TRACE

the Trauma Response Alliance for Community Empowerment

Targeted Aid: Worker Safety and ODA Allocation in Afghanistan

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates whether there is a direct correlation between attack incidents on aid workers and sector-specific Official Development Assistance (ODA) spending in Afghanistan, focusing on four key sectors—Infrastructure, Health, Governance & Civil Society, and Education—from 2008 to 2012. Drawing on a combined dataset of ODA allocations and recorded violent incidents, the analysis reveals no consistent link between increased spending and reduced attacks. Rather than demonstrating a straightforward causal relationship, the findings underscore the complexity of delivering aid in conflict zones, where variations in both operational and contextual factors can diminish the potential security benefits of targeted aid. The study thus provides empirical evidence that, despite aid being channelled to sectors deemed critical for counterterrorism, its immediate impact on safeguarding aid workers remains uncertain without deeper attention to the broader environment shaping these interventions.

Introduction

Once seen as a purely humanitarian endeavour, foreign aid (ODA) has increasingly become entwined with security strategies, aiming to address the root causes of terrorism by fostering resilience and stability in vulnerable regions[1]. This "securitisation" of aid, first prominently implemented in Iraq and Afghanistan, redefined development assistance as a strategic tool to counter extremism[2,3]. By targeting key sectors—such as infrastructure, health, education, governance, and civil society—donors can bolster state capacity and diminish the allure of militancy[1,4-9].

Yet, this transformation has not come without consequences. The alignment of aid with counterterrorism objectives has blurred the lines between humanitarian and military efforts, eroding the perceived neutrality of aid workers[10-12]. Once protected by principles of impartiality, these frontline actors are now viewed as extensions of foreign agendas, making them targets in volatile conflict zones[13]. Militant groups increasingly exploit this shift, using attacks on aid workers as a tactic to destabilise communities, undermine state legitimacy, and disrupt foreign influence[4,5,14,15].

At the heart of this issue lies a critical question: to what extent do aid allocation patterns influence—or respond to—the risks faced by aid workers? This study probes the relationship between sector-specific aid spending and attack dynamics in Afghanistan, a context where the securitisation of aid has been both heavily implemented and intensely scrutinised. By analysing attack data alongside Official Development Assistance (ODA) figures from 2008 to 2012, this research seeks to uncover whether aid spending trends correspond to variations in attack incidents or if these dynamics are shaped by broader strategic and insurgent considerations.

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Literature review

After the 9/11 attacks, the world witnessed a profound shift in how international development and security became intertwined[16]. This transformation, often referred to as the "securitisation" of aid, redefined ODA from a purely humanitarian endeavour to a strategic tool aimed at addressing the root causes of terrorism[2]. The underlying ambition was clear: strengthen communities and individuals by addressing vulnerabilities, thereby reducing the allure of extremist ideologies. Initially implemented in the Middle East, this approach gradually expanded to regions such as North Africa, targeting areas seen as susceptible to terrorism through the bolstering of critical aid sectors[17,18].

This merging of development and military objectives represented both opportunities and challenges. While it offered the allure of stabilising volatile regions and fostering resilience, it also raised ethical and practical concerns. Questions about the politicisation of aid, the erosion of neutrality, and the alignment of humanitarian efforts with security agendas sparked significant debate. Substantial academic inquiry has since grappled with whether this convergence represents a symbiotic alignment of objectives or a contentious overlap that undermines both the efficacy of aid and the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies.

Scholars such as Aden[1] and Azam and Thelen[19,20] emphasise the potential of development programs in both conflict and post-conflict settings to stabilise governance, reduce economic instability, and address wealth inequality, thereby diminishing socio-political environments conducive to terrorism[21,22]. These initiatives highlight key sectors, specifically infrastructure, healthcare, education, governance, and civil society, as crucial for fostering resilience and providing individuals with viable alternatives to extremism[1,4-9].

However, the success of these programs is heavily dependent on robust governance and institutional capacity in recipient countries. Corruption, mismanagement, and weak accountability mechanisms often undermine their effectiveness, while untargeted aid policies risk empowering corrupt elites or exacerbating existing tensions[21,23]. Furthermore, Security-oriented aid is frequently scrutinised for its focus on immediate counterterrorism goals at the expense of sustainable development, often leading to regional destabilisation, increased poverty, and disenfranchisement[22,24,25]. Without caution, such aid risks being both ineffective in counterterrorism and damaging to the regions it aims to stabilise[1,26].

In addition to ineffective aid policies destabilising regions, many studies have highlighted the strategic targeting of aid operations by militant groups to weaken the host state's capacity to provide essential support to vulnerable communities[4,15]. Such tactics not only exacerbate instability and perpetuate cycles of violence and fragility, but also erodes public trust in state protection, shifting public support in favour of militant groups who strengthen their foothold and recruit from disaffected populations[4,5,14,15].

Aid workers face heightened risks not only from militant groups targeting aid operations but also from the policy of aid securitisation[18]. Once regarded as neutral actors shielded by humanitarian principles, aid workers are now often perceived as extensions of foreign agendas and political interests[27]. This erosion of neutrality stems from the growing overlap between aid and military objectives, particularly in conflict zones where aid is closely tied to geopolitical goals[4,14,28]. Consequently, aid is frequently viewed not as impartial humanitarian assistance but as a tool for advancing foreign intervention, fuelling anti-Western and anti-imperialist sentiment[29,30]. This is further stressed by Brown[31], whose study outlines the increasing mistrust aid workers within communities who no longer view them as independent humanitarian actors[5].

The growing number of attacks on aid workers underscores the dangers of targeted aid policies in conflict zones, where increasing mistrust and perceptions of aid as a geopolitical tool have made frontline workers more vulnerable to strategic and symbolic attacks[28-32]. Yet, the literature also highlights how core sectors—such as infrastructure, healthcare, education, governance, and civil society—are vital to mitigating the socio-political roots of terrorism[4,5,14,15]. This tension between the strategic imperative to invest in these critical sectors and the heightened risks faced by those delivering aid underlines an important gap in current knowledge: To what extent do these targeted allocations influence—or respond to—actual attack patterns? Consequently, this leads to the guiding research question: Is there a direct correlation between attack incidents on aid workers and spending in sectors identified as critical to counterterrorism efforts?

Methodology

This study employs a quantitative research design to examine the relationship between ODA and attacks on aid workers in Afghanistan. Afghanistan was selected as the case study due to the availability of comprehensive data and its significant implementation of targeted aid policies. The analysis focuses on four key aid sectors over a five-year period (2008–2012) to explore trends and potential correlations between ODA allocations and attack patterns.

Two primary datasets were integrated to form the basis of this study. The first dataset, sourced from Narang and Stanton[15], utilised data compiled by the Afghan National Security Office (ANSO) and maintained by the International NGO Safety Organisation (INSO). This dataset records violent incidents targeting NGO workers across all 34 provinces in Afghanistan from April 2008 to December 2012. The second dataset, obtained from the ODA Creditor Reporting System (CRS) via the OECD Explorer[33], includes detailed information on both committed and disbursed ODA figures for Afghanistan from 32 OECD DAC donor countries during the same period. The ODA data was filtered by key aid sectors identified in the literature as contributing to resilience against terrorism and militancy.

The datasets were merged to create an original dataset, ensuring consistency and alignment between attack incidents and ODA allocation data. This integration enabled a sector-specific analysis, providing a robust foundation to investigate relationships between aid spending and risks to aid workers.

Three analytical methods were employed. Yearly Trends assessed annual percentage changes in spending and attack incidents to explore potential correlations over time. Sectoral Spend Analysis examined donor allocations to each sector, comparing these with attack data to identify patterns. Commitments vs. Disbursements evaluated discrepancies between committed and disbursed aid figures across sectors and years, assessing how these variations align with attack patterns. Together, these methods provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the interplay between aid allocation and the risks faced by aid workers.
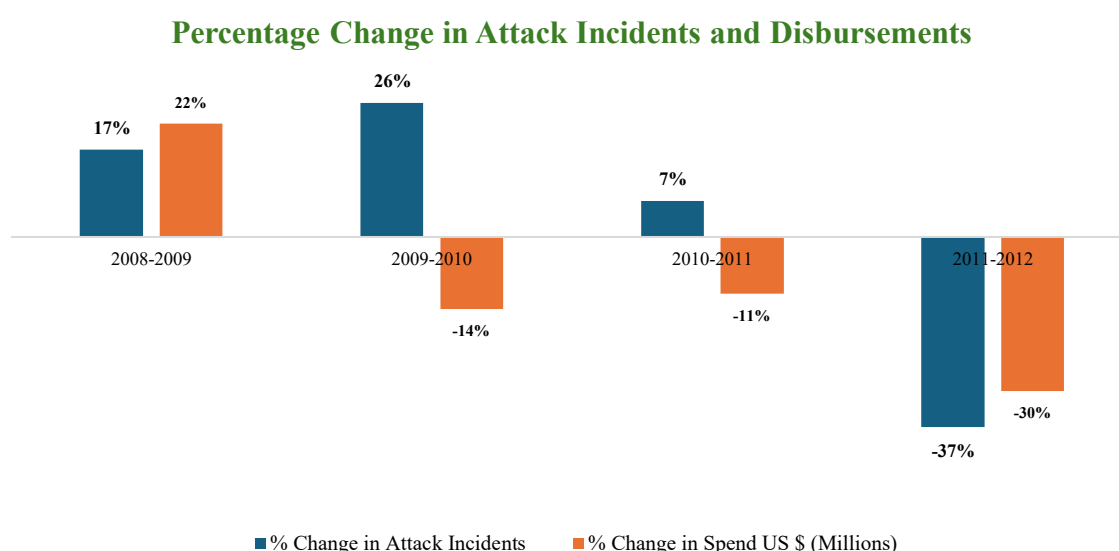
Limitations

This study faces several limitations. It is confined to Afghanistan between 2008 and 2012, restricting the generalisability of findings to other regions or timeframes and precluding assessments of potential lag effects due to the constrained timeframe of available data. While the integrated dataset enables an exploration of trends and relationships, it does not capture qualitative factors, such as local perceptions of aid or insurgent motivations, which may significantly influence attack dynamics. Despite these

limitations, the study offers valuable insights into the complex relationship between ODA and risks to aid workers in conflict settings.

