

ODA IN GALICIA (SPAIN). THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FISHERIES SECTOR AND THE CULTURAL PRIORITY.

Spanish Official Development Assistance for Sustainable Fisheries. The case of Galicia (Spain) and the African Lusophonie

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1-Introduction

In the last few decades, the fishing sector in Spain has undergone deep restructuring due to the deficient management of limited fishing resources and the increasing limitations of access to international and developing countries fishing grounds [1, 2, 3]. In this context, the Spanish government has developed cooperation programs with the least developed countries (LDCs) in the fisheries sector, by working in collaboration with Spanish regional administrations, which have stronger fishing economies.

Spain is a country with high levels of political decentralisation, in which a no centralised public cooperation model has been developed [4-6]. In this framework, Galicia - a region with its own language, Galician, very similar to Portuguese - enjoys wide autonomy to design and direct its policy of development cooperation, and managing its own funds for this purpose. This regional policy is articulated through four-year master plans and annual plans, which are drawn up in accordance with the general guidelines established at a state level to comply with the Master Plan for Spanish Cooperation.

This paper examines the motivations, priorities and funding of Spanish and Galician Official Development Assistance (ODA), with a specific focus on the sustainable development of fishing in Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOP), with special attention paid to Cape Verde and Mozambique, both priority countries for Galician cooperation programs and with Portuguese as the official language. Specifically, the research questions are as follows: (i) What are the fundamental framework components of Spanish and Galician ODA; and (ii) Is there a clear link between the priorities of the Galician cooperation policy and the flow of ODA allocated to PALOP? Our hypothesis is that Galicia tries to take advantage of its strengths and comparative advantages in certain strategic sectors, such as fishing, to improve the results of its ODA in PALOP and to strengthen the cultural and linguistic proximity to the Lusophony, formed by those countries or regions culturally and linguistically linked to Portugal, most of which are former colonies.

A detailed study of the documentation related to the Spanish and Galician ODA was carried out, supplemented with analysis of the investments and projects in the fishing sector. Finally, semi-structured interviews were carried out with those responsible for the design of the cooperation strategy at regional and local levels in Galicia. This manuscript begins by reviewing the academic literature and institutional reports. Next, the case study is presented, and is followed by a critical discussion. It is argued that it is possible to determine a pattern of Galician ODA being directed according to cultural, geographical and sectoral priorities, and a temporary steadiness of the aid allocated to fishing, due to the relevant role of fishing in Galicia and its expertise in the sector.

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62 ~~Nevertheless, there are no evaluations that can quantify the impact, the limited~~
63 ~~amount of aid from Galician ODA, and the small volume of financial resources~~
64 ~~allocated to the PALOP, raises doubts about the objective of strengthening cultural and~~
65 ~~linguistic ties with the Lusophony through the aid destined for the fishing sector.~~
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69 ODA. Nevertheless, the small volume of financial resources allocated to the PALOP,
70 raises doubts about the objective of strengthening cultural and linguistic ties with the
71 Lusophony through the aid destined for the fishing sector.
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74 ***2-Materials and methods***

