

Saving the World by Doing Business? A Background Paper on the Role of the Private Sector in Danish Aid

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About the project

'Commodifying Compassion: Implications of Turning People and Humanitarian Causes into Marketable Things' seeks to understand how 'helping' has become a marketable commodity and how this impacts humanitarianism symbolically and materially. An international team of researchers funded by the Danish Council for Independent Research (2017-2021) will examine ethical consumption intended to benefit humanitarian causes from the perspectives of consumers, businesses, NGOs and recipients. This is the first project to include the cause beneficiaries' regimes of value as an important component in understanding the ethical dilemmas of 'helping.' The research will produce a better understanding by humanitarian organizations and businesses leading to more ethical fundraising, donors weighing consumption-based models as part of more effective aid, and consumers making more informed choices about 'helping' by buying brand aid products. Commodifying Compassion will explore the dynamics of consumption for a humanitarian cause in three different contexts where humanitarianism has been a realm traditionally dominated by the state (Denmark), the church (Italy) and the market (United States).

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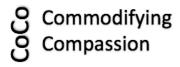




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Saving the world by doing business? Background paper on the role of the private sector in Danish aid

Mette Fog Olwig* and Julie Andersen Schou**

Abstract

In recent years publicly funded development and humanitarian aid is being reduced, while the private sector is increasingly being considered a key development actor. This working paper provides an overview of the institutional framework that currently influences these processes in Denmark. We find that in Denmark, this new approach to aid has taken place in the context of a significant change in the Danish national narrative concerning engagement in aid. Whereas the narrative formerly emphasized the importance of selfless global solidarity it has now opened up for approaches that are overtly strategic and self-interested in relation to safety, values, and business interests. While business has always been part of development, the change in narrative has further legitimized combining profit and development. We show how the Danish Government has encouraged civil society to engage in joint ventures with the business sector and describe a spectrum of humanitarian and development initiatives with private business. Together these trends and initiatives have resulted in a Danish institutional framework that, we find, strongly supports and promotes the involvement of business in the development sector. This will have important implications for the scope and agenda of development, as well as for standards for accountability and measurement of results, that need to be further studied.

Key words: development policy, humanitarian aid, private sector, partnerships, SDGs, Danida, Denmark

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1. Introduction

Denmark has long branded itself as a country of citizens who show exceptional solidarity both domestically via the welfare state and externally via international solidarity movements and state-driven development and humanitarian aid. National narratives of Danish engagement in aid take their point of departure in the 1960s and 1970s when Danish citizens were actively involved in international solidarity movements and the official development cooperation agency of the Government of Denmark, Danida, was formally established. When the Danish parliament, Folketinget, passed a liberal asylum and immigration Act in 1983, which was "dubbed among the most liberal of its kind" this narrative of solidarity was further consolidated (Kohl, 2016). Denmark gained international prominence, along with the other Nordic countries, for a "Nordic model" of participatory, partnership-oriented and human rights-focused aid that included "a large share of multilateral assistance, a focus on low-income countries, and a large portion of grant aid" and "placed significant emphasis on democracy, gender, environment and human rights" (Elgström & Delputte, 2015, p. 1). During the 1990s, known as "the heyday of Danish foreign aid" (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 145), Denmark was in the vanguard of this movement with Danish aid constituting a world-wide high 1.0% of GNI (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 143). At that time, the stated aim of Danish development aid was poverty reduction, and development programs were characterized by partnerships with states in the form of aid to so-called "co-operation countries" (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 144).

However, since 2001, when a right-wing government was elected in Denmark, led by the center-right party Venstre, and dependent on the support of the ultra-nationalist Danish People's Party, there have been significant changes in Denmark's development and humanitarian aid involving both cuts and a redirection of aid. These changes have been accompanied by a general tendency to more overtly brand Denmark's engagement in the world as a strategic means to protect Denmark's own interests – its security, values, and business interests. One outcome of this new approach to aid is that business interests and the business sector are being linked more directly to aid, producing a Danish institutional framework that is more favorable towards the involvement of business in the development sector. This is in line with a global trend where private humanitarian aid and development funding are proportionally playing a larger role in relation to public sources (Mawdsley, 2018).

It is not new that the private sector is part of the development sector, and even when Danish aid emphasized solidarity, aid was often used to achieve strategic, political and economic goals. We are thus not implying that instrumentalization and politization of aid have not been part of the Danish state's practice of doing development during the 20th century, yet we argue that the narratives linked to past and current development policy regimes have changed. Companies have always been extensively involved in "development" around the world through activities involving, for example, resource extraction, and are hired by development agencies such as Danida to build infrastructure. However, the fusion of CSR and branding with

development aid is a more recent version of this phenomenon, which poses new types of questions for both researchers and practitionersⁱ. In turn, the shifting dominant national narratives around Denmark's role in the world contribute to legitimizing certain practices and political decisions in relation to aid, such as increasing or decreasing the overseas development assistance (ODA) or using funds from development assistance for domestic expenses related to receiving refugees.

Based on analysis of secondary data including newspaper articles, government reports, websites and NGO/business communication as well as a review of relevant literature, the following sections provide an overview and discussion of the institutional framework that currently influences the processes of further institutionalizing the role of business in the Danish development sector. The working paper first looks at the Danish government's current strategy on aid, and how this strategy incorporates a focus on private sector partnerships. Secondly, the paper looks at how civil societyⁱⁱ in Denmark has responded to the growing emphasis on the private sector within development. Thirdly, we provide some historically contextualized empirical examples of the spectrum of humanitarian and development initiatives with private business in Denmark. This paper concludes that the Danish institutional framework strongly supports and promotes the involvement of business in the development sector. This will have important implications for the scope and agenda of development, as well as for standards for accountability and measurement of results, that need to be further studied.