Results

Infrastructure

Graph 1A illustrates the year-on-year percentage changes in infrastructure aid spending and attack incidents on aid workers between 2008 and 2012. The data reveals a mixed relationship between these variables. From 2008 to 2010, increases in aid spending correspond to rising attack incidents, suggesting that higher aid allocations may increase risks for aid workers due to greater visibility or insurgent targeting. However, the trend diverges in 2010–2011, with attacks increasing by 7% despite an 11% reduction in spending, indicating that reduced funding does not immediately mitigate risks. Notably, in 2011–2012, both aid spending and attacks dropped significantly by 30% and 37%, respectively, implying that a reduced aid presence may lower exposure to violence. These findings highlight the complex interplay between aid delivery and the security of aid workers.

Percentage Change in Attack Incidents and Disbursements

■ % Change in Attack Incidents   ■ % Change in Spend US $ (Millions)

Graph 1A

Graph 1B explores the relationship between infrastructure aid spending (in US $ Millions) and the number of attacks on aid workers. While higher spending generally aligns with increased attack incidents, the two furthest data points reveal a deviation from this pattern. The highest recorded attacks (150 and 140 incidents) are associated with lower spending levels of $1,821 million and $2,058 million, respectively, compared to the peak spending of $2,396 million, which corresponds to fewer attacks (111 incidents). These observations suggest that the relationship between aid spending and attack incidents is not linear and may be influenced by external factors such as regional security dynamics or the geographic concentration of aid projects. Further analysis is required to better understand the underlying causes of these trends.

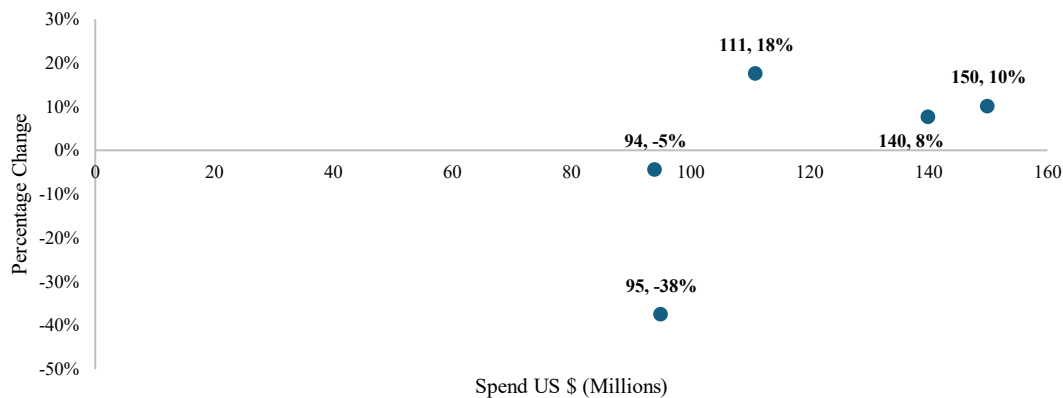## Relationship Between Infrastucture Aid and Attacks on Aid Workers
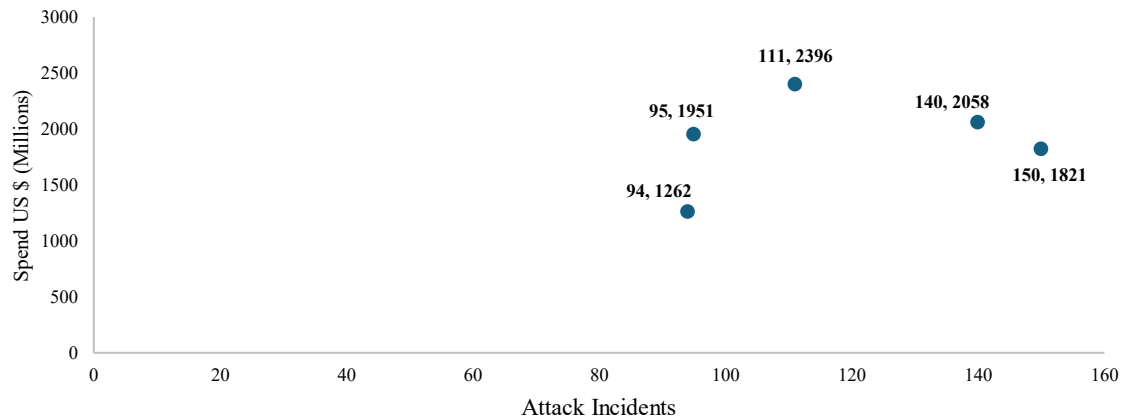
Graph 1B

Graph 1C illustrates the relationship between changes in committed aid versus actual disbursed aid and the number of attacks on aid workers. The data demonstrates no clear or consistent correlation between these variables, as significant deviations in aid disbursement—whether positive or negative—are not strongly associated with large variations in attack numbers. For instance, the most extreme negative change in disbursed aid (-38%) corresponds to 95 attacks, while an 18% increase in disbursement aligns with 111 attacks. This minimal fluctuation in attack numbers despite large variations in aid spending suggests that other factors beyond attack frequency may drive disbursement decisions.

However, the relationship remains complex and warrants further exploration. The observation that aid spending increases during periods of high attack incidents challenges the assumption that attacks lead to program closures or reduced disbursement. Instead, this trend may suggest two possibilities: first, that attacks occur as a reaction to heightened aid presence and visibility; or second, that increased aid spending represents a deliberate policy choice to counteract attacks and reinforce stabilisation efforts. While no direct causal relationship is evident, the data highlights the interplay between aid disbursement and attack dynamics, necessitating further research to understand the underlying motivations and mechanisms at work.

Percentage Change in Aid Commitments vs. Disbursements and Attack Incidents on Aid Workers

Graph 1C

The relationship between infrastructure aid allocation and attacks on aid workers is nuanced and defies simplistic explanations. Graphs 1A–1C and Tables 1A–1B collectively highlight the disconnection between spending patterns and attack rates, challenging the assumption that infrastructure aid directly responds to security conditions.

Notably, Graph 1A shows that reductions in aid spending do not consistently lead to fewer attacks, while Graph 1B reveals that the highest attack numbers occur at mid-range spending levels, rather than at peak funding periods. This suggests that attacks on aid workers may be driven more by insurgent strategies targeting aid operations than by fluctuations in spending. Graph 1C further demonstrates significant discrepancies between committed and disbursed aid, with little correlation to attack numbers, implying that aid disbursement is influenced more by donor priorities than by immediate security concerns.
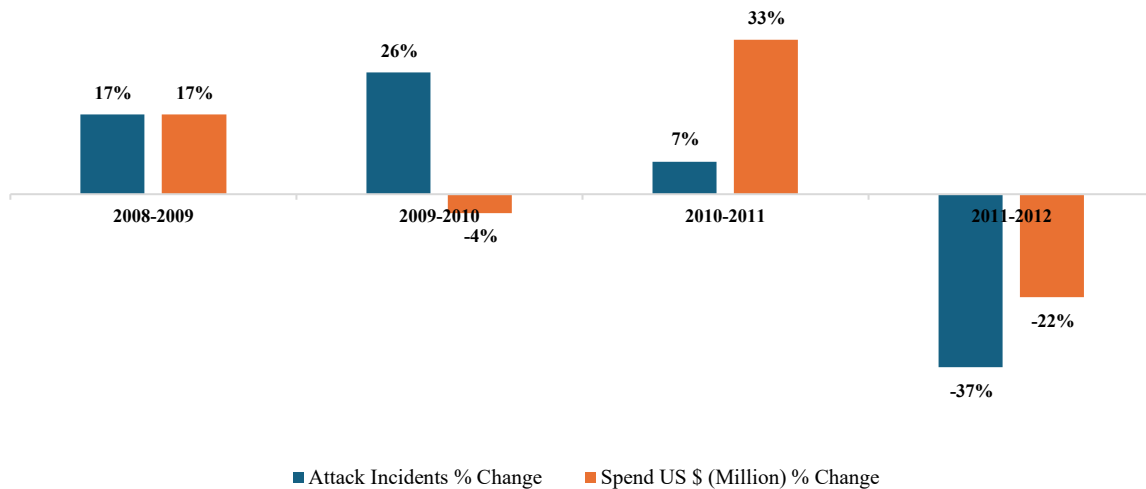
Tables 1A and 1B add a geopolitical lens to the analysis, illustrating how aid can serve both humanitarian and strategic functions. The dominance of U.S. and U.K. spending reflects counterinsurgency strategies that integrate aid with military objectives, while Japan's development-focused contributions underscore its commitment to peacebuilding and non-military solutions.

Overall, the data underscores the complexity of the relationship between infrastructure aid and attacks, highlighting the need for aid strategies that balance operational presence with security considerations. Understanding these dynamics requires a deeper exploration of how insurgent targeting and donor priorities shape the risks faced by aid workers in conflict zones.

