From Ottawa to Kandahar and Back: The Securitization of Canadian Foreign Aid

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Starting in the mid-2000s, national and international security played an increasingly important role in Canadian foreign aid, as it did in other donor countries examined in this volume. The increased focus on security-related issues privileged certain aid recipients and modified how the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the main purveyor of Canada's official development assistance (ODA), operated in relation to other Canadian government bodies in those countries.[1] Nowhere was this more evident than in the Canadian government's involvement in Afghanistan, but the trend declined since Canada scaled back its involvement there.

This chapter explores the rapid rise and modest decline of this 'securitization' of Canadian aid. It analyzes how it changed the way the donor government framed and allocated foreign aid. It pays particular attention to the role played by two newly introduced key concepts, namely 'failed and fragile states' and the 'whole-of-government approach'. The terms played a role in modifying the relationship among government departments, including CIDA, and development assistance's place in broader Canadian foreign policy.[2]

My argument is as follows: First, the government temporarily used the deliberately imprecise term 'failed and fragile states' to justify a relatively *ad hoc* decision to intervene in a small number of specific 'crisis countries', where it could theoretically use development assistance to contribute to stabilization and security. Second, it used the 'whole-of-government approach' as a rationale and a mechanism for using ODA funds in support of Canadian foreign policy objectives that were not primarily motivated by development concerns, that is to say the wellbeing of people in other countries. In both instances, the concepts helped the government instrumentalize CIDA and use aid funds for non development-related purposes, notably security, and justified the use of security actors to deliver aid, especially the Canadian military but also the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. This securitization process sought to make aid more effective in realizing Canadian foreign policy objectives, though in Afghanistan it had limited success in that regard and actually decreased the effectiveness of Canadian ODA from a developmental point of view.

Two caveats should be added to the argument, suggesting that the securitization trend described above may be waning. First, other instances of securitized aid, such as in Haiti and South Sudan, might have a stronger developmental component than it did in Afghanistan. Second, after 2011, Canadian foreign aid appeared to be decreasingly aligned with the country's security interests and increasingly with its commercial ones.

The chapter begins with a discussion of each of the two terms – 'failed and fragile states' and the 'whole-of-government approach' – and their role in the context of Canadian foreign policy. It then analyzes the securitization of Canadian assistance to Afghanistan and

how the government employed the terms to justify aid modalities that contradict the Western donor consensus on aid effectiveness, to which Canada officially subscribes. It examines the challenges of cooperation in a context of conflict. I use Canada's involvement in post-Taliban Afghanistan as an illustration, not because it was typical of the interplay of security and development objectives in developing countries more generally, but rather because it was extremely prominent and the clearest instance of the Canadian whole-of-government approach in action. It was also set up with the idea that it would serve as a model and thus constituted a paradigmatic case.[3] Next, I briefly explore the notion of a securitization or even militarization of Canadian foreign policy more generally. A conclusion follows, summarizing findings and highlighting the more recent trend of the *de*securitization and 'commercialization' of foreign aid.

Failed and Fragile States in the Canadian Political Context

Liberal Party Initiatives

In 2004, within six months of Paul Martin's becoming prime minister of Canada, the government released a National Security Policy that very much reflected a post-9/11 vision of the world. Developing countries were not just places where donors should help alleviate poverty and improve living conditions; many of them were increasingly constituted as a menace to Western countries. The policy document labelled these countries 'failed and failing states' and argued that they could 'be a haven for both terrorists and organized crime groups that exploit weak or corrupt governing structures to pursue their nefarious activities. These activities have had consequences far beyond their borders, including for Canada' (Canada 2004: 7). Such groups, it ominously explained, 'are already co-operating in money laundering and other illicit activities, all of which bodes ill for these host states and the rest of the world' (Canada 2004: 50).

The slightly different term 'failed and *fragile* states' entered the Canadian political lexicon the following year, in 2005, as part of the government's International Policy Statement (IPS). The IPS, however, provided no clear definition of the 'failed states' or 'fragile states', nor any distinction between the two. Moreover, the various IPS chapters used the terms interchangeably with 'poorly governed states', 'ineffectively governed states', 'weak states', 'states under stress', 'poor-performing countries', 'crisis states' and 'dangerously weak or failing' states (Canada 2005b: 24, 27; Canada 2005c: 9, 11; Canada 2005d). The protean nature of such terms has led some academics, such as Charles Call (2008), to recommend their abandonment. From a social-scientific perspective, there is much to support such a position. However, as long as governments and other important policy actors use such terms to frame and justify their policies and activities, scholarship must continue to engage with the expression.[4]

The IPS itself was divided into four distinct thematic chapters – one each on commerce, defence, development and diplomacy – with a fifth to provide an overview. The relevant government department prepared each one of the thematic chapters (for example, CIDA and the Department of National Defence (DND)). Interestingly, they all used the term 'failed and fragile states' differently. For instance, the development chapter presented them in line with the use by Western aid donors and their coordinating body, the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Development and Co-operation (OECD/DAC). From this perspective, 'fragile states' are poor performers, countries that lack the will or ability to carry out core state functions, with particular challenges that make it harder to translate aid into development. Different donors define them differently, according

to different criteria, but along the same broad principles.[5] The number of countries on each institution's list can vary from about 30 to 75.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) described them quite differently from CIDA's and the DAC's usages. The IPS chapter on Diplomacy called failed and fragile states 'the new challenge', associating them with transnational crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism (Canada 2005c: 2, 9). It placed emphasis on the menace they pose to Canada: 'These states […] can become incubators of threats to Canada's security and well-being' (Canada 2005c: 22).