2. The Danish government's current strategy on aid and private sector partnerships

2.1 The World 2030 - A partnership approach

In June 2019, a new government led by the Social Democratic Party was elected in Denmark replacing the former right-wing government. In their electoral campaign and inaugural speeches, the incoming government promised new directions within social security, climate policy and most recently, Denmark's development cooperation. Until a new strategy is produced, however, the official development policies will largely build on Denmark's current strategy for development cooperation and humanitarian action, The World 2030 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a). The strategy was passed in 2017 under the former government, but supported by most of the parties in parliament, including The Social Democratic Party, and argues for a required paradigm shift in ODA. According to the strategy, publicly financed development assistance is an insufficient means of addressing the growing, interconnected and increasingly complex challenges in the world, such as protracted violent conflicts and climate change. Instead of viewing ODA as necessary for development in general, the strategy redefines official assistance as a "capital injection" mainly suitable for the least developed, poorest, and fragile countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a, p. 4). For middle-income countries ODA is described as "catalytic:" "... the financial weight of official development assistance is not what makes the difference. What makes the difference here is how it, through partnerships, is able to catalyse and mobilise private funding, knowledge and new technology for the developing countries" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a, p. 4).

The strategy anchors this paradigm shift from ODA to partnerships in three global agreements seen as "very much in line with the Danish interests, values and principles" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a, p. 2), namely the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development including the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2015c), the Paris Agreement to combat climate change (United Nations, 2015b), and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development (United Nations, 2015a). Most notably, the Danish strategy labels the UN SDGs with its three dimensions; economic, social and environmental, as the "platform" upon which it aims to combine poverty alleviation and sustainable development, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a, p. 6). The strategy was passed in Danish parliament in agreement between all parties except the left wing party Enhedslisten (Gormsen, 2017) that was concerned that the strategy did not include an overall focus on SDG 10 on inequality (Juhl, 2016). The partnership approach is linked to SDG 17 on "means of implementation" and involves various actors including civil society, business, research institutions, and investors that - together with local partners - can "create results of the right magnitude" through innovation, synergy, and joint value creation to break new ground (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a, p. 11).

While partnerships to finance the SDGs can be forged between a range of different actors – state, civil society, the private sector, research institutions, and investors - the Danish Government has most visibly branded and encouraged "innovative partnerships" with the Danish private sector. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the partnerships represent an opportunity to innovate, experiment and catalyze efforts to increase the impact of aid. Moreover, they are presented as necessary because the SDGs cannot be financed solely through traditional ODA but require new methods, technologies and knowledge. Thus, in The World 2030, Denmark brands itself as a frontrunner for innovative solutions for "doing good" – solutions that both contribute to sustainable development and promote Danish private investments:

"The private sector is decisive in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. Denmark will catalyse partnerships between various public and private partners with a view to coupling the best knowledge, the most innovative ideas and financing and contributing to developing markets and promoting market-driven sustainable growth and employment. In partnerships, public and private resources such as knowledge and capital can obtain a greater effect than if they stand alone" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a, p. 31).

"Denmark sees existing and new partnerships as a way of promoting Danish interests in our international engagements. We favour innovative and courageous partnerships that are willing to take risks, where Danish assistance can increasingly catalyse the development of markets and attract knowledge and financing" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017a, p. 11).

Notable in the current discourse is the rather traditional notion of "development" characterized by modernization theory in which it is assumed that all good things go together. Clearly missing from these scenarios of course is the possibility (some would argue probability) of conflict or a focus on alleviating existing inequalities.

2.2 From solidarity to strategic interests

The World 2030 was launched at a time of overall cuts in Danish aid. The right-wing government that was in office from 2001-2011 cut administration costs at Danida by 25% between 2001 and 2004 (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 145) and in the years following, ODA was reduced from a 2015 ODA level of 0,85% of GNI to 0,7% in 2018 – the lowest level since 1983 (Frandsen, 2017a). This level, which the Foreign Ministry proudly declares places Denmark "in the small leading circle of Western countries living up to UN's 0,7% target", will be maintained by the current Social Democratic government according to the priorities for development cooperation in the 2020 Finance Act (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2019, 2). Since 2001, Danish aid has furthermore been redirected from a focus on poverty alleviation to security concerns and military intervention. Furthermore, the right-wing government "... began to prioritise 'hard' instead of 'soft' solutions to security challenges and went on to engage in the Iraq war in 2003 with very narrow parliamentary support" (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 144). Thus, from 2003, Denmark's brand of international solidarity was challenged by the new brand of a "warrior nation" (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Malmvig, 2016). Danish military engagement began already in 1999 with Denmark's participation in Kosovo without a UN mandate, and since then the country has contributed to military forces alongside the US in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Syria. From a focus on poverty reduction, Danish aid is now increasingly given to "fragile states" e.g. Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. According to Engberg-Petersen and Fejerskov (2018), since the 2010s Danish aid has been changed in five areas: 1) significant increase in high-level politically motivated changes in aid; 2) overall reduction of foreign aid; 3) development assistance used to cover domestic expenses related to asylum seekers in Denmark; 4) efforts to engage the private sector in development work, and 5) continued focus on "fragile situations, refugees, relief and development" (Ibid, 146).

These changes were expressed in the budgeting and prioritization of development funding. Besides the reduction of foreign aid to 0.7% of GNI, the aid budget was further affected by the redirection of aid to costs related to receiving asylum seekers, which meant that from 2015 to 2016, the budgets for bilateral assistance, climate change and multilateral aid were halved (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 152). As part of the new strategy, the government also reduced the number of "priority countries" from 21 to 14, which meant that aid to several countries in Latin America, Asia and Southern Africa was phased out (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 150). The framework for NGO funding was changed from 25 "framework

agreements" with 19 organizations, to "strategic partnerships" with 17 organizations that were chosen in 2018 after a competitive application process (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017c). Some NGOs formerly funded by Danida had their applications rejected, for instance because they did not work in at least two of the new priority countries of the Foreign Ministry (Frandsen, 2017b). With its new strategic priorities, the Danish government introduced a more explicit form of instrumentalization of aid, "satisfying short-term, non-development interests through development cooperation" especially in relation to efforts to prevent migration (cf. Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 148), and where the promotion of Danish business and technology is a legitimate companion of aid.

