

MSc Thesis International Development Studies

Dutch Development Cooperation Policy and Neo-Colonialism



Hilde Turenhout

Wageningen University and Research

MSc International Development Studies

Dutch Development Cooperation Policy and Neo-Colonialism

*From colonial policies to current development cooperation policies and practices.
An understanding of neo-colonial characteristics and Dutch development
cooperation.*

©Wageningen University

March 2021

Chair groups Public Administration and Policy (PAP)
Rural and Environmental History (RHI)

Thesis code RHI-80436

Author

Hilde Turenhout

Student number: 951213845010

Email: hildetuut@hotmail.com

Supervisors

dr. A (Agatha) Siwale

Public Administration and Policy

Wageningen University

dr. P (Pim) de Zwart

Rural and Environmental History

Wageningen University



Abstract

To understand current issues and practices such as power imbalances, systematic racism, or inequality, there is a need to have a better understanding of colonial history. The foundation of development cooperation policy is found in the colonial era, but the role of neo-colonial characteristics in past and present development cooperation policy frameworks remains under-researched. This thesis supports the understanding and meaning of neo-colonialism in previous and current development policy and the changes of development policy over time, by answering the main research question *'How has neo-colonialism shaped past and present Dutch development cooperation policies and practices?'*. The thesis presents the visibility of neo-colonial characteristics in development policy. Furthermore, this research analyses four Dutch development cooperation policies by evaluating their texts on the extent to which they demonstrate (neo-)colonial characteristics. These four policies are from 1901, 1962, 2016 and 2021. Furthermore, data is retrieved from primary policy documents, expert interviews, and literature research. The research is conducted with the support of Postcolonial Theory and Historical Institutionalism. The (non)visibility of neo-colonialism in the four different policy frameworks, and their dominant strategies are presented in this research. The policies are compared to each other and a declining level of neo-colonialism is found. However, conditions tied to development programs are discovered to be constant since 1901. The results indicate that the paternalistic role of Dutch Official Development Assistance is still present in current-day development cooperation frameworks in, among others, the processes of conditional aid arrangements. Furthermore, the results show how social and economic control has declined, but political control has remained on the same or higher level. Different examples of path dependency are found and discussed, such as the ongoing dependency of NGOs on the Ministry (the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the institutional role of the Ministry and the limitations to change due to accountability structures. Postcolonial Theory supports the understanding that it is impossible to understand current practices without taking the history of colonialism into account. Moreover, expert interviews, with the Ministry's policymakers and NGO employees, were conducted which led to the insight that decolonization is a sensitive topic that has been reframed to localisation.

Keywords Neo-colonialism, Postcolonial Theory, Development Cooperation, Policy Change, Historical Institutionalism, Dutch ODA, Development Policy

Acknowledgement

Conducting this thesis research has both been challenging, evolving, and motivating for me. Throughout the writing and researching process, I have received support and guidance for which I am extremely thankful.

I want to thank my supervisors Agatha Siwale and Pim de Zwart, for providing me with critical reflections, guidance, and timely feedback moments. They have motivated me to trust in myself, while at the same time providing me with knowledge and critical insights to improve the work. I felt the warmth and support, despite all meetings being digital, and feedback messages came across clearly.

I am extremely thankful for the unlimited support from the people most close to me, the many (digital) co-working sessions and study breaks with reflection moments. Special thanks go to my roommates, for keeping life joyful, Jan Willem van Veelen for creating the frontpage and my closest friends and family for dealing with me in stressful moments.

Lastly, I am grateful for my study time at Wageningen University, being able to develop myself and enrich my knowledge and research skills. Getting to know the field of this research and being able to invest all my time in this process, made my thesis a rich experience.

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations	7
Chapter 1 Introduction	8
The Research Question(s).....	12
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework.....	13
2.1 Postcolonial Theory	13
The Origin of Postcolonial Theory	13
Postcolonial Theory Academics.....	14
Postcolonial Theory and Decolonization	15
Postcolonial Theory and ODA policy	16
Postcolonial Theory in this research	16
2.2 Neo-colonialism.....	17
2.3 The (Neo-)colonial Characteristics Listing	17
Discussing the Theory.....	18
Code Category 1) Control – Social / Cultural	19
Code Category 2) Control – Economic	21
Code Category 3) Control – Political	24
Characteristics – Critical Point and Overview	26
2.3 Historical Institutionalism and Path Dependency	27
Chapter 3 Methodology.....	29
3.1 Research design.....	29
3.2 Data collection.....	30
Literature Review	30
Policy Document Text Analysis.....	30
The Interviews	31
3.3 Data analysis.....	32
Analysing the texts: Content Analysis	32
The Coding Process.....	33
Interview analysis.....	34
3.4 Limitations	35
Chapter 4 Neo-colonialism in Dutch Development Cooperation Policies 1901-2021	37
4.1 Dutch ODA in a nutshell	37
4.2 Results in Tables	39
4.3 Content Analysis Policy 1 - Ethical Policy 1901	39

Speech Wilhelmina Ethical Policy - Score on Neo-colonial Characteristics.....	40
Discussing the score – Ethical Policy	41
4.4 Content Analysis Policy 2 - <i>Development Policy Nota 1962</i>	43
‘Nota 1961-1962 on Dutch development aid in less developed countries’ – Score on Neo-colonial Characteristics	44
Discussing the score – Nota 1962.....	44
4.5 Content Analysis Policy 3 - <i>Dialogue and Dissent 2016</i>	46
Dialogue and Dissent - Score on Neo-colonial Characteristics.....	47
Discussing the score - Dialogue and Dissent	48
4.6 Content Analysis Policy 4 - <i>Power of Voices 2021</i>	50
Power of Voices Partnership Policy Framework - Score of Neo-colonial Characteristics.	50
Discussing the score – Power of Voices	51
4.7 All Four Policy Frameworks	53
4.8 Comparing the policy texts.....	55
Discussing Comparing the Four Policies.....	56
4.9 Limitations.....	58
Chapter 5 Historical Evolution of Dutch ODA	59
5.1 Shifts and Changes in Dutch ODA.....	59
5.2 Historical Institutionalism, the NGO Sector and the International Arena in relation to the Ministry	62
5.3 The Dutch Development Cooperation System and Path Dependency	63
Current changes in Dutch ODA and stability trends.....	65
5.5 Limitations.....	66
Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusion	68
Discussing the Results	68
Reflecting on Limitations.....	69
Recommendations as a result of this research	70
References	71
Annex 1 – Topic list used for semi-structured interviews	78
Interview Questions and research purpose (English version).....	79
Interview Questions (Dutch version).....	81
Annex 2 - The Research Design.....	83

List of Figures

Figure 1: Categorization Matrix..... 33
Figure 2: The Three Levels (in this research)..... 59
Figure 3: Research Visual..... 83

List of Tables

Table 1: Characteristics Overview 27
Table 2: Overview Policy Documents..... 31
Table 3: Interviews Data Overview. 32
Table 4: Result content analysis Speech Wilhelmina 1901 on the Ethical Policy..... 41
Table 5: Results of content analysis on Nota 1961-1962 on Dutch development aid in less developed countries..... 44
Table 6: Results of content analysis on Dialogue and Dissent 2016 – 2020. 47
Table 7: Results of content analysis Power of Voices 2021. 51
Table 8: Results of content analysis of all policy frameworks..... 53
Table 9: Percentages scoring (total score per category divided by the total amount of scoring of the policy). 54
Table 10: Codes per 1000 words (*1000)..... 55
Table 11: Total score Neo-colonial Characteristics per generic category..... 56
Table 12: Interview Questions English 79
Table 13: Interview Questions Dutch 81

List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
Cordaid	Catholic Organisation for Relief and Development Aid
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement
Hivos	Humanistic Institute for Development Cooperation
IATI	International Aid Transparency Initiative
ICCO	Interchurched Organisation for Development Cooperation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
Ministry	Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
UN	United Nations
Oxfam Novib	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PME	Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TRIPS	Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights

Chapter 1 | Introduction

“Countries where income inequality has grown since 1990 are home to over 70 per cent of the world population” (United Nations, 2020, p. 26). Despite all different forms of development aid, international agreements and many development cooperation programs, global inequality is still evidently present (Niño-Zarazúa et al., 2017). Global inequality is the gap of resources between the wealthy minority and the rest of the world (Little, 2014). In more general terms, the North or Western world is perceived as wealthy and ‘the South’ is referred to as the non-Westernized countries. Income inequality hampers economic, political, and social development and therefore, global inequality is, specifically in this thesis, about inequality in power over resources. These resources, and the power thereover, are divided into three categories: market/economic power, social power and political power. The concept of ‘power over’ is defined as a *“dominance model where decision making is characterized by control, instrumentalism, and self-interest”* (Berger, 2005). Therewith, *power over* closely interrelates with control over resources, such as a dominant economic position, more decision-making power, and a presence of self-interest.

The world is dealing with global inequality and massive problems such as extreme poverty, and it is suggested that these problems require a global approach in the format of development cooperation (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). The discussion around development cooperation and corresponding development thinking consists of different opinions and point of views. Development thinking is situated in diverse paradigms in various shapes, with many discussions. Development paradigms have shifted over time from the focus on modernisation via trade and industrialisation, the belief in the importance of dependency theory to the realisation of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) as part of the Washington Consensus¹. Currently, the leading shift in the development paradigm: how to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030 (OECD, 2018).

Three debates are running through all these schools of thought. The first debate discusses the focus on means or end goals, with the main question if aid should facilitate growth and focus on the long-term goals, or if the role as the ‘provider of aid’ is to deliver basic needs instantly without looking at the consequences of aid (OECD, 2018). Second, the debate on the role of the state versus the role of the market; which of them plays a more crucial role in ensuring development. In this discussion, the market’s arguments are interrelated with neo-liberal thinking (OECD, 2018). Third, the discussion on the establishment of open or closed economies. This last discussion strand concerns the topic of openness to international development. This openness refers to the acceptance of a country towards incoming development support programs (OECD, 2018). Respectively, these three debates belong to the three theories of development: dependency theory, neo-liberalism and globalisation.

Dependency theorists in relation to development cooperation, argue how capitalist interventions result in a dependency and are worsening the situation for the receiving part (Shareia, 2015). Neo-liberalists on the other hand, argue that development can take place when the market receives freedom to develop free-market capitalism. They also argue that Western development aid money is not the right way to development, because it disrupts the free-market system (Thompson, 2015). The

¹ The Washington Consensus refers to a relatively specific set of ten policy regulations that combined formed a standard recovery package for countries affected by an economic crisis. These policy regulations consists of, among others, fiscal discipline, tax reform and trade liberalization (Williamson, 2000).

third development theory is globalisation theory, which accounts for the need for all countries to participate in the global economy by adapting to a global world view and a focus on communication systems (Shareia, 2015).

All these debates embark on the achievement of the universal goal to reach development mostly in the sense of economic growth, and how development programs should be created (Omar, 2012). Thus, there are concerns about development practices from different perspectives, but all unite in wishing to understand how to increase development most effectively, eventually leading to accomplish the, currently on the international agenda, SDGs.

A fourth discussion represents a critical voice on the three debates above. This critical voice has been raised by the adherents of *Postcolonial Theory*. Stating that the concept of (neo-)colonialism is overlooked in the main debates. A critique is that neo-colonial elements in ODA (Official Development Assistance²) policy are not fully recognized, which may lead to poor decision making or increase power imbalances (Sagoe, 2012). This thesis focuses on this fourth theory and researches development cooperation through a postcolonial lens. It is important to recognize neo-colonialism in development cooperation to fully understand why development does or does not take place. An example of not fully recognized neo-colonial elements in development cooperation policy or programs is found in the SAPs. The SAPs were introduced to challenge development problems by fostering economic growth. However, these programs failed and economic debt increased for some of the countries that had implemented the SAPs. The SAPs were exploitive and consisted of neo-colonial characteristics, which led to their failure. These neo-colonial characteristics consisted of the control over export by the West and the promoting of productivity for Western benefits (Durokifa & Ijeoma, 2018; Logan, 2015). Additionally, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) provide another example of neo-colonialism in development cooperation programs. The MDGs have led to success stories, such as a decline of extreme poverty (United Nations, 2015), but can be critically reviewed for their neo-colonial characteristics and therewith resulting in an inability to achieve all the set goals. For example, to reach the MDGs development assistance was needed, especially by the so-called 'developing' countries. This reinforced a dependency relation between the Western donor countries, delivering development assistance in the form of conditional aid such as loans or favourable trade agreements. Thus, Western countries benefited from establishing the MDGs and the international wish to achieve them, and the receiving countries' situation became, again, dependent or even worsened (Durokifa & Ijeoma, 2018).

The postcolonial theory discusses how the roots of development aid, or development cooperation as it is now called, are to be found in colonialism. It is crucial to understand how colonial history is influencing current foreign aid policies to gain knowledge on how to improve the sector and its policies. The understanding of (hidden) colonial structures is essential to realizing where changes can take place. Edward W. Said (1978), one of the pioneers of Postcolonial theory, clarifies this as "*idea, cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied*" (Said, 1978). Said (1978) expresses that if a former colonizer, or a governmental policymaker, wants to understand what the best approach to development cooperation could be, colonial history needs to be considered.

Research is conducted around development aid projects and their (neo-)colonial practices or outcome. For example, as argued by Rahmatian (2009) the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual

² Official Development Assistance (ODA) is characterized as governmental aid, promoting economic development and specifically the welfare of developing countries. (OECD, n.d.).

Property Rights (TRIPS) consists of neo-colonial characteristics because they were introduced as an international legal framework with Western standards. By introducing an international 'agreement' non-Western countries are obliged to introduce a Western regime of property rights. These property rights make it easier for, mostly Western, multinational organisations to control the economy of a country (Rahmatian, 2009a).

Even though there is literature on development aid projects or policies, consisting of neo-colonial elements, such as the abovementioned TRIPS, there is a scientific gap in the literature on the general characteristics of these neo-colonial elements. With a changing globalized world, focusing on the SDGs and partnerships, it is extremely important to take a close look at the history and institutionalism of development policy and to investigate how to recognize neo-colonialism. Based on the sufficiency of this research, it is unclear and undocumented in which ways neo-colonial practices are visible in development cooperation policies. Therefore, neo-colonial elements, in relation to development cooperation policy, are researched and categorized in this thesis to contribute to the discussion on development.

Colonizing countries have set power imbalances still present today. One of these former colonizing countries is the Netherlands, a country that gained much economic prosperity at the expense of its colonies (Maddison, 1989). Most (in)famous might be the role of the WIC (West India Company) and VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*; Dutch East India Company) in the trade of products and enslaved people.

Nowadays, the Dutch government is globally acknowledged for its generosity in providing money for development (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). They mention on their national webpage that "*development cooperation is still vitally needed*" (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). They affirm that development cooperation supports reducing poverty. They also suggest that development cooperation is even more critical since there are more conflicts, refugees, and migrants now than before. With their development cooperation policy, the Dutch central government wants to reach goals such as preventing conflicts and instability, reducing poverty and social inequality. They note that "*Despite the progress that has been made, inequality has increased due to social exclusion, discrimination and violence. The Netherlands is investing in giving everyone a fair chance by supporting organisations that defend human rights, women's rights and the environment.*" (Rijksoverheid, n.d.).

ODA policies are designed to develop and support foreign countries. These policies have changed over time because new knowledge came to the surface, or new priorities were at stake. The policies changed parallel with development thinking debates. The current priorities of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereinafter the Ministry) are: preventing conflicts and instability, promoting sustainable growth and climate action worldwide, and reducing poverty and social inequality in developing countries (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). One of the new development cooperation policies of the Netherlands is called *Power of Voices*, the successor of *Dialogue and Dissent*. These Dutch policies wish to represent a change, globally, in development thinking and act according to a new approach, with the focus on strategic partnerships and the political role of NGOs, to be more effective in developing countries.

Because the Netherlands is known for its internationally acknowledged generosity and many development cooperation practices, it is interesting to take Dutch development cooperation as the case for this research. The Netherlands went from colonial rulers to the so-called strategic partnerships, and it is useful to understand the role of (neo-)colonialism in policy frameworks in this

timeframe. Are these Dutch policies truly a new stream in ODA, or is colonial heritage undeniably present due to path dependency, a concept containing the understanding that choices made in the past are of influence on the possibilities in the future? Also, the question arises, is the Dutch Ministry aware of possible neo-colonial characteristics incorporated or is decolonisation a topic from the past?

The concept of neo-colonialism essentially refers to practices of using power via economics, cultural imperialism³, or conditional aid to have (political) control over another country and is extensively described in the theoretical chapter of this research. If there are indeed neo-colonial practices present, then this represents itself in dependency, subservience or financial obligations and restrictions towards the neo-coloniser. The neo-coloniser gains political, social and/or economic power and with that, development happens under the neo-colonisers conditions (Siddiqi, 2007). If neo-colonial elements in ODA policy are not fully recognized, then they might add to inequality in power over resources (Sagoe, 2012), and therefore, the dialogue about colonial history and its ongoing effects need to be paid attention to. In addition to that, the objective of this research is to improve the understanding of colonial history's (non)visibility in the current Dutch development cooperation policy. The research adds to the understanding and meaning of (neo-)colonialism in past and current foreign aid policy frameworks, how people working for the Ministry and NGOs are perceiving Dutch ODA, why recognition of the presence of neo-colonial characteristics is essential and why (institutional) change is challenging to achieve.

This thesis analyses four Dutch development cooperation policies (*Ethical Policy, Nota 1962, Dialogue and Dissent and Power of Voices*) by investigating their potential (neo-)colonial characteristics via content analysis. Further in-depth data has been found via expert interviews and literature review. The thesis works from a Postcolonial Theory, as mentioned above, and a Historical Institutional perspective. Postcolonial Theory contains the accounting for the political, economic, historical, and social impact of European colonial rule. Postcolonial Theory criticises literature on its colonial hegemony and provides an understanding of neo-colonial characteristics in reading (Kothari, 2006b; Loomba, 2013). Historical institutional theory encloses the importance of understanding history to explain how the past is represented in the present and often unable to change (Peña, 2015). Hence, how colonial history has consequences for current policies and a contribution to an understanding that some institutional practices or policies are deeply rooted in colonial history (Peters et al., 2005). To finalize, this thesis supports the understanding and meaning of neo-colonialism in previous and current development policy and the changes over time by answering the main research question: *'How has neo-colonialism shaped past and present Dutch development cooperation policies and practices?'*

³ Cultural Imperialism refers to the enforcement of dominant cultural values on native cultures (Tomlinson, 2012).

The Research Question(s)

The thesis is conducted with qualitative research methods, supported by literature research, document analysis and interviews. The research design is illustrated as a visual in Figure 3 (Annex 2). The research answers the main research question:

How has neo-colonialism shaped past and present Dutch development cooperation policy and its practices?

The main research question of this thesis is answered by three sub-questions covering the themes; neo-colonialism in ODA, testing various Dutch development cooperation policies on neo-colonial characteristics, and the historical evolution of Dutch ODA.

Sub Question 1

How can neo-colonial characteristics be identified in ODA policy?

- 1.1. What are neo-colonial characteristics in ODA policy?
- 1.2. How are neo-colonial characteristics in Dutch ODA policy categorized in this research?

Sub Question 2

To what extent do the various development policy frameworks since 1901 contain elements of neo-colonialism?

- 2.1. What constitutes the colonial policy of 1901 and to what extent can neo-colonial characteristics be found in the policy?
- 2.2. What constitutes ODA policies in the 1960s and to what extent can neo-colonial characteristics be found in the policy?
- 2.3. What constitutes ODA policies of 2016 and to what extent can neo-colonial characteristics be found in the policy?
- 2.4. What constitutes the ODA policy of 2021 and to what extent can neo-colonial characteristics be found in the policy?

Sub Questions 3

What are changes, and limitations to change, in the context of the historical evolution of Dutch ODA policy

- 3.1. What are the shifts in Dutch ODA policies?
- 3.2. How has path dependency shaped past and present ODA policies in the Netherlands?
- 3.3. What are the current shifts in Dutch ODA?

Chapter 2 | Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis contains an elaboration of the main concepts; neo-colonialism, Postcolonial Theory, Historical Institutionalism and path dependency. Explaining these concepts is necessary to provide concise research on neo-colonialism and development cooperation policy. First, Postcolonial Theory will be explained, followed by the second concept, neo-colonialism within this thesis. In this second section are the identified neo-colonial characteristics presented, followed by an overview. Third and last, I elaborate on historical institutionalism and path dependency, specifically for the Dutch Ministry. With delivering the above-stated data, this chapter answers the first sub-question ‘How can neo-colonial characteristics be identified in ODA policy?’.

2.1 Postcolonial Theory

This thesis looks at development cooperation policies through a postcolonial lens. Therewith, Postcolonial Theory is part of the foundation of the theoretical framework. Postcolonial Theory emphasises “*the need to revisit, remember, and ‘interrogate’ the colonial past and its aftermath in today’s context*” (Browne et al., 2005). This is what the thesis wishes to contribute to the academic world, a revisit and reminder to look at colonial history’s influence on, in this thesis specifically, development cooperation policies.

The Origin of Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial writers started by pointing out that there are more sides to every story. They criticised that stories about colonisation were not at all about the brutal economic exploitation of it. Instead, the conversation that took place during the colonial era was mostly about the positive results achieved by the colonizers such as civilisation and enlightenment. Postcolonial writers saw the need to change those perspectives (Schoomp, n.d.). Postcolonial Theory is a body of thought focussed on the impact of colonial rule from the 1800s until the 2000s (Elam, 2019). The term post-colonial might be misleading as ‘post’ refers to a time where colonialism supposedly has finished, this is however not the case as Postcolonial Theory explains how the impact of colonialism can still be found in present institutions or practices (Browne et al., 2005).

Postcolonial Theory is broad and entails a diverse range of aspects, both of theory and the study of political and cultural change. At the same time, it contains one fundamental claim; “*the world we inhabit is impossible to understand except in relationship to the history of imperialism and colonial rule*” (Elam, 2019). This fundamental claim in Postcolonial Theory is at the core of this thesis. It suggests that if we want to understand this world, we need to understand the relationship of policy changes within the context of colonialism. Without this context, we will never be able to reduce global inequality or understand if development policies are successful, if we do not incorporate the relationship to colonialism in research (Sagoe, 2012). Postcolonial Theory is used in this research to lay the foundation and therewith for understanding the importance of using this lens, to be critical on practices which originated during colonial times such as ‘development’. Also, Postcolonial Theory provides characteristics to test on development cooperation policy and its practices, which are elaborated on later.

Postcolonial Theory Academics

Some of the best-known Postcolonial Theory academics are Edward Said and Peter Barry. I will elaborate on these two and explain how they represent a part of the diversity of Postcolonial Theory. As mentioned in the introduction, Said (1978) discusses how the world we live in, with all its ideas cultures and histories, can never be understood if we do not also understand or take into account the force, such as exploitation or other acts of power, the world dealt with. Said wrote the book *Orientalism* in which he argues that colonialism was not only a system of political rule in the strand of imperialism but also a worldview, believing that the West was superior to the East (Swanson, 2004). Said described in his book that the West structured the world with two opposing elements, *ours* and *theirs* because of cultural and geographical differences. The West proclaimed their superiority, meaning that even within scholars the West believed they knew the orient better than they knew themselves (Said, 1978). Furthermore, Said states that Western knowledge of the East (now referred to as 'the South') was never neutral because a political and cultural agenda was always involved. (Said, 1978). These agenda's consist of, for example, free-market economics or Western ideas of good governance as the main goal of development. Portraying the 'South' as 'the underdeveloped other' provided the possibility to practice more control and legitimise development actions. Said warns against practices of generalizations in human sciences and argues that the 'South' should get active positions in the creation of their image. (Said, 1978).

The second scholar who will be discussed in this section is Peter Barry. Barry is, more specifically, part of literary criticism. In his book 'Beginning Theory' he devotes one part to postcolonialism. Within this part Barry discusses four characteristics of postcolonial literature, the elements postcolonial critics focus on to improve their writings. These characteristics are partly integrated into the *Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing* in the next part. The first element is the use of '*the other*' in written text. The 'other' refers to people who are non-Western/non-European (Barry, 1995). The second entails the used language. The formal (colonial) language is replaced by the postcolonial writer for natural or regional dialects (Barry, 1995). Third, is the recognition of so-called double identities. More specifically, the recognition of double identities of groups of people being both the colonized and colonizer. This identification takes place e.g. when a formerly colonized person starts to write stories about life after the colonizers left his or her villages. However, in the case of double identity, a writer starts writing after completing higher education in a colonizer's country and is therewith viewed as being 'civilized'. Such a scenario is criticized by postcolonial critics because they argue that this writer can never fully empathise with the formerly colonized people because he or she does not live in the same situation anymore (Barry, 1995). Fourth and final is the emphasis on cross-cultural interactions by the writer. Cross-cultural interaction occurs in three phases; adopt, adapt and adept. A writer is *adopting* when he writes his work entirely in the European tradition. *Adapting* occurs when the writer adapts by writing in the European tradition while adding information about 'the other'. The last phase of *adept* refers to a phase with cultural independence, where writers reform by not referencing European norms (Barry, 1995). Postcolonial critics, specifically in literature, seek to show the limitations of Western universalism; examine the representation of different cultures; show how literature is often silent about colonisation; develop a perspective whereby marginalisation, plurality and 'the other' are seen as places to find potential change and energy (Barry, 1995). These characteristics are relevant for this thesis research because they partly form the framework for writing this thesis and conducting text analysis on the development cooperation policy papers. For example, the used language or searching for concepts such as Western universalism in a text is being performed in the research later.