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76 A mixed methods research approach was applied - quantitative and qualitative - based,
77 firstly, on a documentary analysis made from a series of sources such as scientific
78 literature, legal texts, documents produced by the Spanish government and Galician
79 government (Xunta de Galicia). These documents included master plans, evaluation
80 and implementation reports, descriptive documentation of projects and information
81 on web pages that have been included in the bibliography section. Spanish ODA data
82 was collected from the Spanish Cooperation website available at
83 www.cooperacion.espanola.es. For the calculation of the Xunta de Galicia ODA, two
84 sources of data were used: the data reported annually by the Galician regional
85 government to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, available at the
86 website infoaod.maec.es for public consultation; and the data published by the
87 General Directorate of External relations and the European Union in the Galician
88 Cooperation Annual Reports. Specifically, we refer to the Annual Plans of the Galician
89 Cooperation for Development from 2006 to 2018, and to the Intermediate and Final
90 Evaluation Reports of the I, II and III Master Plan of the Galician Cooperation, available
91 at <https://cooperacion.xunta.gal>. The fishing data is exclusively related to standard
92 grants reported by Xunta de Galicia according to DAC-OECD CRS code. It is necessary to
93 point out that regional governments in Spain are not allowed to set up debt
94 instruments to finance ODA operations.
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101 Secondly, semi-structured interviews were carried out with experts on official
102 development cooperation, and representatives of civil society through which this aid is
103 forwarded to the least developed countries. Actors with great experience and
104 knowledge of the characteristics of the Galician ODA were selected and divided into
105 three categories, taking into account the need to understand different perspectives:
106 the regional administration perspective; the point of view of NGOs as fundamental
107 agents in the allocation of the Galician ODA; and finally, the opinion of the
108 organization that manages the aid from the Galician local administrations for
109 development cooperation. Three interviews were then carried out with: a person
110 responsible for drafting the master plans for development cooperation in Galicia,
111 drawn up for the General Directorate of External Relations and the European Union; a
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121 representative of the Galician Coordinating platform of Non-governmental
122 development organizations that comprises the majority of NGOs that work in Galicia as
123 cooperation agents; and finally, an independent expert of the Galician Council for
124 Cooperation and Solidarity, formed by government and administrative bodies of the
125 Galician provinces and municipalities. The questions were structured in two large
126 blocks: the first one related to the Galician ODA in the Spanish framework, with the
127 intention of analysing the selection criteria of priority countries, the evolution of the
128 cooperation plans, the capacities and specialisation of the associative fabric in the field
129 of cooperation, and the coordination of aid with other regions as well as the Spanish
130 state. The second block relates to Galician ODA for the fishing sector in a broad sense,
131 including actions related to fishing, aquaculture, and the processing and conservation
132 of fishery and aquaculture products, and the influence of these actions in the
133 reinforcement of the bonds with the Lusophone recipient countries. The analysis of the
134 guidelines, investments and projects and the interviews with the public actors make it
135 possible to examine the characteristics of the Spanish and Galician ODA, and to
136 evaluate their priorities.
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143 *3-The evolution of donors, channels and content of ODA: conditionality and search* 144 *for returns* 145

146 Official Development Assistance (ODA) is one of the cooperation tools most commonly
147 used by states to contribute to the alleviation of poverty in the countries of the South.
148 The resolution of the UN Millennium Declaration [7] recognises in article 15 the
149 importance of this assistance for the reduction of poverty, making special mention of
150 Africa in article 28. Both articles call for generosity to increase ODA, a goal reinforced
151 in the 2005 Paris Declaration [8], which also included the need to increase the
152 effectiveness of this aid. However, as Gulrajani states [9] not only has it decreased in
153 recent years, but it has lost support due to the economic crisis, austerity measures,
154 and the fight against internal poverty in many countries of the North. Jakupec [10]
155 reflects on the implications that this new populism imposes on the cooperation agenda
156 of many countries, pressuring them to prioritise internal needs as opposed to ODA.
157 **During the economic crisis in Spain, ODA was considerably reduced, and went from €**
158 **4,495.83 million in 2010 to € 1,414.57 million in 2014. In Galicia, the evolution was**
159 **similar and funding decreased by 60% in the same period [5, 6]. However,** Jakupec [10]
160 points out that in this populist context there is a need to demonstrate the benefits
161 generated by this aid to the donor country.
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168 Donors, channels and content of the development aid have evolved since the
169 definition of ODA was established in 1972. This aid has always been open to debate
170 [11] and a large part of the criticism has been related to how contributions made by
171 donor countries are measured. Although the amount of aid is important in its
172 effectiveness, the way in which it is distributed is also important, as is the
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180 management carried out by the recipient countries. Blasiak and Wabnitz [12], in the
181 specific case of fishing, note that "increases in ODA grant volumes are certainly not
182 guarantees of improved fisheries outcomes" (p.90), so that the selective nature of the
183 investment that promotes sustainable development is more interesting. Minasyan,
184 Nunnenkamp and Richert [13] have gone a step further and examined whether the
185 effectiveness of aid depends on the quality of donor policies. The results of their work
186 confirm this hypothesis and, in addition, point out that aid from altruistic donors is
187 more effective than that of countries known as *selfish*, according to the terminology
188 used by Berthélemy [14], especially in small recipient countries.

