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Denmark Report

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1 | Introduction

Denmark's comprehensive whole-of-government approach (WGA) concept was introduced in 2004 as part of the 2005–2009 Defence Agreement in order to improve cooperation between Danish humanitarian organisations and the Danish military and to thereby enhance the effectiveness and visibility of all related efforts. The concept was launched in response to various problems encountered in Iraq, where the civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) model established during NATO's KFOR operation in Kosovo proved unworkable due to the non-permissive environment, which made it impossible to get civilian experts and organisations to support the work of the Danish military contingent. After similar problems were encountered in Afghanistan, Denmark decided to formulate WGA strategies to help shape its efforts there. The lessons learned in Iraq and Afghanistan – in addition to inspiration from the United Kingdom, with whom Denmark cooperated closely in the field in both countries – resulted in the establishment of a WGA institutional framework in 2010.

This framework is composed of an inter-ministerial steering committee, an inter-ministerial secretariat and a Peace and Stabilisation Fund (PSF) for financing stabilisation activities in fragile countries. Since then, Denmark's WGA has been strengthened by a general WGA strategy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Justice 2013) as well as by a number of regional strategies and programmes, WGA programming guidelines, annual reports and increased funds (Jakobsen 2014). The Defence Agreement covering the 2018–

2023 period will almost double the annual contribution to the PSF coming from the Ministry of Defence, from DKK 84 million in 2018 to DKK 150 million in 2023. These amounts highlight the principal shortcoming of Denmark's WGA, namely, that the funds earmarked for WGA in the PSF (2018: DKK 477.1 million) constitute a very small fraction of the total amounts spent on defence (2018: DKK 22.496 billion) and development (2018: DKK 15.878 billion). This said, the WGA principles and the ideas behind the PSF are being embraced more broadly and are having more and more influence on the stabilisation activities funded by the defence and development budgets.

2 | What policies have been developed to further policy coherence?

Since 2010, all Danish policies related to prevention, stabilisation and development have been explicitly formulated as WGA strategies. This applies to general stabilisation strategies, stabilisation strategies at the regional and country levels, foreign policy white papers, and the government's foreign and security policy strategy, which has been published annually since 2017. Since the WGA is also guiding Denmark's strategy for development cooperation and humanitarian action, one can say that it goes beyond the relatively small programmes financed by the PSF. In doing so, the WGA is beginning to exert an influence on all Danish efforts at the nexus of security and development.

WGA mainstreaming is beginning to become evident, and a WGA mindset, so to speak, is becoming more widespread in the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence. Furthermore, it is noteworthy how the PSF has become a frame of reference for all related Danish strategy documents. This centrality is also reflected in the current guidelines for the PSF (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence 2018). They point out that the PSF is an integral part of Denmark's Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2017–2018, that its significance was reconfirmed in the current 2018–2023 Defence Agreement, and that it makes an important contribution to Denmark's strategy for development cooperation and humanitarian action (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2017a).

In addition, 11 principles have been formulated to guide the implementation of Denmark's WGA, including the projects funded by the PSF as well as the Danish stabilisation efforts funded by the defence and development budgets. Quoting verbatim from the guidelines (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence 2018: 5–7), these 11 principles are: (1) Whole of Government: Continues to constitute the underlying basis of the Fund and places it in an intersection between security, development and foreign policy, where efforts can be financed with both ODA and non-ODA funds and integrate with other Danish efforts in the areas of development, foreign affairs and defence. The Fund's efforts can also support the coherence between internal and external security. (2) Regional focus: Takes advantage of the fact that the Fund is not country-specific since the conflicts the Fund focuses on usually have 'spill-over' effects in the surrounding countries, which means, among other things, that the Fund can also operate where Denmark has no actual development programmes and will in most contexts cover several priority countries. (3) Danish interests: The Peace and Stabilisation Fund (PSF) shall focus on efforts that are of particular importance to Danish interests, such as efforts to help prevent irregular migration flows and violent extremism as well as to contribute to stabilise regions in close proximity [to] Denmark. It is also possible to respond to Danish business interests with actions in relation to, for example, maritime security.