In addition to Barry, not from a postcolonial perspective but a Critical Discourse Analysis point of view, discourses can also be embedded in such a way that the readers of a policy text are manipulated without realizing this and therewith adding to the supremacist ideology, or white/Western dominance (Van Dijk, 2001). Discourse can be defined and referred to as systems of knowledge and ideology which are present in the everyday life of people, in their minds, or in institutions such as the Ministry (Hodes, 2018). Within this research, the goal is to elaborate on and possibly reveal hidden neo-colonial characteristics in development cooperation policy. According to van Dijk (2001), textual structures, such as policies, and social structures are produced by social cognition, how people translate and practice information about other people. Thus, the way people interpret or reproduce the content of policy texts influences future policy texts. If the Ministry provides neo-colonial characteristics in its policies, then this adds to the reproduction of neo-colonialism in the way it is reproduced in our minds and practices, while working with such a policy. Linking this information to a statement of Hodes (2018) *“Through text, talk, legal and political action, colonial mythologies are often reproduced through discourse as common sense or accepted knowledge reified as truth, reality and/or fact”* (Hodes, 2018), addresses the relevance of analysing policy text.

This short elaboration of two academics within Postcolonial Theory represents the diversity of the theory, but at the same time the fundamental similarity on the need to decolonize, within postcolonial literature studies; different novels and books are reviewed in a postcolonial light, or within the field of academic research, law and politics (Said, 1978). The theory is also showing the importance of considering the history of colonialism to be able to understand current practices and, in this thesis more specifically, understand changes in development cooperation policies.

Postcolonial Theory and Decolonization

As mentioned, Postcolonial Theory delivers awareness of colonial history and aims to understand the influence of colonial rule. Within the study, decolonization is both the purpose and goal. As is argued how colonialism lives through in the present, e.g., racism or the restructuring to the values of the North on the South, hence decolonisation is as relevant as ever. Decolonisation might feel like an old-fashioned term because we are not still using force to implement Western policies or trading slaves. However, it is possible to find elements of (neo-)colonialism in the present and everyday life of former Dutch colonies.

The definition as given by Mambrol (2017) entails; *“Decolonization is the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms. This includes dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remain even after political independence is achieved”* (Mambrol, 2017). The part of dismantling hidden aspects of institutional forces is a function of this thesis research. Postcolonial Theory is critical of development cooperation, for example, because it reinforces dependency relations when a donor-recipient relation originates and wishes to decolonize the structures around the development sector. Where postcolonial theorist focuses on colonial history and related events to understand underdevelopment, development cooperation is merely focussed on future approaches to support these so-called ‘underdeveloped’ nations (Kim & Garland, 2019). Decolonisation of development could be supported by listening to the voices of the thinkers from the colonised position because the Western mind is discourses and might be institutionally flawed (Omar, 2012). Continually, it is argued that the conceptualization of development is an unconscious reminder of a situation being undesirable or undignified (Omar, 2012). In this context, developmental work is seen as another Western style of colonising and gaining power over the underdeveloped world (Omar, 2012). Related to this, is the

concept of *'white saviour complex'*, referring to the idea that 'white' people are destined to 'save' non-white people. This concept is tied to colonial history, where the white Europeans found themselves 'destined' to civilise the people in their colonies (Bandyopadhyay, 2019).

Postcolonial Theory and ODA policy

Post-colonialists are rethinking the term *development*, because it is argued that the term already notes a double meaning, as given by Esteva (1992) development *"always implies a favourable change, a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better. [It] indicates that one is doing well because one is advancing in the sense of a necessary, ineluctable, universal law and toward a desirable goal."* (Esteva, 1992, from Sachs 2010; p. 6). Thus, development cooperation practices or the humanitarian sector in light of Postcolonial Theory are often seen as neo-colonial because it maintains North-South power relations (Sagoe, 2012). As argued by Kim & Garland (2019) *"Postcolonial theory sees ODA as a system that reinforces the traditional hierarchy of North-South relations and reaffirms the hegemony of dominant countries"* (Kim & Garland, 2019, p. 1246). The discussion on the role of ODA concerning the reproduction of neo-colonialism, concerns analysing poverty through a postcolonial lens, e.g. argued is how poverty and underdevelopment are results of *'structures and mechanism of the imperial project'* (Tejan-Sie, 2018, p. 102). Another example is the role of ODA in combination with economic dependency. Once a Northern-led economic relationship is established, this can increase the economic dependency of the South on the North. This thesis, working from a postcolonial theory perspective, does not take the stand of ODA identified as a neo-colonial practise but focuses on the explanation or discovering of colonial ties. I do not wish to argue here that development cooperation is in the wrong, however, a critical analysis on development cooperation policies can only improve policies in the future.

Additionally, it is suggested that the European mainstream discourse of progress is linked to their Western ideas and values on modernity. Modernity is the highest and only goal. This European discourse follows the neo-liberal conception of what development is or should be (Sagoe, 2012). As an example, Pieterse (1991) gives the centrality of national economic growth and democracy, which would lead to economic and political development. However, these ideologies are rejecting projects concerning for example community development, which might be as important when you listen to the other side of the story (Pieterse, 1991). Furthermore, Postcolonial Theory directs its critique to the hegemony of European knowledge which understates the value of the non-European world, achieved by force and consensual submission (Omar, 2012).

Postcolonial Theory in this research

Postcolonial Theory provides a foundation for this thesis because it provides a guide in formulating neo-colonial characteristics. Neo-colonialism is a concept often used within Postcolonial Theory when referring to today's colonialism, or its consequences visible today. The concept of neo-colonialism has an important role within the thesis and will therefore be extensively described in the next section. Hence, Postcolonial Theory is used in this thesis to support the analysis of policy documents, to be able to explain how (neo-)colonialism can be found in literature and policies. Furthermore, postcolonial academics elaborate on *"structural inequities that have been brought about by histories of colonization and by ongoing neo-colonial practices"* (Browne et al., 2005, p. 22). Researching different development cooperation policies over time, while comparing them on their neo-colonial characteristics supports postcolonial studies.

2.2 Neo-colonialism

Elements of colonization are; control over communication, capital, culture, and education; elitism; and English as the dominant language (Huber, 2017). Colonialism is generally accepted as domination and therewith the control over territory or people. The concept of domination is strongly connected to the concept of power (Horvath, 1972). Neo-colonial elements develop from colonialism, as they derive from this concept of power and domination over other people or regions. This research focuses on neo-colonial elements within past and present development policies. Therefore, it is important to elaborate on the concept of neo-colonialism more distinctively. Postcolonial Theory covers the underlying reasons why we need to look at colonial history to understand practices of today and neo-colonialism is a concept used to explain practices that are still happening because of colonialism.

Neo-colonialism, following the Oxford dictionary, refers to *“the use of economic or political pressure by powerful countries to control or influence other countries”* (Oxford Advanced Dictionary, n.d.). This definition lays the basis of the concept; however, this thesis will use a more extended description of the meaning. Loomba (2013) states how colonialism has an enormous influence on everyday life; *“Colonialism was not an identical process in different parts of the world, but everywhere it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history”* (Loomba, 2013, p. 2), and the Oxford explanation thus seems underrated. To clarify, Loomba here refers to the colonial processes of ‘forming a community’. In colonial times, unforming or re-forming a community that already existed resulted in practices such as plundering, warfare, (slave)trade, genocide, and war (Loomba, 2013).

Neo-colonialism is the exploitation, taking over or maintaining resources, of so-called lower income countries by high-income countries, often the former colonies. Hence, if a country is acting within neo-colonialism, that country seeks to strengthen its (Western) economic, social or political power and its take on development (Durokifa & Ijeoma, 2018). Neo-colonialism is therefore seen as the last stage of imperialism, expanding power over resources. It is the extension of colonialism in another timeframe when any form of physical or institutional control over another region is practised (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011). Neo-colonialism also refers to cultural control over another country (Nkrumah, 1965). The concept of neo-colonialism in this thesis contains the practices of using power via economics, cultural imperialism (social) or conditional aid (political) to have control over another country or region. Neo-colonial practices, in this sense, represents itself in dependency, subservience or financial obligations and restrictions towards the neo-colonizer (Siddiqi, 2007). Where the neo-colonizer gains political, economic, or cultural power at the expense of the other country, and inequality increases. How the concept is internalized in this thesis is further explained by the *‘Neo-colonialism Characteristics Listing’* in the next section. The characteristics in this listing are the framework of the neo-colonial concept in this thesis.

2.3 The (Neo-)colonial Characteristics Listing

Supported by literature research, the following characteristics of (neo-)colonial policy came to the fore. These are collected to be able to understand how (neo-)colonial characteristics in policy shaped past and present Dutch ODA policy. There are 11 characteristics in total. Examples are given under every characteristic within the context of colonial and neo-colonial policy. The following section elaborates on these 11 characteristics and each characteristic refers to one code to be found in the four different policy frameworks. This will be further discussed and explained in the methodology chapter, but it

should be stated here that the following characteristics are the codes to be found via content analysis in development cooperation policies later on.

Discussing the Theory

The characteristics below are grouped into three categories: social/cultural, economic and political. These three categories are described in the way they consist of 'control over'. Within this thesis, the concept of 'control' connects closely to 'power over'. For example, within the political category, control refers to power imbalances in political decision making, between the North and the South. As mentioned in the introduction, the concept of 'power over' is defined as a process of dominating decision-making, characterized by control and self-interest (Berger, 2005).

Postcolonial Theory supports the understanding of policy texts from a postcolonial perspective, and there with the discovering of neo-colonial characteristics. The neo-colonial characteristics are presented and described in the way they reinforce power imbalances or refer to colonial practices. Hence, neo-colonial characteristics entail dependency relations, viewing yourself as superior, impose Western ideology, increasing power or domination over, or creating conditions that reinforce colonial systems of inequality in power over resources.

As already touched upon in the introduction, more perspectives can be used to review development cooperation. Other perspectives such as dependency theory or modernist theorists, might argue differently upon the neo-colonial characteristics in relation to development, or partly agree. For example, dependency theorists and postcolonial theorist come together with their focus on critically reflecting history (Kapoor, 2002). Both dependency and postcolonial theory share a counter-modernist ideology, and both are critical of Western liberalism. They also agree upon studying colonial history for understanding current systems or problems. However, the main difference between dependency and postcolonial studies can be found in their main perspective. Dependency sees imperialism tied to capitalism as the destructive factor of development. Whereas postcolonialism's perspective is critical of capitalism, it favours the focus on representation (Kapoor, 2002). Meaning that postcolonial theorists are critical of capitalism because the representation of the North and the South is often unequal, power is found by the Western countries when (economic) agreements are created.

Furthermore, postcolonial theory opposes the modernisation theory or globalization theory. For example, the modernisation theory argues that development aid is needed to achieve development goals (Kumar, n.d.), postcolonial theory discusses how the concept of modernity itself is a neo-colonial concept. From a postcolonial perspective, the concept of modernity is an idea created by the colonizers and the perception is created that modernity is the goal to be achieved by all nations. Modernisation theory argues that societies can develop towards modern Western standards if they adopt modern practices and first of all, go through the industrialisation phase (Kumar, n.d.). During colonial times, modernisation is discussed as the bringing of modernity to the colonies by imposing Western institutions and practices of cultural imperialism. As for globalization theory on development, which refers to a model of development with the features of spreading capitalism within the whole world, this contradicts with postcolonial theory due to its focus on achieving development due to the spread of the Western standard; capitalism (Shareia, 2015). It is not argued here that globalization and capitalism are the wrong way of development. Essentially, some capitalistic characteristics can lead to development improvements, such as economic growth. However, the used perspective is postcolonial, as this provides a critical lens, raising awareness that colonialism still influences development in the

world today and illustrates how current development policy can possibly be traced back to colonial patterns (Peacock & Lundgren, 2010).

Code Category 1) Control – Social / Cultural

This first category is about social elements, discourses, and the claim of culture; cultural imperialism. Within this category education, and Western expertise, wrongful assumptions and use of language and terminology will be explained considering neo-colonialism.

1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise

Colonial policy; Part of colonial policy constituted of implementing Western education standards or education programs in the colony to enforce modernisation. The assumption that European traditions are supposed to be universal or when they are internalized as being universal is herewith an example of (neo-)colonialism (Pokhrel, 2011). Another example of control over education in the colonial context is the education system introduced by the Dutch onto the Indonesian colony. This education system was not accessible for everyone and the introductory language was Dutch. The implemented education system was organised in such a way that only a small part of the population would be able to perform a task together with colonial officials, and the rest of the population would be used to do practical jobs (Suratminto, 2013).

Neo-colonial policy; Education standards are formulated and institutionalized in Western countries. Higher educational standards and 'the right diploma' are a neo-colonial consequence of remaining control over another country's education standards. In this system, neo-colonial regimes maintain their power and hegemony through education (Ridwan, 2016). The import of Western 'experts' is also considered as a form of neo-colonial policy. Importing Western experts into another country, while claiming their expertise is highly needed to develop the country, is putting your dominance over the country's available knowledge. These experts are a part of the (neo-)colonizer's mission and are not always considerate of what would be useful from the native's perspective (Ridwan, 2016). Claiming your expert knowledge on, e.g. technology or economy creates neo-colonial characteristics such as the dominance of the liberal ideas being the only 'right ones' towards modernization (Pieterse, 1991). However, there is a difference between knowledge exchange on an equal basis and placing your education system onto another culture. A clear difference between education as a neo-colonial characteristic and education as knowledge exchange lays in the power relations around the subject. If the North is imposing its education or knowledge by claiming it is the right and only way forward, this is perceived as neo-colonial, from the postcolonial perspective. If a knowledge exchange is established equally and Northern and Southern partners are also equally represented, and not Northern-led, this is not considered as neo-colonial within this context. If any form of knowledge exchange is originated in a Northern country, and exploited by a Southern country, this is not viewed as neo-colonial as it is not a succession of the colonial oppression.

1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need

Colonial policy; During colonial times, it was assumed and considered the norm that the colonized regions needed modernisation. It was understood that the colonies needed to follow the path from tradition towards modern society, following Western standards (Martins, 2020)

Neo-colonial policy; Development cooperation policy can be created based on wrongful assumptions of what the South needs. For example, many development interventions elaborate on 'Theories of Change' to understand if an intervention leads to an intended result. It is also a plan on how to reach

a change in civil society, ultimately co-created with the parties involved. However, these Theory of Change interventions are not always responding to real needs and are based on assumptions of the creators of such interventions. Thus, “[...] it is also important to be aware of the negative unintended consequences that can stem from assumptions made by international actors, who alone lack the contextual knowledge to be able to predict or counteract such unintended effects” (Martins, 2020, p. 149). Using the Theory of Change strategy is not enough to ensure a healthy partnership. Furthermore, using a Theory of Change strategy often lacks the quality of being aware of the negative, unintended consequences which are formed due to assumptions made in the international arena, such as the SDGs (Martins, 2020). The argument here is that international actors often work from assumptions on what the South, or Southern partners, should need and where they can assist with their expertise. As already explained in Chapter 1, the SDGs are too often perceived from the point of view of Western donors (Langan, 2018). Assumptions in this context are Northern-led, enforced upon the South, and therefore a neo-colonial characteristic because a paternalistic role is reinforced. Furthermore, this characteristic of assumptions also covers the element of Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism is the idea that European ideas are better and the European rational way of thinking should be or is, the only right approach (Quijano, 2000).

1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language

The use of language is one of the most straightforward and common, although often forgotten, characteristic of neo-colonialism. Often the standardized and formalized use of language is not represented as the native language but as the language of the (previous) colonizer, due to colonization. However, another form of neo-colonialism is the use of language in official regulations, thus if policies are only being presented in English (Barry, 1995). Also, the suggestion of English as the universal language, because universal is relatively in this context.

This category also covers the use of wrongful terminology and therewith reproducing colonial practices or discourse. In line with Postcolonial Theory, there is terminology that adds to the continuing of neo-colonialism or its invisibilities. Therefore, the wrongful use of terminology is another characteristic of neo-colonialism. Said (1978), describes in his book *Orientalism* how the field of knowledge about the ‘Orient’ was romanticized for the Western viewers. Therewith, the orient became the land of ‘the exotic’ and romantic fantasies (Said, 1978). An example is therefore the use of *exotic* while referring to a person of colour or referencing non-Western/non-European as ‘other’, places the West in a better position (Barry, 1995). Additionally, framing, for example, Africa as uncivilized or undeveloped is a neo-colonial characteristic of Western powers legitimizing their actions (Mambrol, 2016).

Additionally, a practical example of wrongful terminology is provided by Martins (2020). The use of *the Northern* and *Southern* world, being as such the North is perceived as the better world by the people living in the North. The terminology is not even geographically correct, for example, Australia is not seen as a ‘Southern’ country. Nonetheless, the terminology North and South are also used in this thesis because another rightful terminology could not be found. However, the point I wish to make here, is that with every use of terminology you need to be fully aware of its meaning. When discussing ‘the South’, you bring an oversimplifying of an immensely diverse spectrum of countries and cultures. Therefore, it is important to stay critical when discussing the South. This is also discussed by Langan (2018) in the context of the MDGs. He proclaims that many MDG projects did not work out because all the different ‘developing’ countries needed different approaches, instead of one international plan (Langan, 2018). Wrongful terminology is perceived as a code to possibly find in development

cooperation texts, when referring to the above-mentioned examples, or when excluding people by using a (colonial) language.

Code Category 2) Control – Economic

Economic ‘solutions’ are given by different scholars and have been altered over time. However, economic control is one of the main categories when discussing neo-colonialism and will be further explained in this section. To start with shortly introducing different scholars on development economics. Jeffrey Sachs is a famous economist known for his ideas on how to economically improve developing countries. In his view, the richer countries should supply bigger amounts of money to support a country extensively for a short period, instead of endless streams of development aid money. (J. Sachs & Warner, 1999). Sachs’ biggest opponent might be William Easterly. He proclaims for example that Sachs argues in favour of exporting superior knowledge onto *the locals*, by experts such as Sachs himself, to solve poverty. Easterly, on the other hand, stands for the rightful implementation of property rights. Easterly argues that opportunities are blocked for poor people to solve problems with their knowledge and on their own (Easterly, 2006). Another critical voice is Rahmatian (2009), who argues that the idea of property rights are created to allow Western organisations to extend their power. Property rights are in this context, Western ideas imposed on the South (Rahmatian, 2009b). Different ideas and approaches on how economic practices could enforce development are critically addressed in the characteristics below. Economic control is found in practices of imposing institutions and regulations, but also steering economic practices which can lead to segregation are discussed as neo-colonial characteristics. Lastly, processes of enforcing conditional trade or economic agreements are discussed.

2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations

Colonial policy; In colonial times, the colonizer imposed institutions ruled by colonial officials in the colony. Therewith the colonizer established control over the region (Kiwauka, 1970). Institutionalization within this category reflects the imposed bureaucratic structures by the colonizers. The colony had to change their systems, or the system was changed by force, into the colonizer’s institutional structures. Therewith power had moved to the colonizer, who gained control over economics. Even though the role of politics and economics often intertwine, this characteristic only covers institutionalisation concerning economic control.

Neo-colonial policy; A clear example of imposed institutionalisation and enforcing regulations is the concept of property rights. Both sides of property rights are discussed extensively in the literature. For example, Acemoglu et al. (2001) discuss how development has been limited due to absent property rights. Acemoglu et al., (2001) argue that “countries with better ‘institutions,’ more secure property rights, and less distortionary policies will invest more in physical and human capital, and will use these factors more efficiently to achieve a greater level of income” (Acemoglu et al., 2001, p. 1359). Also, without property rights, it becomes easier for Western companies to claim land. Contrary to property rights are anti-property relations. Instead of focussing on ownerships, anti-property refers to ways of relating to land-based communal custodianship and guardianship (Tilley, n.d.). An example, as already touched upon in the introduction, to illustrate how property rights are perceived as neo-colonial is the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). The TRIPS is, according to Rahmatian (2009b) primarily created to safeguard the Western intellectual property rights in the non-Western world to combat piracy (Rahmatian, 2009b). TRIPS is nowadays the central international

intellectual property instrument, introduced to protect land, but resulted to be favouring Western property because it follows Western standards of the regulation (Rahmatian, 2009b). If property rights are institutionalized as such, favouring Western countries, and initiated in the West, it is perceived as a neo-colonial characteristic as it is similar to colonially imposed regulations for its benefits. Another form of imposed institutionalization from a postcolonial perspective is the World Bank. The World Bank as an institution dominated money flows and Southern NGOs and countries had to adjust to rules created by this institute, following Western standards (Nkang Ogar et al., 2019). Forms of imposed regulations or institutionalisation result in a power imbalance where often Northern institutions or organisations are viewed as superior and are favoured. Hence, neo-colonial characteristics, to be discovered in policy texts in this category, consists of imposed institutionalisation or regulations resulting in a power imbalance or leading to domination of the North. An example in this context, are imposed codes of conduct or dominating a partner to follow standards set by Northern institutions, such as the abovementioned TRIPS.

2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics

Colonial and neo-colonial policy; A state is contributing to segregation if on the one side, for example, Western education standards are promoted and implemented, while at the same time you promote indigenous practices and work to stay authentic. During colonial times, the colonizer introduced segregation by education once they introduced Western education for the elite, but simultaneously promoted indigenous practices of e.g. production of indigenous specialities for export (Ridwan, 2016). This form of stimulating segregation can be supported by labour policies, therefore forced labour is part of this category.

Colonial policy; Forced labour is an evident characteristic of colonial policy, e.g. forced labour such as slavery. Also, when colonial settlers took over a farm, the new landlord controlled the family living there. Practices of forced labour are difficult to discontinue because of their long history. In Uganda, this resulted in nationalized forced labour until 1917 (Kiwanuka, 1970). Forced labour contains e.g. plantation labour and child labour, but also military labour. Military support was also often provided by a (colonial) state to increase their control in the colonized country (Kieh, 2012).

Neo-colonial policy; Labour policy in the neo-colonial context is the neo-colonizer deciding who should do which job or who is the 'right person' to do the job. For example, within the international arena, people are often chosen for a job because they fit the Northern job description. Furthermore, deciding who does which job, inside another country, can contribute to segregation because some people might receive job opportunities. However, creating jobs can also come forward from equal interests or opportunity. This characteristic is perceived as neo-colonial when the North is the dominant factor in labour creation, such as an imposed division of labour, or decision-making around labour and economics.

2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic 'Agreements'

Colonial policy; During colonial times, trade was completely or partly taken over by the colonizers as they implemented their trade systems. Essentially, colonies existed to be exploited and maximizing their resources was the ultimate aim of the colonizers (Kiwanuka, 1970). Trade 'agreements' were often forced upon the colony; a clear example is the slave trade.

Neo-colonial policy; Economic dependency due to a long colonial history is a clear characteristic of neo-colonialism. Economic dependency can manifest itself in import regulations or trading conditions, designed by e.g. the European Commission or the UN (Achterbosch et al., 2003). As discussed in the first part of this theoretical framework, the colonial history of development matters. This contains a

long history of Northern-driven relationships consisting of exploitation and reproducing inequality. Therefore, if a state, organisation or any other stakeholder wishes to decrease inequality by creating partnerships or trade agreement, they need to acknowledge these negative historical legacies (Martins, 2020). Conditional trade or economic agreements, with conditions imposed upon the South from the North, is there with a clear characteristic of neo-colonial practices because it reinforces power imbalances such as took place in colonial times. Examples of this characteristic as a code in policy text can be found in conditional loans or trade agreements disadvantaging Southern partners, therewith reinforcing power imbalances.

2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies

To understanding (neo-)liberalism in the context of neo-colonial characteristics, I will first define neo-liberalism. The term neo-liberalism is used to describe a broad variety of practices and concepts, which makes it hard to grasp the exact explanation of the concept (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009). However, in this thesis, the concept of neo-liberalism refers to the ideology of a Western focus on free-market based economies, economic principles such as privatization and a system of competition combined with the right state intervention. When referring to neo-liberal policies, this thesis wishes to place attention on the role of the dominant ideology of market-based ideas, imposed by the West on the international economy. Even though neo-liberalism came forward in the 1980s, the idea of a strong economy and the main focus on the economy is found since colonial times within the focus on modernisation or the exploitation of colonies.

Colonial policy; Within liberal economic policies, modernity is seen as the final stage to be achieved. Under colonial rule, the use of violence was approved as a necessary way to learn submission. The next phase then led to the start of modern and humanist methods of education (Kiwanuka, 1970). This was considered the only way to achieve modernity for the colony. Within reaching the final stage of modernity lays the basis of liberal discourse, the way to modernity is via liberal systems.