The Defence chapter actually used the National Security Plan's slightly different term, 'failed and *failing*', with no mention of fragile ones. This version of the terminology highlights the presence or imminence of chaos, requiring military intervention to prevent or solve a crisis. For instance, the Department of National Defence argued that such states 'plant the seeds of threats to regional and global security' (Canada 2005a: 9). It reasoned that, 'By helping stabilize these countries, we prevent threats from spreading further and deny terrorist cells the haven and support that sustain them. In turn, this helps reduce the prospect that terrorists will reach our shores and threaten Canadians directly' (Canada 2005a: 24).

It appears rather ironic that the terminology and meanings vary considerably across different chapters of a single policy statement that emphasized the need to increase significantly policy coherence across government departments. That is, however, no accident. Marie-Eve Desrosiers and Philippe Lagassé (2009) have convincingly explained how DFAIT and DND colluded in their resistance to central government pressures to integrate their policies and practices with each other. Instead, they adopted the politically correct failed/failing/fragile labels and used them to reframe their pre-existing approaches and activities, acquire new responsibilities and resources, and − paradoxically − strengthen their autonomy.

The impact on CIDA, however, differed greatly from its two partners across the Ottawa River. The IPS brought about some important changes in the agency, including the selection of five sectors in which CIDA would work, as well as a list of 25 countries in which to concentrate two-thirds of bilateral (country-to-country) aid. An undisclosed proportion of the remaining third would be earmarked for failed and fragile states, with additional contributions from the new, DFAIT-managed Global Peace and Security Fund.[6]

The Canadian government never defined which states it considered failed or fragile, but named five on which it would concentrate its resources: Iraq, the Palestinian territories, Afghanistan, Haiti and Sudan, which I refer to below as the 'Fragile Five'. There were thus two distinct lists. The first, comprising twenty-five countries, emphasized poor countries and the recipient's ability to use aid effectively (in fact, two often mutually exclusive characteristics); the second, 'crisis states' of particular interest to Canadian foreign policy actors. As mentioned above, CIDA used the term 'fragile states' in internal documents and at donor meetings in a way that corresponded closely to the OECD/DAC usage (for example, CIDA 2008). Many of these thirty to seventy-five states were on CIDA's list of twenty-five priority aid recipients, but Canada labelled only five – which were not on that list – 'failed and fragile states', a slightly longer term and the one CIDA had to use when working in conjunction with the rest of the Canadian government.

The choice of the five official failed and fragile states mostly conferred legitimacy to aid flows to countries already receiving relatively high levels of Canadian aid in 2005, notably Afghanistan (where Canada was about to assume responsibility for the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team), Iraq and Haiti (see Figure 6.1). It also signalled the intent to provide more aid to Sudan's Darfur and southern regions.

Figure 6.1 – Canadian Aid to the Five Priority 'Failed and Fragile States', 2000-2013
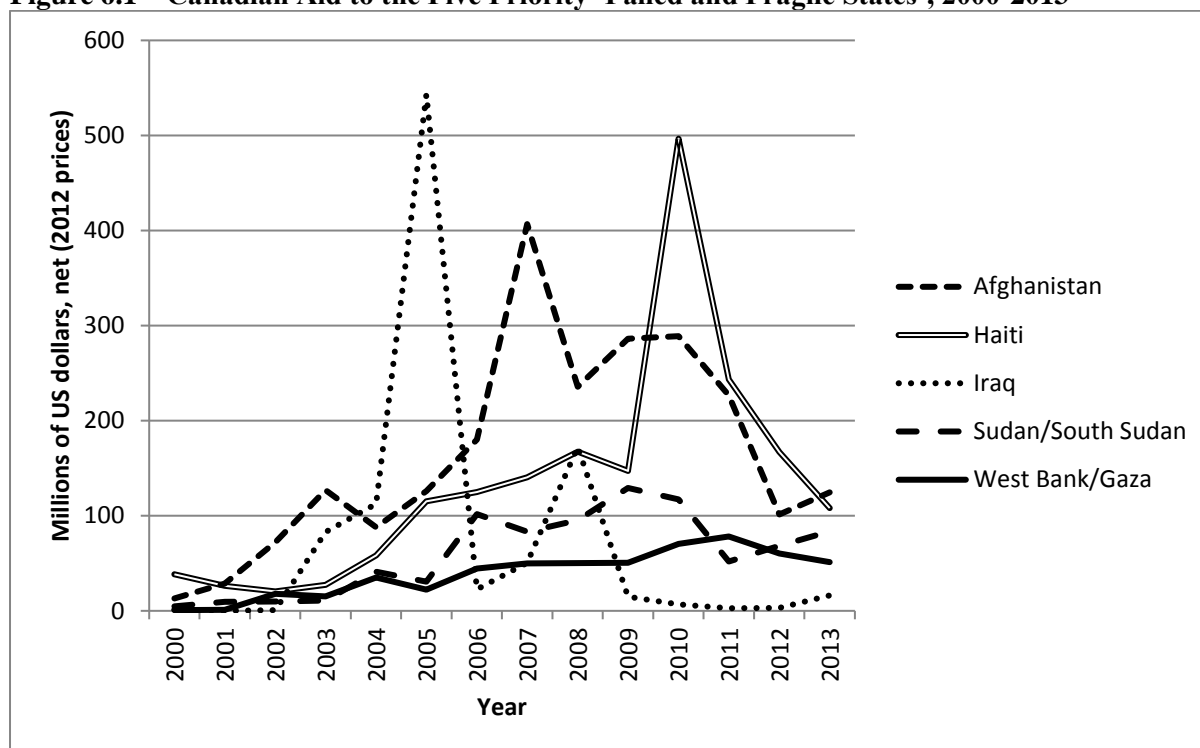
Source: OECD (2015).