2.3 More Denmark in the world - Promoting Danish business

In 2015, the then Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen emphasized how Danish foreign policy and development policy were a means to protect Denmark: "Denmark can make a difference. We cannot save the whole world. But we can promote the values that we believe in. We can fight for our interests. And we should also be honest about the fact that this is exactly what we do" (Rasmussen, 2015)ⁱⁱⁱ. The Prime Minister elaborated further on the need for even better interplay between Danish aid and the Danish business community which, according to him, could deliver the investments and knowledge that countries increasingly ask for: "We need to deliver help to self-help with attention to Danish interests. In East and West Africa alike, there is an expectation of economic growth in the coming years. We need to advance this positive development" (Rasmussen, 2015)^{iv}. This self-interested approach is regarded as being in line with doing good, with Denmark as a front-runner. In the words of the former Danish Minister of Development Cooperation, Ulla Tørnæs:

"We need more Denmark in the world. Danish solutions on sustainable energy, energy-efficiency, environment and clean tech as well as food production is [sic] in high demand in many countries. This type of partnership can simultaneously contribute to sustainable development abroad, strengthen bilateral relations and promote Danish solutions" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018b).

Danida has increasingly introduced measures to push for "more Denmark in the world" through, in the words of the CEO of Nordekon Consultancy: "cool instruments for companies doing business in Africa." For example, in 2017, Danida instigated the "Danida Market Development Partnerships Program" (DMDP) encouraging Danish private sector investment in development countries through partnership consortiums with reference to SDG goal 8 on the promotion of "sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all" (United Nations, 2015c, p. 19). Moreover, in 2016 Danida launched the initiative "Danida Business Explorer," which provides financial support to Danish businesses investigating new business opportunities in states classified as Lower-Middle Income Countries (according to the World Bank classification). The business opportunities must address local development needs and contribute to the UN SDGs. Apart from applying for support to individually explore new business opportunities, Danish businesses can also apply

for funds to explore partnership opportunities with humanitarian NGOs with a view to offering Danish business solutions in humanitarian crises. The total budget of the initiative in 2019 was DKK 15 million^{vii} (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, n.d.).

Another way in which Danida is supporting "more Denmark in the world" is through the notion of "TechPlomacy" as explained in the strategic note "TechVelopment: Approach and Narrative" that was published by the Danish Foreign Ministry in late 2018:

"Denmark has positioned itself pro-actively by elevating technological diplomacy, TechPlomacy, to a crosscutting foreign and security policy priority and by appointing the world's first Tech Ambassador and establishing a global tech-representation with a presence in Silicon Valley, Copenhagen and Beijing" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018c, p. 3).

This involves "TechVelopment," which is "used to describe the track under the TechPlomacy initiative that deals with promoting innovation and technology in Denmark's development cooperation" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018c, p. 3). Once again, the rationale is that Denmark has so much to offer the world. At the same time Danish business is also promoted:

"Denmark has a strong history of digital innovation, including in the public sector. According to the 2018 United Nation's e-government survey, Denmark is the best in the world when it comes to e-government. Denmark also tops the EU's Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI) 2017 as the most advanced digital economy in the EU. Denmark has knowledge and experience from our own digital journey to share with our partners" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018c, p. 3).

In March 2018, a new government Strategy for Economic Diplomacy was promulgated entitled "Access to the world - new paths to growth" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018a). According to a newspaper article by researcher Rasmus Hundsbæk Pedersen and journalist Pernille Bærendtsen, this strategy continues to "underpin the new orientation in the Danish relations to recipients of development aid towards enhancing economic growth and Danish business interests [...] Danish development aid must increasingly foster a combination of economic development in the recipient country and Danish business interests" (R. H. Pedersen & Bærendtsen, 2018).

2.4 Moving forward – Privatized and green solidarity?

Danish development policy and aid is highly influenced by the shifting political priorities and short-term interests of the governments in power (Engberg-Pedersen & Fejerskov, 2018, p. 158). It will therefore be important to follow the strategies laid out by the newly elected Social Democratic government during the coming years in order to understand whether the political emphasis in The World 2030 on promoting private sector partnerships and Danish interests will continue to set the agenda for Danish aid in the future.

As mentioned previously, the new Social Democratic government was a signatory to The World 2030, but has stated that "at the right time," it will produce a new strategy, which will focus on increasing climate-related aid (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2019b, p. 2). The government depends on a center-left coalition to stay in power, and since climate change has been an item on the political agenda upon which all these parties could agree, this focus is not surprising. Every year the government usually presents to the Parliament its priorities for Danish Development Cooperation for the coming three-year period. In 2019, the Foreign Ministry published the document "Priorities of the Danish Government for Danish Development Assistance," including a budget for 2020 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2019b), that it touted on its website as the first step towards "a significant reorientation of the development policy priorities" that will be based on "solidarity, fairness and justice" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2019a). Indeed, the new Minister for Development Cooperation has given himself the title "Minister of Solidarity" (Fagbladet 3F, 2019). In the priority document, the government highlights its "green" ambitions, yet maintains the previous government's focus on problems in connection with migration and fragile states, the need for emergency aid, and uses development aid to settle refugees in Denmark. Finally, the document prioritizes Africa geographically, especially through the EU framework (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2019b, p. 7), including by offering support to the creation of decent jobs through a "committed relationship between the public and the private sector" and by promoting "responsible private investments" in the SDGs and climate issues (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2019b, p. 8).