Neo-colonial policy; Liberalisation defines the change in the economic system to less governmental control. Trade is opening up and liberalisation is the way to an open market economy. Neoliberalism is a political-economic process seeking to organise society around the principle of free-market activity to become the standard. As argued by Menon (2019), neoliberalism is in a way institutionalized and naturalized in our Western minds. According to Menon (2019), "*neoliberalism is still a powerful force shaping political and economic changes in much of the world today*" (Menon, 2019). Neo-liberal development is implied to be a neo-colonial practice due to the power created by institutions such as the World Bank, having institutional control over development projects. It is therefore argued that foreign aid is an instructive tool that is facilitating neo-colonialism (Sagoe, 2012). Furthermore, neoliberal development policies are a characteristic of neo-colonialism due to their ideas of progress to be reached by economic growth and good governance principles. In this sense, foreign aid is used to mobilise resources and to accomplish neo-liberal economic ideals. However, it should always be considered that each country has its history and not all neo-liberal economic ideas can successfully be implemented in every country. A key concept of (neo-)liberalism is privatisation. Privatisation refers to the process of businesses and practices going from governmental to the private sector. In the case of Dutch ODA, there are elements of privatisation visible, in the process of the shift of the Dutch ODA budget from the Ministry to the NGO sector. Enforcing neo-liberal policies within development cooperation policy is in this research perceived as a neo-colonial characteristic because it reinforces a power imbalance by continuing colonial structures and by imposing the Western ideology of neo-liberalism on the South. It is not argued here that neoliberal ideas are wrong or that Southern countries are not interested in neo-liberal practices. However, neo-liberal policies, such as agreements to

establish a global market, imposed on non-Western countries is perceived as a neo-colonial characteristic. This characteristic of enforcing neo-liberalism is relevant because of its overruling nature and imposed a dominant ideology. For example, in the 1960s the Southern countries were expected to deliver for the international market, but this reconstructed a dominant role of the North. Neo-liberal ideas, within an imposing context, found in policy documents are therefore coded with this characteristic code 2.4.

Code Category 3) Control – Political

The third category concerning neo-colonialism is the political one. The political category concerns the policies implemented in the colonies to create a 'better' organised state, but also the relationships that formerly colonized countries have with their former colonizers concerning politics and its influence. Furthermore, the process of promoting *Good Governance*, following only Western standards, and establishing conditional aid structures are addressed in this category.

3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics

Colonial policy; The clearest example of racial politics in colonial times; the colour of your skin was institutionalized to score your value as a human being. The white skin colour was perceived, by the colonizers, as superior and of more value. (Staples, 1976).

Neo-colonial policy; Present-day, there are still structures and power inequalities from colonial times, such as discrimination and racism in society. For example, in Indonesia, a white person gains more power and prestige (Von Langenstein, 2013). Racism is a result of colonialism, a clear neo-colonial characteristic, and institutional racism is still present today. A contemporary case of institutional racism can be found in the Dutch childcare benefits scandal. The Dutch tax authorities systematically checked and accused people with a double identity to be frauds. These people were checked because of personal trade and were wrongfully accused. Discovering racial politics might be challenging, however, if a policy is reinforcing racial politics, this is a clear example of neo-colonialism.

3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements

Colonial policy; Dependency relations were established between the colonizers and the colonies and a paternalistic role was originated in this colonial era. This characteristic does not contain economic trade agreements but focuses on political forced arrangements. For example, colonial officials forced the colony to sign treaties and controlled administrative power as the colonizer decided who was assigned an official job (Cribb, 1993). The role of self-interest was high for the colonizer to make any arrangement with the colony and conditions were set. For example, if the colonizer provided education support, it expected to set conditions such as who could attend their schooling system (Suratminto, 2013).

Neo-colonial policy; Nowadays conditional aid can be observed as a form of paternalism. Around 1960 conditional aid arose as part of the 'development solution', consisting of money loans under favourable conditions (Arens, 2003). These conditions resulted in ties to the neo-coloniser and created a dependency relation. Examples of international organisations working with multilateral aid are the International Monetary Fund and The World Bank. Conditions such as mandatory information transfers or the obligation to share your economic and political policy plans are examples of offensive conditional aid arrangements (Ridwan, 2016). Another example of an iniquitous trade and aid arrangement is the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements (DCFTAs) between the European

Union (EU) and North-African countries to ensure sustainable development. The EU justifies these DCFTAs as being highly relevant for the European and African continents to ensure reaching the SDGs. However, Langan en Price (2020) critically reflect on the DCFTAs as a continuation of neo-colonial practices. The North-African countries joined in on the DCFTAs, but *“the complexity of the DCFTA is incompatible with the ground realities”, particularly in relation to the wholesale adoption of EU norms and standards*” (Langan & Price, 2020 from Djafari, 2018). Meaning, the DCFTAs are set by Western standards and conditions, and the non-Western world is obliged to follow and is therewith disadvantaged. It is not to be argued here that the North and South are opposed when it comes to establishing sustainability, however, a power imbalance is recreated when conditions are Western-led and tied to arrangements. Hence, this characteristic covers conditions tied to arrangements following Western standards and reinforcing a paternalistic role of the North.

3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’

In this thesis, the characteristics of promoting ‘Good Governance’ concerns the overall ideology of imposing a Western governance style and the principles related to the concept ‘Good Governance’. These principles cover, for example, effectiveness and transparency.

Colonial policy; Promoting ‘good governance’, defined here as governance according to the colonizers’ standards, can be traced back to colonial times as colonizers started setting up offices to ensure bureaucracy and enforced their regulations. The colonizers had their ideas on how to ensure ‘good governance’ following their principles of, for example, bureaucracy while ensuring benefits such as trade relations and a power position for themselves.

Neo-colonial policy; Governance has been adopted into development thinking since the mid-1990s. This transition occurred because of the shift from the Washington Consensus to Post-Washington Consensus. However, it is argued that even though the focus went from economic to ‘Good Governance’, the ultimate goal was to realize a strong market society in the developing country (Hout, 2010). Furthermore, Graham et al., (2003) suggest that processes of promoting ‘Good Governance’ are in a way promoting a Western political agenda because ‘Good Governance’ consists of specific Western principles such as effectivity and accountability. As will be discussed later in Chapter 4, it is not argued here that Southern countries are the opposite of Good Governance principles. However, promoting Good Governance is a neo-colonial characteristic because it reinforces a paternalistic role of the North imposing the Western standards that encompasses the concept of Good Governance.

3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships

An example of an inequitable partnership is a partnership where one party enforces itself upon the other party. Within the context of North-South relationships, a Northern-led partnership can be seen as imposed because it might strive to reach its Northern beneficial outcomes. Martins (2020) suggests that equal partnerships are an important element to increase equality in power over resources. He argues that countries should have ownership at the state level to ensure sovereignty, but also at the level of civil society. For example, partnerships between Northern and Southern organisations should be Southern-led if they concern developmental goals in a Southern society (Martins, 2020).

Colonial policy; Imposed partnerships can be traced back to colonial times and originate from colonial officials who imposed a relationship between them and native officials by regulations and e.g. land taxes (Burgers, 2010). The regulation of land taxes was a new innovative system to justify taking money. The ideology behind these taxes was that all the land belonged to the monarchs, the land owners, the colonizer (Burgers, 2010).

Neo-colonial policy; First of all, a partnership between Northern and Southern partners is not directly imposed or enforced by the North. A partnership can be beneficial for both parties. However, it is suggested that if a partnership originates within the North and is imposed on the South without any request from the South, this is often an inequitable relationship because it is a Northern-led partnership and therewith the money source often equals a difference in power. Therewith it is also argued by Martins (2020), to ensure equal partnerships, foreign aid budgets, should never be imposed. If the receiving party, often a Southern society or NGO, does not believe in a certain intervention, it should not be tested by the North to find proof if an intervention could be successful (Martins, 2020). Pursuing a Northern-led partnership is a neo-colonial characteristic when the relationship is initiated via any form of coercion or reinforcing a dependency relation because these partnerships in this nature can then be traced back to colonial practices. Often development programs are created in the North, without an equal representation of Southern partners. As Martins (2020) discusses how “*international expertise can be beneficial, but not at the expense of Southern-led priorities and approaches*” (p. 149), and therefore equal representation is to be guaranteed, otherwise such an unequal partnership is a neo-colonial characteristic. Other important elements within a partnership are the conditions tied to it. If a partner is to be changed towards Northern standards, this can be compared to colonial ‘partnerships’. For example, when a new partnership is established between a Northern and a Southern NGO, some conditions, such as a code of conduct, are set before a new partnership is officialised, this can reinforce a power imbalance because often the North sets the conditions and the South adjusts to the donor’s requirements.

Characteristics – Critical Point and Overview

The abovementioned neo-colonial characteristics do not automatically refer to positive or negative consequences. To understand if a characteristic has a positive or negative effect, research needs to be conducted on the outcomes of policies, with specific attention to the characteristics. This research, however, focuses on the visibility of neo-colonial characteristics in development cooperation policy and the changes over time. Furthermore, this research aims to discover possible dominant trends between the three code-categories and neo-colonial characteristics in different policy frameworks. Additionally, the bias that this research focuses on actively searching for neo-colonial characteristics in policy frameworks should be highlighted here. However, this is not affecting the research in answering the research question, because the research is conducted to elaborate on neo-colonialism in development cooperation policy, possibly discovering trends and shifts in Dutch ODA over time and analysing policy documents without indicating a value to a policy.

The table below (Table 1), presents an overview of the listing of neo-colonial characteristics placed into the three categories; social/cultural, economic and political. As presented later in Chapter 4, four different development cooperation policies are analysed to answer the question ‘*To what extent can the neo-colonial characteristics be found concerning the different Dutch ODA and its practices?*’. The characteristic guides in analysing the development cooperation policies. In the next chapter, the methodology is explained elaborately.

Table 1: Characteristics Overview

Characteristic	Category
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise	<i>Social / Cultural</i>
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need	<i>Social / Cultural</i>
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language	<i>Social / Cultural</i>
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations	<i>Economic</i>
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics	<i>Economic</i>
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic 'Agreements'	<i>Economic</i>
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies	<i>Economic</i>
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics	<i>Political</i>
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements	<i>Political</i>
3.3 Promoting 'Good Governance'	<i>Political</i>
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships	<i>Political</i>

2.3 Historical Institutionalism and Path Dependency

Scholars of “old institutionalism” focussed on the how and why of creating legitimacy in institutions and how to organise to gain more for the groups' interest (Rhodes, 2006). Old institutionalism did not explain human behaviour or the motivations behind certain changes in social or cultural behaviour. That is where new institutionalism or neo-institutionalism comes in with focussing more on the role of the environment of an institution and the role of organisational power. Neo-institutionalism is also discussing the formal and informal interactions within organisations to understand why people behave as they do (USask, 2017). Meaning, the different roles of formal, such as contracts, and informal, such as traditions, with interactions, are researched under neo-institutionalism.

Within the study of neo-institutionalism, there is the subcategory Historical Institutionalism. Historical institutionalism is a part of this theoretical framework because this part of the scholars is looking for an explanation for specific political outcomes while taking institutional structures into account (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2014). Ishiyama & Breuning (2014) mention that historical institutionalists “[...] consider decision trees and path dependence, terms of art, meaning the effects that one decision has to limit the available future choices for any political actor or institution” (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2014), referring to the outcome that institutions created in earlier times lack perfect efficiency and do not change in a high pace. Historical institutionalist scholars have described different mechanisms that can produce *path dependency*. One of them is focussed on *positive feedback effects*; actions in the past, such as creating institutions like the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the department that is dealing

with development cooperation), make it the most effective option to choose in the future, choices to be made in the present are therewith already shaped (Keohane, 2017). Another mechanism of path dependence is 'lock-in'. Lock-in refers to a process where political decisions are produced because they are embedded in the rules of institutions (Keohane, 2017). For example, the Ministry is bound to the rules set by the constitution and Dutch politics. Among others, such a set rule is the accountability and full registration on how taxes are spent, to be transparent to Dutch society.

We know that history matters, but the added value of historical institutionalism is the explanation of why history matters (Keohane, 2017). Historical institutionalism places focus on giving attention to the impact of the past on the present, therefore we realize actors' actions are consequences of a historical development instead of individuals' actions at that specific moment (Keohane, 2017). In this sense, we should not look at the current policy framework as a transformative change in development policy, but rather research how the policy is formed with the influence of the past. History is a part of the answer to understanding why there is resistance to change, or why change is not as significant as one might expect.

With this background and the concepts of historical institutionalism and path dependency, I wish to investigate how history has led to the current Dutch development cooperation policy and its institutions, and how changes, or resistance to change, occurred. Within the Dutch development cooperation policy framework context, the Ministry (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), as part of the Dutch state, is the institution that has its roots in colonial times. In this thesis, three different levels where shifts or change can occur are addressed; the international development sector, the Dutch (development cooperation) system and the Dutch NGO level.

First, historical institutionalism is relevant for this thesis because defining the role of institutions while relating to the neo-colonial concepts will lead to an understanding of the power and role of institutions from colonial times till the present day. The Dutch development cooperation system, level one, as also originated in colonial times, will be explained in the context of Historical Institutionalism. Meaning that Historical Institutionalism explains how changes take place, but slowly. An extensive shock should take place to change such an institutionalised system. Second, historical institutionalism explains failures in past reforms, such as inefficiency of previous development cooperation policies, to be found in the interactions between formal and informal institutions (Prado & Trebilcock, 2009). Formal institutions consist of contracts, regulations, and a form of government as informal institutions refer to traditions, culture, or any norms and values (Prado & Trebilcock, 2009). These two forms of institutions often contradict each other and can therefore explain policy failures. The NGO sector, level two, provides an interlinking role between the high formal level of the state, and the local informal level. Therefore, it is all the more interesting to take a closer look at the role of NGOs, and how they perceive Dutch development cooperation policies. Finally, the development cooperation policies of the Dutch Ministry are interlinked with the international arena, the third level, the SDGs and their development agenda. This displays the understanding that the Ministry is strongly interlinked and globally institutionalized. Changing your behaviour as a state becomes harder because treaties are signed between as many states as are members of the UN. Creating successful development cooperation policies might be getting more difficult because achieving change becomes harder due to path dependency. Historical institutionalism explains how certain lock-ins, such as international treaties, results in current practices. These different levels will be further discussed in Chapter 5, leading to answering the sub-question '*how has colonialism shaped the historical evolution of Dutch ODA policy?*'

Chapter 3 | Methodology

Within the literature reviewed for this research, a scientific gap became clear. There is not any research discovered containing a combination of social/cultural, economic, and political dimensions of neo-colonialism. Just as there are no scholars found on long term Dutch development cooperation policy changes in combination with the role of neo-colonialism. This research takes care of these gaps in the literature and is of value within the academic field of neo-colonialism and development policy. Within this methodology chapter, I provide the research design, the methods of data collection, methods of data analysis and the limitations to the research design. Hence, I describe extensively how the research design works and how data analysis takes place to cover the data needed to answer the main research question: *How has (neo-)colonialism shaped past and present Dutch development cooperation policy and its practices?*

3.1 Research design

The research is conducted to analyse and research how the history of colonialism shaped and relates to today's development cooperation policies. Furthermore, the thesis contributes to finding a way to recognize if a development cooperation policy consists of neo-colonial characteristics. This thesis addresses the issue of neo-colonialism within development cooperation policies, hence the need to revisit history to understand how colonialism has its effects on current development cooperation policies. Understanding practices of today cannot be separated from understanding (colonial) history. The final goal of this thesis is to provide an analysis on to what extent a policy consists of neo-colonial elements, how this differs over four different Dutch development policy frameworks covering the period 1900 - 2021 and what explains these changes (or the lack thereof).

The research is conducted as qualitative research to gain insight into the content of the development cooperation policies and to be used to possibly find trends in development policies and practices. I use qualitative research methods to look at colonial history because I wish to create rich explanations and an understanding of the world today (Ullah & Aib, 2017). For this research, texts are analysed and interpreted via a postcolonial lens, a literature review is conducted, and additional data is collected via expert interviews.

To further explain why qualitative research is chosen for this research I follow Creswell and Creswell (2018). They elaborate on four different philosophical worldviews a researcher can choose from to explain their research approach. The four worldviews are postpositivist, constructivism, transformative and pragmatism. This research is formulated within the transformative worldview. The transformative worldview includes groups of researchers who are, among other, critical theorists and action researchers who are power and justice-oriented. Transformative research focuses on '*why problems of oppression, domination and power relations exist*' (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 10). Furthermore, it entails a focus on postcolonial thinking and is political and change-oriented. Although this thesis is not covering all elements of this worldview, as given by Creswell & Creswell (2018), it does belong to the transformative worldview because it covers three of the elements of that worldview. First, most clearly, is the position of postcolonial thinking in this worldview. Second, the focus on power relations, the role of power and control between the North and the South comes forward in this thesis. Third, it

contains an advocacy for an action agenda to support social change, namely; possibly reveal (in)visible neo-colonial development to strengthen and improve the development discussion.

3.2 Data collection

The data collection of this study is based on the qualitative methods of literature review, text analysis of policy documents and performing interviews. The specific case within the thesis is Dutch development cooperation. Meaning, there are four Dutch development cooperation policy frameworks from which data are collected for analysis. However, the literature on, for example, development thinking and neo-colonialism go beyond the Netherlands. Nonetheless, understanding and elaborating on this case can support the understanding in a more general way. The Dutch development cooperation policy frameworks of the last five years and future five years are specifically interesting because these two policies are reviewed as being a progressive new approach in the global development sector (Vice Versa, 2019). Furthermore, it is interesting to research if these policies consist of neo-colonial elements to see how colonial history is tied to the present.

Literature Review

The literature review is conducted by reading and analysing a diverse range of articles, covering development thinking, Dutch development cooperation, Postcolonial Theory, neo-colonialism, and Historical Institutionalism. With this information, the theoretical framework was created, as provided in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 elaborates on the framework of neo-colonialism, therewith providing the distinction of neo-colonial characteristics into three categories: social/cultural, economic, and political control. With the support of the literature review, the *Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing* was created. This listing consists of 11 codes, corresponding to the 11 neo-colonial characteristics, which are created to be used as codes in the content analysis. Furthermore, the characteristics provide a guide to understanding neo-colonialism in development policy.

Policy Document Text Analysis

To be able to test the *Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing* on development cooperation policy frameworks, these policies need to be collected. I collected four policies which each represent a certain timeframe. For the Ethical Policy, a complete policy paper or framework could not be found. Therefore, I used the speech given by Queen Wilhelmina in 1901 revealing the Ethical Policy to the States-General. More background information on the Ethical policy is retrieved from the literature review and is presented in Chapter 4 (Cribb, 1993; Fasseur, 1983; Touwen, 2000). The speech and the background information combined provides an image of the policy, representing the first policy. For the timeframe 1960s, the policy '*White Paper on aid to less developed countries (1962), in: Proceedings of the States-General, 1961-1962*' provided by Dierikx et al., (2015) is selected because it represents the timeframe and delivers insights into development cooperation actions of the Dutch government at the time. For the timeframe 2016-2020, the policy framework 'Dialogue and Dissent' is selected. The policy presents "[...] *the guiding principles for civil society organisations wishing to enter into a strategic partnership in the area of 'lobbying and advocacy' with the Ministry in the 2016-2020 period.*" (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). This policy framework is a large part of the development cooperation the Dutch Ministry practices. Finally, the present-day policy framework and therewith grant instrument 'Power of Voices' is collected. The interviews were held a few days before 'Power of Voices' had officially started.

The Ethical Policy is chosen because it represents an actual colonial policy. The 1960s represent a time period in which NGOs are institutionalised and the current and future timeframes, and their

corresponding policies, represent the current practices and changes in Dutch development cooperation. The policy papers consist of a different word count, which makes it, unfortunately, impossible to simply compare their scores with each other. However, by creating a normalisation, as presented in results Chapter 4, it became possible to compare the dominant influences of the policies to each other. An overview of the policies is provided in Table 2 below. The total word count of the policies consists of the analysed words, references and table of contents are not included.

Table 2: Overview Policy Documents.

Period	Policy Document Name	Total Word Count
1901	Speech Queen Wilhelmina on Ethical Policy	769
1962	White Paper on aid to less developed countries	10184
2016	Dialogue and Dissent	4527
2021	Power of Voices	11528

The Interviews

The interviews are performed with people working in the Dutch NGO sector, working with or due to Dutch development cooperation policy, or working for or with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as policy developers or influencers. In total, ten interviews are performed. Table 3 provides an overview of the 10 interviewees and their job description. The interviews are semi-structured and perceived as expert interviews. The interviews are structured with the support of guiding questions to remain to the main topic ‘neo-colonialism in the current Dutch development cooperation policy’. Some of the questions are linked to the same codes as the Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing (Table 1). The other questions are generated to retrieve information on their function or role around development cooperation policy, the content of the policies and the Dutch development sector system and possible shifts in Dutch ODA.

The questions for the interviewees are created to gain a perception of the development of policies within each code category. The corresponding questions can be found in Table 12: Interview Questions English (Annex 1). The other questions, which do not specifically refer to one code and/or category, can also be found in Table 12. These questions combined are created to collect data on the topics; historical institutionalism, path dependency trends, the relationship between the Ministry and the NGOs, neo-colonialism and current practices in the development sector. Too much guidance during the interviews is undesirable because it is uncertain what relevant information can be collected by each interviewee. The data retrieved from the interviews are used to complement the data from the literature review and policy analysis to answer the research question.

The persons I interviewed represent three perspectives within the development sector; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs policymakers, NGO employees and the intermediary, an organisation that plays a role between the Ministry and NGO level. I interviewed 3, 6 and 1 person(s), respectively. The interviews are experts interviews because they provide information on their specific role and within this research, they each represent a part of the development sector. The interviews are essential for data collection because they reflect the practices of development cooperation, regarding the policies. Furthermore, the interview data provides information on the Dutch ODA system, ODA shifts, perspectives on development cooperation and the two latest policy frameworks *Dialogue and Dissent* and *Power of Voices*.

Table 3: Interviews Data Overview.

Interviewee nr.	Interviewee Job Description
Interviewee 1	(Previous) development cooperation policy developer for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Interviewee 2	Development cooperation policymaker for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Interviewee 3	Manager of a society organisation for development cooperation
Interviewee 4	Senior policymaker at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Interviewee 5	(Previously) program designer for an NGO
Interviewee 6	Program coordinator for an NGO
Interviewee 7	Political Advisor of an NGO
Interviewee 8	Quality advisor of an NGO
Interviewee 9	Senior manager and MEAL manager of an NGO
Interviewee 10	Executive director of an NGO

3.3 Data analysis

After the data collection took place, the data were analysed. This part of the methodology describes how the data is analysed and which theoretical models underly this analysis. First, I explore the documents and their main goals and visions and describe this to provide context. Second, I analyse the documents on their content. The analysis part of this thesis uses parts of the format of content analysis. Third, I score the documents on the amount of neo-colonial characteristics and place them in the corresponding category to provide a clear overview (Table 8). After scoring the four documents, they can be compared to one another on their level of neo-colonialism across the various categories. This comparison is only possible after normalizing the scores to one another because the word counts of the policies are different. How to read the results is further explained in Chapters 4 and 5. Additionally, a further comparison is done by concluding and analysing trends within the texts.

Analysing the texts: Content Analysis

Thematic coding such as used here under content analysis is needed to identify discourses or trends in the context of neo-colonialism in policy documents. Following the elaborate description of Cardno (2018) on policy document analysis in her article *'Policy Document Analysis: A Practical Educational Leadership Tool and a Qualitative Research Method'*, content analysis is the method to code text and to obtain categories and themes from the analysed text or, within this research, policy documents. Content analysis can be distinguished into *inductive* or *deductive* (Cardno, 2018). This research used deductive analysis because with this approach the categorisation is established before the text analysis takes place. This approaches' main focus is finding the existence of text that fits the established categories (Cardno, 2018). Often, also within this research, are categories and themes established through literature review (Cardno, 2018). This research is conducted by only one person who interpreted the text, as elaborated on in Chapter 4, however, this brings a level of subjectivity. Another limitation is that the coding is already fixed, so other possible trends in the text or other coding possibilities can remain unseen. Furthermore, the goal of this research approach is to discover text

that fits one of the code categories. Topics that would be considered as a counter side of a certain code are not taken into consideration.