Health

Graph 2A examines the percentage change in health aid spending (US $ Millions) and attack incidents on aid workers between 2008 and 2012. The data highlights an inconsistent relationship between these variables. In 2008–2009, both health aid spending and attack incidents increased by 17%, suggesting a potential connection, while in 2009–2010, attack incidents rose sharply by 26% despite a 4% decrease in spending. The most notable divergence occurs in 2010–2011, where health aid spending increased significantly by 33%, but attack incidents rose modestly by 7%, challenging assumptions of a direct relationship. Finally, the simultaneous decreases in spending (-22%) and attack incidents (-37%) in 2011–2012 suggest a potential connection between reduced aid visibility and fewer attacks. Overall, the graph underscores the complex and non-linear nature of the relationship, indicating that external factors likely play a critical role in influencing attack trends.
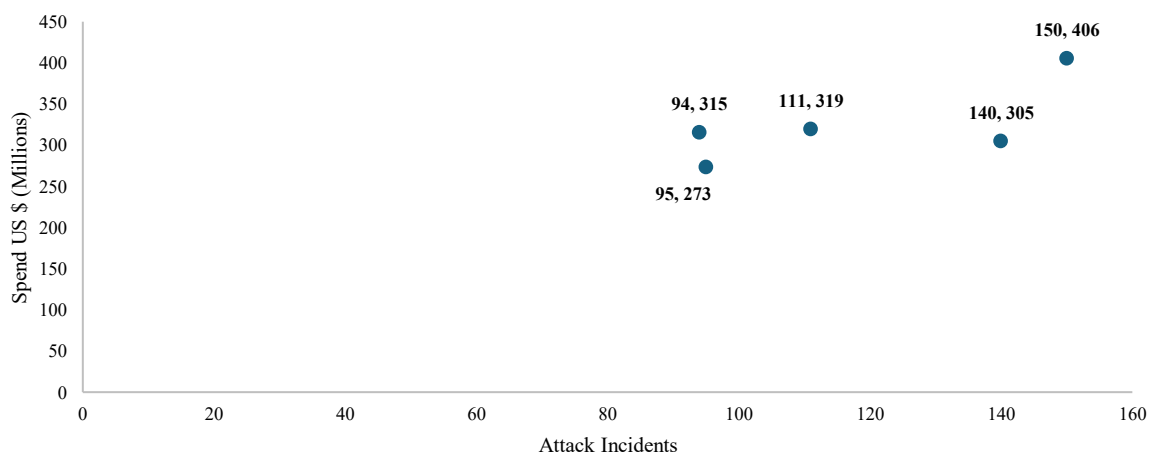
Percentage Change in Attack Incidents and Disbursements

17% 17% 26% 7% 33% -4% -37% -22%

2008-2009   2009-2010   2010-2011   2011-2012

■ Attack Incidents % Change   ■ Spend US $ (Million) % Change

Graph 2A

Graph 2B compares annual health aid spending (US $ Millions) with the number of attacks on aid workers, revealing a complex and inconsistent relationship. Higher spending levels, such as $406 million and $305 million, align with the highest attack incidents (150 and 140, respectively), suggesting that increased aid may heighten visibility and operational exposure. However, mid-level spending ($319 million and $315 million) corresponds to similar attack numbers (111 and 94), indicating that spending levels alone may not fully account for variations in attacks. The lowest spending level ($273 million) aligns with 95 attacks, demonstrating that reduced aid allocation does not entirely mitigate risks. These findings suggest that while higher spending may correlate with increased risks, other factors, such as regional security dynamics and insurgent strategies, likely play a significant role in shaping attack trends.

Relationship Between Health Aid and Attacks on Aid Workers

Graph 2B

Graph 2C examines the relationship between the percentage change in aid commitments versus disbursements and the number of attack incidents on aid workers. The data reveals no clear or linear

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relationship between the variables. The most significant negative change in disbursed aid (-78%) aligns with one of the lowest recorded attack incidents (95), while a positive change of 35% corresponds to 111 attack incidents, suggesting that increased disbursements may heighten operational visibility and associated risks. However, the highest attack incidents (150) align with a -27% change in aid disbursement, challenging the assumption that reductions in aid spending reduce risks. Similarly, smaller discrepancies between commitments and disbursements (-6%) align with 94 attack incidents, indicating that attack levels may not strongly depend on changes in aid alignment. Overall, the graph underscores the complexity of the relationship, suggesting that attack incidents are influenced factors beyond aid alignment.

Percentage Change in Aid Commitments vs. Disbursements and Attack Incidents on Aid Workers
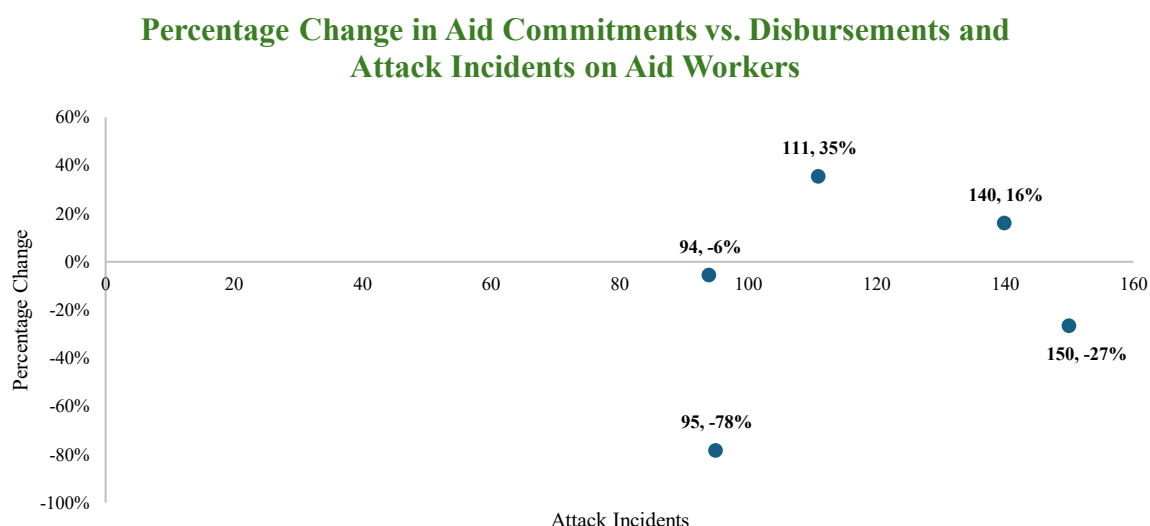
Graph 2C

Table 2A demonstrates that overall health aid budgets have not increased in response to years with high attack incidents. For example, despite 150 attacks in 2011, health aid spending decreased from $406 million in 2011 to $315 million in 2012. This trend reinforces the validity of Graph 2C as a fair representation of the relationship between aid disbursements and attack incidents. It suggests that future aid budgets are not adjusted reactively based on past attack patterns but are likely influenced by other policy considerations or strategic priorities. Thus, Graph 2C provides a useful lens for understanding the interplay between aid disbursement and attack incidents, despite the inherent complexities and limitations in the data.

Year	Spend US $ (Millions)
2008	273
2009	319
2010	305
2011	406
2012	315

Table 2A

The data reveals a complex and inconsistent relationship between health aid allocation and attacks on aid workers. While moments of alignment exist—such as increases in both spending and attacks—these are offset by divergences where rising attacks coincide with reduced spending or where increased spending shows little impact on attack numbers. This variability suggests that external factors, rather than aid spending alone, play a decisive role in shaping attack dynamics.

Health aid budgets appear largely unaffected by security challenges, reflecting stability over time with modest adjustments driven by strategic priorities rather than direct responses to attack levels. This disconnect highlights the predominance of broader policy considerations over reactive decision-making. However, high spending years often align with elevated attack numbers, suggesting that increased visibility and expanded operations may heighten risks, though this is neither uniform nor sufficient to explain the variation in attacks.

Ultimately, the data underscores a multifaceted interplay between health aid spending, operational risks, and militant strategies. Health aid allocation appears guided by strategic imperatives, while attack dynamics are shaped by factors beyond spending decisions, emphasising the need to situate health aid within a broader context of regional security and the realities of conflict-zone operations.

Education

Graph 4A explores the relationship between education aid spending and attacks on aid workers from 2008 to 2012, highlighting inconsistencies and a non-linear relationship in how these variables interact. In 2008–2009, increases in both spending and attacks suggest a potential link between higher funding and greater exposure. However, this alignment is not sustained, as seen in 2009–2010, where a significant rise in spending outpaced the increase in attacks, indicating that factors beyond funding levels likely influence risks.

In 2010–2011, spending decreased while attack incidents rose modestly, challenging the assumption that reduced funding directly lowers exposure. The final period, 2011–2012, saw significant declines in both spending and attacks, with the sharper drop in attack incidents suggesting the influence of external dynamics beyond aid allocation.

Percentage Change in Attack Incidents and Disbursements

Attack Incidents % Change *Spend US $ (Millions) % Change*
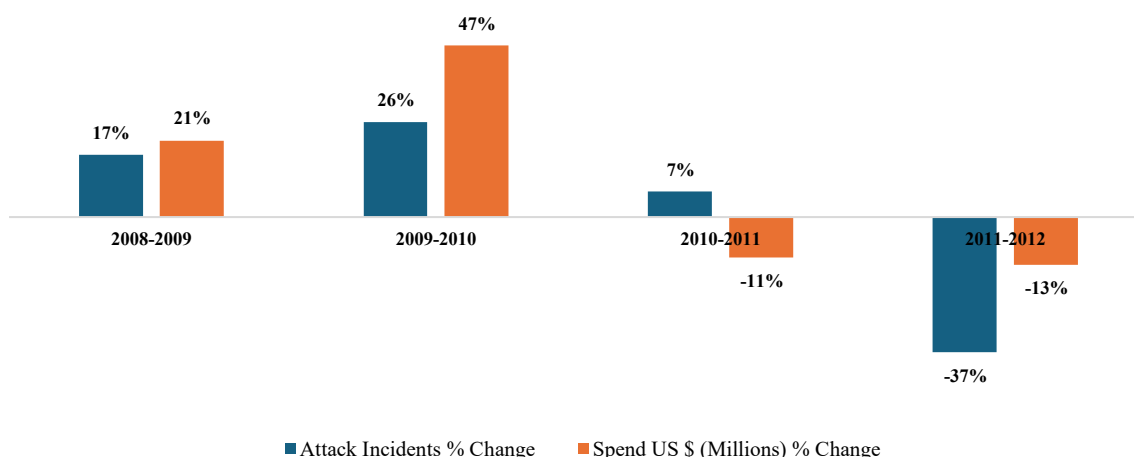
Graph 4A

Graph 4B highlights the complex relationship between education aid disbursements and attacks on aid workers, revealing no straightforward correlation between the two. Higher spending levels, such as $358 million and $400 million, align with the highest attack incidents (150 and 140, respectively), suggesting that increased funding may heighten operational visibility and associated risks. However, this pattern is inconsistent, as mid-level spending, such as $310 million and $272 million, corresponds to fewer attacks (94 and 111), indicating that spending alone does not fully explain variations in attack trends.

Interestingly, the lowest spending level of $224 million aligns with 95 attack incidents, a figure not markedly different from outcomes associated with mid-level spending. This suggests that other dynamics influence the risks faced by aid workers.