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193 Rahman and Giessen [15] reflect on the idea, widely debated in academic texts, of
194 whether development aid serves the interests of donors more than those of the
195 recipient countries. The former are the ones who determine the recipients and the
196 objective of the aid, therefore their decisions, far from being neutral, can be fully
197 intentional. Over the past few decades, international agreements like the Paris
198 Declaration on Aid Effectiveness have been working to change this recognized
199 problem, so that recipient countries are also involved in determining the objectives of
200 development assistance (i.e. "co-design"). Even so, there are often interests behind
201 development aid which are not clearly revealed in the analyses carried out on this type
202 of aid. In this sense, agencies like *International Alert* point out the risk of reinforcing
203 the linkage of the ODA with issues related to the security of the countries¹. An example
204 of the interests that exist behind aid is given in a study by Dijkstra [16] or Singh [17],
205 among others, who analyse the increase in the pressure of conditionality with the
206 objective of forcing a neoliberal agenda in recipient countries, including political
207 reforms, as well as others of a micro and macroeconomic nature [17]. For Jakupec [10]
208 the cornerstone of conditionality in foreign aid would be in the "Structural adjustment
209 programs, austerity measures and a blind acceptance of market fundamentalism" (p.
210 46). Rahman and Giessen [15] in their study on development aid in the forestry sector
211 in Bangladesh, focus on identifying the informal (not explicit) interests of aid, which
212 they associate with political, economic or other strategic factors for the donor country.
213 Public cooperation policies also face the debate about the timeliness of decentralised
214 cooperation models [18-21] that in the case of Spain, **as well as in the case of Galicia,**
215 **analysed here,** are related to questioning the territorial model of the State. New voices
216 favour the re-centralisation of aid by moving away from decentralised cooperation
217 policies [4]. The Spanish autonomous communities have their own contribution,
218 coordinated by the central government, directed to a greater or lesser extent towards
219 their economic and cultural strategies. **In the case of Galicia, most of the cooperation**
220 **funds are managed by NGOs, and some public institutions, such as the university or**
221 **research centers, have allocated funds, in this case towards fishing. "In Galicia, the**
222 **existence of a public cooperation policy guarantees, first, the maintenance, by**
223 **public administrations, of a regulatory framework, an institutional structure, a**
224 **budget and a strategic vision, which are an expression of the maturity of Galician**
225 **society and its institutions (...). Also, this policy has allowed the network of social**
226 **organisations specialising in cooperation in Galicia to remain active, which was**
227 **greatly weakened during the economic crisis."**(XLP, interview 02/05/18).

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233 ¹ (<http://www.international-alert.org/>), in a post of October 2014 (access on 27/2/18)
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239 The products derived from fishing represent an increasingly interesting market due to
240 their growing consumption in the most developed countries. The territorialisation of
241 the sea, and the power and high mobility of increasingly globalised fleets [22] means
242 that access to the Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) of some countries rich in fish
243 resources, especially in the south, can be negotiated with foreign countries, and
244 development assistance can be used as an instrument to help secure this access. The
245 strong pressure exerted on marine populations adds to the risks associated with
246 climate change [12], increasing the vulnerability of maritime ecosystems and the
247 communities that live from them, especially the most fragile ones. Africa has become a
248 continent where there is competition between the different fishing powers to access
249 the EEZs, with West Africa providing substantial catches to Europe-[23]. Authors such
250 as Asiedu et al. [24] warn that in many sub-Saharan African countries the dominant,
251 small-scale fishing activity is related to poor, vulnerable populations with marginal
252 returns. ~~In absolute terms this means that they receive limited attention, both in terms
253 of development aid and public policies are ignored and paid very little attention, both
254 from the point of view of development aid, as well as public policies or academia,~~
255 despite the fact that this sector generates a substantial part of the food supply and
256 employment for many local communities. Sowman and Cardoso [25] in the case of
257 Angola, denounce the existing pressures for fishing products to play a more active role
258 in international trade, putting food security at risk in their own country.

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266 In a more general way Blasiak and Wabnitz [12] analyze the fall of 30.6% between
267 2010 and 2015 of the ODA aimed at fishing activities, on the one hand, and the funds
268 destined for climate change, on the other, despite its effects on fishing and on the
269 coastal populations that live off this activity. This internal redistribution of aid,
270 according to Blasiak and Wabnitz [12] may be related to the risk aversion of donors,
271 the redirection of aid to other sectors and, finally, due to political, strategic or
272 humanitarian interests. Despite the fall of ODA in relation to the fishing sector, in the
273 specific case of Galicia, the focus of the aid has been on this sector as is evident from
274 both official documents of the Government of Galicia, as well as ODA statistics [26, 27].
275 All this in spite of the action guidelines of some of the largest NGOs that manage
276 Galician funds, which function as subsidiaries that follow the general strategies of their
277 parent organizations [28].
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282 **4- Decentralised ODA in Spain. The specific case of Galicia**