Conservative Party Strategies

After Stephen Harper and the Conservative Party won the 2006 general elections, the status of these policy initiatives, initiated by the Liberals under Paul Martin, remained unclear. At CIDA, the IPS initially remained in place, rebaptized the 'Agency Transformation Initiative' to erase its connection with the Liberals. Later, it was quietly dropped, along with the by then ubiquitous term 'failed and fragile states'. The IPS Development chapter can still be found in the archive of the CIDA website, but with a large disclaimer that the 'document was never officially adopted by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). It is available for reference only' (CIDA 2009: np).[7]

Despite constant suggestions that an important overhaul of aid policy was on its way, it was not until 2009 – three years after the Conservatives were elected – that the CIDA minister, Bev Oda, announced changes to the list of priority countries. The government removed many of the countries added in only four years earlier and included four of the Fragile Five, namely Afghanistan, Haiti, Sudan and West Bank/Gaza. A single list made more sense and certainly reflected some of the *de facto* priorities, with Afghanistan receiving by far the most attention. In fact, if CIDA wanted to meet the goal of concentrating 80 per cent of bilateral aid in the CIDA's redefined list of twenty countries of concentration, it had no choice but to include most, if not all, of the top *de facto* recipients – or radically reallocate its aid.

Table 6.1 illustrates the rise of four of the 'Fragile Five' (all but the Palestinian Administered Territories) as top recipients of Canadian ODA. From 2000 to 2002, none or only one priority 'failed and fragile state' was among the top five. In 2003 and 2004, there were two, Afghanistan and Iraq. From 2005 to 2009, three of the five top spots were occupied by members of the Fragile Five. In 2010, 2011 and 2013 (the last year for which data are available), the number fell back to two. In 2012, there was only one.

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Table 6.1 – Top Five Recipients of Canadian ODA, 2000-2013

Rank / Year	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	No. of Fragile Five
2000	Bangladesh	China	Indonesia	**Haiti**	Ghana	1
2001	Bangladesh	China	Jamaica	Indonesia	Philippines	0
2002	Cameroon	Côte d'Ivoire	**Afghanistan**	Bangladesh	China	1
2003	D.R. Congo	**Afghanistan**	**Iraq**	Bangladesh	Ethiopia	2
2004	**Iraq**	Ethiopia	**Afghanistan**	Bangladesh	Ghana	2
2005	**Iraq**	Indonesia	**Afghanistan**	**Haiti**	Ethiopia	3
2006	Cameroon	**Afghanistan**	**Haiti**	**Sudan**	Ethiopia	3
2007	**Afghanistan**	**Haiti**	Ethiopia	Ghana	**Sudan**	3
2008	**Afghanistan**	Ethiopia	**Iraq**	**Haiti**	Mali	3
2009	**Afghanistan**	**Haiti**	**Sudan**	Ghana	Tanzania	3
2010	**Haiti**	**Afghanistan**	Ethiopia	Ghana	Tanzania	2
2011	**Haiti**	**Afghanistan**	Mozambique	Ethiopia	Mali	2
2012	**Haiti**	Côte d'Ivoire	Mozambique	Ethiopia	Tanzania	1
2013	Tanzania	Ethiopia	**Afghanistan**	Mozambique	**Haiti**	2

Source: OECD (2015). The 'Fragile Five' are in bold.

The Rise and Fall of Canada's Failed and Fragile States Agenda

Paul Martin's Liberal government found the new 'failed and fragile states' appellation useful to brand its international policy and try to promote greater inter-departmental cooperation on activities in a few key countries. It also justified increased attention to the five specific, relatively high-profile, conflict-prone countries where Canada was already involved to some extent. Canada's participation in the military and civilian interventions in Afghanistan and its spending in Iraq (mostly debt relief) appeared designed to build bridges with the Bush administration in the US – a prominent theme in the IPS – after refusing to participate in the US-led invasion of Iraq. Canadian support to Haiti and, to a lesser extent, Sudan also constituted a form of burden-sharing with the US.[8]

After 2006, Stephen Harper's Conservative government dropped the term 'failed and fragile states' (which it felt was too closely associated with the previous Liberal government), while retaining and in fact increasing its involvement in the five 'fragile' countries that its predecessor had prioritized, especially Afghanistan. By the time the Conservatives were first elected, special labels were no longer needed as a rationale because Canada was already deeply involved in Afghanistan and, to a lesser extent, Sudan and Haiti.[9] The Harper government increasingly used Canadian foreign interests to justify aid policy, with a surprising amount of agreement from the opposition Liberals, which allowed them to mainstream four out of the 'Fragile Five' and place them on a unified list of priority countries (mentioned above).[10] DND and DFAIT used the new 'failed and fragile' terminology to help strengthen their capacities and autonomy (Desrosiers and Lagassé 2009). Concurrently,

CIDA's budget grew significantly, but it was paradoxically linked to the agency's increased instrumentalization in the Fragile Five. As argued in Brown (2008), non-development actors captured much of the additional ODA resources to change ODA priorities and spend them according to security priorities, rather than development ones.[11]

Having examined the Canadian government's concept of 'failed and fragile states', this chapter now turns to the other key term: the whole-of-government approach.

The Whole-of-Government Approach: Less than the Sum of its Parts?