(4) Partnerships and alliances: The PSF's efforts ought, where feasible and relevant, to be implemented in partnerships and/or alliances with other relevant countries or international and regional actors, where 'like-minded' interests with Denmark exist, or where Denmark has an interest in strengthening the relationship. (5) Danish influence: The PSF efforts shall focus on Danish comparative advantages in regards to what Denmark can contribute to and with, and where Danish contributions can make a clear difference and add value. (6) Achievement of results: The PSF efforts often take place in complex and difficult contexts. Therefore, a realistic level of ambition is necessary regarding the results that the individual engagements and the overall programmes can achieve, also recognising that results generally require long-term perspectives and timelines. (7) Innovation and flexibility: Means that programmes are designed to ensure [that] efforts can be adjusted continuously and remain agile with a fast response capacity. At the same time, there is a willingness to test new methods, approaches and relevant thematic areas. (8) Risk tolerance: Means that the Fund, more so than other efforts, can support particularly risk-prone peace and stabilisation efforts of developmental or political nature. It will be important to consider how administrative challenges can be handled when implementing programmes in risk-prone contexts. (9) Emphasis on a programmatic approach that provides a long-term and predictable framework, where this is appropriate for achieving results with long-term effects and allowing for solid theories of change, but also recognising the need for flexibility within the timeframe. (10) Administrative resource base: Experience indicates that the presence of a Danish representation or embassy in or near the area of effort, or the deployment of advisors to anchor the administration of the PSF engagements, strengthens the implementation and monitoring and helps to support the overall Danish influence. Moreover, this helps to secure the necessary resources in regard to security needs. (11) Complementarity with other Danish efforts, which includes the avoidance of duplication and overlap.

These 11 principles are accompanied by six thematic priorities (again quoted here verbatim): (1) Directly stabilising efforts, which respond quickly to needs for safety and security, access to basic services, build-up of local resilience and reconstruction efforts in, for example, liberated areas in conflict-affected areas. (2) Preventing or countering violent extremism (P/CVE) with focus on, e.g., disengagement, preventive efforts, capacity-development of intelligence services and financial intelligence units, and other efforts that aim to counter terror-financing as well as promote human-rights compliant counterterrorism efforts. (3) Conflict prevention and conflict resolution, including capacity- and institution-building as well as political dialogue, reconciliation and potential transitional justice, including securing judicial evidence. (4) Security- and justice-sector efforts, focusing on developing the capacity of national and regional security forces, and their democratic oversight, who can partake in ensuring national security, international or regional operations/missions, as well as relevant areas of the justice sector, including Responsibility to Protect (R2P) (where possible), as well as focusing on 'disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration efforts' (DDR). (5) Countering transnational, organised crime and illegitimate financial flows, including networks that support irregular migration and human trafficking, which contributes to, among others, countering or preventing destabilisation of fragile regions. (6) Strengthening maritime security, e.g. through countering piracy and maritime crime by focusing on capacity-building-relevant authorities and information-collection and -sharing. In addition, focus on harmonisation of relevant laws, rules and strategies that deal with the countering and prosecution of regional maritime crime.

Finally, it is stressed in the guidelines that Denmark applies a “human rights-based approach”, and that it has zero tolerance for corruption. On the positive side, these principles and priorities allow for a lot of flexibility and agility, which enables Denmark to respond pragmatically to crises and requests from international partners. At the same time, one has to ask if there is anything Denmark cannot fund using these principles, and whether there is any prioritisation in Denmark’s WGA. One also wonders how Denmark copes with the dilemmas that arise during efforts to stabilise fragile states. In any case, it is certainly hard to think of a programme or an activity that meets all the Danish principles at the same time.

3 | Who are the main actors involved in cooperating in a WGA?

At the strategic level, the main actors cooperating in a WGA-like fashion are the ministries involved in the WGA Steering Committee: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Justice, and the Prime Minister’s Office. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence are the most important of these four actors. They provide the funds for the Peace and Stabilisation Fund (PSF), chair the meetings in the steering committee, provide the personnel supporting the steering committee, and manage the projects funded by the PSF in addition to providing most of the personnel deployed in the field. Furthermore, they translate the political guidance provided in the multi-party defence agreements, agreements on development assistance and humanitarian assistance, and the annual foreign and security policy strategies published by the Danish government into specific programmes and objectives that can be funded by the PSF. These programmes and objectives, in turn, form the basis for the plans developed by the relevant offices in the ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Justice, which task their organisations and agencies to formulate programmes and projects and to provide the personnel contributions required for the PSF-funded activities.