283 **4.1. The framework**

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286 Galicia is one of the 17 autonomous regions that make up the political map of Spain.
287 The decentralisation of the State is based on the 1978 Constitution and was followed
288 by the approval of the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia in 1981. Official Development
289 Cooperation in Spain is characterised by its decentralisation, since it is a cooperation
290 developed by a wide variety of public actors, such as Autonomous Regions and Local
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Entities [4]. Most of its budgetary resources are channelled through Non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs), with an average of 80% of the total net paid aid managed through NGDOs at regional and local scales. The coordination and collaboration between Public Administrations (State, Autonomous Regions and local) is done through the Inter-territorial Commission of Cooperation for Development and is promoted through initiatives such as the Portugalete Agenda of 2012.

In Galicia, the policy of cooperation for development has its most outstanding precedents in the First Framework Agreement signed between the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECID) and the Galician government (Xunta de Galicia) in 1992. Subsequently, with the approval of Law 3/2003, of 19th June, the foundations of the policy of cooperation at regional level were established, and currently the General Directorate of Foreign Affairs and the European Union administer 90% of Galician ODA. In recent years, legislative reforms have been carried out to limit the powers of the regions, and so the legislative reform of the Spanish foreign action of 2014 requires prior authorisation by the Central Government for the establishment of memorandums of understanding between regional governments and foreign governments at state or regional level. In this way, the Xunta de Galicia lacks the capacity and competences to establish development agreements beyond local or regional level with its partners. Most of the development aid is distributed through civil society organisations, mostly NGDOs, but also universities, companies and business organisations, unions, Galician communities abroad, and other social agents. The distribution is made through public calls for aid and other cooperation instruments such as direct co-financing agreements.



Figure 1. Galicia and the PALOP countries.

The Galician Foreign Action Strategy post-2020 (AGAEX) [29] states that Development Cooperation, included in the broader umbrella of Foreign Action, while needing to be consistent with the latter, it must also enjoy a "singular autonomy" [36, p. 123]. There is therefore a desire for independence with respect to the external regional strategy of evident economic and cultural characteristics. However, in the process of trying to explain the purpose of the aid, a clear confluence of interests from other instruments of external action is perceived. So, for example, it is said that cooperation "**will specialise its aid in the sectors in which it has added value or comparative advantages to strengthen its sectoral specialisation**" [29, p. 130]²

4.2. The geographical priority

The selection of priority countries for Galician cooperation takes into account several criteria. First, preference is given to countries with low rates of human development and especially those with which cultural ties exist. Second, since ODA is mainly channeled through NGOs, special consideration is given to those countries where this

² In bold in the original

type of organisation has a greater presence and capacity. Third, priority countries are those with immigrants in Galicia. Finally, special consideration is also given to those countries interested in interventions in the sectors in which Galicia has comparative advantages, including fisheries and aquaculture. [30].

Between 2010 and 2016, Spanish government ODA was mainly channelled as multilateral aid, based on contributions to the EU or the **United Nations Development Programme** (UNDP). This aid is shown as not specified in Table 1. Galician government ODA is exclusively bilateral. In the case of bilateral aid, Spain and Galicia coincide in their focus on Latin American middle-income countries. However, more Galician government ODA is allocated to sub-Saharan African countries than Spanish ODA (Table 1), in particular for PALOP.

Geographical area	% of Total Galician ODA	% of Total Spanish ODA
North and Central America, and Caribbean	50.03	18.3
South America	28.08	4.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	17.04	9.9
Northern Africa	2.29	2.9
Middle East	1.97	2.6
Southern Asia	0.21	0.4
Europe	0.07	0.6
DC, NS*	0.31	60.4
Total	100.00	100.00

*DC, NS (developing country, not specified)

Table 1. Distribution of Net ODA in Galicia and Spain by Geographical area (2010-2017). Source: Own work from infoaod.maec.es