Working in fragile states requires both 'doing different things' and 'doing things differently' (Patrick and Brown 2007: 2). The need for special attention and innovation intersects with the growing trend of increasing policy coherence among donor countries. Thus, to improve Canada's effectiveness in the handful of states-in-crisis, the IPS Defence chapter argued that 'today's complex security environment will require, more than ever, a 'whole of government' approach to international missions, bringing together military and civilian resources in a focused and coherent fashion' (Canada 2005a: 26). Similarly, the Development chapter stated that the government will 'pursue direct, carefully sequenced, whole-of-Government engagement in a selected number of failed and fragile states where Canada has a base for involvement and can aim to make a visible, enduring difference (e.g. Haiti, Afghanistan, and Darfur in Sudan)' (Canada 2005b: 9). The rest of this section therefore analyzes the whole-of-government approach as a policy tool.

Policy coherence implies that the various branches of a donor government, such as Canada, will seek to work towards the same foreign policy objectives, as well as coordinate their efforts and work together to achieve those goals. Originally described as a 3D approach (defence, diplomacy and development), the whole-of-government (WoG) approach can bring in other government bodies as well, including those responsible for international trade, police, justice, immigration and elections. Though there is no agreed official definition of the WoG approach, an OECD/DAC study describes it as 'one where a government actively uses formal and/or informal networks across the different agencies within that government to coordinate the design and implementation of the range of interventions that the government's agencies will be making in order to increase the effectiveness of those interventions in achieving the desired objectives' (OECD 2006: 14).

Such policy cooperation and integration is very complicated bureaucratically and hard to achieve. Despite an overly laudatory description of their Canada case study, Patrick and Brown conclude that 'government ministries continue to have difficulty reconciling their competing motivations and objectives for working in fragile states. Agencies have not agreed on a common definition of state fragility or agreed on a strategy for engaging such states' (Patrick and Brown 2007: 74). They also fail to agree on overarching common objectives.[12]

In particular, most agencies will be reluctant to undertake activities that contradict their mandate. As Patrick and Brown (2007: 6) point out, 'Integrated approaches may garner increased attention and resources for fragile states; on the other hand they may subordinate the goal of poverty alleviation to short-term security imperatives'. A tug-of-war ensues. In Canada and elsewhere, as argued above, powerful departments like DND and DFAIT maneuver to retain their focus and sometimes access resources from others. However, the agendas of less powerful ones like CIDA are more likely to be subordinated to the others'. Historically, due to its lower position in governmental hierarchies and relatively weak ministers, CIDA has never been able to impress its perspective and priorities on other government departments (Pratt 1999b: 83). As was the case with the Canadian government focus on 'human security' in the late 1990s, the self-interested security component can

undermine the ethically based rationale for development assistance (Pratt 1999a). The logic generally becomes aid for security, rather than security for aid/development. However, this need not be the case. A preliminary analysis of Canadian WoG assistance to Haiti and South Sudan suggests that security actors can contribute to development, even if it involves a de facto securitization of aid, though instability makes it much more difficult to achieve lasting results (Baranyi and Paducel 2012; on Haiti, see also Baranyi 2014).

Unless the goal of the recipient country's long-term development trumps a donor's short-term self-interested contributions to concerted efforts in fragile states, there is a basic incompatibility between the WoG approach and widely accepted principles of aid effectiveness.[13] As embodied in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and the Accra Agenda for Action (2008), there is a growing international consensus on what makes aid effective. Three of the most important principles are the local ownership of the design and management of development programs, the alignment of donors with those priorities and mechanisms, and the harmonization of donors amongst themselves. The decision of donor countries like Canada to develop a WoG approach to their engagement with a recipient country based on their own interests rather than those identified by the recipient government is thus in contradiction with the shared principles for 'good aid'. A good example of 'bad' development assistance is aid to Afghanistan, including Canada's.

CIDA in Afghanistan: Securitization in Practice

Canada's aid to Afghanistan is hardly representative of Canadian ODA as a whole. Afghanistan was without doubt 'the most visible and resource-intensive example' of the Canadian government's use of the WoG approach (Mantle 2008: 7). In conjunction with Canada's increased military role in Afghanistan, focused on Kandahar province (where Canada led the Provincial Reconstruction Team from 2005 to early 2011), Canadian ODA to that country skyrocketed from a relatively insignificant US$13 million in 2000 (the last year before the US-led invasion) to a peak of $407 million in 2007, when it represented 11 per cent of all Canadian ODA. Disbursements for the following four years exceeded $200 million, but declined to $101 million in 2012, after Canadian combat troops' departure.[14] The rapid allocation of tremendous resources to Afghanistan – including over Cdn$2 billion in official development assistance between 2001 and 2012, CIDA's largest program ever (DFATD 2015: 18, 36) – constituted a clear shift in aid practices in pursuit of security interests through military action. It is the best case in which to analyze the effects of security concerns on aid.

Though numerous Canadian government policy documents and public statements promised a balanced and harmonious WoG approach in Canada's work in Afghanistan, supplemented with coordination with other donors and working closely with the Afghan government, reality has proven to be quite different. From the development perspective, a number of important conundrums and contradictions have emerged.

Challenges to Cooperation

A fundamental problem for the WoG approach to development in Afghanistan was that the various Canadian government actors had vastly different cultures, goals and timeframes, which made it very difficult if not impossible to work together effectively. They also did not share a common understanding of how best to apply the WoG approach, resulting in independent rather than integrated plans and strategies, which in turn undermined the mission (Hrychuk 2010: 829, 833-4). CIDA staff members, adopting a development perspective, were

convinced that interventions should be well planned, integrated with local and national development strategies, working with local people and the state, as well as designed to be implemented sustainably over a period of several years. Combined with a time-consuming approval process, this meant that CIDA required a fairly long time horizon even to begin implementing development activities.