Within qualitative research, it is common to formulate categories based on literature. This was a significant part of the analysis. The three created categories are social/cultural, political and economic and each category consists of three or four variables (Figure 1). Elo & Kyngäs (2008) provide a schematic division of the main category, generic category, and sub-category, used in deductive content analysis. The schematic categorization for this research is given in Figure 1. With this developed categorization matrix, the data is reviewed for the content which relates to the identified categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

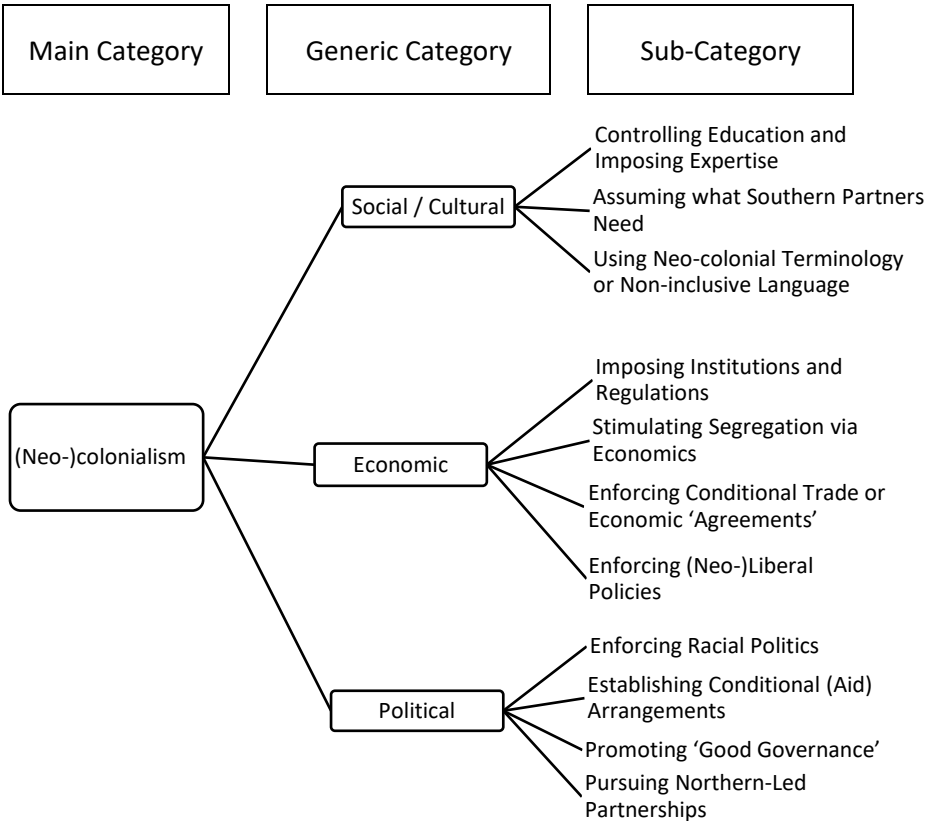


Figure 1: Categorization Matrix.

The Coding Process

The four policy documents from 1901, 1962, 2016 and 2021 are coded using the program *Atlas.it*. Within the program *Atlas.it*, it is possible to create codes and mark those codes in the texts by hand, which is how I analysed the policy texts. The literature review provided 11 characteristics and each of these 11 represents a code. The four policy texts are analysed by reading the texts and assigning these 11 codes. Every part of the text that is labelled with a code, a quote, corresponds to one point. For every policy text, the total amount of codes per code category are counted. Per quote, only a maximum of one point is appointed per code category, but a code may cover more than one code category. Because the policy texts consist of different word count sizes (Table 2), the total amount of codes per code category differ and show a skewed ratio. To be able to compare the policies, they are normalized towards the word count. Therewith, the number of codes per code category shows insight into dominant trends and changes over time. The total amount of represented code categories, per policy,

delivers insight on the level of neo-colonialism, as there are 11 code categories, which correspond to a maximum of 11 points.

To make the scoring process completely clear, I provide an example below. It should be kept in mind that each quote presented, just like this example, is considered in its context and with the background information about the timeframe the policy was conducted in. The Dutch development policy *Nota on aid for less developed countries* from 1962 provides the following quote example:

[Original text in Dutch] "*Bij het opstellen van hun programma's dienen de onderontwikkelde landen zich vooral te gaan richten op het produceren voor de werkelijke additionele vraag naar goederen. Dit is nodig om de verhoudingen op de grondstoffenmarkt te verbeteren en vraag en aanbod meer in overeenstemming met elkaar te brengen alsmede ter voorkoming van een niet te absorberen export van industrieproducten uit de onderontwikkelde landen. Door het ontwikkelingsbeleid op de concrete marktbehoeften te richten kunnen overschotvorming en prijs daling worden voorkomen.*"

[English translation] "*When drawing up their programs, the underdeveloped countries should focus primarily on producing for the actual additional demand for goods. This is necessary to improve relations on the raw materials market and to bring supply and demand more into line, as well as to prevent that export of industrial products from the underdeveloped countries cannot be absorbed. By focusing development policy on the concrete market needs, surplus formation and price decline can be prevented.*"

This quote is coded with '1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need' and '2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies'. Therewith, one point is counted under code category 1.2 and one point is counted under code category 2.4. The first sentence of this quote refers to an assumption about what the 'underdeveloped countries' need. They need to focus on resource production and should not concern themselves with industrial production. The Eurocentric perspective of including the market in the programs as being the only right thing to do is presented here. Furthermore, the influence of the role of the market included in the development policy can be found in the last sentence. Therewith, the neo-liberal perspective and the broad assumption of the importance of the market and economy to improve life is visible. Another neo-colonial element in this quote can be found in the structure of the global market. The underdeveloped countries should focus on producing goods that are in demand. The raw materials market should be assigned to the developing countries to support the global market, while the Western countries can focus more on industrialized products. With this setup, the Western countries are developing an (e.g. Asian) economy that is complementary to their economy (Akamatsu, 1962). This example shows how two points are found in this quote/part of the policy text. In the Results Chapter 4, the analysis of each policy is given, and more quotes are presented, providing the tables with the total number of codes found in each policy text.

Interview analysis

The expert interviews are first transcribed and thereafter themes and codes are given to the content, the texts. The interviews are therewith partly coded by the same codes as for the policy texts (Figure 1), but extra codes are linked to the other discussed themes such as the different policies, historical institutionalism, the system, and the Dutch development sector. The themes linked to the interview questions are given in Annex 1 (see Table 12 & Table 13). With the support of software *Atlas.ti*, the interview data is analysed. The interview data is not coded to discover a score on the amount of codes, as is the case for the policy texts. Rather, the data from the interviews are used to provide background

information on the different policies and the actual practices within the Dutch development cooperation sector. Furthermore, the interviews shed light on system practices and power relations. By going through all transcribed interviews and labelling the content, recurring topics, interesting links, and deepening information on the abovementioned topics could be discovered.

3.4 Limitations

The methodological approach of this research contains some limitations. These limitations are explained in this section. I also provide an overview of why particular choices were made. First, a limitation of this study lies in the fact that the colonial period started substantially before 1901. Therefore, inequality and colonial structures date back to way before the 'colonial era' known under the Ethical Policy in 1901. Therewith, some colonial practices are untold in this thesis or for example left out of the '*Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing*'. The last century is taken as the timeframe to be able to compare the development policies, as it is impossible to include the complete history in the limits of one master thesis. Additionally, there are four policies selected for comparison. This is a relatively small amount, as each policy represents a certain moment. However, each policy is analysed extensively and four different frameworks over a time period of 100 years deliver insight into important shifts in Dutch development cooperation policy. I am especially interested in how colonialism has a relation to current development policies and practices and therefore the previous and current Dutch development cooperation framework is chosen.

Second, the research' goal is to fully recognize neo-colonialism in Dutch development policy frameworks. There with the aim, beforehand, is to discover colonial ties in the different development cooperation policy framework. However, this does not affect the research objective, to compare development cooperation policies and their neo-colonial characteristics over time. The objective of this thesis is not to distinguish if neo-colonialism is present, but to deliver insight in researching the extent of neo-colonialism and changes over time.

Third, a limitation concerns the literature review. The literature on colonialism places European policies often in one category. Therefore, in this thesis, dominant European ideas in policies over formerly colonized countries are used, to be tested on the Dutch policies. Furthermore, the focus of this research is not on what is *not* present in the policy, such as decolonizing characteristics e.g. inclusiveness, which would improve a development cooperation policy as Postcolonial Theory argues. By excluding the 'positive' elements of the policies, the presented analysis takes up a critical point of view and limits to provide a complete overview of the policy and all its implications. Thus, it should be considered that this research only presents the neo-colonial side of Dutch development cooperation policy.

Fourth, a limitation regarding the research methods concerns the flexibility of content analysis. The document analysis is constituted to see which codes are present in the text. These codes are set, with the support of the literature review, before content analysis takes place. Resulting in the limitation to find new neo-colonial characteristics that are not given a code beforehand. Additionally, the interpretation of the codes, as elaborated on in Chapter 4, is done from a postcolonial perspective. I take the postcolonial perspective as the leading theory, which limits other perspectives to be incorporated in the content analysis.

Fifth, this research used interviews to support information found in literature research and document analysis. During the interviews, it became clear that some of the asked questions were impossible for the interviewees to answer because they did not know what happened at another level than their practices. Therefore, the interviewees did not answer every question as provided in Table 12 (Annex 1). I provided a space for the interviewees to tell their story and share the information they had, instead of going through every question on the list. This way, the interviewees could share their critical voices without being guided or interrupted. Nonetheless, following this way of interviewing presents the limitation to compare one interview with the other. The data from the expert interviews are used for the completion of information to answer the research question. However, links and returning trends in the interview data could be found and the interviewees complemented each other as well.

Finally, an important limitation that needs to be elaborated here is that this research does not make claims about the potential consequences of the presence of neo-colonial characteristics. This research aims to research to what extent the neo-colonial characteristics found in the literature research are present in the development cooperation policies, to visualise how colonial history has its consequences and to establish the importance of focussing on neo-colonialism in development cooperation. If neo-colonial characteristics are clearly present in current policy frameworks, then it could be argued that this needs to change because investing in neo-colonial practices increases inequality (Sagoe, 2012).

Chapter 4 | Neo-colonialism in Dutch Development Cooperation Policies 1901-2021

This chapter elaborates on the four Dutch development cooperation policies within their timeframe by providing the results of the content analysis. First, I provide a general overview of Dutch development cooperation from 1901 until the present. Second, I elaborate on the research method used for this analysis by providing examples of the different policies and neo-colonial characteristics. Third, I present the specific policies that were tested on the *'Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing'* to research if and how colonial ties are visible. The results are presented by providing the neo-colonial characteristics scores of the different policy documents and corresponding distinctive analysis. The analysis of the last two policies (Dialogue and Dissent, Power of Voices) and their practices are discussed in this section by combining content analysis from the policy documents and insights from expert interviews. After each elaboration on the policies, I provide a discussion part where I explain the scoring in more detail while using quotes from the policy texts. With all this information combined, the chapter answers the second sub-question; *To what extent do the various development policy frameworks since 1901 contain elements of neo-colonialism?*

4.1 Dutch ODA in a nutshell

In 1949, United States President Truman announced the *Point Four* program and therewith started the first global foreign aid program. He argued that the old way of imperialism should be replaced to support the underdeveloped world (Macekura, 2013). With this global institutionalization of development aid, Dutch development cooperation had officially started. However, long before that year, what can be considered a form of, 'development work' had been practised by the Dutch under colonial rule. Dutch ODA (Official Development Assistance), historically speaking, consists of two elements; characterized by the role of the Dutch as clergymen and merchant (Dutch: *Dominee of Koopman*), referring to the two main practices of influencing economic practices such as trade and the strong belief to bring the 'right' religion/moral and business. Development thinking in the Netherlands has substantially changed over the last decades. Starting with the *Ethical Policy* in 1901 and ending with the current Dutch development cooperation policy *'Power of Voices'*.

In 1901, Queen Wilhelmina gave a speech from the throne for the Estates-General (the Dutch parliament) to elaborate on the new policies and practices in the colonies. This speech is seen as the starting point of Ethical Policy. This speech elaborated on the new welfare policies to be implemented in the Dutch colonies. All to support the development of the colonies, combined with legitimising the actual presence of the Dutch and paying the debts of exploiting the colonies for so many years. The Ethical Policy consisted of both the moral obligation and bringing religion and modernization. It was understood that bringing modernization was the ultimate task of Western countries (Cribb, 1993; NCDO, 2012).

During the First and Second World War, the relationship between the Dutch government and the Dutch colonies diminished due to problems with communication, it could take weeks before a message was delivered, and limited possibilities to practice control oversees. Nonetheless, control over the colonies was not released. During the First World War, the circumstances led to more political dependence on

the colony. The colonial government had made many promises regarding more political and economic independence for the colony. However, after the war had ended, the promises made were set aside completely (Dijk van, 2007). Only after the Second World War, the processes of decolonisation were further set in motion.

Development programs and funding of NGOs was first introduced under co-financing programs in the 1960s. ODA budget was divided between four different NGOs. From this point forward, the current method of spending the ODA budget, by investing in civil society organisations, was set in motion. The budget was now spent bilaterally (from state to state), multilaterally (aid via institutions such as the World Bank) and at the civil society level (aid via non-governmental organisations) (Gulrajani, 2016).

In the 1980s, economic thinking changed worldwide. Neoliberalism dominated and development policies were affected by this. The so-called developing countries had to adopt the structural adjustment programs (SAP) in exchange for loans. Countries had to cut back on their governmental expenses, open their markets for foreign companies and focus on the export of their natural resources (Spitz et al., 2013).

Around 1990, the focus shifted to the political angle of development. The global arena advocated this change under the terminology of human development and human safety. The number of NGOs increased because of the belief in their added value and expert knowledge on developmental topics, such as bottom-up approaches. They were followed up by a remarkable shift in 2010. Development thinking went from social to economic, again. This shift in attention was supposed to achieve more self-reliance in the receiving countries. According to the development discourse at that time, the Netherlands has to profit from the policy, and mutual benefit is the, not so new, core of development thinking (NCDO, 2012).

To conclude, the Netherlands has a long history of different approaches in development cooperation. Bluntly said, the Netherlands went from colonialism to conditional development aid, to what is now called strategic partnerships. As mentioned before, Dutch foreign aid policies have had many changes. A new government has the ability to introduce new policy programs and present its vision. In 2016, the policy Dialogue and Dissent started. This program aimed to let go of the old 'money for resources' way of working and introduced the focus on the dialogue between partners in the Northern and Southern NGOs, and between the political powers and NGOs in the receiving country. With this new approach, the political role of NGOs is central. The 'service delivery', for example, building of wells and schools, is now replaced by support for civil society and their voice in political processes (Vice Versa, 2019). A powerful civil society is what the Dutch ministry wants to see in the countries they are supporting. Equal partnerships are seen as the way forward. That is why the Ministry created 25 Dutch alliances, consisting of Dutch NGOs and partnerships of Dutch and foreign NGOs, with them 61 organisations, in and outside the Netherlands, were connected and received grants (Tielens, 2019). Now the program of Dialogue and Dissent is over, and its successor Power of Voices starts in 2021.

The different programs contain different approaches, and this research takes a closer look at possible colonial ties between the different programs and therewith, development cooperation over time. The focus of the Ethical Policy lays in the colony of Indonesia. Later the focus of development cooperation policy extended to more countries, the so-called focus countries of the Ministry. Furthermore, it needs to be considered that the four policies frameworks are not the only policies implemented within each timeframe. For example, Power of Voices is only one part of Dutch ODA in 2021. However, as

previously explained, the policy frameworks are chosen because they are tied to NGO practices. The results are presented below, but first, the scoring process will be further explained.

4.2 Results in Tables

The example provided in the methodology chapter explained how the coding of the policy texts took place. All the codes found in the policy texts are counted and processed in the tables in this chapter. Every policy document has its own table with the corresponding scored codes. In the discussion section of this chapter, all the policies with their corresponding scores are presented in one overview table. This table (Table 8) provides an overview of the scores, the number of words of each policy, and the number of coded categories per policy. Table 10 is created to be able to compare the policies and their scores. As mentioned before, the four policy papers consist of different word count sizes. Therefore, the scores in Table 10 are normalized towards the scores per 1000 words. The scores in Table 10 are not to be confused with the counted scores (Table 8). Table 10 is only created to be able to compare the policies. The same goes for Table 9, consisting of percentages to research possible dominant trends in the policy texts. Before discussing these final tables and the relation between the four policies, each policy is analysed and placed in the right context.

4.3 Content Analysis Policy 1 - Ethical Policy 1901

The Ethical Policy period starts with the announcement of the (new) colonial approaches to be conducted in the Dutch colonies, via the speech of Queen Wilhelmina in 1901. At first, the Dutch government felt they had the obligation to their colonies to provide financial support, and this was translated into a monetary debt of honour. The Indies had contributed a significant amount to the Dutch state treasury and in return, they needed to be supported. However, this feeling of obligation soon shifted to a general moral obligation; a historic duty to bring modernity (Cribb, 1993). Bringing modernity is a clear colonial ideology and belongs to code '1.2 *Assuming what Southern Partners Need*' and '2.4 *Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies*'. The idea of modernisation as being the final stage to be achieved via liberal approaches is viewed as (neo-)colonial and represents the unequal power relationship between the colonizers and the colonies.

The Ethical Policy was not one policy paper but consists of multiple approaches and programs. In this research, the Ethical Policy is analysed based on the Queen's speech in 1901. However, to provide more background information the policy will also be discussed by looking at the different strands and general strategies. For example, with the Ethical Policy, the ideology of the golden bullet was born. The *bullet* refers to carefully planned programs to quickly reach goals, which were created by the policymakers. These policymakers were often colonial officials. The professionalization of technical services, such as the irrigation systems or regulate rural credits, are examples of these golden bullet strategies. This approach is a form of imposing institutionalization because the colonizer provides services and imposes the western institutions on the colony by committing to these programs to reach the goal rapidly. It is not to be argued that, for example, the strategy to impose an irrigation system is wrong. However, the golden bullet strategy behind it is a colonial practice due to the controlling power the colonizer has over the colony. Adding to that, the strategies are created by the ethical policymakers, the Dutch colonial officials.

Following Cribb (1993), the Ethical Policy consisted of three strands. The first strand, 'protection of the natives' was practised by restoring administrative power by giving it back to the natives. This is called the detutalization policy (Dutch; *ontvoogding*). This part of the policy also included preserving traditional culture and society, slowing down modernisation and assigning local officials (Cribb, 1993). This part of the policy refers to code '*2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics*' and '*2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations*' because it is focussed on how traditions can be preserved, but at the same time how modernisation can prosper in the colonies' society, which can stimulate segregation in society.











The second strand in Ethical Policy was the focus on education. Education was expanded by creating more opportunities for Indonesians. Blending the best of both cultures in the educational system. The policymakers saw the provided form of education as a technical way of problem-solving. There needed to be a supply of different levels of education, because only focussing on one employment category that could then be employed was seen as wasteful (Cribb, 1993). This form of colonial practices is categorized under code '*1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise*' and refers to the control over education and the discourse on the 'right' knowledge. As mentioned in Example 1, the education system excluded many people from education. There were many different schools with Dutch as the introductory language and only a few so-called indigenous or wild schools (Suratminto, 2013).

The third strand consisted of approaches to directly intervene in the economy and society to increase welfare. This happened at multiple levels. One example was focussing on a small group of people, who had money or prestige, in the colony who wanted to be 'raised' towards Western standards. This strategy is a clear example of stimulating segregation by the colonizers because only this group received a Western education and were supposed to be the new leaders in society. The policymakers did not see a situation where many people were poor and left behind, due to the Dutch Ethical Policy regulations and the exclusion of people. What they saw was a strategy. A strategy of betting on a small part of the citizens of the colonized society. Furthermore, the Ethical Policy creators grouped their ideas into specific programs; the welfare services. Welfare services consisted of, among others, building roads, agricultural programs, reforming sanitation etc. (Cribb, 1993). Adding to these three strands, the colonial government also saw bureaucratic transformations of the native government as one of the goals of the policy (Cribb, 1993). Such reformations are coded under '*2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations*'.

Speech Wilhelmina Ethical Policy - Score on Neo-colonial Characteristics

Content analysis on the speech given by Wilhelmina shows the scoring as provided in Table 4 below. The results show that the policy consisted of 10 out of the 11 codes. Only code '*3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships*' is not represented in the text. Furthermore, code '*2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations*' is most represented in the text. Also, conditional arrangements, being both economic and political are highly present in the text when you look at the scores of codes '*2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic "Agreements"*' and '*3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements*'. These two codes are different because of their underlying character. Code 2.3 covers economic agreements as for 3.2 concerns political agreements such as partnership agreements or imposed signing of a treaty.

Table 4: Result content analysis Speech Wilhelmina 1901 on the Ethical Policy.

	Ethical Policy 1901	
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise		2
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need		3
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language		1
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations		9
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics		2
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic 'Agreements'		4
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies		3
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics		1
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements		4
3.3 Promoting 'Good Governance'		2
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships		0
	<i>Total score</i>	31
	<i>Total Score Code Categories (x/11)</i>	10

Discussing the score – Ethical Policy

In the 'Discussing the score' sections, I provide examples of the content analysis by elaborating on quotes from the text with a certain code and explain why the quotes fit the chosen neo-colonial characteristic. As can be found in Table 4, the speech consists of a total number of 31 codes, of which 10 out of 11 different code categories are present. On top of this high score, is also the ratio between the text and the amount of text coded with a neo-colonial characteristics code. This ratio of 57,9 per cent (Table 8) is extremely high compared to the other policies. However, this result was suspected because this text is indeed a colonial policy explanatory text. Remarkable is the high representation of imposed institutionalisation with 9 points.

The speech given by Queen Wilhelmina in 1901 elaborated on the new practices to be enforced on the Dutch colonies. This short speech provides the following quote:

“Voor de ontwikkeling van de praktische volksopleiding, ook door de regeling van het leerlingstelsel, zal Uwe [het parlement] medewerking worden ingeroepen.”

[English translation: *"For the development of the practical popular education, including through the apprenticeship scheme, your [the States-General] cooperation will be enlisted."*]

This quote in itself might not directly relate to a colonial practice. However, through the spoken word of Wilhelmina, there is the reference to an imposed school system, the 'volksopleiding' (English: practical popular education). An education the Dutch state views as the best and only solution to increase welfare in the colony. An education system imposed on the colony (Emerson, 1946). The ideology presented here contains the belief that Western countries must provide the 'right' education following the 'right' standards. A paternalistic role is presented here by the Netherlands. As explained in the theoretical framework, this way of controlling education is a (neo-)colonial characteristic and therewith coded under code '1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise'. Therewith, this quote refers to the scoring of one point under category 1.1. Furthermore, the 'volksopleiding' is known to

have only been available to the elite of the society with the main focus on education the Western way, with Dutch as the vehicular language. Dutch colonial officials even worked on eliminating existing indigenous schools because they wished to create 'enough unskilled' workers. Education policies under the Ethical Policy were discriminative and extremely controlling because the Dutch imposed an education system excluding children who were not part of a family of, for example, government officials (Suratminto, 2013).

Another quote from this speech refers to code '2.1 *Imposing Institutions and Regulations*' and refers to one point, out of the total of 31 under code category 2.1:

"The compulsory insurance prescribed by the accident law will be implemented without delay, as soon as the appeal has been settled. This insurance will also be extendable to sea fishing and agriculture. In addition, compulsory insurance against the consequences of illness, disability and old age is being prepared." (translated to English, Speech Wilhelmina 1901).

This text refers to a change in the system and institutionalized insurance following the Dutch systems. The Dutch colonizer understood this way of institutionalisation as the right way forward. Providing an insurance system would improve life in the colonies. However, it is a clear form of imposing Western institutions in the society of the colony. Furthermore, the conditional arrangements, conditional aid or conditional economic agreements are visible in the text. Imposing institutions was, in colonial times, direct, as the Dutch government was directly ruling the colonies. Additionally, conditions tied to arrangements are therewith also more direct and with actual force when comparing to the development cooperation in the other three policies. The following part of the text demonstrates how the Dutch state, in 1901, sees itself as the provider of support and guidance:

"The general state of the population is gratifying in many ways. In the meantime, it must not be overlooked that, on both a spiritual and a material level, a change of conditions has taken place which, more than hitherto, requires the Government to provide guidance and support. In doing so, it should build on the Christian foundations of our popular life." (translated to English, Speech Wilhelmina 1901).

The Dutch state has the assumption that providing this form of support is highly necessary and the 'right' way towards modernisation. Furthermore, an element of cultural control can be found within the words of 'building on the Christian foundation'. This part of the text in itself is not as clearly a colonial characteristic. However, when looking at the relationship between colonial officials and missionaries it becomes clear they influenced one another on pursuing foreign rule. Missionaries and colonial governance worked together on replacing indigenous structures and ideas towards European standards and local cultures were destroyed (Schröter, 2010). Therefore, working on a Christian foundation has an underlying message of pressuring the colony towards Western concepts.

The relatively low score of 2 for code '1.1 *Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise*' is surprising, because the literature showed that the imposed education systems were a huge part of the colonial strategy during the Ethical Policy period. The same goes for code '2.2 *Stimulating Segregation via Economics*'. Following this content analysis, the conclusion is drawn that educational matters and preserving traditional culture were not as much represented in the text of the speech from queen Wilhelmina. These themes were possibly more represented in the actual practices after the policy had started. This presents a limitation of the research. This thesis provides background information found in the literature review which delivers insight into these codes to be found in practices following Ethical Policy. However, the outcomes of the policies are not distinctively researched for the four policies and

therefore the codes found in background information are not represented in the total scores of the Ethical Policy. Nonetheless, this content analysis provides sufficient insight into (neo-)colonial practices of the Ethical Policy and useful conclusion are drawn from this. To conclude, this policy text is a clear example of a colonial text, consisting of colonial practices and colonial discourse. It comes forward that the Dutch approach is the right one, and the paternalistic role is present. Apart from this paternalism, the focus on economic interest is represented as well as the imposed institutionalisation, which was common under colonial rule.