As the new government has not been in power for very long and therefore has not had much time to produce new strategies or policies, we asked the Foreign Ministry whether they had any additional information on the future direction of aid, specifically in relation to the future private sector strategy. They did not have any further information and referred us to interviews with the minister that have appeared in various media outlets. In these interviews, the minister elaborates on his approach to the private sector, stating very clearly that in spite of the criticism it has received from NGOs and left-wing parties, he believes in the partnership approach and wants to strengthen the framework for private investments. He is convinced that "many companies have an element of altruism in them" (Elver, 2019) and that more investments, both public and private, are needed in order to achieve the SDGs and to address climate change (Prehn, 2019). However, although the government is not willing to increase the ODA, the minister maintains that long-term development assistance remains important, and that blended finance, "the strategic use of development finance for the mobilisation of additional finance towards sustainable development in developing countries" (OECD, 2018, p. 16), and private investment alone cannot solve the problems faced internationally (Prehn, 2019). He expects of the partnerships that they be beneficial to the "whole local value chain," for instance by supporting decent pay and improved working conditions (Houlind, 2019). While this approach will build upon existing experience and expertise in public-private partnerships in Denmark, the minister emphasizes that it will be subject to critical assessment with a view to ascertain what is working well at the moment, for instance in the Investment Fund for Developing Countries (IFU) (Houlind, 2019), which is an independent government-owned fund that makes risk capital available for companies wishing to do business in developing countries (http://www.ifu.dk).

Thus, the information we have been able to gather so far about the future strategy for development cooperation in Denmark suggests that the partnership approach and the push for private investments will be maintained. Furthermore, the tendency to politicize development aid also continues, in this case especially through promoting a "green" agenda and a Social Democratic version of "solidarity." However, the strategic document and the minister's statements indicate a shift, at least rhetorically, thereby changing the narrative from one with a focus on free trade and private investments, to workers' rights and binding international cooperation as the catalysts of change.

In the following section we will describe how the Danish government has used its financial influence in relation to NGOs to reconceptualize civil society as "strategic partners" both of the state and the private sector.

3. Civil Society: The partnership approach as "a necessary paradigm shift"

In July 2017, the right-wing Danish Government announced their four-year funding agreements called "strategic partnerships" with 17 of the largest Danish NGOs and a consortium of unions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017c). While non-governmental organizations by definition are not part of the government, many of the large Danish NGOs have been very dependent on state funding. Figure 1 shows the percentage of Danida funding that was given to NGOs and civil society in 2018.

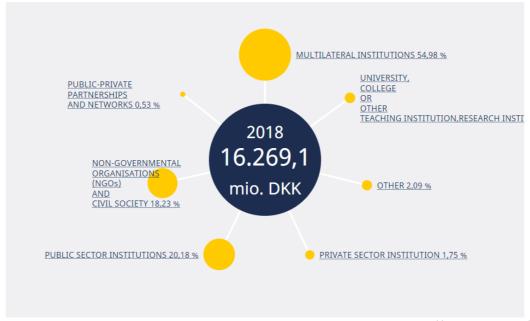


Figure 1. Distribution of aid between institutions. Source: Danida OpenAid (https://openaid.um.dk/).

As mentioned earlier, these strategic partnerships replaced the "framework agreements," according to which NGOs received government grants that were a more or less fixed item on the Finance Act, which were phased out by January 2018 (Frandsen, 2017b). The process leading up to the formation of the strategic partnerships, however, involved a competitive bidding round in which the NGOs, among other things, were required to clearly account for their current initiatives and track record with private business. The organizations were invited to apply to become partners in one or more of three partnership categories^{ix} described in the Information Note as follows:

Lot CIV: "The objective of Strategic Partnerships under lot CIV is to strengthen civil society in the global South so that it has the independence, space, diversity and capacity to influence and promote the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals with a particular focus on poor, marginalised and vulnerable groups" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017b, p. 6).

Lot HUM: "The objective of Strategic Partnerships under lot HUM is to save and protect lives, alleviate suffering and promote the dignity and rights of civilians in crisis situations and to initiate recovery through building resilience to and preventing future crisis by breaking the cycle between crisis and vulnerability." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017b, p. 7).

Lot LAB: "The objective of Strategic Partnerships under lot LAB is to support activities of Danish labour and business member organisations (BMO) to promote labour rights and a better business environment in developing countries, including respect for human rights, and thus decent jobs and sustainable economic growth" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017b, p. 8).

Of the three lots, Lot CIV holds the largest annual budget (DKK 450-520 million), whereas Lot HUM has an indicated total annual budget of DKK 370 million, and Lot LAB an annual budget of DKK 50-85 million. Figure 2 shows the distribution of funds between the different lots and partner organizations when the strategic partnerships were announced in 2017. While local authorities and faith-based organizations play a larger role in development cooperation policies in, for instance, Italy (Pedrana Forthcoming), in Denmark NGOs are the main non-governmental actors and the majority of the Danish organizations receiving funding to do development from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark are therefore NGOs.

Organisation	Vindue			Samlet årlig
0	CIV	HUM	LAB	bevilling DKK
ADRA Danmark	21 mio.	15 mio.		36 mio.
BØRNEfonden	21 mio.			21 mio.
CARE Danmark	54 mio.			54 mio.
Caritas Danmark	18 mio.	22 mio.		40 mio.
Danmission	15 mio.			15 mio.
Dansk Flygtningehjælp	15 mio.	160 mio.		175 mio.
Dansk Røde Kors	68 mio.	88 mio.*		156 mio.
Folkekirkens Nødhjælp	108 mio.	85 mio.		193 mio.
International Media Support	18 mio.			18 mio.
Mission Øst		19 mio.		19 mio.
MS ActionAid	124 mio.	15 mio.		139 mio.
Oxfam IBIS	96 mio.	19 mio.		115 mio.
PLAN Danmark	18 mio.			18 mio.
Red Barnet	53 mio.	56 mio.		109 mio.
Sex og Samfund	20 mio.**			20 mio.
WWF	15 mio.			15 mio.
Konsortium (3F, Dansk Industri & Ulandssekretariatet)			65 mio.	65 mio.
Total	664 mio.	479 mio.	65 mio.	1.208 mio.