Relationship Between Education Aid and Attacks on Aid Workers

Graph 4B

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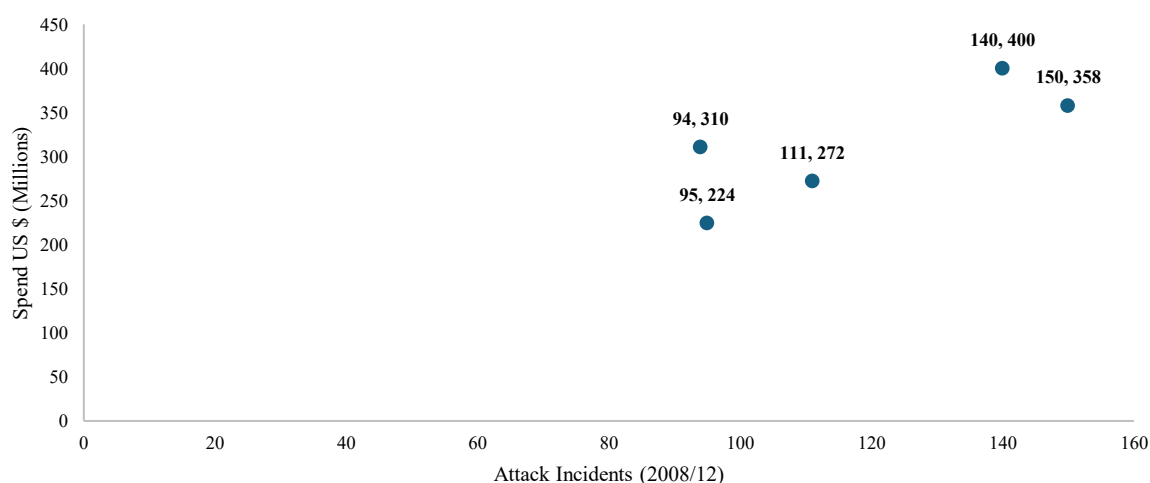
Graph 4C examines the relationship between percentage changes in education aid commitments versus disbursements and attack incidents on aid workers, highlighting a complex and multifaceted dynamic. The significant reduction in disbursement (-53%) aligns with one of the lowest attack incidents (95), which could suggest a response by implementing providers scaling back or ending programs due to perceived risk. However, discerning whether this reflects a deliberate pattern, or an isolated adjustment is challenging based on the data alone.

The broader variability observed in the graph complicates this interpretation. Smaller reductions in disbursement (-9% and -15%) correspond to relatively stable attack levels (94 and 111), while higher attack incidents (150) align with increased disbursement (+17%), and fewer attacks (140) coincide with a reduction of -13%. This lack of a consistent trend suggests that aid disbursement decisions are not primarily reactive to security risks but are instead driven by broader strategic priorities. The data underscores the complexity of the relationship, where risks to aid workers appear influenced by external factors beyond the scope of aid allocation patterns.

Governance & Civil Society

Graph 3A reveals an inconsistent relationship between governance and civil society aid spending and attacks on aid workers. In 2008–2009, both spending and attack incidents increased, suggesting a potential link between higher funding and greater visibility or exposure. However, this alignment is not sustained. In 2009–2010, attack incidents rose at a slightly higher rate than spending, while in 2010–2011, both variables changed minimally, indicating a period of relative stability.

The most notable divergence occurs in 2011–2012, where attack incidents dropped sharply despite an increase in spending. This shift challenges the assumption that higher funding directly correlates with greater risks to aid workers. Instead, it points to a more complex relationship, where factors beyond aid levels influence attack trends.
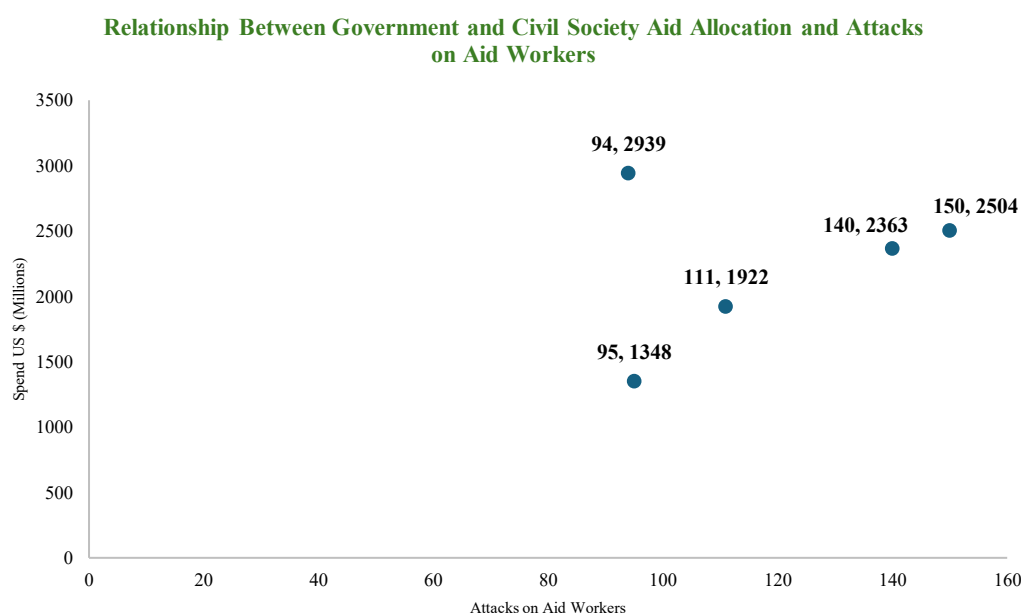

Percentage Change in Attack Incidents and Disbursements
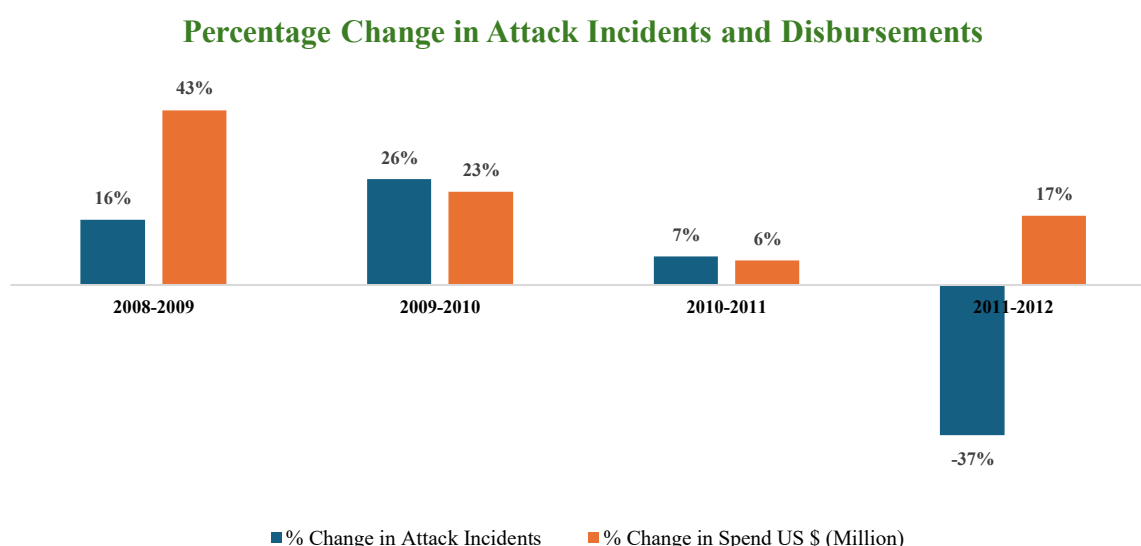
Graph 3A

Graph 3B examines the relationship between governance and civil society aid allocation and attack incidents on aid workers, revealing a complex and multifaceted dynamic. While higher spending levels are often associated with increased attack incidents, as seen with spending levels of $2,504 million and $2,363 million aligning with the highest attack numbers (150 and 140, respectively), this trend is not consistent. Notably, the highest spending level of $2,939 million corresponds to a lower number of attacks (94), suggesting that increased funding does not always translate into heightened risks.

The data also demonstrates that reduced spending does not necessarily mitigate risks. For instance, the lowest spending figure of $1,348 million is linked to 95 attacks, which is comparable to the number of incidents at much higher funding levels. Furthermore, mid-level spending between $1,922 million and $2,363 million corresponds with a relatively stable range of attack incidents (111 to 140), pointing to the influence of factors beyond financial allocation, such as the geographic distribution of aid and regional security conditions.

This analysis highlights the absence of a clear relationship between spending and attack trends. Instead, it underscores the role of external variables, such as insurgent strategies and operational focus, in shaping risks to aid workers. The nuanced nature of this relationship suggests that governance and civil society aid operates within a broader context, where spending alone cannot fully account for variations in attack dynamics.

Relationship Between Government and Civil Society Aid Allocation and Attacks on Aid Workers

Graph 3B

Graph 3C examines the relationship between percentage changes in governance and civil society aid commitments versus disbursements and attack incidents on aid workers, offering insights into the responsiveness of aid to attack trends. Consistent with previous findings, the graph reveals no clear correlation between the two variables. For instance, significant reductions in disbursement, such as a -67% change, align with one of the lowest recorded attack incidents (95), while smaller negative changes of -23% and -36% correspond to higher attack numbers (111 and 140, respectively). Similarly, the highest positive change in disbursement (+24%) corresponds with 94 attacks, suggesting that increased governance and civil society aid is not reactive to variations in attack incidents.

The highest recorded attack incidents (150) coincide with only a minor negative change in disbursement (-11%), further reinforcing the lack of proportionality between attack numbers and aid adjustments. These observations highlight the apparent independence of aid disbursement trends from attack levels, suggesting that governance and civil society aid operates on broader strategic imperatives rather than as a direct reaction to security risks.

