities on the border with Libya against fighters of the so-called Islamic State and arms smuggling on its eastern border (BMVg, 2022c).

In **Nigeria**, reconnaissance capabilities of the armed forces were improved with mobile ground radar systems to support the fight against Boko Haram (BMVg, 2022c). In **Mali**, the E2I commissioned a local architectural firm and regional construction companies to build ammunition storages to increase the safety and security of the armed forces' ammunition stocks and strengthen its operational capabilities (BMVg, 2022c). By employing local businesses instead of flying in technicians, engineering capabilities in Mali were enhanced and the local economy supported. In **Niger**, more than 80 trucks were supplied to the armed forces to increase the mobility of border security detachments. To ensure sustainability and develop local capabilities, soldiers were trained in the repair and maintenance of the vehicles (BMVg, 2022c).

In **Ukraine**, already before the Russian invasion in February 2022, various military medical facilities have been supplied with high-tech equipment through E2I. According to Tomelzik & Hak (2020), E2I supplied equipment such as CT scanners and angiographs to the military hospital in Chernihiv, Kyiv, and Lviv. Through the accompanying guidance of advisors of the medical service of the *Bundeswehr*, the equipment did not only improve the diagnostic capabilities of Ukrainian military medical facilities but was integrated with various measures of structural reforms in the Ukrainian armed forces.

Arms trade instrument or trojan horse? – critique and limitations of E2I

In the first years after the initiative was founded, criticism was voiced from various backgrounds. Following, some points of critique and inherent limitations to the initiative are identified.

While some suspected E2I to be an elaborate ploy to export German weapons (see Grebe, 2017), others believed the initiative would serve as a fig leaf for Germany to prevent taking robust action on the ground itself (Dehez, 2014). Moreover, some scholars were very critical of the securitisation of development policy by initiatives such as E2I and CBSD (see Bergmann, 2017). Still others expressed concerns about the unpredictability of the political situation in partner countries and the possible exploitation of newfound capabilities for human rights violations (see Puglierin, 2016; Grebe 2017).

Critics of E2I's arms shipments such as Grebe (2017: 185) argue that a foreign policy strictly aimed at peace would be ultimately incompatible with the supply of weapons. According to these critics, the mere presence of weapons fuels conflicts and their longevity increases the possibility of illicit diversion in the long term, especially after the fall of a government – Taliban fighters with M16 rifles and night-vision goggles driving Humvees through Kabul arguably support these concerns (Grebe, 2017: 185-190). Although critics acknowledge that the cause of these conflicts is not rooted in the weapons shipments themselves, they believe them to create "more instability, more unrest, more fears among all those involved" (Grebe, 2017: 188). Another point of critique raised is the apparent double standard under which authoritarian regimes without geostrategic significance are condemned for their policies, while others are supported with arms deliveries if they are considered an important security partner (Grebe, 2017: 188).

While E2I and its projects are naturally limited by resources, political momentum, and chance, the most significant and, arguably, most delicate limitation is imposed on the initiative by the partner state or group. As aptly described by Puglierin, success can only be achieved when "supporters' interests align with the interests of those receiving the support, and if close cooperation is possible in the long term" (2016: 3). Thus, if there are no local control mechanisms in place, for example to monitor the distribution and end use of lethal weapons, abuse and diversion can severely harm not only civilians on the ground, but also the acceptance of E2I in Germany and the partner state – the media reaction to the 2020 coup in recently enabled and enhanced Mali can serve as an apt example (see Johnson 2020).

Success factors for sustainable security

For E2I to successfully achieve its objectives – capacity-building of sustainable security structures as a precondition for sustainable development and crisis prevention – several conditions must be observed. To realise E2I's full potential, projects implemented and supported should be initiated as early as possible, adequately funded, designed for the long-term, grounded in local knowledge, and integrated into a holistic, comprehensive approach.

First, all efforts enabling a partner to independently provide the security necessary for communities to prosper must be undertaken as early as possible – either on fertile post-crisis soil or in times of easing tension. Because of the often lengthy period of time that is required to plan, organise, and implement a project that achieves a sustainable impact, the window of opportunity for capacity-building projects closes, when causes of a crisis have already reached a tipping point. Therefore, initial deliberations about possible projects must always be accompanied and guided by early crisis detection assessments and, if threat analyses indicate that the desired effect is unlikely to be achieved prior to escalation, efforts should be adapted or ceased altogether.

Secondly, all capacity-building measures must be adequately funded to achieve their aim. If all necessary requirements and arrangements have been fulfilled and carried out, the final impact should not be diminished by an insufficient number of staff, excessive limitation of beneficiaries, or the procurement and use of inadequate material and equipment. Not only do austerity measures yield a reduced effect despite equal administrative efforts, but they can also lead to dissatisfaction among partners and contractors, which in turn can jeopardise the success of the entire project. Therefore, a smaller number of well-funded projects should be preferred to a larger, more widely stretched number of supported initiatives with less robust funding.

Thirdly, enhancing the capabilities of a partner state's security actors must always be a long-term, enduring effort. Not only is it important that planning and preparation are not rushed, but that all measures are designed to achieve a sustainable imprint on local structures. To that end, capabilities must be built up, maintained, and accompanied until partner forces are able to independently conduct and sustain all its aspects – and even then, straightforward communication channels should remain in place.

Moreover, throughout every phase of the project, assessments must be based on a deep understanding of local conditions as well as on constant exchange with personnel on the ground. Through local German embassies, soldiers on the ground, and civilian organisations such as the *Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (see article by Seitlinger in this issue), a constant communication between the ministries and implementing actors can be maintained. Nonetheless, it is imperative that the partner state and local officials, experts, and community members are actively involved in shaping the project. Relying only on German perceptions of local conditions must never replace the assessments and requirements of locals.

Lastly, it is crucial to integrate all capacity-building measures into a holistic, comprehensive approach that goes beyond the mere development of security capabilities. If these are not integrated into a process involving society as a whole, there is a risk that the security apparatus will be strengthened, but not political, economic, and civilian progress. Thus, all E2I projects should be flanked by governmental and non-governmental efforts to address issues of climate change and environment protection, gender inequality, as well as good governance and community-level conflict resolution.

Conclusion

The Enable & Enhance Initiative is a modern, flexible, and adaptable instrument of German foreign policy. Over the past six years, the variety of different projects has helped to generate institutional knowledge and close initial efficiency gaps. With more and more partners involved, better comparisons between contrasting approaches can be made and resources and measures can be adapted to better suit regional conditions. The increase in partner states also strengthens Germany's global footprint in security and development policy and thereby multiply its opportunities for promoting good governance around the world.

If E2I is done right – early, with robust funding, a long-term vision, local knowledge, and as part of a comprehensive approach – it presents a valuable tool to German foreign policy practitioners. Therefore, it is important to observe how E2I's output is affected by its current efforts to process transactions for military aid to Ukraine and, especially, how its budget will develop after this additional task has been externalised or, hopefully, ceases to be necessary. To make the initiative a more visible, integral part of German foreign policy and shift its potential more into the focus of policymakers, scholars of foreign, security, and development policy need to engage with and explore E2I and its opportunities more thoroughly. When development cooperation is not enough, but intervention is too much, E2I is one of the most important, valuable tools at our disposal.

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