In the 1st Galician Cooperation Master Plan of 2006-2009, there were 17 priority countries, of which 7 were in Africa: Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia and Senegal [31]. In the 2nd Master Plan of 2010-2013 [32] there was a concentration of aid to incorporate the principles of effectiveness recommended in the Paris Declaration (2005), the Accra Agenda for Action (2008), and in the European Consensus on Development (2005). This concentration was accentuated in the 3rd Plan (2014-2017) where the number of priority countries in Africa was reduced to two, Cape Verde and Mozambique [30]. Cape Verde, which has ceased to be a priority country for Spanish ODA, deserves special mention, as it has become a "new generation" partner country given its current status as a middle-income country. However, it continues to be a priority for Galicia mainly because of the importance of the Cape Verdean community which has settled in the north of the region since 1978 as a workforce for the fishing sector [33]. Moreover, **"it is an important logistics and operational platform for the Galician fleet"**³ [29, p. 91], which

³ In bold in the original

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475 brings us closer to sectoral priorities. In the 4th Master Plan for Galician Cooperation
476 (2018-2021) the focus on the PALOP is restored with the reincorporation of Guinea
477 Bissau as a priority country [34].
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482 4.3. *The cultural priority*

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484 Culture appears explicitly and implicitly in all official documents of Galician foreign
485 action. The 3rd Master Plan 2014-2017 indicates that the selection of priority countries
486 does not imply the exclusion of proposals from other countries, especially those that
487 make up the Lusophony. The Galician person responsible for the Department of
488 Foreign Relations adds that Galicia represents a natural setting between the
489 Portuguese and Hispanic cultures [35]. In this sense, the AGAEX document [31]
490 considers the Lusophone world as a great opportunity and a priority for Galician
491 foreign action focusing on the great potential they have, especially with regards to
492 fishing. This strategic vision is linked to the fact that the Galician language is an official
493 language, and is closely linked to Portuguese. Since 1981, Galician is the co-official
494 language of Galicia, along with Spanish. Of Romanesque origin, it was the same
495 language as Portuguese until the fourteenth century, when its separation began to be
496 consolidated in two different, although very close modern languages [36]. There is a
497 clear awareness in Galicia of the cultural proximity of both languages and of the
498 comparative advantages that the co-officiality of Galician and Spanish represents for
499 Galicia [37]. **In spite of the controversy generated around the opportunity to**
500 **reintegrate Galician into Portuguese, and the increasingly accelerated loss of Galician**
501 **speakers, in Galicia there is an approach to the cultural and economic world of**
502 **Portuguese speaking, favored especially by strategic sectors such as fishing.** A
503 significant example of this was the approval in the parliament of Galicia of Law 1/2014
504 "For the use of the Portuguese language and links with the Lusophony" also called Lei
505 Paz Andrade⁴.
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515 4.4. *The sectoral priority*

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517 Galicia is one of the regions of the European Union where the fishing economy is of
518 great importance [26, 27, 38]. The fishing and marine aquaculture sectors generated
519 663 million Euro in 2010, which represented around 1.29% of the Galician economy's
520 GDP. The 20,220 full-time equivalent (FTE) jobs represent around 1.95% of Galicia's
521 total employment [1]. In terms of productive specialisation and employment with
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525 ⁴ The name of Paz Andrade refers to a talented man of culture, politics and economy of Galicia, who
526 died in 1987. Throughout his life he was closely linked to the world of fishing in his institutional
527 and business roles, having been a founder of the company *Pescanova*, and director of the influential
528 magazine *Industrias Pesqueras (Fishing Industries)*.
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respect to Europe and Spain, the fishing sector in Galicia stands out [26, 27, 39, 40]. For example, in 2015 the aquaculture and fisheries sector and canning industry provided 335,676 jobs (EU-27), 57,157 (Spain), and 41,200 (Galicia) [27, p. 132].

Galician ODA has assumed, by virtue of the principles of coordination and complementarity, the strategic orientations of Spanish cooperation. In addition, although the volume of aid is small and largely managed by NGOs with a small regional foothold, an effort has been made to adapt the regional contribution to its specialisation tendencies. For this reason, a large part of the cooperation initiatives has followed a line of work focused on territorial development, as well as on agriculture, fisheries and aquaculture as specialisation sectors, intervening in rural territories where these sectors constitute the basis of the economy. Between 2010 and 2017, almost half of the Galician ODA was distributed sectorally, and 15.48% was destined to productive sectors, (Table 2), including the fishing sector.