The Defence Command, the Home Guard, the Danish National Police and the Stabilisation Office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are the principal actors responsible for finding the required personnel. In addition to providing personnel and implementing projects, they are also tasked with coming up with ideas for new ones that can be funded by the PSF. Besides military personnel, the PSF also finances the deployment of Danish police and police instructors to international missions led by the EU or other organisations. The civilian personnel provided through the Peace and Stabilisation Response (PSR) roster is also part of the WGA framework. The PSR is a Danish stand-by roster comprising approximately 490 civilian experts with a wide range of skills relevant to international missions in support of peace and stability in fragile and conflict-affected regions as well as to observing democratic elections in fragile democracies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2017b).

The major Danish humanitarian and development NGOs are also part of the WGA system, as they play a key role in implementing PSF-funded projects and activities. Institutionalised cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the NGOs takes place within the Humanitarian Contact Group (HCG). The HCG is a forum for exchanging information regarding ongoing and upcoming humanitarian, preventive and follow-up efforts. When a disaster strikes, the group helps to ensure that there is an effective and coordinated humanitarian response.

Thus, together, the WGA institutions form what might be called a formal chain of collaboration and coordination stretching from the political/strategic level through the operational level to the tactical level. The political ambitions expressed by politicians are translated into programmes and plans, which in turn are translated into specific contributions of funds and personnel at the tactical level. Most contributions are provided in support of activities undertaken by international partners, NGOs, international organisations (notably the EU, NATO and the UN), the Nordic states (Finland, Norway and Sweden), and the countries in the Stabilization Leaders Forum (Australia, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States).

4 | How does your country operationalise a WGA?

The programmes and activities funded by the Peace and Stabilisation Fund (PSF) constitute the core of Denmark's WGA activities. They are planned, funded, implemented and monitored in accordance with a detailed set of WGA guidelines. The overall objective of the PSF funded stabilisation efforts is to counter the threats from migration and terrorism, both of which must be tackled with a long-term perspective and through a broad spectrum of efforts that make use of the full range of foreign, security, defence and development policy tools. These instruments are employed to prevent conflicts in fragile countries and regions as well as to stabilise areas that have already been affected by conflict. In 2018, the PSF funded peace and stabilisation activities in Afghanistan, Georgia, the Horn of Africa, Iraq, Pakistan, the Sahel, Syria and Ukraine. Furthermore, additional activities focused on a number of thematic priority areas, such as anti-radicalisation and the prevention of terrorism in the Middle East, maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea, and the UN's capacity for conducting stabilisation and peacekeeping activities. Finally, the PSF allocates resources to sudden crises.

The regional programmes are carried out in cooperation with the EU, NATO, the UN and a variety of strategic partners, such as France, the Nordic countries, the United Kingdom and the United States. The regional stabilisation programme for Syria and Iraq, which was launched in 2016, is carried out within the framework of the US-led coalition against the Islamic State group also known as Daesh. In Iraq, support for mine removal and basic services have contributed to making it possible for displaced persons to return to newly liberated areas in Iraq. In Syria, the programme has focused on supporting the police, the civil emergency services and service providers in opposition-controlled areas as well as on promoting inclusive political dialogue. In the wake of the liberation of Raqqa, the programme was also able to support the removal of hazards involving explosives.

The stabilisation programme for the Horn of Africa focuses geographically on Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. One of its overarching goals is to strengthen regional peacekeeping capacity, and Denmark supported a major field training exercise for the Eastern African Standby Force (EASF) in 2017. Moreover, that same year, Denmark contributed once again to the Somalia Stability Fund, which strengthened its strategic focus by, for example, adopting a new approach to ensuring the inclusion of women. The combined programme for Afghanistan and Pakistan provides support to developing and operating the Afghan police forces, support functions for the Afghan army, and training to Afghan officers. For example, the Afghan police were supported through the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan via delegated cooperation with the EU. Through the regional peace and stabilisation programme for the

Sahel, Denmark has supported the EMP school of peacekeeping in Bamako by, for example, deploying training instructors from the Danish Home Guard. It is also supporting the establishment and build-up of the G5 Sahel Joint Force, a regional force with forces from Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger that is supposed to contribute to the stabilisation of the Sahel region. Denmark also contributes to strengthening democratic control over the use of force, such as by conducting courses for parliamentarians. The programme is carried out in cooperation with France.