Figure 2. Distribution of funds for the strategic partnerships when they were announced in 2017. Source: www.um.dk (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017c)

Several NGOs have indicated publicly that they stand at a crossroad where traditional ways of doing development and humanitarian assistance need to be revitalized and that they must break with a traditional North/South framework relying on ODA. In this context the private sector is seen to have an important role to play. Thus, in accordance with the institutional framework laid out by the Danish government's new development paradigm, as well as by the UN and specifically the SDGs, Danish NGOs appear to be changing their discourse on aid and private sector engagement. For instance, reflecting on it in 2016, Andreas Kamm, the then general-secretary of the Danish Refugee Council, labeled the partnership approach "a necessary paradigm shift" in a world with political discord and insufficient financing to address global problems: "Companies and NGOs need to cooperate to identify the market needs and develop the solutions/products (...) if we can kick start this process, we can create a win-win situation for business as well as the world's distressed" (Kamm, 2016). UNHCR Denmark also write on their webpage that they are confronted with a global refugee situation of historical proportions and need the knowledge, support and partnership engagement of companies, foundations, and individual philanthropists in order to achieve the SDGs (UNHCR, n.d.).

Danish NGOs have so far responded in different ways to this new challenge, with some responding in a reactive manner to offers from businesses, while others seek to position themselves more proactively in the businesses' value chains. For instance, DanChurchAid has to a large extent succeeded at positioning itself as a core humanitarian actor in the food sector through Danida's Market Development Partnerships Program. The Danish Red Cross aims to do the same in relation to the health sector — by being seen as an integral partner by businesses engaged in health. They are inspired by UNICEF International's approach involving first clearly defining a need and then seeking solutions for this in the private market, such as seeking a product to detect the Zika virus (UNICEF, n.d.).

As seen in Figure 3, humanitarian NGOs are increasingly hiring personnel directly engaged with private sector cooperation, such as The Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), or adopting business language and ways of operating, such as in the case of DanChurchAid.



Figure 3. Job postings by NGOs who are strategic partners of the Foreign Ministry. Source: www.globalnyt.dk, accessed in 2018.

Recently, there has also been an increase in NGOs recruiting staff from the business sector. There is furthermore a proliferation of consultancies and networks that focus on helping NGOs make connections with business partners, as well as involving businesses in what would traditionally be considered development and humanitarian projects, but are now being reframed as "doing business," as shown in Table 1.

Quercus Group Founded in 2012, the consultancy firm Quercus Group has offices in Denmark, Kenya and India, and has worked in more than 25 countries. They focus on cleantech, urban development and agribusiness emphasizing multi-stakeholder processes and partnerships. Quercus Group was one of the consultancy companies invited to present at a 2018 "Civil Society in Development" (CISU) network meeting on collaboration with the private sector.

Access2Innovation (A2I)

A2I was established in 2007 by DanChurchAid, North Denmark EU-Office, South Denmark European Office, Confederation of Danish Industry (DI) and the departments of Development and Planning and Energy Technology at Aalborg University. It provides a platform for new partnerships bringing together civil society organizations, businesses, public institutions and researchers. A recent partnership between the Danish Red Cross and Unumed – a small Danish IT company – was facilitated through A2I with the aim of developing a product to digitalize the registering and documentation of patients in basic health clinics in Kenya.

Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals (P4G)

The P4G is a global initiative, established by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in partnership with other countries, with the aim to facilitate, support and co-finance partnerships between governments, corporations and civil society organizations (CSOs). The former Danish Minister for Development Cooperation, Ulla Tørnæs, is on the P4G board. The country partners include Chile, Colombia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mexico, The Netherlands, The Republic of Korea and Vietnam. The P4G commenced in 2018. DanChurchAid and the Danish Refugee Council act as civil society partners.

Nordekon Consultancy Company and the Africa Innovation Network

Nordekon has since 2003 focused on how Nordic companies can do business in Africa. They facilitate the Africa Innovation Network, which arranges various events and seminars that include networking for businesses, NGOs, ministries, diplomats and NGOs from both African and Nordic countries. Nordekon has worked with several cases that incorporated Danish Civil Society organizations, including the Danish Refugee Council, ADRA Danmark and PLAN Danmark.

UN Global Compact Network Denmark

The Danish UN Global Compact Network was launched in 2017. The network focuses on facilitating the incorporation of the UN SDGs and the Global Compact's 10 universal sustainability principles in Danish business strategies. By 2019 it included 386 participants covering corporations, business associations, NGOs, public sector organizations, foundations and more. Save the Children Denmark, DanChurchAid, the Danish Refugee Council and Børnefonden are participants in the network.

Table 1. Examples of consultancies and networks in Denmark focusing on helping NGOs make connections with business partners and involving businesses in development

While the current move towards partnerships between NGOs and private business has been promoted significantly by the Danish government and is having a concrete impact on how NGOs structure their organizations and talk about their work, collaboration initiatives between Danish NGOs and business have a longer trajectory. In the following section, we will discuss how these collaborations have evolved and provide some empirical examples of the spectrum of humanitarian and development initiatives with private business.

4. Spectrum of humanitarian and development initiatives with private business

Already in 2012, prior to Danida's new strategy, the Danish Red Cross (DRK) initiated a 3-year project entitled "Future Partnerships Models for Strategic CSR" with the purpose of "developing a partnership model for the benefit of business and CSOs" (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b). The project was commissioned to Deloitte Consulting. In the preface to the project's Learning Report, Not Business As Usual – Partnerships Between CSOs and Businesses (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b), DRK's Secretary-General, Anders Ladekarl, writes that "strategic partnerships between Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and businesses enhance the possibility of addressing global challenges, such as poverty, and creating positive impacts globally as well as bringing benefits to partners" (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 4). Central partners in the project were the Danish NGO CARE and the Danish companies COOP (a supermarket cooperative) and Grundfos (a company producing pumps). As part of the project, a "partnership arena" was established with representatives from civil society as well as private business. A further output from the Not Business as Usual project was a Cross-Sector Partnership Guideline which provides "essential guidance for overcoming typical challenges" and "get[ing] started" with cross-sector partnerships (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016a).