4.4 Content Analysis Policy 2 - *Development Policy Nota 1962*

Development cooperation started with President Truman's call to support other countries and help them rebuild, as had been done with the Western countries after the war. At first, this form of development aid consisted mostly of sending experts (NCDO, 2012). In the 1960s there was a strong, Western, belief that the former colonies, or referred to as the developing countries, could go through the same stages and reach the same level of modernity (Kazimierczuk, 2015). In the 1950s, Dutch society and businesses starting to see the benefits of cooperation with developing countries. In the 1960s, bilateral aid gained momentum and focused on Dutch export possibilities. More specifically, the liberal approaches were viewed as successful and the market was the way forward for all countries. Dutch development aid was often conditional aid, the Dutch always needed to benefit from the business (NCDO, 2012). This provision of conditional aid is represented under the codes '2.3 *Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic 'Agreements''* and '3.2 *Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements'*. Enforcing conditions to any form of aid or economic agreement is a recreation of a power imbalance and therewith perceived as a neo-colonial characteristic.

In the 1960s, the co-financing system, inspired by the global context and insights in North-South relations, in development cooperation started (NCDO, 2012). With this co-financing system, the Ministry spent its development budget via non-profit organisations. These organisations represent the division of Dutch society into four different groups (called 'pillarization'); Catholics, protestants, socialists, and liberals. Respectively the following non-profit organisations were created; Cordaid, ICCO, Oxfam Novib and Hivos (see abbreviations list). These organisations are still functioning, among many others, in 2021. Although the organisations were non-profit and non-governmental, their practices knew limited freedom because their programming needed to be connected to the Dutch Ministry's development policies (Kazimierczuk, 2015). Another interesting aspect of Dutch development cooperation was its relation to the Ministry of Economic Affairs. The budget for development cooperation was influenced by this Ministry and they wished to see conditional aid or tied aid (Kazimierczuk, 2015). This relation to the Ministry of Economic Affairs also influenced the policy papers. This economic, or neo-liberal, ideology is presented under code: '2.4 *Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies'*. The 1960s are known as being the years of a strong belief in modernisation. The Western countries followed the theory of Rostow on the different stages toward modernisation and to come to economic development, as mentioned in the theoretical framework (Spitz et al., 2013). The Dutch development cooperation policies in the 1980s are especially known for their focus on economic dependency, but in the 1960s this focus might have already been introduced, with the focus on neoliberal approaches and bringing market-based solutions to ensure an acceleration of the modernisation level (Spitz et al., 2013). Furthermore, the focus of Dutch development cooperation policy in the 1960s was on international agreements to stabilize commodity prices and greater imports of industrial products from developing countries to the Netherlands (Van der Veen, 2006). Not only

the Dutch government was pressuring the Indonesian government to let go of economic control, but also the international community sent the signal that economic liberalisation was the one-way ticket to development (Mccawley, 2005).

‘Nota 1961-1962 on Dutch development aid in less developed countries’ – Score on Neo-colonial Characteristics

Content analysis shows that this policy document consists of 100 neo-colonial characteristics. Because this document has a higher word count, it is not to be concluded this policy is placed higher on the neo-colonial scoring scale. However, this policy also consists of 10 out of 11 codes present. What is striking in the results (see Table 5) is the high number of code ‘2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies’. This high number is even enhanced when you add the high number of 12 with code ‘2.3: Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’’. This elaborates the focus on economic approaches. Furthermore, the high score of code ‘1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise’ is notable.

Table 5: Results of content analysis on Nota 1961-1962 on Dutch development aid in less developed countries.

	Development Aid Nota 1962
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise	17
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need	10
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language	6
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations	10
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics	5
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’	12
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies	25
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics	0
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements	10
3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’	1
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships	4
<i>Total score</i>	100
<i>Total Score Code Categories (x/11)</i>	10

Discussing the score – Nota 1962

What comes forward from this content analysis is the high presence of neo-liberal policies. This policy consists mostly of a focus on increasing the economy in ‘less developed countries’ and a vision on the use of technical expertise. This can be explained by taking a closer look at the following quotations:

“Met name in de zeer laag ontwikkelde landen ontbreken deze groepen [middengroepen] geheel en al. Daardoor ontstaat de moeilijkheid dat de ingebrachte kennis op hoog niveau aansluiting met de maatschappij mist, omdat de verbindende tussenlaag ontbreekt. Een en ander brengt mede dat naast de vanouds bestaande vorm van experthulp een groeiende behoefte bestaat aan een omvangrijke groep minder hoog geschoolde experts op economisch en sociaal terrein, die kunnen worden belast met de opleiding van ambachts- en middengroepen in de onderontwikkelde landen.” [...] “de vraag naar deskundigen zal toenemen.”

[English translation] *"Especially in the very low-developed countries, these groups [Meaning middle class, the group in between the technical experts and civil society] are completely absent. This creates the difficulty that the knowledge brought in lacks a connection with society at a high level because the connecting intermediate layer is missing. All this implies that in addition to the traditionally existing form of expert assistance is a growing need for a large group of less highly skilled experts in economic and social fields, which may be responsible for the training of craftsmen and middle classes in the underdeveloped countries. " [..] " The demand for experts will increase. "*

The quotation clearly states that knowledge from the Western experts does not align with the countries this knowledge is imposed on. They also state that more experts are needed. The approach here is an example of code '1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise' because Western expertise is imposed and justified.

The following quotation is coded '1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need', 2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics and '2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies'.

"De onderontwikkelde landen realiseren zich dat hun aandeel in de gezamenlijke verantwoordelijkheid niet alleen kan bestaan uit het opbrengen van grote financiële inspanning, maar dat zij ook oude tradities zullen moeten loslaten en economische en sociale hervormingen zullen moeten uitvoeren om een snelle groei van hun welvaart te kunnen bereiken."

[English translation] *"The underdeveloped countries realize that their share in the collective responsibility can not only consist of bringing in great financial effort, but that they will also have to let go of old traditions and implement economic and social reforms in order to be able to grow their prosperity rapidly. to achieve."*

In this quote, you can see that the Dutch state assumes that the best solution for the Southern countries is to be found in economic and social reformations and a rapid increase in welfare. Furthermore, the focus on the market and the corresponding focus on economic reformations belongs to the category of imposing neo-liberal policies. Also, the stimulation of segregation is present in this one quote. Within this policy, the Ministry promotes the letting go of old traditions for those who wish to join their Western welfare level. If part of the society would enforce this approach, another part could be segregated when continuing traditions.

The score of 6 points under code 1.3 is relatively lower than you might expect from a policy created in this timeframe. I have chosen to only code the terminology consisted of neo-colonial characteristics such as the use of 'less-developed countries', the 'local' or the use of 'they' and 'us', or 'the developed west' as one code per time. If every single neo-colonial characteristic wording receives a new code, a skewed ratio would occur. Thus, all these terminologies mentioned are counting as one code point in the scoring. This approach is used for all policy texts.

To conclude, there was the main focus on the market and economy and how to improve these aspects in combination with a focus on how this would improve the Netherlands or the global market. Colonial ties are visible here because of the level of imposed ideas and restrictions on the former colonies to do what it takes, according to the Ministry, to achieve modernisation. That the Netherlands had to benefit from development aid just as much, can also be found in the following quote:

"In general, the provision of financial aid in the form of loans is more obvious than the provision of it in the form of gifts."

Although it is not to be argued that money should just be given without any ties, it is remarkable that the concept of 'repaying debt of honour' is untouched in this policy framework and timeframe.

4.5 Content Analysis Policy 3 - *Dialogue and Dissent 2016*

The policy framework Dialogue and Dissent was a five-year program with a focus on Lobby and Advocacy via so-called strategic partnerships. From 2013 onward, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wished to see a political role for civil organisations to ensure a dialogue between civil society, the government, and the private sector. This is why these strategic partnerships were originated; being flexible, with more trust and a strong role for policy influence and lower administrative workload (Directie Internationaal Onderzoek en Beleidsevaluatie, 2019). Dutch ODA has been set up around the 11 themes: food and nutrition security, water, sexual and reproductive health and rights, security and rule of law, women's rights and gender equality, climate, private sector development, accommodating in the region and migration, humanitarian aid, education and strengthening civil society. The guideline of Dutch ODA, from 2016 onward, are the SDGs. One of the policy frameworks created within the theme Strengthening Civil Society is Dialogue and Dissent. Dialogue and Dissent wished to respond to SDG 16: Peace, justice and strong institutions and SDG 17: Partnerships for the goals (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). There are different policy frameworks created for Dutch ODA. As explained in the introduction, 0,7% of Dutch GNP goes to development cooperation in a multilateral, bilateral or civil society way. In 2016, this amount of money was over 4,6 billion euros and from this amount, the Ministry provided 925 million euros for Dialogue and Dissent. Dialogue and Dissent is a policy framework under the category 'money for civil society' and is a useful policy framework to analyse when discussing ODA practices because in this category, the Ministry deals with NGOs and civil organisations directly.

Before Dialogue and Dissent, many NGOs requested subsidies to finance their programs. They presented their ideas or visions and were, or were not, eligible for a certain subsidy. Now with Dialogue and Dissent, the way of gaining money, a grant, was different. This time, the NGOs, with their created consortium, initiated a partnership with the Ministry. In total, the Ministry created 25 partnerships. Each of these 25 partnerships creates a consortium of different organisations, with one lead party, and therewith included 61 organisations who conduct programs in 60 countries (Tielens, 2019).

The criteria to become such a partnership came forward in the expert interviews. For example, the lead party had to be a Dutch organisation (Interviewee 1, 2020). This element can be found under 'conditional aid and trade' and 'promoting good governance'. Only with the right governance structures present in the NGO, could a partnership come about. The lead party had to be Dutch, and there with a northern-led partnership came to be. This belongs to code '3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships'.

The idea behind Dialogue and Dissent is the belief in the important role civil society can and should play. A strong role for civil organisations will support the agenda for aid, trade and investment. Development cooperation operates in a globalizing context, and that is why the Ministry foresees the strengthening role for civil organisations in lobby and advocacy in Dialogue and Dissent. They plead that, to decrease inequality, the policymakers should be corrected when necessary. However, when thinking about a globalised context, it should be noted that the policy is only available in Dutch and English. This information belongs to code '1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language'. One of the interviewees responded with the following:

“It is funny you noticed the policy is only in Dutch and English. It has been a discussion within the team because at first, we wanted to provide more translations and languages but in the end, this did not work out. [...] The proposal had to be in English because this is the language of communication of the Ministry.” (Interviewee 1, 2020).

As mentioned, the political role of civil society organisations becomes central under Dialogue and Dissent. Service delivery, such as building wells or providing vaccinations, is no longer expected to be the main task of the NGOs (Tielens, 2019). The NGOs have to demonstrate their strength in Lobby and Advocacy as one of their central goals, before becoming a strategic partner and receiving any grants. That is why some organisations even reopened their lobby and advocacy department after the Ministry announced the important role of lobby and advocacy in this grant instrument (Interviewee 3, 2020). Under Dialogue and Dissent, the Minister wished to enter strategic partnerships with civil society organisations based upon trust and flexibility, to advocate peace and in the end reduce inequality. The organizations were called upon to take part in political processes. The Minister who created this policy had the strong idea of bringing the aid and trade agenda together (Interviewee 4, 2020). This idea of promoting Lobby and Advocacy can also be seen as a strategy of imposed institutionalisation. Even though the focus shifted from service delivery to political goals, both are practices of imposing ideas on how the institutions of ‘the other’ should work or be established.

Dialogue and Dissent - Score on Neo-colonial Characteristics

Content analysis (see Table 6) shows that codes ‘2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations’, ‘3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements’ and ‘3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’ are most represented in the policy framework. The policy consists of 8 scored themes in total, which is remarkable when compared to the policies before, with a total score of 10 code themes. The focus on economics with code 2.3 and 2.4 is reduced to a minimum of only 1.

Table 6: Results of content analysis on Dialogue and Dissent 2016 – 2020.

	2016 Dialogue and Dissent
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise	0
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need	3
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language	1
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations	5
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics	0
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’	1
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies	1
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics	0
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements	5
3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’	6
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships	3
<i>Total score</i>	25
<i>Total Score Code Categories (x/11)</i>	8

As mentioned, the language of this policy leaves much to be desired. The globalisation of the contemporary world has resulted in a globalised context. However, this policy is only available in Dutch and English. Furthermore, the policy is about including Southern partners and localisation, but all documents should be submitted in English or Dutch, explaining the one point for code category 1.3.

Furthermore, the Dutch development cooperation policy *Dialogue and Dissent* provides the following quote:

“Een samenleving kan niet zonder deze functie van maatschappelijke organisaties. Daarom stelt dit beleidskader de pleitende en beïnvloedende rol van maatschappelijke organisaties centraal. De vorm die hiervoor is gekozen, is het aangaan van strategische partnerschappen tussen maatschappelijke organisaties en de minister voor Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (hierna te noemen de Minister)”

[English version Dialogue and Dissent] *“CSOs, therefore, have an indispensable lobbying and advocacy role to play in society, and this policy framework sets out a strategy to help them fulfil this role, through engaging into strategic partnerships with the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation (‘the Minister’).”*

This quote is coded under ‘3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships’. In this quote, the Ministry refers to a tactic, a new approach to lobby and advocacy in development cooperation. The central part of this new approach is to establish partnerships or new relationships between the Dutch Ministry and civil society organisations from both the Netherlands and Southern countries. Establishing relationships between Southern organisations, originated from the Netherlands, is a continuation of Northern-led relations and therefore part of the neo-colonial characteristic under code 3.4. The realisation of this partnership is not oppressive as such, but the colonial tie found in this way of conducting development cooperation, is the spreading of influence over the world by pressuring Dutch NGOs to establish partnerships with Southern partners, instead of providing support to these Southern organisations directly, a Western influence is promoted. Furthermore, Dutch NGOs would miss a large amount of money if they do not follow the rules of the Ministry and create such a partnership. On the other side, the Southern partners must follow the rules established by the Ministry such as submitting the correct forms and providing the right financing documents, before receiving the money. Thus, terms and conditions are set by the donor and a (neo-colonial) dependency relation is reinforced, the donor-recipient relation (Kothari, 2006a) Also, further progress of the partnership is monitored to investigate the success rate and the wish to discover how to improve or evaluate a partnership. Creating partnerships with Southern NGOs/partners can be seen as an improvement to earlier approaches of direct Dutch control, however, the ideology of the North being the one who should lead partnerships to support and improve the South is still present.

The following part of the policy is also coded with ‘3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships’ and ‘3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements’.

“ [...] 2.3 Who qualifies as a partner?

• Dutch civil society organizations (whether or not in alliance) with proven quality and demonstrable track record in the field of "advocating and influencing" and experience in strengthening the advocacy and influencing the capacity of organizations in low- and low-middle-income countries.

• *Civil society organizations headquartered in low- or low-middle-income countries in alliance with at least one Dutch civil society organization - as referred to in the previous bulletin - aimed at strengthening the advocacy and influencing capacities of organizations in low- and low-middle-income countries. The organizations have proven excellence and a demonstrable track record of "advocacy and advocacy" and are experienced in strengthening the advocacy and influencing the capacity of organizations in low- and low-middle-income countries."*

This part of the text could be interpreted as if non-Dutch organisations are also able to become a strategic partner with the Ministry if the consortium consists of at least one Dutch organisations. However, from the interviews, it came forward that the lead party had to be a Dutch organisation. Another interesting part of the policy consist of the following text:

"To be able to advocate and influence effectively, a civil society organization must have specific expertise and experience and appropriate Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation instruments (PME)"

This part of the policy is coded with '2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations' and '3.3 Promoting Good Governance' because it demonstrates how the organisations have to follow the guidelines of the Ministry and the institutional instruments they use and perceive as the right tools. Apart from that, research shows that the mentioned Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (hereinafter PME) is introduced mostly from Northern NGOs (Van Ongevalle & Maarse, 2011) and is therefore not fully globally normalised. Even though the use of PME might be successful, the argument here is that it is indeed a northern-led institutional strategy.

Within the interviews, it was discussed how the new strategic partnerships are given time and capacity to change their institution or governance to adjust to the Dutch standards. For example, the use of IATI (International Aid Transparency Initiative), is a reporting or documentation wish of the Ministry. An employee of the Ministry, who worked on the policy creation noted:

"We said we want an organization in the consortium, so in the alliance, a southern organization. But at the same time, we set requirements for organizations that are quite high, so in terms of reports, but also terms of integrity procedures and systems and the like."
(Interviewee 2, 2020)

This policy framework is less neo-colonial in comparison to the Nota 1962 when you look at the used language or the paternalistic influences. It is a framework set up for civil organisations to gain power by committing to a strategic partnership with the Ministry. However, it is questionable if everything proclaimed in the text is practised the same way. As one of the interviewees also mentioned how the process of policy creating goes through different stages and the last stage, coming up with the criteria, missed the point. Therewith a lot of possible partners had no chance of getting through all the criteria. To finalize this part on Dialogue and Dissent, it is remarkable that codes '3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements' and '3.3 Promoting Good governance' score higher than establishing Northern-led relationships, even though this is what the policy wished for, to establish consortia with a Dutch organisation in the lead. Understanding this wish to create consortia with the 'Dutch in the lead' as a continuation of imperialism in a new format would be too short-sighted. Nonetheless, the results of this analysis lead to a conclusion that the 'Dutch in the lead' is caused by accountability processes embedded in the institutions.

4.6 Content Analysis Policy 4 - Power of Voices 2021

The policy framework Power of Voices is the successor of Dialogue and Dissent. Dialogue and Dissent has been evaluated and some changes came forward for this new policy. Both Dialogue and Dissent and this new Dutch development cooperation policy 'Power of Voices' focussed on strategic partnerships and the need for more equality and bottom-up relationships between North and South. The strategic character of the partnership leads to the common goal, to achieve their goals together and to learn from each other's qualities and knowledge. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the executive power of the Dutch central government, is apart from its financing role also of added value to, among others, diplomatic support, and international networking (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2019). Power of Voices is created internally at the direction of the Ministry by the so-called policy developers. Furthermore, the Ministry consists of different thematic directions who are responsible for a thematic program such as food security or the gender equality team, and these teams provided input. Further internal input has been provided by information retrieved from webinars and the embassies. External input is represented by different evaluations of the partnerships from Dialogue and Dissent. Combined with information from annual meetings with Northern and Southern civil societies and some researchers have been involved (Interviewee 4, 2020).

Compared to the policy framework Dialogue and Dissent, a change is made by adding the obligation to have a partnership with a Southern organisation included in the consortia (Interviewee 6, 2020). This was the real improvement of the policy, to increase bottom-up processes and include more Southern organisations. Because, as one of the interviewees puts it *'now it was really a Dutch party'*, referring to the Dialogue and Dissent partnerships and corresponding consortia. However, even with this change in the policy, the perspective seems to be Dutch and it is mostly the Dutch organisations who respond to the Power of Voices call (Interviewee 2, 2020). Interviewee 3 furthermore discussed how the Dutch sector could be placed more in the background. It is mentioned how there is a tension between providing Dutch organisations with money from the Dutch taxes, and the discussion if this is the right way of spending money. Furthermore, interviewee 3 mentioned that the Ministry wishes to see new programs which are coherent in themselves with one of the themes such as gender equality. The policymakers had argued they *"foresaw more efficiency from the partnership if the programs would be more uniform"* (Interviewee 3, 2020). This is, however, linked to the neo-colonial characteristic *'3.3: Promoting 'Good Governance'*, which promotes efficiency as one of the main goals to be achieved while countries are very different and uniting programs suggest the opposite.

Just as the policy framework Dialogue and Dissent, Power of Voices is only available in English and Dutch. An interviewee working as a policy developer for the Ministry mentioned that the ideal goal was to provide the policy in four languages and leave the call open for at least a year. What happened with Power of Voices was a call for three months and only in English and Dutch, because Dutch politicians continued the debate about the policy and changes had to be made until the last moment (Interviewee 3, 2020). This combined with the requirement that each consortium had to contain at least one Dutch organisation, resulted in a leading role for Dutch organisations which enter into a relationship with Southern organisations, thus code *'3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships'* is represented here.

Power of Voices Partnership Policy Framework - Score of Neo-colonial Characteristics.

What comes forward from content analysis on the policy document Power of Voices (see Table 7) is the high score on code *'3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements'*. This can be partly explained because of the higher number of criteria provided in the policy text. Furthermore, the paternalistic

role of the policy comes forward which can also be found in 3.2 and code ‘2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations’ and ‘3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’’. Hence, these two codes come forward because of imposed institutional tools.

Table 7: Results of content analysis Power of Voices 2021.

	2021 Power of Voices
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise	1
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need	3
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language	3
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations	4
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics	0
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’	0
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies	2
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics	0
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements	11
3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’	4
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships	1
<i>Total score</i>	29
<i>Total Score Code Categories (x/11)</i>	7

Discussing the score – Power of Voices

The final policy framework to be discussed also addresses part of the 3rd sub-question; *where does the current policy find its origin and how is this policy shaped by colonialism?*

To start with discussing code ‘1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language’ which is represented in three forms, therefore the score of this code is 3 just as is conducted for ‘Policy 2; Nota 1962’. For example, every time the text mentions a condition for the partnerships is that the data should be submitted in a specific language such as Dutch, this counts as 1. Examples to be found in Power of Voices are as follows:

“The Theory of Change should be written and submitted in English or Dutch” and “The vision must be written and submitted in English or Dutch.”

Even though the Ministry does not have any obligation to make their grant instruments accessible for non-Dutch or non-English speaking people or organisations, it is characterised as neo-colonial in this research because the Ministry has chosen to exclude a huge part of the organisations, they also claim to be interested in to support, the non-English speaking southern civil society organisation.

The following quote provides an example of code ‘1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language’ due to the restrictions of language use:

“The threshold criteria are criteria which an application must, in any case, meet to be eligible for a grant. The threshold check will be carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff. Applications that do not satisfy all threshold criteria will be rejected and will not be considered further. Please note: statutes and/or annual reports must be submitted in Dutch,

English, French or Spanish. If statutes and/or annual reports are not available in the above-mentioned languages, the lead party must take care of a certified translation. “

The policy framework itself is only available in Dutch and English, which contradicts the criteria of using the right (Dutch, English, French or Spanish) language as mentioned in the quote above. While the Ministry established that development cooperation takes place in a globalized context, it still limits English and Dutch speaking NGOs to be able to apply for the grant. By providing a limitation to the used or allowed languages the Ministry eliminates partners they claim to allow and support to become a partner. The threshold criteria as mentioned in this quote are discussed later in the policy text and are coded under ‘2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’’. It should be noticed that the Ministry has the right to have certain conditions before granting any money. However, as the quote below presents, it is a neo-colonial characteristic when more conditions are asked for, e.g. to be monitored, and therewith have a certain level of power/control over the partnership.

“A learning agenda should be an integral part of programmes to be funded under this policy framework and thus of monitoring.”

The learning agenda is a document consisting of a written down plan on how to learn from each other, and what the final learning goals are and how they can be achieved. A created partnership consists of a learning agenda, monitoring and financial obligations, but is also tied to a partnership agreement when they wish to become a partner and receive a grant. This partnership agreement has to be signed by all consortium members, thus the whole partnership, as can be found in the quote below;

“D.2: The application must include a partnership agreement signed by both the lead party and all the other consortium partners which has been concluded with a view to entering into a strategic partnership with the Minister under the Power of Voices Partnerships and conducting activities using this grant, laying down at least:

- how each of the consortium partners will contribute to the consortium's activities (its role, task and responsibilities);*
- how decisions are made within the consortium;*
- how costs and risks are shared among the consortium partners;*
- how the consortium partners will ensure that the lead party fulfils the obligations towards the Minister in respect of the grant, including responsibility for the joint aggregated reports (including IATI-compliant reports).”*

This quote delivers a clear insight into conditional aid, but most interesting is the last sentence ‘*joint aggregated reports (including IATI-compliant reports)*’. This gives insights into the obligated use of IATI reporting. However, as for Dialogue and Dissent, the use of PME was obligatory, Power of Voices does not mention PME and this lowers the final coding score.

To conclude, the value in strategic partnerships comes forward in the policy document, but also the Dutch interest is present. Some of the elements in the text can indeed be traced back to the colonial elements. The focus on northern-led partnerships and the western standards of improving organisations but with conditions such as reporting process can be traced back to colonial practices as imposing relations and imposing institutionalisation and the ‘right’ way to practice governance.

4.7 All Four Policy Frameworks

The number of words with a code divided by the total amount of words provides the percentage of the document with codes. As can be seen in Table 8, the percentage ‘words with score’ is the highest for 1901 with 59,7% and the lowest for 2021 with 9,3%. These percentages show that the 1901 policy (the Speech of Wilhelmina) consist of a high amount of neo-colonial text even though the total number of codes is 31. This is the same for the Nota 1962 with a high number of codes, 100 in total, but the percentage of coded text is 21,8, which is much lower compared to 1901.