CRS Code	Total amount €	% of Total Galician ODA
I. Sectorally distributed aid	26,776,195.11	48.95
100. Social infrastructure and services	15,857,288.05	28.99
200. Economic infrastructure and Services	173,544.00	0.31
300. Productive sectors	8,468,495.75	15.48
400. Multisectoral	2,276,867.31	4.17
II. Sectorally non-distributed aid	27,921,595.91	51.05
Total gross bilateral ODA (= I + II)	54,697,791.02	100.00

Table 2. Net Galician ODA 2010-2017 by sector. Source: Own work from infoaad.maec.es

From the first Master Plan, the Galician experience in sectors such as fishing or agro-industry constitutes an important added value in the cooperation actions. Between 2010-2016, the Galician government was the second largest donor in the fishing sector in Spain, behind the AECID, excluding the financial cooperation of the Spanish Ministry of Economy. Galician ODA is characterised by supporting the public sector of the recipient countries in research initiatives, access to technology, agricultural extension and dissemination services and fisheries training, to improve the productive performance of these sectors under the lens of sustainability. Additionally, another line of work has been developed aimed at promoting gender equality through the promotion of women's associations for activities related to fishing with the aim of strengthening the organisations in which they are integrated [41]. To develop these two lines of work the Galician administration has relied on, in addition to the NGOs, the collaboration of technology and research centres, and with research groups and departments of the Galician universities that have carried out transfer and exchange of knowledge and technologies. At the same time, the department of the Galician Administration responsible for fisheries has carried out direct cooperation actions in countries with which there is a solid history of work in fisheries cooperation.

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595 Therefore, since the beginning of Galician foreign action, and in the successive master
596 plans for cooperation (2006-2009, 2010-2013 and 2014-2017), there has been a
597 progressive concentration of ODA, both geographical and sectoral, reducing the
598 number of priority countries, and influencing the productive sectors in which Galicia
599 has comparative advantages, including fishing and aquaculture, with the aim of
600 correcting the chronic dispersion of funds [42]. In this way it has gone from 17 priority
601 countries in the 1st Plan to 9 countries in the 3rd Plan. The 4th Plan (2018-2021),
602 which is currently being prepared, continues this trend, and the Galician Foreign Action
603 Strategy (AGAEX) maintains that same geographical, cultural and sectoral
604 specialisation [29, 34].
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611 ***5- Galician fishing ODA: a unique case in the Spanish context***

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613 Between 2000 and 2009 Spanish ODA tripled, but since then there has been a change
614 in trend due to the economic crisis, resulting in a 68% cut in aid between 2010 and
615 2014 [5]. In the case of Galicia, the evolution was similar: aid went from 2.6 million
616 Euro in 2000 to 12.2 million in 2009 (0.1% of the total budget of the Galician
617 government), when there was an inflection point, and aid decreased by 60% between
618 2010 and 2014, down to a total of 4.2 million Euro at the end of this period.
619 Consequently, between 2010 and 2016, Galician ODA represented on average a
620 marginal 0.28% of Spain's total ODA [41]. The widespread budget cuts caused a
621 financing deficit in the cooperation system for the whole of Spain, a consequence of
622 the low commitment of political parties, regional and local governments, and even the
623 public, when it came to global solidarity [43, 44]. The economic crisis increased the
624 share of the state administration in the total ODA, reducing the regional share, as well
625 as that of provinces and local institutions. Also cooperation agents, fundamentally
626 NGOs have been weakened due to their high dependence on public resources, which
627 have been reduced since the crisis.
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633 Although Galician and Spanish ODA are coordinated, some characteristics distinguish
634 Galician ODA, for instance its allocation solely through bilateral agreements. Other
635 differentiating elements of Galician ODA are: (1) enhancement of the economic and
636 productive fabric of the region, and the use of its endogenous public and private
637 capacities thanks to clusters of companies, universities and specialised research
638 centres in the fishing and aquaculture sectors; (2) the significant share of aid allocated
639 to productive sectors, which accounted for 15,48% of the total net ODA paid by Xunta
640 de Galicia between 2010 and 2017 (Table 2), especially towards agriculture and
641 fisheries; (3) resorting to more agreements and technical cooperation in the fisheries
642 sector than for other sectors, which has led to a lower percentage of resources
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channelled through NGOs and a greater presence of companies, entities linked to the Galician government, Universities, and the Xunta de Galicia through the *Consellería do Mar* (Department for the Sea). In this way, the resources of the Galician Fishing ODA managed by NGOs between 2010 and 2013 were 44.5%, compared to 72% for the general average of Galician total ODA. This percentage was reduced to 34.5% for the 2014-2017 period, compared to 70% for the general average of Galician total ODA. As one of the experts interviewed says: "*The commitment of Galicia's cooperation to the fishing sector seems coherent with the regional capacities in the sector, its relevance as a factor of economic growth, creation of employment, promotion of Research, Development and Innovation, business internationalisation and global competitiveness (...). It originates from the belief that the Xunta de Galicia can carry out a specialised intervention with guaranteed impact and based on an ecosystem of public actors and private agents with differentiated capacities in this field*"(XLP, interview 02/05/18)