In the report, a distinction is made between two different kinds of partnership approaches: "transactional" and "transformational" partnerships. These categories exist in different iterations in the discourse and reporting of NGOs and businesses as well as within the academic literature on corporate social responsibility (E. R. G. Pedersen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 10). In the following, we provide a short overview of some of these categorizations in order to shed light on the current trends within NGO-private sector engagement.

In the *Not Business as Usual Report*, a "transactional partnership" is characterized by being disengaged from the core competencies of the business, and mostly related to fundraising, marketing and communication activities, such as philanthropic donations or cause-related marketing (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 13). A "transformational partnership," on the other hand, is described as requiring "joint value creation, a joint definition of purpose and is often focused on collaboration within the value chain of the business partners" (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 12). The report states that even though one type of partnership is not better than the other, it has chosen to focus on transformational partnerships because these, as opposed to the transactional partnerships, have an "inherent" potential to tackle

more complex social and environmental challenges through pooling the resources and competencies of both businesses and NGOs (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 14).

In line with this, Pedersen and Pedersen (2013) write in their article that it is a common feature in the academic literature on NGO-business partnerships that the definitions of partnerships move between "low engagement, arm's length" to "deep-engagement partnerships" (E. R. G. Pedersen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 10). They use the same two concepts as Deloitte, but follow Bowen et al. (2010) who talk about "a continuum of community engagement" (Bowen et al., 2010, p. 303), adding a third category called "transitional engagement" that "falls between the two extremes" (E. R. G. Pedersen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 10). The partnership between the Danish NGO IBIS (now Oxfam IBIS) and the largest manufacturer of candy and chocolate in Denmark, Toms Group, is given as an example. The partnership originated from Toms' need to deal with bad media publicity about the use of child labor in its cocoa production in Ghana. Using IBIS' expertise and legitimacy regarding the issue of education, the project aimed at creating "better education for children in the cocoa-growing areas of Ghana" (E. R. G. Pedersen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 11). According to the authors, this was an example of a "transitional partnership," which would become "transformative" in the second phase, where the project would focus more on the cocoa value chain. In this view, partnerships become transformative when they actively engage with societal issues directly affected by the business in question and jointly seek to change how business is done by developing new solutions, in this case "transforming the problem domain of child labour" (E. R. G. Pedersen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 11). However, since the transformative phase of the project had not begun when the article was written, the categorization seems to be based on the approach or aim of the partnership, not its results or reception in the involved communities.

In the Danish context, the terminology of transactional and transformative partnerships can also be used to understand how business-NGO engagement has developed over time. "Transactional" partnerships cover a broad range of initiatives with business, from donations to cause-related marketing and Brand Aid^{xi} product development (see for example Richey & Ponte, 2011), which have existed for many years. What is new in the Danish context is thus not private sector-NGO collaboration in itself, but the tendency for NGOs and companies to increasingly engage in longer-term and/or more integrated projects based on the partnership approach, often with elements of both the transactional and transformational type. Even though the Not Business as Usual report appears to push for the transformational approach to partnerships, the transactional approach is still the most common type of partnership or engagement (Neergaard et al. 2009 in E. R. G. Pedersen & Pedersen, 2013, p. 11). This indicates that in practice, transformational partnerships are rather an aspirational ideal than a fixed category or blueprint which can be followed.

While the NGO-private sector partnerships that we see in the Danish aid landscape today build on a larger, international trend, what is particular in the Danish case is that the approach is becoming more and more institutionalized by the state. This is evident when considering how demands of private sector engagement are integrated into the public funding on which NGOs are dependent and the proliferation of public or semi-public institutions and consultancies facilitating the partnerships and private investment in developing countries in general. While transformational partnerships are often presented as positive by practitioners and business actors, it is important to draw attention to the implications of this fusion of profit and humanitarianism. What are the consequences and possibilities when the boundaries between NGOs and businesses are blurred and NGOs are urged to make a business case for development, while companies claim that buying their product is a way to save the world? How does this affect the work of the NGO sector, which by definition should be "non-governmental" and "nonprofit"?

In this last part of the working paper, some empirical examples of NGO-business collaborations from the Danish aid landscape will be presented. To show the range of collaborations, the initiatives have been organized into three categories of business-NGO engagement: 1) donations, 2) Brand Aid, benefit events and cause-related marketing, and 3) long-term strategic partnerships. This distinction is informed by the literature in emphasizing the spectrum of engagement while also reflecting the difference between the more traditional types of engagement and the newer partnership approach. It ranges from one-time transactions between the company, NGO and/or the consumer in the form of donations, to marketing and project activities such as Brand Aid, where the humanitarian cause and the corporate brand are tied closer together, and, lastly, to longer-term collaborations in the form of strategic partnerships. When we use the concepts in this working paper, it is thus for the purpose of capturing co-existing and, at times, contradictory types of business-humanitarian collaboration within a broader context.

1) Donations

Several Danish NGOs offer businesses "business support membership," which entails annual monetary donations by the business in exchange for branding and employee retention. One example is the Danish Red Cross that operates a Red Cross Business Club (Erhvervsklub), consisting of their business support members. The website for the Business Club presents the opportunities to support (the variation of amounts) and the corporate benefits of supporting, such as tax exemptions and permission to use the Red Cross logo on the business website (Danish Red Cross, n.d.-c). Other types of donations, such as DanchurchAid's "Give a goat," involves buying a "gift card" that can be given as a gift to someone, the gift being giving "a poor family" something they need, such as a goat (https://giv-en-ged.noedhjaelp.dk/).

2) Brand Aid, benefit events and cause-related marketing

Danish NGOs engage in several types of Brand Aid initiatives and participate in a range of events, such as festivals and concerts, that provide them with a platform for selling products and experiences supporting humanitarian causes (Christiansen & Olwig, 2018; Olwig & Christiansen, 2015, 2016; Richey & Ponte, 2011).



Figure 4. The Red Cross teddy bear sold in collaboration with BR, a chain selling toys.