By way of contrast, Canadian military officials generally saw development assistance mainly as a means to 'win hearts and minds' in the short term and obtain local assistance in their counterinsurgency activities. A Canadian Forces document argued, 'The more reconstruction that occurs, the more likely is the population to support the international community rather than the Taliban and the more secure the country will become' (Mantle 2008: 22). However, there is very little evidence to support such claims and such strategies created many new problems (Marsden 2009; Wilder 2009). In addition, the accidental killing and wounding of Afghan civilians, alongside violent house searches and tales of torture used on Afghans previously detained by Canada, made intervention as likely to lose hearts and minds as to win them.

One scholar's observations on the British involvement in Afghanistan could equally apply to Canada's: 'the military is instilled with a can-do mentality. Humanitarian relief was seen as integral to the military mission, and thus it was appropriated and utilized. Development objectives are not considered outside of the context of the conflict or as necessary in their own right' (Williams 2011: 67). Military officials preferred very quick, free-standing contributions – often infrastructural, such as repairing a road or a school, or digging a well – and faulted CIDA for not delivering that kind of assistance (see discussion in Stein and Lang 2007: 273-5). Those who adopted a military perspective tended to believe that such quick-impact projects work (Windsor et al. 2008: 41-2). CIDA officials, however, saw them as a waste, with very little impact, if any (Banerjee 2009: 68; see also DFATD 2015). The Canadian approach to short-term assistance in Kandahar also ignored that fact that local people's grievances were not primarily economic and they were therefore unlikely to be won over by the construction of infrastructure, as noted in an in-depth evaluation of Canada's aid program in Afghanistan during the period 2004-12, commissioned by the Canadian government (DFATD 2015: 41-2).

Rivalry and turf wars made inter-departmental cooperation difficult in the best of times, all the more so in tense and insecure situations as in Kandahar (see Hrychuk 2009: 839-40; *contra* OECD 2012: 13). Though some may claim that DND interacted with DFAIT and CIDA 'as equals' in Afghanistan (Patrick and Brown 2007: 62), most evidence suggests otherwise. DND clearly dominated through budgets and staffing that marginalized the other two (Mantle 2008: 25). Though DFAIT initially assumed the lead role in coordination, it was too weak to provide 'a strong counterweight' to the dominant DND, which controlled some 80 per cent of total resources (Stein and Lang 2007: 282). In 2008, the government transferred responsibility for the inter-departmental Afghanistan Task Force, created in 2007, from DFAIT to the Privy Council Office (Gammer 2013). It was in fact common among donors to Afghanistan that security agendas trumped development agendas (Goodhand and Sedra 2007: 52). Even though civil-military cooperation may have improved over time (DFATD 2015), CIDA was a policy taker, not a policy maker.

When development actors work in concert with military ones, aid providers become legitimate insurgent targets. The Taliban also understood the WoG approach and perceive the role of development assistance as an extension of counterinsurgency, which it often is. Such 'militarization of aid' put Canadian, Afghan and other aid workers in danger, even if they were employed by humanitarian NGOs working independently (Olson and Charron 2009: 90; see also Cornish 2009, DFATD 2015; Marsden 2009).

If aid funds' primary goal is military, they actually should not be counted as official development assistance, which – according to OECD/DAC's definition – requires that the main objective be the recipients' economic development and welfare. Likewise, a case could be made that they do not respect the provisions of Canada's *Official Development Assistance Accountability Act*, which requires that aid contribute to poverty reduction, take into account the perspectives of the poor and be consistent with international human rights standards (see CCIC 2010).

Partners and Visibility

From a development perspective, the best strategy is to strengthen the capacity of Afghan institutions, especially government ones, and channel aid through them. This promotes government ownership and long-term sustainability. In many instances, especially in the early to mid-2000s, Canadian aid to Afghanistan was spent through multilateral institutions (such as the Word Bank) or multi-donor basket funding, neither of which allowed for the identification of specific results attributable to Canada. For successful Afghan government initiatives, such as the National Solidarity Program, the credit went to the Afghan government, which contributed to the goal of state building (Banerjee 2009: 69; Goodhand and Sedra 2010: S89; Windsor et al. 2008: 39). These approaches are in line with current principles for aid effectiveness.[15] In fact, CIDA assistance to the central Afghan government, notably in the social sector, proved initially quite successful, in spite of (or perhaps thanks to) the lack of a WoG approach – though the central government's absorptive capacity was insufficient for scaling up ODA through public institutions (Stein and Lang 2007: 270). Growing concerns about mismanagement and corruption, not to mention electoral fraud, actually suggested that donors might have been providing too much aid to Afghanistan, much of it 'supply driven', to use Goodhand and Sedra's (2010: 586) characterization. In other words, donors were keen to spend more aid than could be effectively used in Afghanistan.

Many Canadian politicians and military officials believed that development assistance via the government or multilateral institutions defeated a basic purpose of Canada's major involvement in Afghanistan. The Conservative government-appointed Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan deplored that, as a result of CIDA's long-term programming strategies, less than 15 per cent of Canadian ODA was available for quick-impact activities or for initiatives that could be recognized as Canadian contributions. How would Afghans know that Canada was making important contributions if the maple leaf was not visible anywhere? Canada could not 'win hearts and minds' if it was not clear to Afghans that they should be grateful specifically to Canada. The panel therefore recommended that CIDA adopt one or more high profile 'signature projects' (Manley Commission 2008: 25-6, 36). CIDA complied, sacrificing its commitment to strengthening the Afghan state, but still failed to win the type of recognition among Afghans, especially Kandaharis, that the Canadian government desired (Banerjee 2009: 70; Brown 2011).