According to the available data, Galicia leads fishing ODA in Spain. While fishing only represented 0.12% of total Spanish ODA between 2010 and 2017, in Galicia it peaks at 10.91% of its total ODA. Furthermore, Galicia fishing ODA, which was €54,697,791.02 between 2010 and 2017, accounts for a remarkable 19.47% of Spain's total fishing ODA, and for 65.68% of Spanish Regional Governments total fishing ODA. The total Fishing ODA of the Xunta de Galicia in the period between 2010 and 2017 amounted to €4.3 million, of which 12%, around €518,000, was allocated to Portuguese-speaking countries, specifically to Mozambique, which received a large part of the aid (Table 3). By country, Xunta de Galicia fishing grants in Cape Verde represent 21.54% of Spain's total fishing ODA. In Mozambique, this percentage increases to 61.02%. Finally, in Sao Tome and Principe, Xunta de Galicia fishing ODA only reaches a discrete 4.81%. Despite the reduction overall in the ODA, and ODA in fisheries in particular (Table 3) in the period 2014-2017, investments in fisheries were strengthened, which increased their relative weight in relation to the period 2010-2013, and the fishing specialisation of the Galician ODA in the context of Spain.

CRS	Country	Year	Total Grant	Leading entity
31320	Mozambique	2012	41,000.00	CETMAR
313	Mozambique	2014	121,000.00	CETMAR
31310; 31320	Mozambique	2015	120,265.90	CETMAR
313	Mozambique	2014	22,060.28	CETMAR
313	Sao Tome and Principe	2015	22,060.00	CETMAR
31310; 31320; 31381; 31382	Mozambique	2016	100,000.00	CETMAR
31310; 31320; 31381	Mozambique	2017	91,726.61	CETMAR
11420; 31382	Cape Verde	2015	174,992.00	University of Vigo (Sea Campus)

11420 (Higher education)	Cape Verde	2012	171,700.00	University of Vigo (Sea Campus)
Total by PALOP country (€)				
				Total Grant
Mozambique				496,052.79
Sao Tome				22,060.00
Cape Verde				346,692
Total				864,804.79
313: Fishing (31310: Fishing policy and administrative management; 31320: Fishery development; 31381: Fishery education/training; 31382: Fishery research)				

Table 3. Net Fishing ODA paid by Xunta de Galicia in the PALOP (2010-2017). Source: Annual Report. General Directorate of External Relationships with the EU, Xunta de Galicia, 2010-2017.

6- Discussion and Conclusions

In Spain, the official development cooperation has a decentralised character, as it is carried out by the state administration, and by different autonomous regions and local administrations. Galicia has developed a series of cooperation mechanisms for development that allows for active, *modest moderate*, and differentiated. Galician ODA demonstrates the desire to project the interests of the region beyond its borders, seeking coordination with Spanish and European guidelines in the field, while remaining slightly separate, focusing on two lines: strengthening performance of relevant sectors in the Lusophone countries due to their cultural and linguistic proximity; and concentrating on sectors related to fisheries, aquaculture and rural development [28].

Although the connection with Portuguese-speaking countries is a reference in the foreign activity framework of the Galician government [29] and in the official development cooperation of the region [30-32, 34], the strengthening of cultural ties with the PALOP still seems weak, despite existing initiatives, including Law 1/2014. The Xunta de Galicia accounts for 90% of Galician ODA, which has a marginal budget in the whole of Spain, with a historical ceiling in 2009 of 12.2 million Euros, and amounting to €4,610,655 in 2015 [41]. If we add to this budgetary weakness the fact that only a third of the citizens are aware of the existence of this public policy for development cooperation [41], the objective of achieving a closer relationship with the Lusophony will depend on the reinforcement of this public policy, the increase of the cooperation budget to tackle operations of greater scope, and also of the awareness of the Galician public.