This part of the results section discusses the different policy frameworks and their relation to each other. Table 8 below, presents the scoring of the four policies in one overview. The total amount of words can also be found. The policies differ from word count size which makes it impossible to compare the number of codes directly with each other. A longer policy paper has a higher possibility of consisting of more codes. Especially the first document, the speech of Queen Wilhelmina in 1901, has a low number of only 769 words. This would result in a skewed ratio. Therefore the codes are normalized, as explained in the methodology chapter. To be able to compare the scores across the various policy frameworks, Table 9, Table 10 and Table 11 are created and the data in these tables are used to discover trends over time or between the policies. How this works will be discussed later. First, Table 8 consists of an overview of all scored codes per policy and Table 9, presenting dominant themes per policy, will be discussed here.

Table 8: Results of content analysis of all policy frameworks.

<i>Neo-Colonial Characteristics</i>	<i>Policy Framework</i>			
	1901	1962	2016	2021
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise	2	17	0	0
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need	3	10	3	4
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language	1	6	1	3
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations	9	10	5	4
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics	2	5	0	0
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’	4	12	1	0
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies	3	25	1	2
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics	1	0	0	0
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements	4	10	5	11
3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’	2	1	6	4
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships	0	4	3	1
<i>Total Score</i>	31	100	25	29
<i>Word Count</i>	769	10184	4527	11528
<i>Words With Code</i>	459	2225	988	1076
<i>Words With Score %</i>	59,7%	21,8%	21,8%	9,3%
<i>Total Score Code Categories (x/11)</i>	10	10	8	7

The results presented in Table 8 above show that many of the neo-colonial characteristics are present in each of the policy papers. The amount of scored code categories within the text ranges from 10 to 7. However, the number of codes per code-category differs per policy. Some policy texts only consist

of one code per certain category, but therewith makes the *Total Score Code Categories* relatively, much higher. Leading to the conclusion that the number of scored themes is not as relevant as expected beforehand. What is interesting, is the difference between the policies on the *Words With Score %*. A decline between 1901 and 2021 can be found here.

The Nota 1962 has a high percentage of coded text, especially when considering that this policy text has the second-highest word count size. This high percentage leads to the conclusion that this text is full of neo-colonial concepts. These concepts mostly concern pressuring expert knowledge on southern countries and imposing neo-liberal market concepts combined with the clearly present structure of conditional aid. Other elements that can be found in Table 8 are the code categories with a score of zero. Code ‘2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics’ is only found in the first two policies and seems to have vanished after 1962’s policy. The same goes for code ‘3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics’ with only one score in 1901 in total. However, it is never to be suggested that for example, racism did not occur in development cooperation after 1901. Within one interview it came forward that the Dutch development cooperation sector should focus on diversity, because racism takes places due to ignorance and the lack of diversity (Interviewee 8, 2020).

Apart from looking at the percentage of coded words per text and the availability of codes per policy, it is also interesting to take a closer look at the dominance of certain codes per policy text. Therefore, Table 9 below is created and will be further discussed here.

Table 9: Percentages scoring (total score per category divided by the total amount of scoring of the policy).

<i>Neo-Colonial Characteristics</i>	<i>Policy ></i>			
	1901	1962	2016	2021
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise	6%	17%	0%	0%
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need	10%	10%	12%	13%
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language	3%	6%	4%	19%
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations	29%	10%	20%	13%
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics	6%	5%	0%	0%
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’	13%	12%	4%	0%
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies	10%	25%	4%	6%
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics	3%	0%	0%	0%
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements	13%	10%	20%	34%
3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’	6%	1%	24%	13%
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships	0%	4%	12%	3%
<i>Total score</i>	100%	100%	100%	100%

To be able to search for trends in dominant strategies in the policy texts, Table 9 is developed to represent the score of the category divided by the total amount of codes for each of the policies. Thus, this table represents how much of the total score is represented by a certain category. For example, 1962 consisted of 17 for code 1.1, which is (17/100) 17% of the total score.

If we look at 1962, we can find that 25% of the codes in this policy are represented by code ‘2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies’, which is a high number. For 1901 the most represented code is clearly ‘2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations’, with 29%. The data from Table 9 is useful to be able to draw conclusions on which codes were represented and seen as important at that time. For 1962, ‘2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies’, thus the focus on the market, creating a strong economy and establish

economic stability to ensure development, which is represented in the policy paper, can also be seen in this table.

To conclude, for 1901 the dominant strategy, derived from the text, is imposing regulations and institutionalisation. For 1962 the dominant strategy lays in liberal market-based ideas and controlling expertise from the west to the ‘underdeveloped’ countries. 2016 does not have one mostly dominant strategy present but is spread out on promoting good governance by imposing certain ways of working and establishing conditions before dispensing grants. In 2021 the dominant strategy can be found in conditions to aid and arrangements, the rules around the partnerships might have changed slightly compared to 2016, but still, conditions are largely present. What is remarkable, when looking at Table 9, there is a decrease in the percentage of code ‘2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’ compared to the other codes. This would mean that conditional economic trade agreements became less represented in the policy frameworks. In contrast to conditional aid arrangements, which increased over time. This leads to the conclusion that conditions tied to aid went from mostly economic/trade to conditions concerning political elements e.g. monitoring and fulfilling requirements.

4.8 Comparing the policy texts

To be able to compare the policies and their scored codes, the right way of normalizing the data needs to be conducted. As introduced in Chapter 3, Methodology, a categorization of the policies on their level of neo-colonialism can be useful to demonstrate possible trends. Even though the actual classification is not as relevant as discovering trends within the policies, it still provides insight into trends over time. That is why Table 10 is created. Table 10 shows the number of codes per 1000 words. Hence, the number of scored codes is normalised towards the total word count. Meaning that each code is divided by the total amount of words of all policies, multiplied by 1000, providing the score of each code per 1000 words. These numbers can be found in the table below (see Table 10). These calculations make it possible to compare the scores of the different policies, although it should be kept in mind that the extremely high scores of 1901 are due to the small number of words it consisted of. The numbers in this table are *not* the actual number of codes found in the policies, but make comparisons possibly.

Table 10: Codes per 1000 words (*1000).

Policy Framework >	1901	1962	2016	2021
Neo-Colonial Characteristics; codes per 1000 words				
1.1 Controlling Education and Imposing Expertise	2,60	1,67	0,00	0,00
1.2 Assuming what Southern Partners Need	3,90	0,98	0,66	0,35
1.3 Using Neo-colonial Terminology or Non-inclusive Language	1,30	0,59	0,22	0,26
2.1 Imposing Institutions and Regulations	11,70	0,98	1,10	0,35
2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics	2,60	0,49	0,00	0,00
2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic ‘Agreements’	5,20	1,18	0,22	0,00
2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies	3,90	2,45	0,22	0,17
3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics	1,30	0,00	0,00	0,00
3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements	5,20	0,98	1,10	0,95
3.3 Promoting ‘Good Governance’	2,60	0,10	1,33	0,35
3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships	0,00	0,39	0,66	0,09
Total score	40,31	9,82	5,52	2,52

Some conclusions and trends can be drawn from Table 11. First, a clear decrease in colonial terminology can be found. It is not surprising that the 1901 and 1962 policies consist of more (neo)colonial terminology. The 2016 and 2021 policy papers scored, within code 1.3, on non-inclusive language by limiting partners to only Dutch and English-speaking organisations. Second, a decrease can be found by code '2.4 Enforcing (Neo-)Liberal Policies', with even a zero score in 2021. The focus on neo-liberal policies, such as imposing free-market principles, is not present anymore. Within the new policy frameworks of 2016 and 2021, the focus shifted to lobby and advocacy, generic category; control via politics (Figure 1). Third, promoting the Western standards of Good Governance had an uplift in 2016 but decreased again in 2021 because some elements e.g. PME were not included in the 2021 policy framework and the focus therewith moved away from certain Western tools in development cooperation. A fourth and final remarkable element within this table is the trend of code '3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships' which went respectively from 0, 0,39, 0,66 to only 0,09. This suggests a positive trend, especially in 2021, the establishing of only northern-led partnerships has decreased. However, the interviews gave insight that in reality, the established partnerships are always consisting of at least one, but often more, Dutch NGOs. On top of that, the Dutch organisations are often the lead party. Nonetheless, these results show a decreasing trend because this information is a result of the policy and not written down in the actual text. Overall, a decline in neo-colonialism can be found when looking at the *Total score*. Merging the results of Table 10 per generic category provides the results in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Total score Neo-colonial Characteristics per generic category.

<i>Neo-Colonial Characteristics per Generic Category</i>	1901	1962	2016	2021
Social/Cultural Control	7,8	3,24	0,88	0,61
Economical Control	23,4	5,1	1,54	0,52
Political Control	9,1	1,47	3,09	1,39

Table 11 shows clearly that both social/cultural and economic control has decreased over time, but political control has the same level in 2021 as 1962. Continuing on the growth or same level of political control, the one constant code category from 1962 until 2021 is '3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements' with respectively 0,98, 1,10, 0,95. Conditional aid might have taken on a different shape because it went from conditional loans or Western expertise or school systems to conditions tied to a partnership and grant, it has remained a constant essence within the policy texts. Therewith the paternalistic role of the Dutch NGOs led by the Ministry also remains present. With this discovery, path dependence has taken shape. Meaning, the path towards political control does not show a decrease over time just as the specific code '3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements' within the political category.

Discussing Comparing the Four Policies

Before conducting content analysis, I had not expected that almost every code could be found in every policy paper. The total scores on the Code Categories are relatively high with 10, 10, 8 and 7. However, it is not worth as much to look at which classification belongs to a certain policy, because providing a label of a level of neo-colonialism does not say as much as looking at the actual dominant strategies or trends in development cooperation policy, and the current policy texts. Some remarks can be made from the compared scores in the section above.

First, when discussing trends or discovering patterns, it should be noted that the first policy paper Ethical Policy 1901 can be set apart because this was an actual colonial policy. All scores have a

decrease in comparison to this first policy. Thus, when searching for trends the main focus rests on trends in the last three policy papers. Second, the lower number of 0,09 in 2021 on code '*3.4 Enforcing Northern-Led Partnerships*' compared to 2016 with the amount of 0,66, could be seen as a huge improvement. However, this data is objected by the data from the interviews. Even though the policy paper *Power of Voices* required the partnerships to include at least one Southern partner, the actual practices lead to a Northern-led partnership, as referred to by one of the interviewees; the 'Dutch party'.

Third, trends to be found (Table 10) are the decrease of codes '*2.2 Stimulating Segregation via Economics*' and '*2.3 Enforcing Conditional Trade or Economic 'Agreements''*', which leads to the conclusion that development cooperation policy has let go of the focus on economic agreements. However, conditional aid, thus conditions tied to receiving a grant or conditions that need to be acquired, tied to the grant, has increased. The 2021 policy consists of a lot of conditions once you are connected to the so-called strategic partnership. Combining this with data retrieved from the interviews provides insight into the reasons why conditional aid has made a certain comeback. Dutch politics need to justify every euro spend. Even though it is argued that money would possibly be better spent if it could be given to Southern partners directly, without changing their organisation towards Dutch standards such as 'Good Governance' on topics like management and financial control or reporting (Interviewee 3, 2020).

As a fourth point, I wish to take a closer look at the decreasing focus on the elements around code '*3.3 Promoting 'Good governance''*' between 2016 and 2021. Good Governance, or Western governance, in this research, covers the concept of promoting Western standards of 'Good Governance' resulting in increasing unequal power relations. Good governance is a Western concept to promote, among others, efficiency, and reforms to ensure improvement in governance. One of the elements of Good Governance is that the role of the market should consist of free-market principles. The focus on the concepts of Good Governance has declined, as can be seen in the declining percentages in Table 9. In this scenario, the North promotes or imposes its vision of the 'right' way of governance on the partnership organisations. Supported by data from the interviews, the issue in development cooperation policy remains; you want equal partnerships, but you also want to know precisely how the money is spent and promote your vision of what is 'the best' approach towards governance. For example, the obligation to use the program IATI for reporting is a tool the global arena has seen as useful, but not all organisations might benefit from this extra or new way of reporting. Furthermore, it is not to be argued that Western and Southern ideas are always opposing one another. It is not stated here that Southern countries are the opposite of 'Good Governance' and wish to have nothing to do with e.g. transparency and efficiency. The point here is that the Dutch Ministry promotes the use of *their* instruments and therewith promote *their* good governance tools. Hence, the important argument remains; history matters. For example, Asian countries have a history of building on Western government style because they had to adjust to global institutions such as the World Bank. The West has been dominant in setting the standards and countries that wished to receive aid from institutions such as the World Bank needed to adapt and adjust their governance. Thus, these standards of Good Governance are set by the West (Wang & Liu, 2018), and a contradiction in governance is the free market idea in the west compared to the Asian culture where the "*government is considered as being capable of providing solutions*" and state-led capitalism has a place in governance methods (Wang & Liu, 2018, p. 125). Therefore, the West promotes its way of conducting government, but it is not to say that the South is seen as the opposite. However, as argued before, some programs such as PME are

mostly implemented by Northern NGOs and therewith a Northern perspective is perceived as the way forward. Southern NGOs on the other hand have argued they more often are confused by new ways or reporting and argue they wish to fulfil their jobs instead of focussing on PME or learning agendas, because they have to work on 'saving lives' as one NGO employee working in Ethiopia explained to me (NGO employee Ethiopia, personal communication, April 2020). Returning to the declining focus on 'Good Governance' between 2016 and 2021, this is a result of the elimination of the PME obligation in the policy framework of Power of Voices (2021).

One final observation is to be made on the topic of racism, one of the huge aftermaths of colonialism. However, code '3.1 Enforcing Racial Politics' is not represented in any other policy than the speech of 1901. However, as mentioned before, racism is nevertheless visible in the development sector even though it is unrepresented in the policy text itself.

To conclude this section and focus on answering the research question; *To what extent do the various development policy frameworks since 1901 contain elements of neo-colonialism?* Neo-colonial elements are found in every policy framework, but a decline in the overall level of neo-colonialism of the frameworks is found. Nonetheless, as mentioned, colonial ties are visible. How this historical evolution of Dutch ODA has taken place from colonialism until the present-day will be further discussed in the next chapter.

4.9 Limitations

It should be stated here that these results have certain limitations. A first limitation is that the coding has been done by one person and has a level of subjectivity. The postcolonial perspective lens has been put on the policy texts and is interpreted that way. Secondly, a limitation concerns the interpretation of the codes in the way they fit their timeframe. Thus, the use of neo-colonial terminology or non-inclusive language use is something the first two policy papers were not even considerate of. However, inclusive language use is something the 21st century is aware of but is not always represented in the actual policy papers. Therewith, the first two policies are not coded an extra point for not being available in e.g. English. One final limitation concerns the comparison of the codes. It is unfortunately not possible to directly compare the number of codes between the policies, because the policy papers consist of different word count sizes. Therefore, Tables 9, 10 and 12 are created. The data from these tables are useable for comparisons, but the limitation remains that by equalizing the scores you assume a longer policy in a certain timeframe would indeed consist of the same ratio of codes. For example, the difference between the 2021 and 2016 policies is the use of a deepening introduction text of 2021 which makes the policy higher in the word count.

Chapter 5 | Historical Evolution of Dutch ODA

The research has, so far, taken a closer look at what neo-colonial characteristics are, how they can be found in policy documents and content analysis on different Dutch ODA policies has been conducted. The question that remains is *'What are changes, and limitations to change, in the context of the historical evolution of Dutch ODA policy'*. This question needs to be answered to fully understand how development cooperation went from colonialism to the current strategic partnerships, and how neo-colonialism has shaped policies. This chapter takes a closer look at some different levels where change can occur and the history of Dutch ODA. The levels this chapter focuses on (Figure 2), as previously mentioned in Chapter 2, are the Dutch system, the NGO sector and the international arena. Therewith, the first part of this chapter focuses on the shifts that have occurred in Dutch ODA policy in the broad sense and more specifically between the four policy frameworks. The second part explains limitations to change, with support of Historical Institutionalism, in the level of the Dutch system and the international sector by an elaboration on path dependency, found in this research. Then the level of the NGO sector is analysed by providing relevant information from the interview data and refocussing on current policy shifts in Dutch ODA and the role of Historical Institutionalism. Lastly, the limitations found, for example, the used theory, are discussed in this chapter.



Figure 2: The Three Levels (in this research)

5.1 Shifts and Changes in Dutch ODA

A description of the shifts between the four policy frameworks and some of the underlying reason for these shifts are given in this section. Many different processes have occurred since the speech of Queen Wilhelmina announcing the Ethical Policy. While the focus of the Ethical Policy was on improving and developing the Dutch colonies, this shifted after decolonization. Development processes became of international interest and nowadays, it is impossible to ignore the global context of development cooperation.

The differences between Ethical Policy and Nota 1962

Compared to the Ethical Policy, the 1962 Nota has another focus and consists of less neo-colonial characteristics. The focus of the Nota 1962 policy was establishing development to ensure a strong economy, an international market, and a focus on trade. Also, educational matters such as sending experts and providing the right knowledge and expertise come forward in the policy text. Ethical Policy had the strong assumption that the colonies needed guidance and many institutional changes. Leaving the colonies dependent would only be possible if everything was handled the 'right' Dutch way. As mentioned before, the Ethical Policy was mostly created by colonial officials, the people holding the power in the colonies. The 1962 Nota was created under the direction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, J.M.A.H. (Joseph) Luns (Van der Veen, 2006). The main difference between the Ethical Policy and the

Nota 1962 is the colonial character. Ethical Policy actively pursued development towards a Western model, imposing institutions and 'the right' mindset (Dijk van, 2007; Fasseur, 1983), as for the Nota 1962 decolonization had received solid understanding. Meaning that decolonization was the process to take place in the colonies by providing a way to modernisation. In the 1960s the general perspective of the Dutch on the need for development practices had increased. However, the 50s and 60s had a clear neo-colonial character because the policy talks about providing the right expertise and the way forward must be modernization following some neo-liberal elements, the dominant ideology of a focus on the market as the central element. This is clarified by Dutch development aid being conditional and the importance of Dutch export was never let out of sight. Together with this ideology comes the introduction of the co-financing system. With this system, the NGOs are formed and these organisations receive money from the Ministry to practice development cooperation (NCDO, 2012).

The 1970s and 1980s

In the 1970s, dependency theory received the attention of Dutch development cooperation. Dependency theory had academically gained momentum. The South was supposedly disadvantaged because of their dependent relation to the North, especially economically. NGOs started to provide money to small economic initiatives, and in the Netherlands, the attention went towards 'fair' products to be imported from the Southern countries (NCDO, 2012).

Then the 1980s brought a shift in development thinking again. Worldwide neoliberalism became dominant, and developing countries had to adjust and were tied to many conditions in return for loans. After this transition of economic focus, a more nuanced role of development cooperation was found; human development. In the 1990s the concept of development aid shifted towards cooperation and the essence of the concept of ownership arose. Although, the US and Europe protected their economy and agriculture with high subsidies and taxes while at the same time pressuring developing countries to open up their markets for their companies and businesses (NCDO, 2012). Then in 2000, the Millennium Development Goals are set in the international arena.

Change towards Dialogue and Dissent

From 2005 onward, the Dutch NGOs were put in the spotlight and the co-financing system was set out even broader. What happened in the following years was the fall of the political approach. This approach had been focussing on long term power imbalances. However, the communication about development projects to the Dutch public had always been oversimplistic, while the reality was very complex. That is why a change occurred, and donors now wished to know exactly what happened with their money. Development thinking shifted to the obligation of knowing every step in any development project. By then, all actions needed to be approved and written down. Also, all actions needed to be visible in numbers (NCDO, 2012). This risk-avoiding behaviour is still visible in current development cooperation.

The creation of the policy framework Dialogue and Dissent is seen as a huge change in development cooperation approaches. This shift came to be due to budget cuts and the minister at that time. As one of the interviewees puts it like; '*lobby and advocacy are much cheaper*'. An institutional change leading towards Dialogue and Dissent is the amalgamation of the two compartments trade and development in 2012 (Interviewee 4, 2020).

Furthermore, according to one of the interviewees, the minister at the time, Minister Ploumen, had a vision for development cooperation which entailed a strong focus on lobby and advocacy. The way the minister wishes to profile him or herself is the way policy is changed. The agenda of this new minister is to be introduced into the system and the people working on the policy frameworks must give

substance to the presented ideas. Of course, the ideas behind the policy are not directed from one person only. For example, Dialogue and Dissent originated with minister Ploumen and was created with the support of different academics and around 30 employees within the Ministry. Furthermore, the information had been gathered from southern partners and embassies. The policy rests upon the academic research of J. (Jelmer) Kamstra who researched the support of NGOs (Interviewee 4, 2020)

Shift from Dialogue and Dissent to Power of voices

As previously mentioned, Power of Voices is the successor of Dialogue and Dissent. Dialogue and Dissent had been evaluated and improvements were generated in Power of Voices to be more successful. Dialogue and Dissent is evaluated by the IOB (the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department) commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One of the main findings from this report is as follows:

“In spite of the good intentions, and the positive examples of well-functioning partnerships that this study found, there are a number of constraints that have limited the functioning of strategic partnerships, the most important being:

- *Thematic departments and embassies were involved late in the development of the project proposals, which reduced co-ownership of the SP.*
- *The long-term commitment and flexibility that MFA provides to N-CSOs is not always transferred to S-CSOs, many of which are still bound to annual contracts, activity-based budgets and strict reporting requirements.”* (Directie Internationaal Onderzoek en Beleidsevaluatie, 2019)

The IOB describes how departments were involved too late in the processes around the policy. Unfortunately, with Power of Voices, this also occurred. Interviewee 1 mentioned how the proposal had to be debated by politicians, taking on a lot of time. These delays resulted in a less inclusive policy because there was now limited time for people to respond to the call and there was no time to translate the policy framework into other languages. Furthermore, the mentioned flexibility promise is an element that can be found in the elimination of PME obligations. However, within Power of Voices, there are still conditional aid arrangements found which limit this wished-for flexibility. Moreover, when comparing Dialogue and Dissent with Power of Voices, the concept of ‘strategic partnerships’ still has a strong Dutch focus present. Meaning that reporting has strict rules and mostly Dutch NGOs are selected because they can meet the conditions and threshold criteria. With Power of Voices, they changed the requirement of a Dutch NGO as the lead party in a consortium, but still, only Dutch NGOs were given the role to become the lead party.

To finalize, colonial systems laid the foundation of development cooperation. And over the past decades, conditional development aid went from strictly economic to elements of social/cultural and political (Wallace, 2009). This was also concluded in Chapter 4 (Table 11). Therewith a change took place, where NGOs became more dependent on their donor institutions. Such donors gain the possibility to make demands, such as systems of accountability. This change resulted in a new context for the NGOs to practice in, more closely monitored by their donors. Alongside this change, new topics of interest or popular new strategies come on all the time, such as advocacy and changing policies (Wallace, 2009), and the current focus on strategic partnerships under Power of Voices.

Thus, changes did take place, from highly paternalistic and colonial towards the focus on strategic partnerships. However, underneath these changes, some limitations to change can be found. These limitations to change are discussed in the next section using the lens of Historical Institutionalism and

the division of the three levels (Figure 2). This research focuses on the Ministry as the institution, creating the different policy frameworks. The changes of policies in the colonial era to present-day strategic partnerships were described in the above section. The format of the policy frameworks has substantially changed from an extremely unequal, in terms of power balances, the relationship between the colonizer and the colonies, to the strategic partnerships. These strategic partnerships wish to present a change in development cooperation by establishing a more equal North-South partnership and change did take place when looking at the policy texts. However, the Ministry as an institutions does have limitations to change, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.2 Historical Institutionalism, the NGO Sector and the International Arena in relation to the Ministry

Even though the results, as presented in Chapter 4, demonstrate the outcome that neo-colonialism in development cooperation policy has declined, there are still neo-colonial characteristics present. Historical Institutionalism explains the role of institutions over time and the limitations to change, possibly the limitation to a total reduction of neo-colonialism. Therefore, this section explains some limitations to change found in the data, concerning the three levels: the Ministry (also referred to as the Dutch 'system'), the NGOs and the international arena. The Dutch 'system' refers to the Ministry as a political institution⁴. The NGOs are, in this research, referred to as organisations that are also dealing with the Ministry and are therewith part of the Dutch development system. The international arena consists of different institutions such as the World Bank. However, here the international arena is perceived as an institutional force with dominating power over resources, specifically in terms of decision-making.

While conducting the interviews, it became clear that institutional changes are considered difficult due to the relationship between the Ministry and the NGOs and their practices. The Ministry is, and will probably always be, the donor and therewith make it possible for many NGOs to exist. The interviewees perceive the Ministry as an organisation that provides direction, the provider of development plans. Two out of six NGO employees I have spoken with explained that they are highly dependent on the Ministry for funding. The grants are the biggest source of income, or they would not exist without the relationship with the Ministry (Interviewee 6; Interviewee 8, 2020). Northern NGOs are more and more dependent on donor finance and alongside this dependence are the conditions tied to the money or aid received. With this influence of increasing reliance, the NGOs are drawn to structuring their goals following the dominant global agenda (Wallace, 2009).