Similarly, such actors faulted CIDA for concentrating 50-60 per cent of its assistance to the central government, rather than in Kandahar province, where Canada shouldered the responsibility for the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT). For example, one military official complained that 'CIDA has failed to focus its efforts and resources on supporting programs aimed specifically at Kandahar to help Afghans make the connection between Canada's security operations and Canadian reconstruction support' (Jorgensen 2008: 29). Likewise, a retired Canadian military officer faulted the insufficiency of CIDA and DFAIT's contributions for the 'failure' of the WoG approach in Kandahar (Lehre 2006). Blame could plausibly be apportioned otherwise: military dominance that undermined other departments' mandates and activities.[16]

The Sequencing Paradox

The security-development nexus is a confounding one. Which should come first? Even Canadian military figures recognized the paradox that, as Craig Mantle pointed out, 'aid and development cannot occur in an insecure environment, yet the successful delivery of such aid and development partially assists in the establishment of a secure environment' (Mantle 2008: 22). He argued that the military would 'allow […] other departments to assume a more prominent role once Kandahar province is more secure' (Mantle 2008: 33).[17] That scenario, however, was not plausible. The Canadian Forces ended their operations in Kandahar without having established a secure environment, while CIDA reoriented the Kandahar aid budget to more secure areas of the country and cut its overall aid to Afghanistan (Clark 2010; Gurzu 2010). The official evaluation of Canadian aid to Afghanistan recognized that Canada had an inadequate exit strategy from its development program in Kandahar, essentially hoping that the United States would keep funding its projects, including the 'signature' Dahla Dam, but the US proved to have its own aid priorities (DFATD 2015: 29, 46). These facts confirm that the Canadian government provided aid primarily as support to the military mission in Kandahar and recognized that it failed to establish militarily an environment there in which development assistance could be used effectively.

Canadian officials often expressed an oversimplified view of the relationship between security and development. For instance, the panel on Canada's role in Afghanistan presented a virtuous circle with important synergies: 'Security enables development; effective governance enhances security; development creates opportunities, and multiplies the rewards, of improved security and good governance' (Manley Commission 2008: 11). The former head of CIDA in Kabul, however, argued for more linear sequencing: 'Conflict resolution […] is a precondition for effective aid delivery to reduce poverty' (Banerjee 2009: 67; see also DFATD 2015: 2, 4). Others have warned of specific risks when donors provide extra assistance in insecure areas: It 'benefits local powerbrokers who have an interest in the status quo (conflict) and who profit from the aid flows to their area through misappropriation and corruption' (Gompelman 2011: 60).

The Canadian government describes all new aid policies and practices as means of increasing aid effectiveness, even when they have the opposite effect (Brown 2011). In Kandahar especially, where almost half of Canada's aid to Afghanistan was directed, not only was it hard to argue that ODA produced development results, it also failed to provide concrete results in establishing security (Banerjee 2009: 69; DFATD 2015).[18] The evaluation of Canada's aid to Afghanistan concluded that the 'implementation of the development Program in Kandahar showed that long-term development cannot be accomplished with an emphasis on short-term implementation strategies, which sped up implementation considerably, but which failed to ensure sustainable, long-term development results' (DFATD 2015: 48). On both counts, development and security, Canada's WoG approach largely failed in Afghanistan. With the end of Canada's combat role in 2011, its aid levels dropped and CIDA no longer privileged Kandahar. Afghanistan even fell off the list of Canada's top aid recipients in 2012 (see Table 6.1), but the government retained Afghanistan as a country of focus for Canadian development assistance.

In sum, Canadian assistance to Afghanistan has demonstrated the securitization of foreign aid and its failure to achieve both security and development objectives. The next section considers the extent to which one can describe Canadian foreign policy more broadly as militarized.

The Militarization of Canadian Foreign Policy?

After 2005, Canada witnessed a growing share of foreign aid and other international assistance being delivered by government institutions that, unlike CIDA, did not work primarily in the field of development. For instance, in 2005, the government established inter-departmental funding pools within its 'International Assistance Envelope', inspired by the UK's example (see Wild and Elhawary, this volume), and created within DFAIT a Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START). According to its website, START supported 'conflict prevention and peacebuilding, peacekeeping and peace operations, including security system reform', not all of which can be counted as ODA according to the OECD/DAC criteria (DFAIT 2011: np). The securitization of Canadian aid is further illustrated by the rapid increase in disbursements attributed to the 'Conflict, Peace and Security' sector. For instance, between 2005 and 2008, the amount of foreign aid Canada committed to that sector grew by a factor of almost two and a half times, from US$85 million to $210 million, after which it declined (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 – Canadian ODA Commitments to the 'Conflict, Peace & Security' Sector

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Million USD (2010 prices)	85.4	96.3	113.0	210.3	201.8	172.4	138.3	86.1	65.1

Source: OECD (2015). Note: Figures are commitments in constant 2012 US dollars. Actual disbursement data by sector are not available.

The specific case of Canadian assistance to Afghanistan and the broader pattern of emphasizing other conflict-prone or post-conflict countries, especially Sudan, Haiti and Iraq, suggest not only a securitization of aid, but potentially a militarization as well. In several instances, a significant proportion of foreign aid is being delivered not only in accordance with security interests, but also by security actors themselves. According to CIDA data, in fiscal year 2009-10, DFAIT delivered Cdn$47 million to Afghanistan and $13 million each to Haiti and Sudan. Afghanistan also received, during that same year, $13 million from DND and $6 million from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), while DND spent $40 million in Haiti and the RCMP $13 million (CIDA 2011). These are amounts from Canada's 'International Assistance Envelope', some of which does not qualify as ODA, such as security sector reform.[19]

This trend goes beyond the provision of development assistance. Šárka Waisová, for instance, in the only academic piece to date to analyse specifically the securitization of Canadian foreign aid, accurately argues that 'poverty, underdevelopment, and state failure were considered threats to human security in the 1990s, [but] came to be interpreted as threats to state security after 9/11' (Waisová 2009: 83). Accordingly, 'security concerns shifted from the protection of *any* human individual to the protection of the Canadian state and its citizens' (Waisová 2009: 85) – though she overstates the degree to which naked self-interest has supplanted the moral imperative as a motive for Canadian development assistance more generally.