Percentage Change in Aid Commitments vs. Disbursements and Attack Incidents on Aid Workers
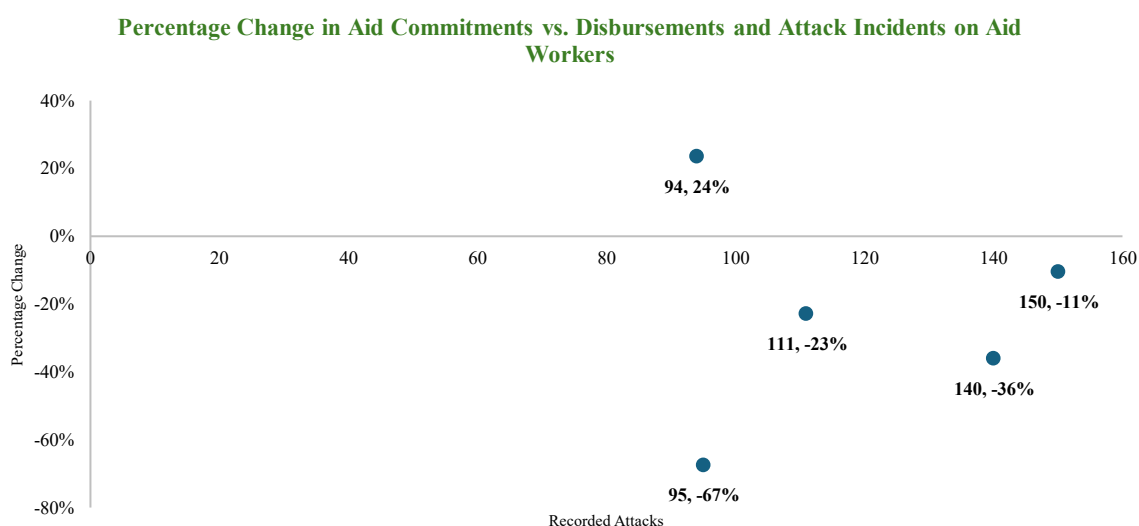
Graph 3C

Overall, the data suggests that governance and civil society aid spending does not appear to follow a predictable pattern in response to attacks on aid workers, nor do attack incidents seem to align consistently with changes in spending levels. While moments of alignment exist, such as simultaneous increases in spending and attacks in 2008–2009, these are fleeting, and the data quickly diverges, with spending increases and decreases having no clear impact on the frequency of attacks.

Instead, the data paints a picture of aid spending as operating within a broader, more strategic framework, seemingly detached from immediate security concerns. High spending levels, for instance, are not always met with elevated attack numbers, nor do reductions in spending consistently coincide with reduced risks. This suggests that aid allocation decisions are shaped by considerations beyond operational safety.

The data also raises questions about the broader dynamics influencing attacks on aid workers. The lack of a clear relationship between aid spending and attacks hints at the influence of external factors such as insurgent strategies, regional security dynamics, or the operational geography of aid programs. What emerges is not a straightforward story of cause and effect but a nuanced and multifaceted interaction.

Percentage Change in Aid Commitments vs. Disbursements and Attack Incidents on Aid Workers

Graph showing Spend US $ (Millions) on the y-axis (ranging from -60% to 30%) versus Attack Incidents (2008/12) on the x-axis (ranging from 0 to 160). Data points: 150, 17%; 94, -9%; 111, -15%; 140, -13%; 95, -53%.
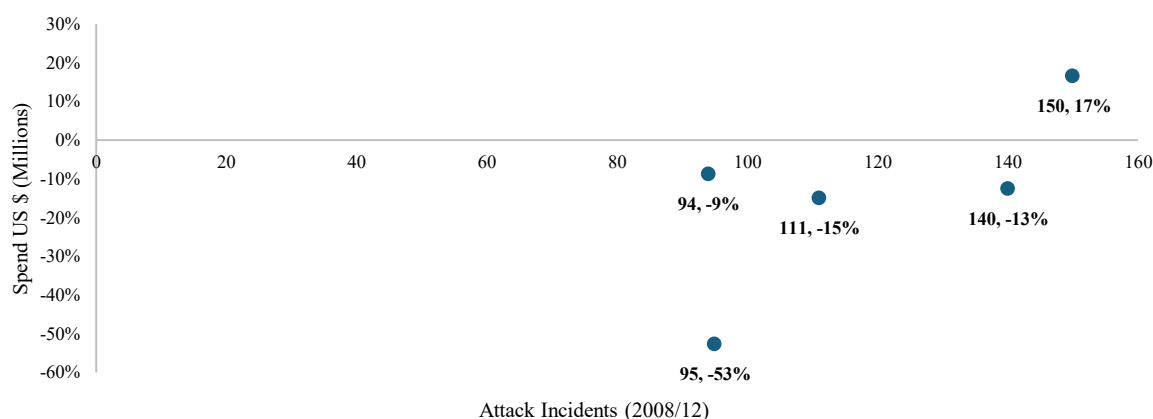
Graph 4C

The relationship between education aid and attacks on aid workers tells a story of complexity and contradiction. At first glance, moments of alignment—such as increases in both spending and attack incidents—suggest a connection between heightened funding and greater operational visibility. However, these patterns quickly unravel, as significant increases in spending often fail to produce proportional changes in attack numbers, and reductions in aid do not consistently correlate with fewer risks. The data resists simple explanations, revealing a landscape where spending decisions and attack dynamics intersect but are not wholly dependent on one another.

What emerges is a broader picture where education aid appears to operate within a web of external influences. High spending may elevate risks in some contexts, yet other factors, such as regional stability, insurgent strategies, or the geographic focus of aid programs, clearly play a decisive role. The nuances of disbursement trends, such as abrupt reductions or sustained increases, further complicate the narrative, leaving questions about whether these changes respond to perceived risks or reflect larger strategic goals.

Allocation by Donor

Table 5A outlines the top three donor countries across key aid sectors—Infrastructure, Health, Governance and Civil Society, and Education—between 2008 and 2012. The United States is the dominant contributor, providing a total of $16,407 million across these sectors, reflecting its strategic integration of aid within broader foreign policy and stabilisation efforts in Afghanistan. This aligns with its role as a leading member of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).

Four of the five countries listed among the top donors were active ISAF members, emphasising how development aid was intertwined with stabilisation and reconstruction goals. This demonstrates the securitisation of aid, where military and development objectives converged to address conflict-zone priorities. In contrast, Japan's contributions, reflecting its development-focused approach, align with its constitutional limits on military involvement and its emphasis on peacebuilding and human security initiatives. The varied priorities among donors highlight the interplay of geopolitical, developmental, and humanitarian goals in aid allocation during this period.

Top Donors							
Spend US $ (Million)							
Infrastructure		**Health**		**Governance & Civil Society**		**Education**	
United States	8030	United States	971	United States	6709	United States	697
United Kingdom	408	Germany	184	Germany	1088	Germany	270
Japan	365	Canada	157	United Kingdom	979	Japan	131

Table 5A

Discussion

The findings across all four sectors challenge the assumption that aid allocation in conflict zones directly reflects security conditions or consistently mitigates or exacerbates risks to aid workers. While certain years show a parallel increase or decrease in both aid spending and attack incidents, these moments of alignment are irregular and quickly give way to contrasting patterns. Notably, high levels of sector-specific spending sometimes coincide with the highest number of attacks, suggesting that aid visibility may heighten risks under certain circumstances. Yet there are also instances in which elevated spending does not trigger an uptick in attacks, and vice versa, indicating the strong influence of contextual or external variables—such as insurgent tactics or broader security conditions—on the vulnerability of aid workers.

Moreover, the year-on-year analysis of commitments versus disbursements does not reveal a pronounced sensitivity of donor behaviours to attack patterns. In some instances, disbursements continue to rise amid escalating attacks, whereas in others, they decline despite relatively stable or falling attack rates. The absence of a consistent correlation across all sectors points to an interplay of factors—political, strategic, and operational—that shape both donor decisions and insurgent responses. These results collectively underscore the complexity of delivering aid in highly volatile environments: there is no neat causal pathway by which attacks directly drive adjustments in donor allocations or by which spending naturally diminishes violence.

Finally, a cross-sector look at donor-specific allocations—particularly the dominance of the United States and other ISAF coalition members—reveals that aid flows remain largely guided by broader strategic or political imperatives. Countries with strong counterinsurgency interests and military engagement in Afghanistan tend to provide the bulk of the financing, suggesting that securitised objectives are deeply embedded in the overall development framework. Conversely, donors like Japan, with constitutional limitations on military involvement, offer comparatively smaller but more development-focused contributions.

These findings contribute fresh nuance to debates on the "securitisation" of aid[1,9,22]. Existing scholarship recognises that once aid becomes closely aligned with military and counterterrorism objectives, the

neutrality of aid workers can be eroded, increasing their exposure to violence[28,31]. Our study's results, however, suggest that the relationship between heightened security risks and fluctuations in aid allocation is not linear. Although the literature cautions that a larger aid footprint may draw insurgent attention[4,14], our data shows that insurgent tactics and geographic factors also contribute significantly to when, where, and how aid workers are targeted. In some years, elevated expenditures indeed appear to coincide with more attacks, but there are also periods where spending does not correlate strongly with violence.

This lack of a straightforward pattern aligns with arguments that caution against a one-dimensional interpretation of aid as merely a counterterrorism tool[29]. While scholars such as Azam and Thelen[19,20] and Aden[1] highlight the stabilising potential of well-targeted aid, our sector-specific analysis indicates that donor countries do not consistently scale back or increase funding in direct response to attack patterns. Echoing Keen[8] and Miller[26], the data suggests that donors may remain committed to long-term strategic or political goals, even as violence surges. Furthermore, the study supports the contention (Nunn & Qian, 2014) that governance weaknesses—in the form of corruption or poor accountability—may be more decisive in shaping aid outcomes than threats alone[21,23]. Indeed, our analysis finds little evidence of immediate programmatic responsiveness to spikes in violence, hinting that other diplomatic or political considerations take precedence over security imperatives.

Lastly, our findings reaffirm the idea that the effectiveness and safety of aid interventions rest on multiple, interlocking dimensions[5,6]. The operational realities in Afghanistan—heightened by insurgent strategies, local power structures, and the legacy of foreign involvement—underscore how sector-specific spending can become entangled in conflicts of perception and legitimacy. While the targeted sectors in this study are indeed vital to building resilience and offering alternatives to militancy, the risk environment is shaped by more than just how much money is spent[4,7]. As such, this study's emphasis on donors' strategic orientation and the non-linear risk patterns faced by aid workers lends empirical depth to ongoing scholarly debates on the securitisation of aid.