Additionally, the strategy of linking with the Lusophony as an instrument to reinforce Galician identity, language and culture is greatly affected by some factors. First by the dependence of the Galician ODA with respect to the general strategies of Spanish

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770 cooperation, which are more oriented towards the middle income countries of Latin
771 America. Second, by the fact that the model of foreign cooperation implemented by
772 Galicia Government depends largely on the geographical and sectoral preferences of
773 the NGOs that act as agents of the cooperation and distribute most of the aid,
774 although this dependence is lower in the case of the ODA destined for fishing.
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778 This situation generates a double difficulty in achieving a geographical orientation of
779 the recipient NGOs of Galician cooperation funds towards PALOP. Difficulty
780 motivated in the first place by the lack of tradition, experience and development
781 partners in those countries. Secondly, because most of the NGOs that operate in
782 Galicia are delegations of organisations with headquarters outside the Region, and
783 their interests are far removed from the regional scale. For these reasons their
784 strategies have not traditionally supported Lusophone countries of sub-Saharan Africa'
785 [28, 29].
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789 This situation is well explained by one of the experts interviewed: "*The Galician
790 associative fabric in the field of development cooperation is two-fold. On the one hand,
791 there are many small organizations of very limited size that operate in reduced local
792 areas, with small projects (...). On the other hand, the NGOs that have greater social
793 presence and greater capacities are part of federations, or are organizations, located
794 outside the region. (...) The funds of the Galician cooperation are managed (directed) in
795 this case from beyond the borders of Galicia*"(EMC, interview 03/05/18).
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799 The case of fishing aid is quite different, because the fishing and aquaculture
800 cooperation agents tend to be diverse, and not only NGOs have a great presence, but
801 also companies, technology centres, universities, and the autonomous government, so
802 that the link with the strategic guidelines of development cooperation is much greater.
803 Even so, there are many opportunities to strengthen alliances between all cooperation
804 agents, public and private [44], and a greater political will is necessary to achieve the
805 reinforcement of cultural and linguistic ties with the Lusophony, as well as promoting
806 cooperative research on the sustainable development of fisheries.
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809 The importance of fishing, both for Galicia and for many local communities in countries
810 of Portuguese-speaking Africa, and the outstanding role of aquaculture as a provider of
811 food and basic services, as identified, for instance, in the cases of Mozambique and
812 Namibia [45], opens a way for collaboration in which new agents - **universities,
813 technology centres or companies.- much more powerful than the weak Galician NGOs,
814 can intervene: have a type of cooperation from the classical, as seen in the theoretical
815 section**. It is not about using ODA in a selfish way marked by conditionality [14]. On the
816 contrary, it should be characterised by its quality, in such a way that the experience
817 and the fishing development of Galicia, where the small-scale fishing fleet is still
818 relevant, serves as an example for the fragile fishing communities, as happens in the
819 case of the 2017 collaboration agreement of the Technological Center of the Sea
820 (CETMAR) for the Consolidation, Institutional Reinforcement, Leadership and
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829 Governance of the Galician cooperation projects in Mozambique. This agreement is
830 part of the ACUIPES project, aimed at strengthening institutions with competencies in
831 the fishing and aquaculture sector, to train workers in the sector, and to support the
832 sustainable use of resources and strategies to diversify the aquaculture activity [46].
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835 Unlike in Spain, the investments of Galician ODA in the 2014-2017 period in fishing
836 increased in relation to the previous period (2010-2013), which reinforced the fishing
837 specialisation of Galician ODA in the context of Spain. The data published by the
838 Galician Government does not allow us to know the impact of the financed fishing
839 actions. Indeed, as the external evaluations of the Galician Cooperation highlight, the
840 strengthening of the technical capacity in impact evaluation, both by the Government
841 and the cooperation agents that channel the ODA, constitutes a pending matter
842 (Intermediate and Final Evaluation Reports of I, II and III Master Plan of the Galician
843 Cooperation). Although there is no data to quantify its impact, the marginal nature of
844 Galician ODA in global terms, and the small volume of financial resources disbursed in
845 the PALOP, raise doubts regarding the objective of reinforcing cultural and linguistic
846 ties with the Lusophony.
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851 In this regard, the limited institutional capacity of the Xunta de Galicia in development
852 cooperation has so far prevented the development of proposals for public-private
853 partnerships in the fishing sector with a focus on development, constituting a pending
854 challenge for strategic innovation and operation of Galician Cooperation. All in all,
855 there is an important knowledge base around fishing and aquaculture which would
856 have the capacity to generate deeper synergies between Galicia as a donor territory
857 and the recipient countries.
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861 **7- References**

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