The Canadian government often presented military involvement in Afghanistan as a humanitarian mission, seeking to save and improve the lives of Afghans. It also attempted to frame the combat role as being in line with Canada's iconic participation in UN peacekeeping missions (Charbonneau and Cox 2010: 19). However, as Canadian soldiers continued to fight the Taliban insurgency, leading to over 150 Canadian deaths, including one Foreign Affairs official and four other civilians, it became increasingly clear to Canadians that there was no peace to be kept – that Canada was fighting a war. In fact, the deployment of thousands of

troops in Afghanistan both hid and reinforced Canada's virtual abandonment of its traditional participation in UN peacekeeping. As of 30 June 2011, Canadians constituted only 21 of the 83,400 soldiers participating in UN peacekeeping operations (UN Peacekeeping 2011: 1).

Prime Minister Harper further emphasized Canada's bellicose nature in an interview in 2011. Rejecting the idea of Canada as primarily a nation of peacekeepers, he described the model Canadian as being a 'courageous warrior' in a long history of 'big conflicts' since the War of 1812 (Whyte 2011: np; see also McKay and Swift 2012). Faced with a large deficit from countercyclical spending during the 2007-09 global financial crisis, the government froze foreign aid in 2010 and cut it in 2012-14. Still, Colleen Bell's prediction that 'For Canada, the militarization of aid… appears to be the unwavering trend of the future' (Bell 2010: 62) is too deterministic. A change of government could relatively easily change course by increasing aid budgets and restoring greater (civilian) autonomy to foreign aid in line with less instrumental motivations – should the new government wish to.

In addition, the latest data seem to point to a desecuritization of Canadian foreign aid starting in 2010-11: ODA to Afghanistan, Haiti and Sudan fell (Figure 6.1), the number of 'Fragile Five' countries among the top ten recipients dropped from three to one or two (Table 6.1), and commitments to the 'Conflict, Peace & Security' sector also declined. Moreover, starting in 2011, numerous statements by Minister of International Cooperation Bev Oda and her successors Julian Fantino and Christian Paradis suggested that Canadian aid will be increasingly aligned with Canadian trade interests, rather than security ones, especially in the mining sector (Brown 2014; Goyette 2014). In response to this trend, an OECD/DAC peer review of Canadian foreign aid reminded the Canadian government that 'there should be no confusion between development objectives and the promotion of commercial interests' (OECD 2012: 11).

Conclusion

The Canadian government adopted the two concepts, 'failed and fragile states' and the 'whole-of-government approach', in the mid-2000s, as part of the general trend of securitization of foreign aid that accelerated after the attacks of 11 September 2001. It used the terminology of 'failed and fragile states', but different government departments sometimes used other variations of the term, often with different emphases. In the Canadian context, it first appeared in 2004 in a national security plan and was a centerpiece in the government's 2005 International Policy Statement. It contributed to the framing of developing countries as not just being in need of assistance, but constituting concrete threats to Western nations. Canada and other donors, as a result, developed defensive strategies that included the strategic use of aid to enhance donor security. To a certain extent, they had variously used aid for decades to promote their own interests, especially commercial and diplomatic, but this type of securitization was relatively new for most, and certainly for Canada. In the 2000s, at a time when aid spending was rising, CIDA was able to capitalize on the new trend to mobilize additional resources, though the government channelled much of the spending from the growing 'International Assistance Envelope' through other government agencies, notably Foreign Affairs and National Defence. Since the government earmarked a large part of the new CIDA funds for Afghanistan (with a focus on Kandahar, where Canadian troops were deployed) due to the government's interpretation of its security interests, it increasingly instrumentalized foreign aid to pursue non-development-related interests and reinforced CIDA's policy-taking role. The securitization of aid also provided a new justification and means for non-aid government actors to deliver aid themselves, for their own purposes.

As demonstrated above, the Canadian government sidestepped the issue of which definition of 'failed and fragile states' to use and how many countries to apply it to by announcing its decision to focus on five of them. The term, no matter how ambiguous, served to legitimize various forms of intervention in those five countries. Later, when involvement in those countries was more established, notably in Afghanistan, the Harper government dropped the term and integrated four out of the 'Fragile Five' into its revised list of countries of concentration for Canadian foreign aid.

The Canadian government also resolved to work more effectively through a 'whole-of-government approach' in which various government departments, especially but not limited to CIDA, DFAIT and DND, would work synergistically to achieve common goals. The test case was Afghanistan, where Canada had a military presence and had assumed lead responsibility for Kandahar's Provincial Reconstruction Team. Afghanistan quickly became by far the largest recipient of Canadian foreign aid ever. However, the military completely overshadowed CIDA (and DFAIT) and the three actors faced very severe impediments to cooperation, including the incompatibilities of their organizational mandates, modes of operation, strategies and timeframes, especially between DND and CIDA. Moreover, the WoG label helped other government departments, especially DND, to tap into the CIDA budget and use the funds to support non-development-related activities, notably counterinsurgency.

From the development point of view, the WoG approach motivated by Canada's national interests made no sense in Kandahar, as long as insecurity prevented civilian aid workers from carrying out their work. The military undertook short-term, small-scale assistance in Kandahar as part of a winning-hearts-and-minds campaign, while the government forced CIDA to adopt 'signature projects' that contradicted the best practices in aid effectiveness and state building by focusing on donor visibility rather than the strengthening of Afghan institutions and sustainability. Both security and development results generally proved elusive in Kandahar (Taylor 2013: 7).