Initiatives include for instance the Red Cross teddy bear, designed by the toy company BR and sold in their stores, and where 50% of the revenue went to Danish Red Cross under the caption "Play for life" (Danish Red Cross, n.d.-a). Other examples include Danish Refugee Council's cooperation with the Danish micro-brewery Mikkeller, which produces the beer HELP from which all the proceeds are donated to Danish Refugee Council's work with refugee children (Danish Refugee Council, n.d.), or DanChurchAid's webshop that carried a range of products from their project countries, the sale of which generated proceeds that went directly to DanChurchAid's relief work.

Another example of collaborations which claim to solve social or political issues through consumption is the campaign run by MasterCard and the World Food Program (WFP) in December 2017 with the tagline "Give food to the world's children by shopping for Christmas presents: You do not need to make any sacrifices to help people in need. Christmas shopping can as a matter of fact also be a way to show love of thy neighbor, if you only use the right card" (see Figure 5). The campaign entailed that every time a customer used their MasterCard, the company donated a school meal to a child in need. The Danish consumers did thus not need to "dampen" their inclination to shop in order to contribute to a better world: "When you use your MasterCard — an exercise you probably are already mastering — you can contribute to putting food on the table for those people most in need" (Mastercard, 2017).



Giv mad til verdens børn ved at shoppe julegaver

Du behøver ikke give afkald på noget, for at hjælpe mennesker i nød. Juleshopping kan nemlig også være næstekærlighed, hvis blot du bruger det riatiae kort.

Figure 5. Advertisement from the Mastercard and WFP Christmas campaign in 2017.

Most Brand Aid initiatives also involve celebrities as ambassadors to mediate between the organizations and the private consumers (Budabin, 2019; Olwig & Christiansen, 2015; Richey, 2015; Richey & Brockington, 2019). For example, the Danish Red Cross each year invites ten celebrity ambassadors from the business or the cultural sectors to their "KLUB 10", where they are encouraged to arrange events and projects to raise money for the organization (Danish Red Cross, n.d.-b).

3) Long-term, strategic partnerships

As discussed above, NGO-private sector partnerships can be transactional, transformational and anything in between. While transactional partnerships can take the form of donations or Brand Aid initiatives relatively disengaged from the core of the business, the transformational partnership is understood as a collaboration where the project builds on the "core competencies and strategic focus" of both the humanitarian organization and the business (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 12). The transformational partnership is meant to create value for both parties, perhaps even transforming them in the process. This type of partnership is new to the Danish development sector, and there are still only a few project examples to learn from. In the current Danish development landscape, major NGOs engaged in long-term strategic partnerships include DanChurchAid, CARE, the Danish Refugee Council, and the Red Cross.

Table 2 shows some illustrative examples of ongoing and past partnership projects between humanitarian organizations and businesses that the partners present as trying to be transformational.

Organization	Campaign title	Business and brand involved	Cause details
Danish Refugee Council	Tent Buster	Lifeshelter and Danish Technical University (DTU)	Developing sustainable and cost-efficient housing for refugees.
Danish Red Cross	Health software to improve medical aid to refugees	UNUMED, Kenya Red Cross	Health software for more efficient and improved medical assistance to refugees.
Danish Red Cross	Water2Life	Grundfos, Kenya Red Cross Society	Providing Kenyan villages with access to clean water by installing Grundfos' Lifelink water systems which ran on solar power.
CARE Denmark	CARE/COOP Sustainable food trade	COOP, Sunripe	Focusing on barriers in supply chains for vegetables, promoting trade between small-scale African farmers and COOP's Savannah brand.

Table 2. Examples of ongoing and past "transformational partnership" projects between NGOs and businesses.

The Tent Buster partnership between the Danish Refugee Council, The Danish Technical University, DTU, and Lifeshelter (previously EverShelter) was created to develop alternatives to traditional tents in refugee camps. The project aimed at developing reusable, locally produced shelters, building on the experiences from the Lifeshelter tents, which had turned out to be "too expensive to meet the massive demand for temporary housing" (access2innovation, n.d.b).

The Danish Red Cross is one of the organizations which has a variety of partnerships and commercial initiatives and has in recent years embarked on several attempts at transformative partnership projects. With the medical software company Unumed, Red Cross in Denmark and in Kenya collaborated on a project about biometric registration and real-time health information management in the Kalobeyei refugee settlement in Kenya. The purpose was to develop a product to digitize registration and documentation in basic health clinics for more effective health care management than what is possible when using manual paper work (access2innovation, n.d.a). In another project, the Danish Red Cross partnered with the Danish pump manufacturer Grundfos to improve access to clean water "for the world's most needing people" (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 33). The project installed ten Lifelink water systems in Kenya, which were developed by Grundfos and ran by solar-power, and entailed that the local citizens paid for the water over their cell phone (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 33).

The development NGO CARE is one of the Danish NGOs with the longest record of transformative partnerships in its portfolio. Its partnership with the COOP cooperative retail company on "responsible trade with Africa" focused on both boosting high-quality "African" products in COOP's stores and generating economic growth for Kenyan smallholders. This partnership has been defined in the Deloitte report as a good example of a transformational partnership successful in combining "retail and trade with environmental, social and economic development" (Danish Red Cross & Deloitte, 2016b, p. 35).

These examples show the variety of themes and approaches to private sector partnerships in the Danish NGO industry. In many of these projects, the business partner contributes with technical competencies and know-how, while the NGO has the role of mediator and gatekeeper between the company's technologies and the local context where they are implemented or marketed. While private sector partnerships create possibilities for longer-term project agreements than regular donors normally provide, they also create new challenges. These challenges include how partners ensure a shared vision and agenda, that the project is ethical, and that it is not limited to the CSR or communication department of the organizations but becomes part of the core activities. However, the idea of partnerships and business collaborations in aid pose questions on a more conceptual and theoretical level as well. One central issue, which needs further investigation, is the outcome of the partnerships; what types of value is created, and for whom? It is relevant to ask whether it is possible to simultaneously create value for business, NGOs and people in need, and how the scope and outcome of these

kinds of partnerships is different from other development interventions, business investments and other types of partnerships.