The PSF also runs a programme aimed at preventing and countering violent extremism in the Middle East. The focus of the programme, which involves initiatives in Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, is on strengthening the capacity of states bordering territories controlled by the Islamic State to prevent and combat terrorism. By strengthening the capacity of local authorities to check recruitment for and the financing of terrorism, Denmark has contributed to limiting the spread of violent extremism in the region.

Since 2015, the PSF has provided support to the Gulf of Guinea Interregional Network (GoGIN), an EU-led programme that aims to foster maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea. Denmark has set priorities within the regional maritime coordination centres and provides support to the countries' judicial system, such as to prosecute pirates. Denmark has also deployed a maritime adviser from the Danish military to Nigeria who is tasked with identifying activities that can strengthen local and regional capacities to effectively tackle challenges related to maritime piracy and robbery in the Gulf of Guinea. In addition, Denmark's Frogman Corps has engaged in capacity-building of partner units from Nigeria and Cameroon with the aim of training and conducting exercising with these units to improve practical skills, such as sanitation, vessel-boarding and securing evidence at sea.

In Ukraine, the PSF has supported the development of the country's defence capabilities. For example, Denmark's armed forces contributed to the training of Ukrainian soldiers and instructors by seconding a language officer to Operation Unifier, the Canadian training mission in Ukraine, in addition to seconding an adviser to NATO's liaison office in Ukraine, which has contributed to developing civilian skills in the defence and security sectors, such as ones related to implementing reforms (The Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Justice 2018, 2019).

5 | Conclusions

Denmark has successfully established its own distinct WGA. It is centred on the Peace and Stabilisation Fund (PSF), which is jointly funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (development budget) and the Ministry of Defence (defence budget). The funds are jointly managed by an inter-ministerial steering committee composed of senior officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Justice, and the Prime Minister's Office. The PSF combines a programmatic regional long-term perspective with a mechanism enabling it to provide funds quickly for sudden emergencies. Its work is guided by a set of detailed guidelines ensuring that the funds are spent on activities at the nexus of security and development. Projects involving personnel contributions are generally provided by Danish state agencies and NGOs in close coordination and cooperation with international partners, notably the Nordic states, the members of the Stabilization Leaders Forum, the EU, NATO and

the UN. Denmark's WGA framework ensures a high degree of national policy coherence and coordination, which minimises duplication at both the national and international levels. Although the PSF only constitutes a small fraction of the total funds that Denmark spends on prevention, stabilisation and development, it has become a point of reference for all Danish strategy documents and white papers, and it is constantly touted as a Danish priority and success story in official communications and documents. As a result, the WGA has begun to influence how Denmark uses non-PSF funds for defence, stabilisation and development purposes, and a WGA mindset, so to speak, has spread throughout the involved ministries and state agencies from the strategic to the tactical levels.

Since its creation in 2010, the PSF – with its associated institutions, procedures and guidelines – has changed how Denmark engages in diplomatic, defence and development efforts, and it has successfully mainstreamed a WGA in Denmark's state institutions. Judged from the available evaluations of PSF-related activities, Denmark's WGA also appears to have made its stabilisation activities more effective. The international evaluation of the PSF carried out in 2014 was generally positive (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014), and the assessments that have been carried out to date by Danish researchers have also been positive. Their primary criticisms have been that the definition of stabilisation is too vague, that the funds available to the PSF are too small, and that stabilisation remains a relatively low priority within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence (Jacobsen and Engen 2017; Larsen and Nissen 2018). To this, one can add that it is impossible to meet all the Peace and Stability Fund guidelines at the same time, and that they actually give officials a free hand to do whatever they feel like.

6 | Reference list

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