In sum, the practices associated with the new post-September 11 terminology – 'failed and fragile states' and the 'whole-of government approach' – have contributed to the deliberate reorientation of Canadian foreign aid towards Canadian interests, more specifically Canadian security interests linked with American foreign policy. In Haiti and Sudan and nowhere more than in Afghanistan, Canadian ODA was securitized (focused on the security sector and/or countries whose security situation is of concern) and even militarized (delivered by Canadian Forces). Efforts failed to overcome the major impediments to and the disappointing results of the implementation of the WoG approach in the Kandahar province, in both development and security terms. Unless a donor country prioritizes the recipient country's interests, which Canada did not claim to do, the WoG approach can be harmful for development objectives. However, as the emerging cases of Haiti and South Sudan may yet prove, Canadian foreign aid could be more effective in fragile states other than Afghanistan, when the WoG actors prioritize developmental goals, not self-interested security ones, and respect the lessons learned over more than 60 years of development assistance. The 2013 merger of CIDA and DFAIT, justified in large part in the name of policy coherence, could theoretically facilitate greater emphasis on development issues across policy areas, but it more likely to promote more instrumentalization of Canadian aid, whether for security or commercial interests.

Since the departure of Canadian combat troops from Afghanistan in 2011, Canadian aid can be said to be increasingly desecuritized, as well as commercialized. To return aid's focus to its developmental mandate, it is likely that a change of government will be required, though not necessarily sufficient. A 'firewall' would have to be erected around the ODA budget, as has so far been the case in the UK, to maintain poverty reduction as its primary

purpose (see Elhawary and Wild, this volume). Those advocating such a focus could base their arguments on two existing instruments: First, the OECD/DAC definition of ODA requires economic development and welfare to be its primary purpose. Other uses could be publicized and their exclusion from the ODA category used to shame the government. Second, the current *ODA Accountability Act* or eventually some enhanced legislation could be used to force the government, including through court cases, to focus aid primarily on fighting poverty and enhancing the respect of human rights abroad, rather than using it to promote its own security or other narrowly defined self-interested goals.

Acknowledgements

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[1] In June 2013, the Canadian government merged CIDA with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. During the time period discussed in this chapter, CIDA was the government's lead institution for development assistance. For a historical overview of Canadian ODA and military intervention, see Massie and Roussel (2014).

[2] I do not mean to suggest that these two terms in and of themselves had the power to rewrite government policy. After all, governments introduced them with certain purposes in mind. Still, once introduced, various government actors can invoke these terms and play on their ambiguities to legitimize old activities and justify new ones.

[3] Though given how atypical the situation was in Afghanistan, it was never clear to what extent the model could be broadly applied, even if successful.

[4] Stigmatizing, state-centric terms are falling out of favour within the Organisation for Economic Development and Co-operation. In its place, official documents increasingly refer to 'situations of conflict and fragility' (e.g., OECD 2011).

[5] An important OECD/DAC study posits that the 'defining features of state fragility are to be found in a state's inability or unwillingness to provide physical security, legitimate political institutions, sound economic management and social services for the benefit of its population' (OECD 2006: 17).

[6] For a detailed analysis of the IPS chapter on development, see Brown (2007).

[7] The document actually had been adopted by CIDA. The agency began to implement it under the Martin Liberals and continued initially under the Harper Conservatives. It is unclear what would have made that adoption 'official'.

[8] On the US government's influence on Canadian involvement in Afghanistan, see Stein and Lang (2007: 262-5). James Laxer (2008) argues that Canada's role in Afghanistan actually brought no more than a minute improvement in Canada's relations with the US.

[9] CIDA never had much programming in Iraq. It is mainly one-off debt forgiveness that accounts for the high figures in 2005 and 2008 (see Figure 6.1), which is the result of accounting practices rather than actual spending. As Figure 6.1 illustrates well, the Palestinian Administered Territories never received high levels of ODA, which was mainly in the form of humanitarian assistance.

[10] Iraq was the exception, where Canada had very little involvement on the ground, and was quietly dropped after 2008 – see Figure 6.1.

[11] For a contrary view, see Patrick and Brown (2007: 64).

[12] For their description of Canada's WoG approach, see Patrick and Brown (2007: 55-75); see also OECD (2006: 48-9).

[13] In the long run, a peaceful and prosperous world should be in all countries' national interest, but the interpretations of self-interest usually take a more narrow view.

[14] Figures from OECD (2015). They represent net disbursements expressed in constant 2012 US dollars.

[15] The Netherlands, Norway and the UK also favored support to the Afghan government, while Japan and the US tended to set up parallel systems (Lockhart 2007: 22).

[16] For a similar argument regarding the UK's 'comprehensive approach' in Afghanistan, see Williams (2011: 67).

[17] Capstick (2009: 192) makes the same argument, but elsewhere has been quoted as saying in Kabul in 2005, 'You development workers are nothing but a bunch of Birkenstock-wearing, granola-munching tree huggers' (Tamas 2009: iii).

[18] A few 'successful' model villages provide a counter-example, but they are not replicable or sustainable, *Economist,* February 26, 2011). See also ICOSD (2007) on the results of CIDA assistance in Kandahar.

[19] CIDA makes available to the OECD/DAC its DAC-defined ODA expenditures by calendar year, which are converted into US dollars. In its own reports, CIDA generally provides statistical information on its self-defined 'International Assistance Envelope' expenditures by fiscal years (1 April-31 March), expressed in Canadian dollars. This makes it difficult to track which expenditures can be classified as ODA and which cannot.