In sum, these findings suggest the need for a holistic approach to understanding the nexus between aid, security, and militant violence. While increased spending can, under certain conditions, make aid programs more visible (and therefore vulnerable), local political dynamics, historical grievances, and broader strategic pressures constitute the lens through which militant groups assess, target, and respond to aid operations. This layered complexity resonates with the wider literature that calls for nuanced, context-sensitive approaches to aid in conflict zones—approaches that do not assume security gains will automatically flow from higher aid expenditures, nor that neutrality alone can shield operations from violence.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: List of OECD-DAC Member Countries and Years Included in This Study[1].

List of DAC member Countries		Years Included		
Donor code	Donor name	2008/12	2010/12	2011/12
1	Austria	1		
2	Belgium	1		
3	Denmark	1		
4	France	1		
5	Germany	1		
6	Italy	1		
7	Netherlands	1		
8	Norway	1		
9	Portugal	1		
10	Sweden	1		
11	Switzerland	1		
12	United Kingdom	1		
18	Finland	1		
20	Iceland			1
21	Ireland	1		
22	Luxembourg	1		
40	Greece	1		
50	Spain	1		
61	Slovenia		1	
68	Czechia			1
69	Slovak Republic	N/A	N/A	N/A
75	Hungary	1		
76	Poland	N/A	N/A	N/A
82	Estonia	N/A	N/A	N/A
84	Lithuania	1		
301	Canada	1		
302	United States	1		
701	Japan	1		
742	Korea	1		
801	Australia	1		
820	New Zealand	1		

Appendix 2: List of OECD-DAC Recipient Characteristics in This Study[1].

Recipient Codes	
Recipient Code	625
Recipient Name	Afghanistan
ISO Code	AFG
Region	South & Central Asia
DAC Income Group	Least Developed Country
World Bank Income Group	WB-L
Land Locked	1
Fragile State	1

Appendix 3a: List of OECD-DAC Sector Codes with Descriptions - Infrastructure[1].

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	voluntary code	DESCRIPTION	Clarifications / Additional notes on coverage
160			**Other Social Infrastructure & Services**	
	16010		Social Protection	Social protection or social security strategies, legislation and administration; institution capacity building and advice; social security and other social schemes; support programmes, cash benefits, pensions and special programmes for older persons, orphans, persons with disabilities, children, mothers with newborns, those living in poverty, without jobs and other vulnerable groups; social dimensions of structural adjustment.
		16011	*Social protection and welfare services policy, planning and administration*	*Administration of overall social protection policies, plans, programmes and budgets including legislation, standards and statistics on social protection.*
		16012	*Social security (excl pensions)*	*Social protection shemes in the form of cash or in-kind benefits to people unable to work due to sickness or injury.*
		16013	*General pensions*	*Social protection schemes in the form of cash or in-kind benefits, including pensions, against the risks linked to old age.*
		16014	*Civil service pensions*	*Pension schemes for government personnel.*
		16015	*Social services (incl youth development and women+ children)*	*Social protection schemes in the form of cash or in-kind benefits to households with dependent children, including parental leave benefits.*
	16020		Employment creation	Employment policy and planning; institution capacity building and advice; employment creation and income generation programmes; including activities specifically designed for the needs of vulnerable groups.
	16030		Housing policy and administrative management	Housing sector policy, planning and programmes; excluding low-cost housing and slum clearance (16040).
	16040		Low-cost housing	Including slum clearance.
	16050		Multisector aid for basic social services	Basic social services are defined to include basic education, basic health, basic nutrition, population/reproductive health and basic drinking water supply and basic sanitation.
	16061		Culture and cultural diversity	Development-oriented social and cultural programmes: - Programmes to strengthen the cultural sector (cinema, music, dance, painting, literature, etc.) of developing countries; measures to promote or protect the diversity of cultural expressions. This includes support to cultural industries, construction and reparation of facilities; capacity building for artists and other persons working in the cultural sector; activities to support the production or the dissemination of artistic works of developing country nationals (e.g. artistic or musical events). - Preservation of tangible (artefacts, monuments, sites, museums) and intangible (arts, social practices, knowledge and skills, shared values, traditions, performances) cultural heritage that has a diversity of values including symbolic, historic, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, scientific and social significance. - Other development-oriented social and cultural programmes that contribute to promote inclusion and empowerment of nationals of developing countries. This includes the provision of materials (e.g. books, sport equipment), educational services (e.g. language courses), recreational facilities and equipment, as well as the organisation of tournaments and sporting events taking place in developing countries with participation of their nationals. Use code 99820 – promotion of development awareness for activities in the field of culture in the donor country that are designed to increase public support and awareness of development co-operation efforts in the donor country.

	Code	Name	Description
	16065	*Recreation and sport*	*Development-oriented social and cultural programmes that contribute to promote inclusion and empowerment of nationals of developing countries. This includes the provision of materials (e.g. books, sport equipment), educational services (e.g. language courses), recreational facilities and equipment, as well as the organisation of tournaments and sporting events taking place in developing countries with participation of their nationals.*
	16066	*Culture*	*Programmes to strengthen the cultural sector (cinema, music, dance, painting, literature, etc.) of developing countries; measures to promote or protect the diversity of cultural expressions. This includes support to cultural industries, construction and reparation of facilities; capacity-building for artists and other persons working in the cultural sector; activities to support the production or the dissemination of artistic works of developing country nationals (e.g. artistic or musical events). Preservation of tangible (artefacts, monuments, sites, museums) and intangible (arts, social practices, knowledge and skills, shared values, traditions, performances) cultural heritage that has a diversity of values including symbolic, historic, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, scientific and social significance. Use code 99820 – promotion of development awareness for activities in the field of culture in the donor country that are designed to increase public support and awareness of development co-operation efforts in the donor country.*
16062		Statistical capacity building	All statistical activities, such as data collection, processing, dissemination and analysis; support to development and management of official statistics including demographic, social, economic, environmental and multi-sectoral statistics; statistical quality frameworks; development of human and technological resources for statistics, investments in data innovation. Activities related to data and statistics in the sectors 120, 130 or 150 should preferably be coded under the voluntary purpose codes 12196, 13096 and 15196. Activities with the sole purpose of monitoring development co-operation activities, including if performed by third parties, should be coded under 91010 (Administrative costs).
16063		Narcotics control	In-country and customs controls including training of the police; educational programmes and awareness campaigns to restrict narcotics traffic and in-country distribution. ODA recording of narcotics control expenditures is limited to activities that focus on economic development and welfare including alternative development programmes and crop substitution (see 31165 and 43050). Activities by the donor country to interdict drug supplies destroy crops or train or finance military personnel in anti-narcotics activities are not reportable.
16064		Social mitigation of HIV/AIDS	Special programmes to address the consequences of HIV/AIDS, e.g. social, legal and economic assistance to people living with HIV/AIDS including food security and employment; support to vulnerable groups and children orphaned by HIV/AIDS; human rights of HIV/AIDS affected people.
16070		Labour rights	Advocacy for international labour standards, labour law, fundamental principles and rights at work (child labour, forced labour, non-discrimination in the workplace, freedom of association and collective bargaining); formalisation of informal work, occupational safety and health.
16080		Social dialogue	Capacity building and advice in support of social dialogue; support to social dialogue institutions, bodies and mechanisms; capacity building of workers' and employers' organisations.
210		**Transport & Storage**	
21010		Transport policy and administrative management	Transport sector policy, planning and programmes; aid to transport ministries; institution capacity building and advice; unspecified transport; activities that combine road, rail, water and/or air transport. Includes prevention of road accidents. Whenever possible, report transport of goods under the sector of the good being transported.
	21011	*Transport policy, planning and administration*	*Administration of affairs and services concerning transport systems.*

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Code	Name	Description
21012	Public transport services	Administration of affairs and services concerning public transport.
21013	Transport regulation	Supervision and regulation of users, operations, construction and maintenance of transport systems (registration, licensing, inspection of equipment, operator skills and training; safety standards, franchises, tariffs, levels of service, etc.).
21020	Road transport	Road infrastructure, road vehicles; passenger road transport, motor passenger cars.
21021	Feeder road construction	Construction or operation of feeder road transport systems and facilities.
21022	Feeder road maintenance	Maintenance of feeder road transport systems and facilities.
21023	National road construction	Construction or operation of national road transport systems and facilities.
21024	National road maintenance	Maintenance of national road transport systems and facilities.
21030	Rail transport	Rail infrastructure, rail equipment, locomotives, other rolling stock; including light rail (tram) and underground systems.
21040	Water transport	Harbours and docks, harbour guidance systems, ships and boats; river and other inland water transport, inland barges and vessels.
21050	Air transport	Airports, airport guidance systems, aeroplanes, aeroplane maintenance equipment.
21061	Storage	Whether or not related to transportation. Whenever possible, report storage projects under the sector of the resource being stored.
21081	Education and training in transport and storage	

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	DESCRIPTION	Clarifications / Additional notes on coverage
110		**Education**	
111		**Education, Level Unspecified**	**The codes in this category are to be used only when level of education is unspecified or unknown (e.g. training of primary school teachers should be coded under 11220).**
	11110	Education policy and administrative management	Education sector policy, planning and programmes; aid to education ministries, administration and management systems; institution capacity building and advice; school management and governance; curriculum and materials development; unspecified education activities.
	11120	Education facilities and training	Educational buildings, equipment, materials; subsidiary services to education (boarding facilities, staff housing); language training; colloquia, seminars, lectures, etc.
	11130	Teacher training	Teacher education (where the level of education is unspecified); in-service and pre-service training; materials development.
	11182	Educational research	Research and studies on education effectiveness, relevance and quality; systematic evaluation and monitoring.
112		**Basic Education**	
	11220	Primary education	Formal and non-formal primary education for children; all elementary and first cycle systematic instruction; provision of learning materials.
	11230	Basic life skills for adults	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for adults (adults' education); literacy and numeracy training. Excludes health education (12261) and activities related to prevention of noncommunicable diseases. (123xx).
	11231	Basic life skills for youth	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for young people.
	11232	Primary education equivalent for adults	Formal primary education for adults.
	11240	Early childhood education	Formal and non-formal pre-school education.
	11250	School feeding	Provision of meals or snacks at school; other uses of food for the achievement of educational outcomes including 'take-home' food rations provided as economic incentives to families (or foster families, or other childcare institutions) in return for a child's regular attendance at school; food provided to adults or youth who attend literacy or vocational training programmes; food for pre-school activities with an educational component. These activities may help reduce children's hunger during the school day if provision of food/meals contains bioavailable nutrients to address specific nutrition needs and have nutrition expected outcomes in school children, or if the rationale mainstream nutrition or expected outcome is nutrition-linked.
	11260	Lower secondary education	Second cycle systematic instruction at junior level.
113		**Secondary Education**	
	11320	Upper Secondary Education (modified and includes data from 11322)	Second cycle systematic instruction at senior levels.
	11330	Vocational training	Elementary vocational training and secondary level technical education; on-the job training; apprenticeships; including informal vocational training.
114		**Post-Secondary Education**	
	11420	Higher education	Degree and diploma programmes at universities, colleges and polytechnics; scholarships.
	11430	Advanced technical and managerial training	Professional-level vocational training programmes and in-service training.