The Ministry is not only practising development cooperation via NGOs. However, this research focuses only on this category of development practices. The relationship between the Ministry and the NGOs is investigated. The NGO interviewees explained how the relationship between them, and the Ministry is hierarchic, but overall perceived as good, positive and constructive. Nonetheless, the dependent relationship is extremely visible. One interviewee mentioned that NGOs would never '*bite the hand that feeds you*'. Even though the Ministry wishes for equal partnerships on a basis of trust, the Ministry is still the donor with power (Interviewee 6, 2020). A colonial tie is the actual foundation of

⁴ Political institutions, within a government, are organisations that make and execute laws. These institutions are often known for mediating conflict and creating policies on economic and social systems (Boddy-Evans, 2020).

development cooperation, which is to be found in colonialism. This is supported by expert interviews, as can be found in the quote below:

"Racism was invented to enable colonization, so the idea we are superior and come to help. So that has certain power balances. The development system is based on the residues of the colonial system. The Christian (religious) mission is already based on that idea; we come to help and you could say superiority thinking is present. And development cooperation has been constructed on that again." (Interviewee 3, 2020)

A factor making institutional changes difficult is the accountability system of Dutch politics. Dutch society and politicians want to know how every Euro is spent. This risk-avoiding behaviour is embedded in the Dutch system and as mentioned before, everything needed to be measurable. Therefore, more and more protocols are included in the system. Among those are the many requirements for the Southern strategic partnerships. This system in the Netherlands, of low risk and accountability, is found here to be another example of path dependency.

Furthermore, it came forward in the interviews that the Ministry's policy has indeed a huge steering influence on the NGOs and their practices and policies. The NGOs take the Ministry as the set example because of its resources and financial possibilities. The Ministry said, with Dialogue and Dissent and Power of Voices, that having the concept of Lobby and Advocacy in the NGO's program is the only way to receive the grant. What happened was that NGOs opened or reopened their Lobby and Advocacy department, driven by financial opportunities (Interviewee 3, 2020). The institutional influence of the Ministry and the power imbalance is made even clearer, resulting in organisational changes within NGOs. A limiting factor of change discovered here is the relationship between the NGOs and the Ministry, where the NGOs are dependent on the Ministry.

To conclude, the three levels interact with, and respond to, each other. The Dutch system has limitations to change due to institutionalist practices such as accountability approaches. These limitations affect the NGO sector because they, as the receiving party, must adjust towards the donor requirements. Furthermore, the international arena influences both other levels with its global agreements, as we see for example in the case of the SDGs. Historical Institutionalism explains how changes occur at a slow pace. In this context, changes are more and more led by the global arena for example the development cooperation policies and NGO practices are preferably categorized under one of the SDGs. The taken path of institutionalising and reporting 'every Euro spend' is found to be extremely difficult to change and is influencing development cooperation at all levels.

5.3 The Dutch Development Cooperation System and Path Dependency

Using the lens of Historical Institutionalism, Dutch development cooperation as a system will be further discussed here. The first section of this chapter explained different shifts and policy changes within Dutch ODA, specifically between the four analysed policy frameworks. However, within the timeframe of 1901 until the present, examples of path dependence are found. Historical Institutionalism explains how institutions, such as the Dutch 'system', consist of limitations to change because of certain lock-ins, e.g. accountability procedures. The data found on path dependency and the level of the Dutch system will therefore be elaborated on here, to support answering the sub-question 3.2 *'How has path dependency shaped past and present ODA policies in the Netherlands?'*

A path is found in the relation between the Ministry and Dutch NGOs. As discussed under *Content Analysis Policy 2 – Nota 1962*, the four Dutch NGOs were non-governmental but had limited freedom

because their policies had to align the goals of the Ministry. The same practices are also found in 2016 and 2021 since the NGOs adapt their organisations' policies to be able to apply for the grants, the money flows they need, to stay afloat.

Furthermore, when focusing on the level of the Dutch system, it became clear from the interview data, that the 'the system' around development cooperation is difficult to change due to several factors. Certain processes are embedded in the system, and whether they are a direct result of colonialism, they are tied to the history of Dutch development cooperation. In this system, the political role is grand in creating new policy frameworks. The practising minister has a powerful position but is at the same time limited by political processes of debating and practising political control. It is not to be argued here that this is wrong, however, it does show that there are limitations to change. Adding to this, the Ministry works with policy creators who work for the same Ministry and they all have the same information, therewith limiting change or exposure from outside.

When analysing the expert interview data, a few interesting topics came forward when discussing 'the system'. I wish to elaborate on two remarkable quotes from the interviews. When talking about how to establish equal partnerships, interviewee 2 mentioned:

"There are lots of very nice ways of how are you going to change that system a little bit without really changing the system" (Interviewee 2, 2020).

The quote above is a reference to the system of today, dealing with North-South power relations. The interviewee seems to suggest that small changes are necessary but changing the whole system might be too hard or even unnecessary. The second quote refers to an explanation of how colonialism has shaped Dutch ODA. This answer is given after the question: *And is decolonization also a theme within the Ministry?*

Answer: "Some attention is being paid to that, but that's more like a lecture here and there and there are a few people who are very lobbying for that. Yes... I don't think it's really a theme in that sense. Yes, it is also a very difficult diplomatic term to use. If you see what NL still does in Indonesia while Asia is no longer a focus group. But Indonesia simply remains the favourite country of many MPs and everything that needs to happen in the rest of Asia has to be done there. And nobody really dares to say anything about that, because it is very difficult to have that diplomatic discussion. In that sense it is not a very negotiable topic. "
(Interviewee 2, 2020)

The quote above is a clear example of colonial ties in the current system of the Ministry. The ties with Indonesia are stronger than other countries and it is a hard and difficult topic to discuss within the Ministry. I do not argue here that it is wrong of the Dutch Ministry to give extra attention to previous colonies, but the interesting part of this quote concerns the '*nobody dares to say anything about that*' part. From a postcolonial theoretical perspective, the argument is made that history matters. The history of Dutch colonialism should be acknowledged and not be a sensitive topic in the sense that it is hushed up. This leaves me with the question of why, within the Ministry, no one is talking about providing extra support to Indonesia *because* of colonial history? The same accounts for the topic of decolonisation itself. What came forward in the interviews was that 'decolonisation' is a sensitive topic, and diplomatically hard to discuss (Interviewee 2, 2020). This quote explains a part of the historical evolution of Dutch ODA. Namely, the influence of colonial history and the stronger ties to Indonesian colonies.

To finalize, the clearest example of a path within development cooperation is to be found in the foundation of development cooperation in colonial systems. The North-South division originated here, and the money the North exploited from its colonies resulted in economic inequality still present today. A growing path in development cooperation has taken on, in line with globalisation. Due to globalisation and growing international cooperation, the MDGs and SDGs have been created. However, this is also influencing the NGOs. NGOs are practising the concepts they are supposedly wishing to practice, but the underlying reasons have to do with the need and possibilities for finance (Wallace, 2009). The aforementioned risk-avoiding attitude of the Dutch Ministry concerning development cooperation has resulted in criteria for strategic partnerships, almost none non-Dutch organisation can meet. The need for reporting the 'right Dutch' way has increased over time but seems to be working on a decline. With *Power of Voices*, a start has been made to decrease conditions or to enable Southern partners to meet the criteria, such as the obligation of the lead party being Dutch is removed. Another example; the IATI practices consisted of filling out numbers, but now the ability is created to insert stories because lobby and advocacy are not always able to be explained in numbers (Interviewee 1, 2020). From the data of Chapter 4, the one code that did not decrease is '3.2 Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements', with respectively 5,20, 0,98, 1,10, 0,95 (Table 10). Disregarding 1901, because this was a real colonial policy, there is a trend to be found here. Conditions have always had a dominant role in development cooperation policies because of the risk-avoiding behaviour and the feeling of responsibility. Other paths of dependence are not found in the data from the content analysis. However, as explained above, the interview data has found other examples.

Current changes in Dutch ODA and stability trends

This part of the chapter discusses current changes in Dutch ODA, discovered in the data. This part answers the question: *What are the current shifts in Dutch ODA?* This question is answered by elaborating on trends found in the data.

Something noticeable within the interview data are the discussed 'fields of tension', a place where change can occur, or one might hope it takes place. One of these discussed fields of tension is the grant procedures, discussed in the quote below.

"So are you going to adjust your own procedures, or do you expect that all those organizations will also adopt that level of reporting and are you not going to spend a lot of your money again on improving those organizations and institutionalizing them, while you have actually chosen them because they just do a good job. And I think that is a field of tension that we will have to do more research on, in the coming years." (Interviewee 3, 2020)

The question here remains; will the Ministry adjust its policies for an organisation to be able to join a strategic partnership, or does the Ministry wish for organisations to reach their level of institutionalisation? Another example is the tension between the reporting obligation, the wish of the Parliament to be able to control everything, and a wish to invest more directly in Southern organisations.

"[...] if you want more Southern control, you also have to start thinking about other ways of reporting, of accountability and I think that is a dilemma we face. The House of Representatives (the parliament) wants to know more and more what is going wrong, how to check things. At the same time there is a call, also from the parliament, to more direct finance to the south." (Interviewee 3, 2020).

A second trend that came forward in the interview data concerns the topic of decolonization. Decolonization means the undoing of colonisation. However, as mentioned before, it seems to be a sensitive word and topic. An interviewee mentioned that she sees “[...] decolonisation as the role the North takes upon themselves” (Interviewee 1, 2020). She refers to the role of the North being the one providing knowledge and expertise but following the rules or standards as set by the receivers. Interviewee 8 refers to decolonization as the process of diversifying and localisation. He mentions how opportunities are ignored because diversification is not happening enough at the moment.

“And sometimes opportunities are gone if you are only working with people from the same background with the same colour and the same education from the same universities. So diversity is very important to decolonize your thinking, your discussions, your ways of working [...]. You miss an opportunity when you are not having the people that would challenge those perspectives.” (Interviewee 8, 2020)

Interviewee 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 and 9 all referred to the localisation agenda when discussing the concept of decolonisation. What is remarkable is this new way of framing decolonisation to localisation, as localisation is the process of stimulating dependence and ensure ‘local’ decision-making to be able to address the problems and better be of service (Van Brabant, 2016). This last part is still talking about a way for the West development sector to provide for ‘the local South’. This suggests a new way of framing decolonisation and a wish for development cooperation to redeem decolonisation to localisation.

5.5 Limitations

Some limitations this chapter is dealing with will be addressed here. First, even though the presented results deliver cases of path dependence, the research expected to find more. Due to a wide time frame, some deepening information remains left out and it becomes clear that discovering path dependency between four policies over a period of 100 years is difficult because many policies have been created, apart from the four I researched. Nonetheless, path dependence could more distinctively be found with the support of expert interviews, which makes the use of the theory useful.

A second limitation that should be discussed concerns the expert interviews. The interviews were first perceived to be used to compare to one another, however, my interview style consisted of retrieving as much useful data as possible, per interviewee. This collected data could be used to discover links or returning topics or contradiction, instead of testing the interviews on the Neo-colonial characteristics listing, to see if the actual practices are neo-colonial.

Third, the topic of decolonisation showed to be interesting to discuss with the interviewees. However, I had chosen beforehand to not discuss the concept of neo-colonialism in Dutch development cooperation because I did not want to negatively influence the interviewee. Nonetheless, discussing this topic openly, with every interviewee and not at the end of the interview, could have provided even more useful data.

Fourth, Chapter 5 is set up to first provide a broader overview of policy changes in Dutch ODA from 1901 onward. However, this broad description of the policy changes limits the possibility to show exact moments of change or institutional change, to clearly link to lock-ins. Therewith, the connection between the broader shifts and the path dependency found remains limited.

This also links to the fifth limitation concerning the use of the theory of Historical Institutionalism. Historical Institutionalism would suggest that massive changes or disruptions in a system are needed to establish a change in the system. Using the theory of Historical Institutionalism provided this research by finding certain paths and the role of institutions and the interconnectedness between institutions at different levels. Furthermore, the insight of a decline in neo-colonialism and the reframing of decolonisation is found in this research. However, the limitation of this research and using this theory are the institutions themselves because how institutions are established is not researched here. The focus has been put on the level of the system, which is elaborately described. Furthermore, Historical Institutionalism explains lock-ins. A suggested link to a possible lock-in could be found in the interaction between the three levels as institutions. The expanding role of the global arena comes forward but is not researched or does not come forward in the data. This is a limitation because the data does deliver insight in a path following conditions to development cooperation which might be because of the global arena. Nonetheless, this remains unproven in this research.

A sixth limitation, that needs to be mentioned here, is the current change in development cooperation practices. The data retrieved on this topic remained limited. Nonetheless, the found data is useful and interesting because the results show how decolonization has taken on a new shape; localisation. This result explains how current changes are still connected to the history of decolonisation, the wish to bring power back to the South.

Chapter 6 | Discussion and Conclusion

This research objective was to identify how neo-colonialism shaped past and present Dutch development cooperation policy and its practices. By analysing the content of four different policy frameworks respectively from 1901, 1962, 2016 and 2021, this thesis has shown how different neo-colonial characteristics can be found in the policies. With the *Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing*, developed via literature review, content analysis delivered the results of a decline in the total level of neo-colonialism over time. However, it is also concluded that neo-colonial characteristics are visible in all four policies. The data showed how development cooperation policy went from colonial to the main focus on neo-liberal and Western expertise towards a focus on partnerships with corresponding conditionalities. Furthermore, when discussing the three generic categories the conclusion is drawn that both social/cultural and economic categories have decreased over time, but the political categories remained equally visible in the policy text in 2021 as in 1962. Political control is mostly found in conditions tied to development support or partnerships to increase development. The code 'Establishing Conditional (Aid) Arrangements' has remained a constant essence within all the policy texts.

The supporting theories of this thesis are Postcolonial Theory and Historical Institutionalism. Postcolonial Theory elaborated on the need to continue investigating colonial history to understand current development cooperation problems. Providing the visibility of neo-colonial characteristics in development policy contributes to understanding issues such as power imbalances. Although it is made clear that Dutch ODA policy has changed in the timeframe of 1901 to 2021, the role of Historical Institutionalism in this research supported the discovery of path dependencies. However, this research has its limitations when it comes to the use of Historical Institutionalism in the context of the actual institutional changes of Dutch ODA. Nonetheless, the results indicate that the paternalistic role of Dutch ODA is still present in current-day development cooperation frameworks in, among others, the processes of conditional aid arrangements. The data retrieved from the interviews suggest that the Dutch system of development cooperation is hard to change due to accountability, set protocols and political influences. Additionally, the international arena is a pressuring force upon development cooperation and its practices. Major changes in international politics and cooperation have taken place in the researched timeframe, which also resulted in international agreements such as the MDGs and SDGs, or arrangements supervised by the World Bank.

Discussing the Results

This thesis answered the research question: '*How has neo-colonialism shaped past and present Dutch development cooperation policy and its practices?*' by first identifying the 11 neo-colonial characteristics in relation to ODA policy with the support of literature review. Secondly, the results of content analysis on the four policies show the total amount of neo-colonial characteristics and the differences between the policies. It is shown that there is a persistence in the conditionality among relations in Dutch development cooperation policies. The third and final part of this research discussed path dependency and the role of the Ministry as an institution, the limitations to change and the main changes in Dutch ODA policy.

With the use of a postcolonial lens, it is shown in this research that some neo-colonial elements are still visible in development cooperation policy and therefore possibly add to the persistence of global inequality. It is also possible that some policies, while consisting of neo-colonial characteristics

according to the definitions of this research, may still lead to economic development in the aid-receiving countries, thereby decreasing the level of global inequality if their programs are successful. This is notwithstanding the fact that neo-colonial policies may also lead to poor decision making or increase power imbalances. This thesis highlights the neo-colonial characteristics in different policy frameworks but does not investigate the consequence of the different policies.

The theoretical framework also discussed decolonisation. Decolonisation by Mambrol (2017) entailed the dismantling of hidden aspects of institutional forces that maintain colonial power. However, when discussing decolonisation with the expert interviewees, decolonisation is mostly seen as localisation, bringing power back to the South but still with a presence of Dutch influence. Reframing decolonisation to localisation seems more comfortable. The postcolonial perspective refocuses the need to understand colonial history even better instead of reframing concepts such as decolonisation. Additionally, Said (1978) notes that the South should get an active position in the creation of their image and this research shows that there is still a gap to be filled in this image. Due to Northern regulations and systems are Southern partners still not in a position of leading partnerships, as is suggested to be possible in the policy of 2021.

Furthermore, the theoretical framework discussed how neo-liberalism is viewed as neo-colonial because e.g. it reinstated power imbalance on the global market. The results also show that economic dominance decreased after 1962 (Table 9). The results in Table 10 present that the code on Northern led partnerships decreased by 2021 but interviews suggested differently. Overall, economic control over resources is found as a declining trend (Table 11), but this did not occur for political control, as is supported by the study of Wallace (2004). Although Wallace (2004) claims that 'social' also increased, which contradicts the findings of this thesis. that is not supported when looking at the results of this thesis. Additionally, Wallace (2004) argued how changing foreign policies have an increasing effect on donor dependency because NGOs are pushed to adopt the tools handed to them to ensure financial stability (Wallace, 2009). This finding is supported by this study, as it is demonstrated that the influence of the Dutch Ministry and its policies is changing NGOs organisational structures or action points.

One final discussion point concerns the characteristic of racial politics. Systematic racism is a result of colonialism and is still present today. Nonetheless, the code is not discovered in the policy frameworks after 1901 and therefore it could be concluded that the policy framework itself is not reinforcing racism. However, further research on the outcomes of the policies has to be conducted to distinguish if the policies were, or are, not reinforcing racism.

Reflecting on Limitations

A first limitation concerns the limited data found on who wrote or contributed to the four different policies. Some results came forward, such as the colonial officers who wrote parts of the Ethical Policy, and the policy developers including focus groups and embassies while creating Power of Voices. However, this data is not sufficient to prove that herewith the power is recreated by the North. Although it is suggested that the policy is created by the Ministry for the Southern partners, a precise evaluation of the level of inclusiveness for the policies is left out of this research.

Furthermore, this research did not incorporate the reasons for the shifts in development cooperation, apart from broadly describing them. The research focussed on elaborating on the four different policies and their content and Dutch ODA more general, seen as a system or institution. The supporting data retrieved from the interviews proved to be extremely relevant, and a conclusion came forward that the Dutch ODA system consists of limitations to change.

As mentioned before, the (inter)national context changed and the increased globalisation influenced changes in ideas on development practices. The 1901 policy is colonial, comparing this to a policy with 2021 provides an image of drastic changes. Also, neo-liberal ideas, discussed as an economic dominant ideology, are viewed as a neo-colonial characteristic and therewith the Nota 1962 scored very high on this code. However, within this timeframe, the international arena believed that the market was the solution to inequality. Under the ideas of the dominant Keynesian theory, the government was supposed to implement the right policy to redress market failures. The future was to be found in spending, e.g. consumption levels should increase, as the driving force of the economy (Jahan et al., 2014). This economic focus is delivered in the results, but nothing was mentioned on how to establish equal partnerships. The same goes for education. There are of course still education programs created by Dutch organisations as part of development cooperation, but this is not reflected upon in the policy framework of 2021, which leaves some scientific gaps. Apart from the neo-colonial characteristics, the data is collected to focus on the Dutch case specifically and therefore applying this data to other countries might be challenging. Especially because only one policy framework is used per timeframe, even though Dutch development cooperation consists of more programs and policies. However, the broader understanding of the outcomes can be used in other contexts and the '*Neo-colonial Characteristics Listing*' can be used to test other policies. However, the overall trends could be generalisable because of the role the international arena played. It could be argued that the same trends can be found in development cooperation policies of other European countries with colonizers' history.

Another limitation concerns the level of subjectivity. The codes are created by a literature review. However, the characteristics are mostly found in literature around topics before 2016. This makes the characteristics extremely useable for 1901 and 1962 but a bit more interpretative for the 2016 and 2021 policy frameworks. However, at the same time, this is pointing out the relevance of further research on neo-colonial characteristics in present-day development policy frameworks. Additionally, a decline in the level of neo-colonialism does not necessarily mean this trend will go on.

A final critical limitation concerns the researcher bias. As explained, the neo-colonial characteristics are collected from one extensive literature review and categorized by power over social/culture, economy, and politics. However, this categorization itself can be viewed as a neo-colonial choice because, for example, the focus on economics as a category. This reflects an economic capitalistic worldview of my own. Furthermore, I am also a Western voice saying how I perceive a critical voice or what should be pointed out in development cooperation policies.

Recommendations as a result of this research

Further research is needed on comparing more Dutch development cooperation policies over time, instead of only four policy frameworks, to find more trends from colonialism to current-day policy frameworks. Additionally, new or other trends could be discovered when looking at neo-colonialism in development policy from another perspective than the used postcolonial lens in this research.

Another recommendation concerns the relevant perspective to look more closely at who is behind policymaking, who are the policymakers and why are certain topics pushed up on the development agenda. The use of other theories, such as the multiple streams model, would be of added value to be able to understand power imbalances on the level of policy creation, politics and current problems (Travis & Zahariadis, 2002). Furthermore, the theoretical framework shortly touched upon the relevance of researching discourse. This could be done with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), because

following Hodes (2018) CDA is proved to be highly relevant for examining multiple forms of textual data as part of “[...] *decolonial practice in any national context that is struggling to acknowledge both its colonial past and its ongoing colonial present.*” (Hodes, 2018, p. 72) because the concepts of decolonial practices are not as much acknowledge. Furthermore, Van Dijk (2001) discusses how the writers of the text are controlling the context. In the context of ODA, the development cooperation policy writers created content in which conditional aid is pictured as the rightful standard to development. Another example of interpretations used in development cooperation texts and therewith influencing society, are promotion videos of Dutch NGOs e.g. an NGO that discusses how they (as a Northern organisation) will *guide* southern local NGOs to work *with* them. This is all adding to the discourse that the Dutch NGO is needed to teach Southern partners how to improve *their* society. Therefore, researching development cooperation based on CDA would be relevant in future research.

Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the use of Historical Institutionalism was limited. However, the institutions and organisations on the three levels and their (limitations to) change should be extensively researched. Considering all involved institutions would provide more insight on lock-ins and path dependency in development cooperation. Additionally, the actual outcomes of development policies in relation to neo-colonialism are relevant for further research. Future studies should also take into account that *‘the world we inhabit is impossible to understand except in relationship to the history of imperialism and colonial rule’* (Elam, 2019). Hence, the importance of researching what Southern partners think about Dutch development cooperation policies and their ‘neo-colonial’ characteristics. The people who work with the policies have an interesting point of view that is not included in this research or even researched yet.

Finally, I wish that this thesis is a reminder to look closely at colonial history when working on or with development cooperation to improve development cooperation policies.