5. Conclusion

The Danish national narrative in relation to engagement in aid has changed from an approach of selfless global solidarity to one of more strategic self-interest in relation to safety, values, and business interests. While the government in Denmark has recently shifted, and some changes have been indicated, in particular in relation to climate change and the hard line on asylum seekers, especially quota refugees, the strong link to business has as of yet not been critically challenged, and will likely continue, albeit with a discursive shift towards "privatized and green solidarity." Together, these trends and initiatives have resulted in a Danish institutional framework that is very supportive of, and indeed pushing for, an increasingly involved business sector.

This working paper has shown that development aid in the Danish context takes place in the co-dependent and intertwined relationships between the state, civil society and corporations. While it is undeniably guided by greater trends and frameworks of international institutions, such as the UN SDGs, Danish development policy is also influenced by the political interests of the governments in power, and by the particular relationship between the state and civil society. NGOs and businesses have already been reacting to demands of securing additional funding and of living up to standards of responsibility and sustainability, respectively, for a while, through different types of collaborations and engagements. Yet, the involvement of business in Danish aid and the humanitarian sector is characterized by being increasingly institutionalized within the governmental funding bodies and official development strategies, which in turn further affect the strategies of the NGOs that are dependent on public funding.

Another trend, which requires sustained scholarly and public examination, is the idea(I) of the "transformational partnership." Despite promises of being able to tackle the issues societies face globally and achieving the SDGs while creating value for businesses, both NGOs and businesses are still learning how to work together, and it is not yet clear whether these partnerships have produced examples of projects with long-term, sustainable outcomes for the people who are being "helped." Here we find the power relationships and asymmetries between the NGO/state, business and the recipients of aid to be the elephant in the room, especially when discussing the idea of transformational partnerships. How do these partnerships relate to the historically conditioned structural inequalities from which they emerge; what are they able to transform, and do they have any potential to challenge, rather than reinforce, these power structures inherent in the partnerships, and aid in general? One possibility that the partnerships provide is that businesses may have different time frames and funding requirements than traditional donors, which could contribute with more continuity or simplicity in financing development interventions. On the other hand, there is an alignment of interests that is somehow taken for granted, but not really discussed. Furthermore, it is

important to consider how the scope and agenda of development is changing as a result of new for-profit and non-profit partnership constellations, and what standards for accountability and measurement of results are being put in place in this new context.

It is safe to say that this is a field with a great need, and many opportunities, for future research as partnerships, projects and campaigns between NGOs and businesses continue to proliferate in Danish aid.

Endnotes

¹ These questions are explored in the research project "Commodifying Compassion: Implications of Turning People and Humanitarian Causes into Marketable Things." Commodifying Compassion examines how "helping" has become a marketable commodity and how this impacts humanitarianism and development materially, and humanitarian sentiments symbolically (https://www.commodifyingcompassion.com). It does so in three different contexts where aid has been a realm traditionally dominated by respectively the state (Denmark), the church (Italy) and the market (United States) (Budabin & Richey, 2018; for more on each case country, see Christiansen & Olwig, 2018; Olwig & Christiansen, 2015, 2016).

ii In this working paper, we distinguish between civil society organizations (CSOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) following the terminology suggested by UNDP, which states that "NGOs should be properly understood as a subset of CSOs involved in development cooperation, albeit often one with no clear boundaries. Constituency-based organizations, such as trade unions or professional associations, for example, often do not self-identify as NGOs, but rather as CSOs" (Tomlinson, 2013, p. 124).

iii Authors' translation from the Danish quote: "Danmark kan gøre en forskel. Vi kan ikke redde hele verden. Men vi kan fremme de værdier, vi tror på. Vi kan kæmpe for vores interesser. Og vi skal også være ærlige om, at det netop er det, vi gør."

iv Authors' translation from the Danish quote: "Udviklingsbistanden skal spille endnu bedre sammen med dansk erhvervsliv, som kan levere de investeringer og den viden, som landene i stigende grad efterspørger. Vi skal give hjælp til selvhjælp med danske interesser for øje. I såvel Øst- som Vestafrika er der forventning om økonomisk vækst i de kommende år. Den positive udvikling skal vi skubbe til."

v Presentation by Flemming Sørensen, CEO, Nordekon, at Roskilde University, 9 October 2018 vi NB: Danida's new DMDP program needs to be seen in relation to its former Business 2 Business (B2B) program 2006-2011. An evaluation of B2B showed that while the program had contributed to technology transfer and had been a way for Danish companies to engage commercially in developing countries, the program had not succeeded sufficiently in enabling sustainable growth and employment in the developing countries. On basis of the evaluation, it was decided to end the B2B program: http://um.dk/da/danida/danida-business/danida-business-partnerships

vii 1 Euro equals approximately DKK 7.5

viii Authors' translation from the Danish quote: "Den understøtter nyorienteringen af Danmarks relationer med modtagere af udviklingsbistand mod fremme af økonomisk vækst og danske erhvervsinteresser [...] Dansk udviklingsbistand skal i stigende grad fremme en kombination af økonomisk udvikling i modtagerlandet og danske erhvervsinteresser."

ix The three partnership lots, which correspond to the relevant budget lines on the Finance Act, included "1. Lot CIV: Civil society development (§06.33), 2. Lot HUM: Humanitarian action (§06.39), and 3. Lot LAB: Labour market and private sector framework conditions (§06.38)" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2017b, p. 2). x Authors' translation from the Danish quote: "Virksomheder og NGO'er skal samarbejde om dels at få øje på behovene (markedet), dels at udvikle løsningerne/produkterne [...] hvis vi får sparket processen i gang, kan vi ende i en win-win-situation for såvel virksomhedernes samt verdens nødstedte."

xi Brand Aid understood as the combined meaning of "aid to brands" and "brands that provide aid" (see Richey & Ponte 2011).

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