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	DESCRIPTION	Clarifications / Additional notes on coverage
110		**Education**	
111		**Education, Level Unspecified**	**The codes in this category are to be used only when level of education is unspecified or unknown (e.g. training of primary school teachers should be coded under 11220).**
	11110	Education policy and administrative management	Education sector policy, planning and programmes; aid to education ministries, administration and management systems; institution capacity building and advice; school management and governance; curriculum and materials development; unspecified education activities.
	11120	Education facilities and training	Educational buildings, equipment, materials; subsidiary services to education (boarding facilities, staff housing); language training; colloquia, seminars, lectures, etc.
	11130	Teacher training	Teacher education (where the level of education is unspecified); in-service and pre-service training; materials development.
	11182	Educational research	Research and studies on education effectiveness, relevance and quality; systematic evaluation and monitoring.
112		**Basic Education**	
	11220	Primary education	Formal and non-formal primary education for children; all elementary and first cycle systematic instruction; provision of learning materials.
	11230	Basic life skills for adults	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for adults (adults' education); literacy and numeracy training. Excludes health education (12261) and activities related to prevention of noncommunicable diseases. (123xx).
	11231	Basic life skills for youth	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for young people.
	11232	Primary education equivalent for adults	Formal primary education for adults.
	11240	Early childhood education	Formal and non-formal pre-school education.
	11250	School feeding	Provision of meals or snacks at school; other uses of food for the achievement of educational outcomes including 'take-home' food rations provided as economic incentives to families (or foster families, or other childcare institutions) in return for a child's regular attendance at school; food provided to adults or youth who attend literacy or vocational training programmes; food for pre-school activities with an educational component. These activities may help reduce children's hunger during the school day if provision of food/meals contains bioavailable nutrients to address specific nutrition needs and have nutrition expected outcomes in school children, or if the rationale mainstream nutrition or expected outcome is nutrition-linked.
	11260	Lower secondary education	Second cycle systematic instruction at junior level.
113		**Secondary Education**	
	11320	Upper Secondary Education (modified and includes data from 11322)	Second cycle systematic instruction at senior levels.
	11330	Vocational training	Elementary vocational training and secondary level technical education; on-the job training; apprenticeships; including informal vocational training.
114		**Post-Secondary Education**	
	11420	Higher education	Degree and diploma programmes at universities, colleges and polytechnics; scholarships.
	11430	Advanced technical and managerial training	Professional-level vocational training programmes and in-service training.

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	DESCRIPTION	Clarifications / Additional notes on coverage
110		**Education**	
111		**Education, Level Unspecified**	**The codes in this category are to be used only when level of education is unspecified or unknown (e.g. training of primary school teachers should be coded under 11220).**
	11110	Education policy and administrative management	Education sector policy, planning and programmes; aid to education ministries, administration and management systems; institution capacity building and advice; school management and governance; curriculum and materials development; unspecified education activities.
	11120	Education facilities and training	Educational buildings, equipment, materials; subsidiary services to education (boarding facilities, staff housing); language training; colloquia, seminars, lectures, etc.
	11130	Teacher training	Teacher education (where the level of education is unspecified); in-service and pre-service training; materials development.
	11182	Educational research	Research and studies on education effectiveness, relevance and quality; systematic evaluation and monitoring.
112		**Basic Education**	
	11220	Primary education	Formal and non-formal primary education for children; all elementary and first cycle systematic instruction; provision of learning materials.
	11230	Basic life skills for adults	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for adults (adults' education); literacy and numeracy training. Excludes health education (12261) and activities related to prevention of noncommunicable diseases. (123xx).
	11231	Basic life skills for youth	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for young people.
	11232	Primary education equivalent for adults	Formal primary education for adults.
	11240	Early childhood education	Formal and non-formal pre-school education.
	11250	School feeding	Provision of meals or snacks at school; other uses of food for the achievement of educational outcomes including 'take-home' food rations provided as economic incentives to families (or foster families, or other childcare institutions) in return for a child's regular attendance at school; food provided to adults or youth who attend literacy or vocational training programmes; food for pre-school activities with an educational component. These activities may help reduce children's hunger during the school day if provision of food/meals contains bioavailable nutrients to address specific nutrition needs and have nutrition expected outcomes in school children, or if the rationale mainstream nutrition or expected outcome is nutrition-linked.
	11260	Lower secondary education	Second cycle systematic instruction at junior level.
113		**Secondary Education**	
	11320	Upper Secondary Education (modified and includes data from 11322)	Second cycle systematic instruction at senior levels.
	11330	Vocational training	Elementary vocational training and secondary level technical education; on-the job training; apprenticeships; including informal vocational training.
114		**Post-Secondary Education**	
	11420	Higher education	Degree and diploma programmes at universities, colleges and polytechnics; scholarships.
	11430	Advanced technical and managerial training	Professional-level vocational training programmes and in-service training.

Appendix 3c: List of OECD-DAC Sector Codes with Descriptions – Governance & Civil Society[1].

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	voluntary code	DESCRIPTION	Clarifications / Additional notes on coverage
150			Government & Civil Society	
151			Government & Civil Society-general	**N.B. Use code 51010 for general budget support.**
	15110		Public sector policy and administrative management	Institution-building assistance to strengthen core public sector management systems and capacities. This includes general public policy management, co-ordination, planning and reform; human resource management; organisational development; civil service reform; e-government; development planning, monitoring and evaluation; support to ministries involved in aid co-ordination; other ministries and government departments when sector cannot be specified. (Use specific sector codes for development of systems and capacities in sector ministries. For macro-economic policy use code 15125.)
		15121	*Foreign affairs*	*Administration of external affairs and services.*
		15122	*Diplomatic missions*	*Operation of diplomatic and consular missions stationed abroad or at offices of international organisations.*
		15123	*Administration of developing countries' foreign aid*	*Support to administration of developing countries' foreign aid (including triangular and south-south cooperation).*
		15124	*General personnel services*	*Administration and operation of the civil service including policies, procedures and regulations.*
		15126	*Other general public services*	*Maintenance and storage of government records and archives, operation of government-owned or occupied buildings, central motor vehicle pools, government-operated printing offices, centralised computer and data processing services, etc.*
		15127	*National monitoring and evaluation*	*Operation or support of institutions providing national monitoring and evaluation.*
		15143	*Meteorological services*	*Operation or support of institutions dealing with weather forecasting.*
		15144	*National standards development*	*Operation or support of institutions dealing with national standards development. (Use code 16062 for statistical capacity-building.)*
		15154	*Executive office*	*Administration, operation or support of executive office. Includes office of the chief executive at all levels of government (monarch, governor-general, president, prime minister, governor, mayor, etc.).*
		15196	*Government and civil society statistics and data*	*Collection, production, management and dissemination of statistics and data related to Government & Civil Society. Includes macroeconomic statistics, government finance, fiscal and public sector statistics, support to development of administrative data infrastructure, civil society surveys.*
	15111		Public finance management (PFM)	Fiscal policy and planning; support to ministries of finance; strengthening financial and managerial accountability; public expenditure management; improving financial management systems; budget drafting; inter-governmental fiscal relations, public audit, public debt. (Use code 15114 for domestic revenue mobilisation and code 33120 for customs).
		15117	*Budget planning*	*Operation of the budget office and planning as part of the budget process.*
		15118	*National audit*	*Operation of the accounting and audit services.*
		15119	*Debt and aid management*	*Management of public debt and foreign aid received (in the partner country). For reporting on debt reorganisation, use codes 600xx.*
	15112		Decentralisation and support to subnational government	Decentralisation processes (including political, administrative and fiscal dimensions); intergovernmental relations and federalism; strengthening departments of regional and local government, regional and local authorities and their national associations. (Use specific sector codes for decentralisation of sector management and services.)