References

- Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. A. (2001). The colonial origins of comparative development: An empirical investigation: Reply. In *American Economic Review* (Vol. 91, Issue 6, pp. 3077–3110). <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.102.6.3077>
- Achterbosch, T., Van, F., & Sander De Bruin, T. (2003). *Trade preferences for developing countries*.
- Akamatsu, K. (1962). A historical pattern of economic growth in developing countries. *The Developing Economies*, 1, 3–25.
- Arens, E. H. (2003). Multilateral Institution-Building and National Interest: Dutch Development Policy in the 1960s. *Contemporary European History*, 12(4), 457–472. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777303001371>
- Bandyopadhyay, R. (2019). Volunteer tourism and “The White Man’s Burden”: globalization of suffering, white savior complex, religion and modernity. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(3), 327–343. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1578361>
- Barry, P. (1995). *Beginning Theory, An introduction to literary and cultural theory* (P. Barry & H. Carr (eds.); 3rd ed.). Manchester University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526153524.00018>
- Berger, B. K. (2005). Power Over, Power With, and Power to Relations: Critical Reflections on Public

- Relations, the Dominant Coalition, and Activism. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 17(1), 5–28. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532754xjpr1701_3
- Boas, T. C., & Gans-Morse, J. (2009). Neoliberalism: From new liberal philosophy to anti-liberal slogan. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 44(2), 137–161. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-009-9040-5>
- Boddy-Evans, A. (2020). *The Definition and Purpose of Political Institutions*. <https://www.thoughtco.com/political-institutions-44026>
- Browne, A., Smye, V., & Varcoe, C. (2005). The relevance of postcolonial theoretical perspective to research in Aboriginal health. *The Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 37(4), 16–37.
- Burgers, H. (2010). Hoofdstuk III: Indonesië en het Nederlandse koloniale bestuur. In *De garoeda en de ooievaar* (pp. 67–150). BRILL. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004253742_004
- Cardno, C. (2018). Policy Document Analysis: A Practical Educational Leadership Tool and a Qualitative Research Method. *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice*, 24(4), 623–640. <https://doi.org/10.14527/kuey.2018.016>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, D. J. (2018). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (fifth edit). Sage Publications.
- Cribb, R. (1993). Development Policy in the Early 20th century (Indonesia). In *Development and Social Welfare: Indonesia's Experiences Under the New Order* (pp. 225–245). Australian National University.
- Dierikx, M., Breusers, L. J., van Damme, C. B., Feiken, J. H., Gaemers, C. P. M., Klep, E. M. L., Klinkers, A. P. G., Sens, M. G. M., Smits, Sopers, M. H. M. M., & M.E.A., W. (2015). *Development Cooperation 1945-1977*. http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/ontwikkelingssamenwerking/index_html_en
- Dijk van, K. (2007). The Netherlands Indies and the Great War, 1914-1918. In *The Netherlands Indies and the Great War, 1914-1918*. Brill. https://doi.org/10.26530/oapen_389234
- Directie Internationaal Onderzoek en Beleidsevaluatie. (2019). Strategieën voor partners: balanceren tussen complementariteit en autonomie. In *IOB Studie 431*.
- Djafari, N. (2018). *Trackling trade and migration*. Development and Cooperation. <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/north-africa-eu-trade-policy-not-reducing-migration-so-far-actually-adding-problem>
- Durokifa, A. A., & Ijeoma, E. C. (2018). Neo-colonialism and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Africa: A blend of an old wine in a new bottle. *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, 10(3), 355–366. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20421338.2018.1463654>
- Easterly, W. (2006). The White Man's Burden. In *Lancet* (Vol. 367, Issue 9528, p. 2060). [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(06\)68925-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(06)68925-3)
- Elam, D. J. (2019). *Postcolonial Theory: Introduction*. Oxford Bibliographies. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780190221911/obo-9780190221911-0069.xml#obo-9780190221911-0069-bibItem-0003>
- Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), 107–115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x>
- Emerson, R. (1946). Education in the Netherlands East Indies. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 15(3),

494–507. <https://doi.org/37.224.252.27>

- Esteva, G. (1992). The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power. In W. Sachs (Ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* (second, pp. 22–42). Zed Books.
- Fasseur, C. (1983). E.B. Locher-Scholten, Ethiek in fragmenten. Vijf studies over koloniaal denken en doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel, 1877-1942. In *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* (Vol. 99, Issue 2). <https://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.2404>
- Graham, J., Plumptre, T., & Amos, B. (2003). Principles for Good Governance in the 21st Century. In *Institute on Governance* (Issue 15). www.iog.ca
- Gulrajani, N. (2016). *Bilateral versus multilateral aid channels: Strategic choices for donors*.
- Hodes, C. (2018). Gender, race and justification: The value of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in contemporary settler colonial contexts. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 19(3), 71–91. <http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiwshttp://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol19/iss3/7>
- Horvath, R. J. (1972). A definition of colonialism. *Current Anthropology*, 13(1), 45–57. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2741072>
- Hout, W. (2010). Governance and development: Changing EU policies. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590903557298>
- Huber, W. D. (2017). On neo-colonialism and the colonisation of accounting research. *International Journal of Critical Accounting*, 9(1), 18–41.
- Ishiyama, J. . T., & Breuning, M. (2014). Neoinstitutionalism. In *Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neoinstitutionalism>
- Jahan, S., Mahmud, A. S., & Papageorgiou, C. (2014). What is Keynesian economics? *International Monetary Fund*, 51(3).
- Kapoor, I. (2002). Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency versus Postcolonial Theory. *Third World Quarterly*, 23(4), 647–664. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0143659022000005319>
- Kazimierczuk, A. (2015). *Historical overview of development policies and institutions in the Netherlands, in the context of private sector development and (productive) employment creation* (No. 122).
- Keohane, R. O. (2017). Observations on the promise and pitfalls of historical institutionalism in international relations. *International Politics and Institutions in Time*, 321.
- Kieh, G. K. J. (2012). Neo-Colonialism : American Foreign Policy and the First Liberian Civil War by. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 5(1), 164–184.
- Kim, J., & Garland, J. (2019). Development cooperation and post-colonial critique: an investigation into the South Korean model. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(7), 1246–1264. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1590775>
- Kiwanuka, M. S. (1970). Colonial Policies and Administrations in Africa : The Myths of the Contrasts. *African Historical Studies*, 3(2), 295–315. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/216218>
- Kothari, U. (2006a). Critiquing 'race' and racism in development discourse and practice. *Progress in Development Studies*, 6(1), 1–7.
- Kothari, U. (2006b). From colonialism to development: Reflections of former colonial officers. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 44(1), 118–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662040600624502>

- Kumar, K. (n.d.). Modernization. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/modernization>
- Langan, M. (2018). The UN Sustainable Development Goals and Neo-Colonialism. In *Neo-Colonialism and the Poverty of "Development" in Africa* (pp. 177–205). Springer International Publishing.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58571-0_7
- Langan, M., & Price, S. (2020). Imperialisms Past and Present in EU Economic Relations with North Africa: Assessing the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements. *Interventions*, 22(6), 703–721. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1718540>
- Little, W. (2014). *Chapter 10. Global Inequality*. BCcampus.
- Logan, F. (2015). Did Structural Adjustment Programmes Assist African Development? *E-International Relations*, 1–6. <https://www.e-ir.info/2015/01/13/did-structural-adjustment-programmes-assist-african-development/>
- Loomba, A. (2013). *Colonialism/postcolonialism* (J. Drakakis (ed.)). Routledge.
- Lumumba-Kasongo, T. (2011). China-Africa Relations: A Neo-Imperialism or a Neo-Colonialism? A Reflection. *African and Asian Studies*, 10, 234–266. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156921011X587040>
- Macekura, S. (2013). The point four program and US international development policy. *Political Science Quarterly*, 128(1), 127–160.
- Maddison, A. (1989). Dutch Income in and from Indonesia 1700-1938. *Modern Asian Studies*, 23(4), 645–670.
- Mambrol, N. (2016). *Frantz Fanon 's Contribution to Postcolonial Criticism*. Literary Theory and Criticism. <https://literariness.org/2016/04/07/frantz-fanon-s-contribution-to-postcolonial-criticism/>
- Mambrol, N. (2017). *Decolonization*. Literary Theory and Criticism. <https://literariness.org/2017/10/04/decolonization/>
- Martins, A. (2020). Reimagining equity: redressing power imbalances between the global North and the global South. *Gender and Development*, 28(1), 135–153.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2020.1717172>
- Mccawley, P. (2005). *GOVERNANCE IN INDONESIA: SOME COMMENTS*.
- Menon, R. (2019). *Neoliberalism or Neocolonialism? Evaluating Neoliberalism as a Policy Prescription for Convergence*. <https://developingeconomics.org/2019/01/11/neoliberalism-or-neocolonialism-evaluating-neoliberalism-as-a-policy-prescription-for-convergence/>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. (2019). *Besluit van de Minister voor Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking van 22 november 2019, nr. MINBUZA.2019.4593-20, tot vaststelling van beleidsregels voor subsidiëring op grond van de Subsidieregeling Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken 2006 (Pow (Issue 65318))*.
- NCDO. (2012). *Ontwikkelingssamenwerking in vogelvlucht* (pp. 1–4).
- Niño-Zarazúa, M., Roope, L., & Tarp, F. (2017). Global Inequality: Relatively Lower, Absolutely Higher. *Review of Income and Wealth*, 63(4), 661–684. <https://doi.org/10.1111/roiw.12240>
- Nkang Ogar, J., Nwoye, L., & Basse, S. A. (2019). Archetype of globalization: illusory comfort of neo-colonialism in Africa. *International Journal of Humanities and Innovation (IJHI)*, 2(3), 90–95.
<https://doi.org/10.33750/ijhi.v2i3.46>

- Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neoliberalism, the last stage of imperialism* (pp. 1–33).
- OECD. (2018). *Perspectives on Global Development 2019: Rethinking Development Strategies*. In *Perspectives on Global Development*. OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/persp_glob_dev-2019-8-en
- Omar, S. M. (2012). Rethinking Development from a Postcolonial Perspective. *Journal of Conflictology*, 3(1), 42–49. <https://doi.org/10.7238/joc.v3i1.1296>
- Oxford Advanced Dictionary. (n.d.). *Neo-colonialism*. Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary. www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/neocolonialism
- Peacock, C., & Lundgren, L. I. (2010). *Postcolonialism and Development A critical analysis of "The European Consensus on Development."* Lund University.
- Peña, J. G. (2015). Is Development a form of Neo-Colonialism? *Dialéctica Libertadora*, 7, 36–42.
- Peters, B. G., Pierre, J., & King, D. S. (2005). The politics of path dependency: Political conflict in historical institutionalism. In *Journal of Politics* (Vol. 67, Issue 4, pp. 1275–1300). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2005.00360.x>
- Pieterse, J. N. (1991). Dilemmas of development discourse: the crisis of developmentalism and the comparative method. *Development and Change*, 22(1), 5–29.
- Pokhrel, A. K. (2011). *Eurocentrism BT - Encyclopedia of Global Justice* (D. K. Chatterjee (ed.); pp. 321–325). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-9160-5_25
- Prado, M., & Trebilcock, M. (2009). Path dependence, development, and the dynamics of institutional reform. *University of Toronto Law Journal*, 59(3), 341–380. <https://doi.org/10.3138/utlj.59.3.341>
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580900015002005>
- Rahmatian, A. (2009a). Neo-Colonial Aspects of Global Intellectual Property Protection. *The Journal of World Intellectual Property*, 12(1), 40–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-1796.2008.00349.x>
- Rahmatian, A. (2009b). Neo-Colonial Aspects of Global Intellectual Property Protection. *The Journal of World Intellectual Property*, 12(1), 40–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-1796.2008.00349.x>
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (2006). Old Institutionalism. In R. A. W. Rhodes, S. A. Binder, & B. A. Rockman (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions* (pp. 90–111). Oxford University Press.
- Ridwan, A. (2016). Colonial Politics of Power and Cultural Identity Development of Islamic Education Vis-À-Vis European Education in The Netherlands East Indies Periods. *Marâji: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman*, 2(2), 227–247. <http://maraji.kopertais4.or.id/index.php/maraji/article/view/47>
- Rijksoverheid. (n.d.). *Ontwikkelingssamenwerkingen*. Retrieved September 22, 2020, from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/ontwikkelingssamenwerking/nederlands-beleid-ontwikkelingssamenwerking>
- Sachs, J., & Warner, A. (1999). The big push, natural resource booms and growth. *Journal of Development Economics*, 59(1), 43–76.
- Sagoe, C. (2012). *The Neo-Colonialism of Development Programs*. <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/08/12/the-neo-colonialism-of-development-programs/>
- Said, W. E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1980.82.4.02a00890>

- Schoomp. (n.d.). *Postcolonial literature characteristics*. Retrieved September 14, 2020, from <https://www.shmoop.com/study-guides/literary-movements/postcolonial-literature/characteristics#rewriting-history-characteristic>
- Schröter, S. (2010). *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of power* (Vol. 12). LIT Verlag Münster.
- Shareia, B. F. (2015). Theories of development. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 2(1), 13. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a103703>
- Siddiqi, Y. (2007). *Anxieties of Empire and the Fiction of Intrigue*. Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/sidd13808>
- Spitz, G., Roeland, M., & Edith, van E. (2013). Dutch development cooperation policy; Ahead of the crowd or trailing behind? In *NCDO*. <http://www.government.nl/issues/development-cooperation/the-development-policy-of-the-netherlands>
- Staples, R. (1976). Race and colonialism: The domestic case in theory and practice. *The Black Scholar*, 7(9), 37–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1976.11413836>
- Suratminto, L. (2013). Educational Policy in the Colonial Era. *International Journal of History Education*, 14(1), 77–84.
- Swanson, H. (2004). Said's orientalism and the study of Christian missions. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 28(3), 107–112.
- Tejan-Sie, J. F. (2018). *An exploration of poverty and underdevelopment in Sub Saharan Africa through critical pedagogy and post-colonial theory perspectives*. University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
- Thompson, K. (2015). *The Neoliberal Theory of Economic Development*. *Revise Sociology*. <https://revisesociology.com/2015/12/07/neoliberalism-economic-development/>
- Tielens, J. (2019). *Samenspraak en Tegenspraak was vrij revolutionair*. Vice Versa. <https://hetnieuwe.viceversaonline.nl/2019/11/19/samenspraak-en-tegenspraak-was-vrij-revolutionair/#>
- Tilley, L. (n.d.). *(Post)Colonial Lives of Property and the Contradictions of "Use."* The Disorder of Things. Retrieved November 3, 2020, from <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2019/05/08/postcolonial-lives-of-property-and-the-contradictions-of-use/>
- Tomlinson, J. (2012). Cultural Imperialism. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog129>
- Touwen, J. (2000). Paternalisme en protest. Ethische Politiek en nationalisme in Nederlands-Indië, 1900-1942. *Leidschrift*, 15(3).
- Travis, R., & Zahariadis, N. (2002). A multiple streams model of U.S. foreign aid policy. *Policy Studies Journal*, 30(4), 495–514. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2002.tb02160.x>
- Ullah, I., & Aib, I. (2017). Discursive Strategies and Politics of (Neo-) colonialism: A Textual Analysis of Saadat Hassan Manto's Letters to Uncle Sam. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 5(7), 8–18.
- United Nations. (2015). *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015*. <https://doi.org/10.1021/ac60159a778>
- United Nations. (2020). *World Social Report 2020 Inequality in a rapidly changing world*.

- USask. (2017). *Neoinstitutionalism*. University of Saskatchewan.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zo1uyjwKTU0>
- Van Brabant, K. (2016). *Localisation and NGOs: Different Interpretations, Different Outcomes – Charter for Change*. What Is the 'Localisation Agenda'?
<https://charter4change.org/2016/12/05/localisation-and-ngos-different-interpretations-different-outcomes/>
- Van der Veen, M. (2006). *Een analyse van de christen-democratische visie op ontwikkelingsamenwerkingbeleid in de periode 1998-2004*.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352–371). Blackwell Publishing.
<https://is.cuni.cz/studium/predmety/index.php?do=download&did=100284&kod=JMM654>
- Van Ongevalle, J., & Maarse, A. (2011). Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation of complex processes of social change. Towards a diverse PME approach. *INTRAC's 7th Evaluation Conference. Monitoring and Evaluation: New Developments and Challenges, Date: 2011/06/14-2011/06/16, Location: The Netherlands*.
- Vice Versa. (2019). *Samenspraak en Tegenspraak is een omslag in denken*.
<https://hetnieuwe.viceversaonline.nl/2019/12/03/samenspraak-en-tegenspraak-is-een-omslag-in-denken/>
- Von Langenstein, Y. W. (2013). Een Postkoloniaal Perspectief op Interculturele Communicatie: Biografische interviews met Nederlandse expats in Indonesië. In *Masterscriptie Interculturele Communicatie*.
- Wallace, T. (2009). NGO dilemmas: Trojan horses for global neoliberalism? *Socialist Register*, 40(3), 202–219.
- Wang, T. Y., & Liu, H. (2018). An emerging Asian model of governance and transnational knowledge transfer: an introduction. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 11(2), 121–135.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17516234.2018.1477030>
- Williamson, J. (2000). What should the World Bank think about the Washington Consensus? *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2), 251–264.

Annex 1 – Topic list used for semi-structured interviews

1. Introduction; thesis topic and aim

- *The research revolves around the questions: How has (neo-)colonialism shaped past and present Dutch development cooperation policy and its practices?*
- *I wish to gain insight into the role of the policy, created by the Ministry, on the practices of NGOs.*
- *The aim of this interview is to understand your perspective on certain topics in the development sector*

2. Could I record the interview meeting?

- *The meeting will then be transcribed*
- *The content of the interview data and/or quotes will only be used anonymously*
- *We can stop the meeting at any time*

3. Topics list (with guiding questions)

- Practices and goals
- NGO or Ministry activities in ODA
- *Dialogue and Dissent* policy
- *Power of Voices* policy
- Partnerships
- Historical Institutionalism
 - Possibility to change
 - Shifts in Dutch ODA
 - Policymakers
- Decolonisation

(See Table 12: Interview Questions English and Table 13: Interview Questions Dutch)

4. End of the interview

- *Thank you for your time*
- *Do you know any other possible interviewees?*

Interview Questions and research purpose (English version)

Table 12: Interview Questions English

Question	Question Purpose
<i>Practices and Goals</i>	
What does your job description include? And how long have you been working for this organization?	<i>Work experience, relevance of the interview</i>
What would be the ultimate goal of development work according to you and your organization? What is the corresponding main policy of your organisation?	<i>Development thinking, meaning of development</i>
Can you tell me about your personal experiences working with Southern NGOs? Or the Southern Partnerships?	<i>North/South (neo-colonial) relationship; Assumptions</i>
Is there much exchange within your organization between here and the South? For example, do many expats go to locations in the South?	<i>Neo-colonial characteristic; education/expert exchange</i>
How does your organization disseminate knowledge? Or education?	<i>Neo-colonial characteristic; education/expert exchange</i>
In what language do you carry out your work? And which language is used in your policy, and communication with other partners / organizations?	<i>Neo-colonial characteristic; language and terminology</i>
<i>Dialogue and Dissent</i>	
Has the strategy within your organization been influenced by the goals of the Ministry? Or by the SDGs?	<i>Influence of institution (Ministry) on NGOs</i>
What was the influence of the new policy Dialogue and Dissent and did this policy affect your work?	<i>Understanding the policy D&D</i>
Has the Dialogue and Dissent policy influenced structures in your organization? For example, were there new functions or rules created?	<i>Historical institutionalism – path dependence</i>
How do you look back on this policy? What were the improvements and weaknesses of the policy? Was the policy successful for the development cooperation sector? And for the southern partners?	<i>D&D successfulness according the NGO sector</i>
To what extent has this policy ensured that change processes within the sector are possible? For example: have more regulations been introduced, or has more freedom been given to ‘the sector’?	<i>Policy and possible lock-ins</i>
<i>Power of Voices</i>	
How would you explain the main goals of the Power of Voices policy? And what caused Power of Voices to be implemented?	<i>Dutch ODA shifts. Policy explanation and neo-colonial characteristics in policy goals</i>
What have been (major) shifts in Dutch development policy? And what are the causes of this?	<i>Shifts in ODA policy; neo-liberal policies?</i>
What was your role in the applications for the Power of Voices?	<i>PoV influence (apart from the Ministry)</i>

What is your opinion on the Theory of Change part in Power of Voices?	<i>Opinion on neo-colonial characteristic in PoV</i>
<i>Partnerships (from Power of Voices)</i>	
How did partnerships originate (before PoV and / or during PoV)	<i>Neo-colonial characteristic; partnerships</i>
How is a partnership established? Do you have a Code of Conduct? What are conditions linked to such agreements/partnerships?	<i>Neo-colonial characteristic; Conditional Aid and Trade; promoting good governance; Northern-led partnerships</i>
What is the role of the partnerships for you and for the Ministry?	<i>Neo-colonial characteristic?</i>
<i>Historical Institutionalism</i>	
How would you describe the relationship between your organization and the Ministry?	<i>Dependency relationship</i>
How are policy strategies shaped in your organization? Who is involved? Are Southern partners involved in policy strategies?	<i>who is in powerful positions; how is policy created (about the South, without the South)</i>
What are the reasons for changes in Dutch development policy?	<i>Reasons for shifts in ODA policy</i>
Is change within development cooperation necessary / possible? And why? a. Do you feel that changes are possible? And how? Or why not? b. What are the limits to change in Dutch development policy?	<i>Path dependency.</i>
What does the decolonization of the development sector mean to you?	<i>Decolonisation of ODA; racial politics?</i>

Interview Questions (Dutch version)

Table 13: Interview Questions Dutch

Activiteiten en doelen
Wat omvat je taakomschrijving? En hoe lang ben je werkzaam bij deze organisatie?
Wat zou het ultieme doel zijn van <i>development</i> volgens jou en jouw organisatie?
Kun je me iets vertellen over je persoonlijke ervaringen met het werken met Zuidelijke NGOs? Of de zuidelijke partnerschappen?
Is er binnen in jullie organisatie veel uitwisselingen tussen hier en het Zuiden. Gaan er bijvoorbeeld veel expats naar locaties in het zuiden?
Hoe verspreidt jouw organisatie kennis? Of educatie?
In welke taal voer jij je werkzaamheden uit? En in welke taal wordt er gebruikt in jullie beleid en communicatie met andere partners/organisaties?
Dialogue and Dissent (Samenspraak en Tegenspraak)
Is de strategie binnen jouw organisatie beïnvloed door de doelen van het Ministerie? Of door de SDGs?
In hoeverre heb je te maken gehad met het beleid Samenspraak en/of had dit beleid invloed op jou werkzaamheden?
Heeft het beleid Samenspraak en Tegenspraak invloed gehad op structuren in jullie organisatie? Kwamen er bijvoorbeeld nieuwe functies of regels?
Hoe kijk je terug op dit beleid? Wat waren verbeteringen en wat waren minpunten aan het beleid? Was het beleid succesvol voor de ontwikkelingssamenwerkingen sector? En voor de zuidelijke partners?
In welke mate heeft dit beleid ervoor gezorgd dat veranderingsprocessen binnen de sector mogelijk zijn? Bijvoorbeeld: is er meer regelgeving gekomen, of is er meer vrijheid gegeven aan 'de sector'?
Power of Voices
Hoe zou jij het beleid Power of Voices uitleggen? En wat heeft ervoor gezorgd dat Power of Voices geïmplementeerd werd/wordt?
Wat zijn grote shifts geweest in Nederlands ontwikkelingsbeleid? En wat zijn de oorzaken hiervan?
Wat was jullie rol bij de aanvragen van de Power of Voices?

Partnerschappen

Hoe zijn partnerschappen ontstaan?

Hebben jullie ook zulke partnerschappen? En waar moet een partnerschap aan voldoen? Is dat met behulp van een code of conduct? Hoe wordt een partnerschap vastgesteld? Gedragscode?

Wat is de rol van de partnerschappen voor jullie en voor het Ministerie?

Historisch institutionalisme

Hoe zou jij de relatie tussen jouw organisatie en het ministerie omschrijven?

Zouden jullie nog bestaan zonder overheidssteun?

Zijn acties binnen jullie organisatie beïnvloed door het Ministerie?

Hoe is beleid of hoe zijn beleidsstrategieën gevormd in jou organisatie? Wie is daarbij betrokken? Zijn zuidelijke partners betrokken bij beleidsstrategieën?

Wat zijn de redenen voor verandering in Nederlands ontwikkelingsbeleid?

Is verandering binnen ontwikkelingssamenwerkingen noodzakelijk/mogelijk? En waarom?

- Heb je het gevoel dat veranderingen mogelijk zijn? En hoe dan? Of waarom niet?

- Wat zijn de limieten tot verandering in Nederlands ontwikkelingsbeleid?

Wat houdt voor jou de dekolonisatie van de ontwikkelingssector in?

Annex 2 - The Research Design

The research design as a visual

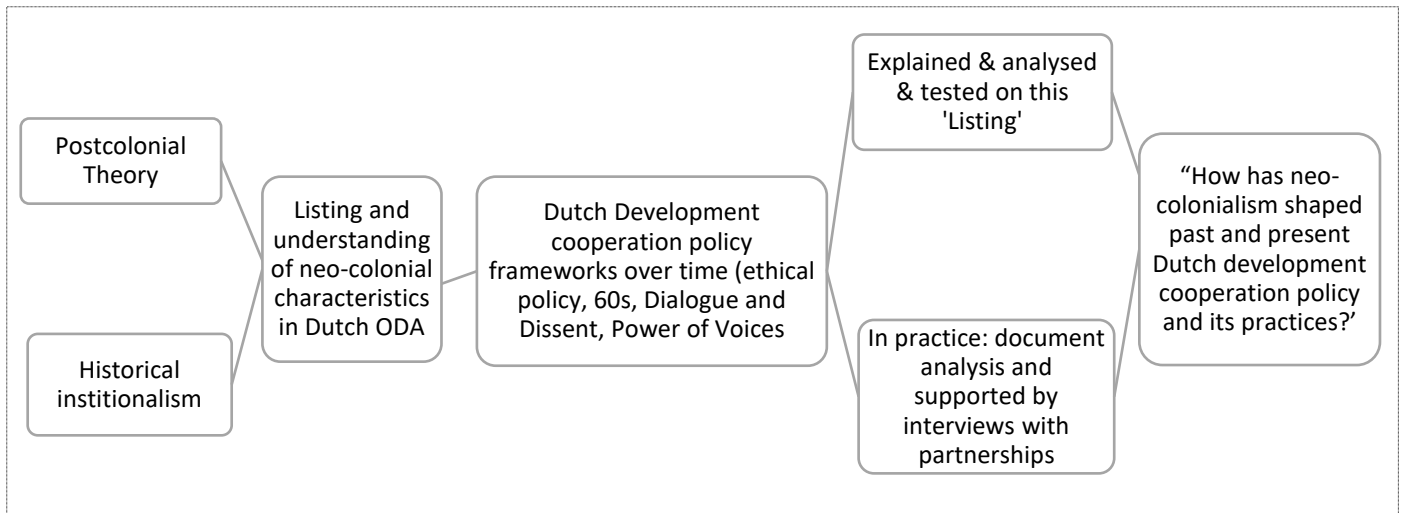


Figure 3: Research Visual.