	15128	*Local government finance*	Financial transfers to local government; support to institutions managing such transfers. (Use specific sector codes for sector-related transfers.)
	15129	*Other central transfers to institutions*	Transfers to non-sector-specific autonomous bodies or state-owned enterprises outside of local government finance; support to institutions managing such transfers. (Use specific sector codes for sector-related transfers.)
	15185	*Local government administration*	Decentralisation processes (including political, administrative and fiscal dimensions); intergovernmental relations and federalism; strengthening local authorities.
15113		Anti-corruption organisations and institutions	Specialised organisations, institutions and frameworks for the prevention of and combat against corruption, bribery, money-laundering and other aspects of organised crime, with or without law enforcement powers, e.g. anti-corruption commissions and monitoring bodies, special investigation services, institutions and initiatives of integrity and ethics oversight, specialised NGOs, other civil society and citizens' organisations directly concerned with corruption.
15114		Domestic revenue mobilisation	Support to domestic revenue mobilisation/tax policy, analysis and administration as well as non-tax public revenue, which includes work with ministries of finance, line ministries, revenue authorities or other local, regional or national public bodies. (Use code 16010 for social security and other social protection.)
	15116	*Tax collection*	Operation of the inland revenue authority.
	15155	*Tax policy and administration support*	
	15156	*Other non-tax revenue mobilisation*	Non-tax public revenue, which includes line ministries, revenue authorities or other local, regional or national public bodies.
15125		Public Procurement	Support to public procurement, including to create and evaluate legal frameworks; advice in establishing strategic orientation of public procurement policies and reforms; advice in designing public procurement systems and processes; support to public procurement institutions (including electronic procurement) as well as structures or initiatives to assess public procurement systems; and development of professional capacity of public procurement bodies and staff.
15130		Legal and judicial development	Support to institutions, systems and procedures of the justice sector, both formal and informal; support to ministries of justice, the interior and home affairs; judges and courts; legal drafting services; bar and lawyers associations; professional legal education; maintenance of law and order and public safety; border management; law enforcement agencies, police, prisons and their supervision; ombudsmen; alternative dispute resolution, arbitration and mediation; legal aid and counsel; traditional, indigenous and paralegal practices that fall outside the formal legal system. Measures that support the improvement of legal frameworks, constitutions, laws and regulations; legislative and constitutional drafting and review; legal reform; integration of formal and informal systems of law. Public legal education; dissemination of information on entitlements and remedies for injustice; awareness campaigns. (Use codes 152xx for activities that are primarily aimed at supporting security system reform or undertaken in connection with post-conflict and peace building activities. Use code 15190 for capacity building in border management related to migration.)
	15131	*Justice, law and order policy, planning and administration*	Judicial law and order sectors; policy development within ministries of justice or equivalents.
	15132	*Police*	Police affairs and services.
	15133	*Fire and rescue services*	Fire-prevention and fire-fighting affairs and services.
	15134	*Judicial affairs*	Civil and criminal law courts and the judicial system, including enforcement of fines and legal settlements imposed by the courts and operation of parole and probation systems.
	15135	*Ombudsman*	Independent service representing the interests of the public by investigating and addressing complaints of unfair treatment or maladministration.
	15136	*Immigration*	Immigration affairs and services, including alien registration, issuing work and travel documents to immigrants.

	15137	Prisons	
	15142	Macroeconomic policy	Support to macroeconomic stability, debt sustainability and structural reforms. Includes technical assistance for strategic formulation of policies, laws and regulation; capacity building to enhance public sector development; policy-based funding. For fiscal policy and domestic revenue mobilisation use codes 15111 and 15114.
	15150	Democratic participation and civil society	Support to the exercise of democracy and diverse forms of participation of citizens beyond elections (15151); direct democracy instruments such as referenda and citizens' initiatives; support to organisations to represent and advocate for their members, to monitor, engage and hold governments to account, and to help citizens learn to act in the public sphere; curricula and teaching for civic education at various levels. (This purpose code is restricted to activities targeting governance issues. When assistance to civil society is for non-governance purposes use other appropriate purpose codes.)
	15151	Elections	Electoral management bodies and processes, election observation, voters' education. (Use code 15230 when in the context of an international peacekeeping operation.)
	15152	Legislatures and political parties	Assistance to strengthen key functions of legislatures/ parliaments including subnational assemblies and councils (representation; oversight; legislation), such as improving the capacity of legislative bodies, improving legislatures' committees and administrative procedures,; research and information management systems; providing training programmes for legislators and support personnel. Assistance to political parties and strengthening of party systems.
	15153	Media and free flow of information	Activities that support free and uncensored flow of information on public issues; activities that increase the editorial and technical skills and the integrity of the print, broadcast and online media, e.g. training of journalists and information professionals. Use codes in sector 220 for provision of equipment and capital assistance to media.
	15160	Human rights	Measures to support specialised official human rights institutions and mechanisms at universal, regional, national and local levels in their statutory roles to promote and protect civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights as defined in international conventions and covenants; translation of international human rights commitments into national legislation; reporting and follow-up; human rights dialogue. Human rights defenders and human rights NGOs; human rights advocacy, activism, mobilisation; awareness raising and public human rights education. Human rights programming targeting specific groups, e.g. children, persons with disabilities, migrants, ethnic, religious, linguistic and sexual minorities, indigenous people and those suffering from caste discrimination, victims of trafficking, victims of torture. (Use code 15230 when in the context of a peacekeeping operation and code 15180 for ending violence against women and girls. Use code 15190 for human rights programming for refugees or migrants, including when they are victims of trafficking.Use code 16070 for Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, i.e. Child Labour, Forced Labour, Non-discrimination in employment and occupation, Freedom of Association and Collective Bargaining.)
	15170	Women's rights organisations and movements, and government institutions	Support for feminist, women-led and women's rights organisations and movements, and institutions (governmental and non-governmental) at all levels to enhance their effectiveness, influence and sustainability (activities and core-funding). These organisations exist to bring about transformative change for gender equality and/or the rights of women and girls in developing countries. Their activities include agenda-setting, advocacy, policy dialogue, capacity development, awareness raising and prevention, service provision, conflict-prevention and peacebuilding, research, organising, and alliance and network building

15180	Ending violence against women and girls	Support to programmes designed to prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls/gender-based violence. This encompasses a broad range of forms of physical, sexual and psychological violence including but not limited to intimate partner violence (domestic violence); sexual violence; female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C); child, early and forced marriage; acid throwing; honour killings; and trafficking of women and girls. Prevention activities may include efforts to empower women and girls; change attitudes, norms and behaviour; adopt and enact legal reforms; and strengthen implementation of laws and policies on ending violence against women and girls, including through strengthening institutional capacity. Interventions to respond to violence against women and girls/gender-based violence may include expanding access to services including legal assistance, psychosocial counselling and health care; training personnel to respond more effectively to the needs of survivors; and ensuring investigation, prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of violence.
15190	Facilitation of orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility	Assistance to developing countries that facilitates the orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people. This includes:• Capacity building in migration and mobility policy, analysis, planning and management. This includes support to facilitate safe and regular migration and address irregular migration, engagement with diaspora and programmes enhancing the development impact of remittances and/or their use for developmental projects in developing countries.• Measures to improve migrant labour recruitment systems in developing countries. • Capacity building for strategy and policy development as well as legal and judicial development (including border management) in developing countries. This includes support to address and reduce vulnerabilities in migration, and strengthen the transnational response to smuggling of migrants and preventing and combating trafficking in human beings.• Support to effective strategies to ensure international protection and the right to asylum.• Support to effective strategies to ensure access to justice and assistance for displaced persons.• Assistance to migrants for their safe, dignified, informed and voluntary return to their country of origin (covers only returns from another developing country; assistance to forced returns is excluded from ODA).• Assistance to migrants for their sustainable reintegration in their country of origin (use code 93010 for pre-departure assistance provided in donor countries in the context of voluntary returns). Activities that pursue first and foremost providers' interest are excluded from ODA. Activities addressing the root causes of forced displacement and irregular migration should not be coded here, but under their relevant sector of intervention. In addition, use code 15136 for support to countries' authorities for immigration affairs and services (optional), code 24050 for programmes aiming at reducing the sending costs of remittances, code 72010 for humanitarian aspects of assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) such as delivery of emergency services and humanitarian protection. Use code 93010 when expenditure is for the temporary sustenance of refugees in the donor country, including for their voluntary return and for their reintegration when support is provided in a donor country in connection with the return from that donor country (i.e. pre-departure assistance), or voluntary resettlement in a third developed country.

Appendix 3d: List of OECD-DAC Sector Codes with Descriptions - Education[1].

DAC 5 CODE	CRS CODE	DESCRIPTION	Clarifications / Additional notes on coverage
110		**Education**	
111		**Education, Level Unspecified**	**The codes in this category are to be used only when level of education is unspecified or unknown (e.g. training of primary school teachers should be coded under 11220).**
	11110	Education policy and administrative management	Education sector policy, planning and programmes; aid to education ministries, administration and management systems; institution capacity building and advice; school management and governance; curriculum and materials development; unspecified education activities.
	11120	Education facilities and training	Educational buildings, equipment, materials; subsidiary services to education (boarding facilities, staff housing); language training; colloquia, seminars, lectures, etc.
	11130	Teacher training	Teacher education (where the level of education is unspecified); in-service and pre-service training; materials development.
	11182	Educational research	Research and studies on education effectiveness, relevance and quality; systematic evaluation and monitoring.
112		**Basic Education**	
	11220	Primary education	Formal and non-formal primary education for children; all elementary and first cycle systematic instruction; provision of learning materials.
	11230	Basic life skills for adults	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for adults (adults' education); literacy and numeracy training. Excludes health education (12261) and activities related to prevention of noncommunicable diseases. (123xx).
	11231	Basic life skills for youth	Formal and non-formal education for basic life skills for young people.
	11232	Primary education equivalent for adults	Formal primary education for adults.
	11240	Early childhood education	Formal and non-formal pre-school education.
	11250	School feeding	Provision of meals or snacks at school; other uses of food for the achievement of educational outcomes including 'take-home' food rations provided as economic incentives to families (or foster families, or other childcare institutions) in return for a child's regular attendance at school; food provided to adults or youth who attend literacy or vocational training programmes; food for pre-school activities with an educational component. These activities may help reduce children's hunger during the school day if provision of food/meals contains bioavailable nutrients to address specific nutrition needs and have nutrition expected outcomes in school children, or if the rationale mainstream nutrition or expected outcome is nutrition-linked.
	11260	Lower secondary education	Second cycle systematic instruction at junior level.
113		**Secondary Education**	
	11320	Upper Secondary Education (modified and includes data from 11322)	Second cycle systematic instruction at senior levels.
	11330	Vocational training	Elementary vocational training and secondary level technical education; on-the job training; apprenticeships; including informal vocational training.
114		**Post-Secondary Education**	
	11420	Higher education	Degree and diploma programmes at universities, colleges and polytechnics; scholarships.
	11430	Advanced technical and managerial training	Professional-level vocational training programmes and in-service training.

Appendix Notes

1.
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. OECD Temporary Archive [Internet]. OECD.org. 2024 [cited 2024 Dec 26]. Available from: https://web-archive.oecd.org/temp/2024-06-19/57753-dacandcrscodelists.htm